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Origins is designed to publicize and advance the objectives of the Archives. These goals include the gathering, organization, and study of historical materials produced by the day-to-day activities of the Christian Reformed Church, its institutions, communities, and people.
“Fear and Hope Jostled”

Dutch Immigrant Life and Death in Paterson, New Jersey

When the Dutch ship Potsdam left Rotterdam for New York on August 6, 1910, Willem and Wilhelmina Woudenberq and eleven of their twelve children were among its passengers. The previous year the family’s twenty-one-year-old son, Jan, had followed his father’s three brothers (Karel, Marinus, and Henry) and their families to Paterson, New Jersey, where they had settled and had written letters urging brother Willem to join them. Jan’s mission had been to ascertain whether it would be desirable for the entire family to emigrate to America. Willem explains that “Jan had completed his military obligation and was sufficiently developed intellectually and trusted to make the ocean voyage.”

Woudenberq family ca. 1915. North Ninth Street. Left to right: Johan, Katherine, Wilhelmina, Agatha, Marie, Christina, Antonette (small girl), Derkje Van Kloveren (family friend), Mr. Willem Woudenberq, Jr., W. Woudenberq, Sr.

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Willem’s account of the ocean voyage indicates that his wife and daughters were seasick, but otherwise “the entire trip was delightful and pleasant.” Johan, six years old at the time of this voyage, remembers that the food aboard ship was delicious and abundant, that the crew was friendly and Dutch-speaking, and that he and other little boys played lively games on the ship’s deck, while his sisters languished weakly in the cabin. For at least some of the family the ten-day ocean journey appeared to be a grand adventure.

As to the arrival in America, Willem tells that when the Potsdam steamed into New York harbor August 16, “everyone was on deck to try to spot a family member or friend waiting on the pier.” In leaving the ship, the family members clung nervously to each other so as not to be separated in the great crowds jostling around the docks of this strange new world. Finally they spotted the familiar, eager faces of Jan and other waiting relatives.

by Helen Westra
Another collection of Dutch immigrant letters and memoirs has recently come to light, those of the Willem and Wilhelmina Woudenberg family, whose move from Amerstelt, the Netherlands, to Paterson, New Jersey, occurred in August 1910. Not surprisingly, the papers of this family of 14 people (the oldest child was twenty-one, and the youngest was three when the family left Amerstelt) contain the full range of hopes, joys, and disappointments we have come to recognize as staples in the immigrant experience.

These papers, however, are of particular interest because they help in a small way to expand our knowledge of the early twentieth-century Dutch immigrants in New Jersey. Although there are extensive archives related to the midwest settlements in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, information on the New Jersey immigrants is much less abundant. Jacob Van Hinte’s massive *Netherlands in America* devotes little space to the post-colonial Dutch settlers in New Jersey. Henry Lucas’s *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* includes no chapters on New Jersey immigrants. Herbert Brink’s *Write Back Soon: Letters From Immigrants in America* gives us fascinating windows into the lives of the Dutch who settled in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, South Dakota, and other states to the West but little commentary on the Dutch in New Jersey in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Brink’s notes that his book’s scope was “circumscribed by the availability of immigrant correspondence.” His comment is revelatory of the limited number of New Jersey immigrant letters and memoirs cited in the above studies as well as in archives such as the Immigrant Letter Collection at the Calvin College Archives.

The Woudenberg family papers, particularly the memoirs of Willem (1858-1931) and of his youngest son, Johan (1904-1985), are of further interest because they present a unique two-generational perspective. Willem Woudenberg’s autobiography covers his life in the Netherlands and his first years in America; recounting his childhood in Utrecht, his mother’s transfer from the Hervormde (State) Church to the Christian Reformed Church, his discussions with Rev. Van Minnen in seeking a middle way between the sober, intellectual Christianity of some and the pietistic faith of others; his efforts to develop a marketable skill as a butcher; though his first love was art and painting; his courtship and marriage to Wilhelmina Jens; the economic hardships faced by his growing family; details of the move to America; the early immigrant years and tragic death of his wife, which left him the sole parent of a large family in a new land. Complementing Willem’s writings are his son Johan’s memories of immigrant events as experienced by a young child 46 years his father’s junior.

Helen Westra

The family’s joyful reunion and first hours in the United States, however, were dampened by a lengthy and confusing wait as they went through customs. Willem explains: “Now we met with a rather unpleasant delay. All our baggage had to pass through the customs, which required the unpacking of all our belongings that the carpenters in Amerstelt had so securely crated. It was about eleven o’clock that night before this inspection was finally completed.” Finally, near midnight the exhausted immigrants boarded a train for the sixteen-mile journey to Paterson, their final destination.

Johan, in contrast to his father, has left a record telling what he as a child noticed during that first twenty-four hours in a new land—the Statue of Liberty lifting its arm against the sky, the train ride through the hot, dusty night, the first meal in America around his Uncle Karel Woudenberg’s table laden with local fruits and baked goods, and finally falling asleep in the lodging nearby which Jan had rented for the family. As Johan remembers, laughter and a practical joke played on the newcomers was also part of the first day: “One of the uncles handed his newly arrived brother [Willem] a fair-sized red, red fruit, and told Willem these were American apples, a little softer of texture than the European kind but equally as delicious. So Dad Woudenber, being eager to sample a superior product, opened his mouth wide to take a good, healthy bite. Imagine his surprise when the inside was soft and very juicy—the juice even running down his chin as someone came to the rescue with a face cloth to wipe and dry his chin. That was Dad’s introduction to the American tomato.”

Within the next several weeks, Willem and the older children found work. Johan recalls that “many a
prayer was sent to the throne of grace for guidance.” Friends and relatives provided indispensable moral support and assistance during the transition: “With the news of this large family coming from Holland, many efforts were made to locate places of employment. For besides living expenses another top priority was to garner the funds to repay the trusted well-to-do friend [a Mr. Van Ommen of Amersfoort] who had advanced some two thousand guilders to help his needy friend [Willem] and his large family to make their passage to the U.S.A., the land of golden opportunity.”

Johan tells that his father’s first job came through the help of his brother Marinus, who had worked for some time in a textile mill. Willem was hired to work in the same dye crew as Marinus, who had learned some rudimentary English and could act as an interpreter for the new immigrant. At this time Paterson was considered the Silk Capital of America, and father Woudenberg worked at dyeing raw thread, employment at which he was able to make “steady money, though it was a smelly job. The odor of the dye stuff penetrated the workers’ clothes, and we soon learned that many of the men working in such shops changed their clothes in a corner of their basements, so the same work clothes had to be worn several days in a row before a clean batch was ready. Dad must have thought many a time what a far cry it was from the white jacket and apron in his tidy and clean meat market in Holland to this small, rather dark dye shop, where the acid and steam rising from the dye troughs caused the eyes to tear constantly. . . . The dye shop required no particular skill or training. It was akin to common labor.”

Although Willem Woudenberg’s autobiography wholly bypasses any of the disappointments associated with his employment, Johan fills in some revealing details. He tells that his father loathed the work, for “having spent his working life in meat markets in Holland, he reasonably expected to find similar work in America. He did not reckon with two barriers, the first was the language handicap, being unable to understand English, and the second was [that] the Borough of Prospect Park boasted two meat markets, Pruikse Brothers and Algersma Meat Market. The Pruikse Brothers were four in number with a number of sons being trained in the market, so no need for additional help, regardless of how well qualified in the trade. Algersma was a smaller market (a one-man business).
with a bit of assist from the errand boy for delivery purposes.”

Johan further recalls that in his father’s workplace there was always a terrible “stench being emitted from the dye troughs by which the men had to stand all day long as they turned the slatted drums with cranks on each end (this was a two-man job) drawing the almost endless skeins of silk through the dye solution.” There was also the exhausting schedule of “twelve hour days—6:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. with a half hour for lunch. It was back-breaking work, unskilled, a job for men who couldn’t speak the English language and thus were not in a position to reason with the boss regarding the working conditions. There were labor organizers in those days also, and they formed a somewhat loose-knit organization, but on the radical side, who called themselves the International Workers of the World (IWW). As children we soon converted these letters to stand for ‘I Won’t Work.’ Periodic strikes developed among the radicals, but the church-affiliated members whose principles didn’t permit the disregard of authority, no matter how unreasonable the demands might be, refused to join the strikers. This resulted in their being booted as they continued going to work, quite often escorted by mounted police (thanks to the influential factory owners). While the working conditions did not improve appreciably, Dad continued the best he was able to, and his weekly pay envelope (ten to twelve dollars) was one of the largest received in the family."

Although Willem’s memoirs reveal very little about this time of transition, he does mention the family’s concerted efforts to pay off the two-thousand-guilder loan from Mr. Van Ommen in Amersfoort. He also describes the celebration of his twenty-five years (March 3, 1887-1912) of marriage to Wilhelmina as a time when “the inclinations of our hearts poured out in gratitude and thanksgiving.”

In contrast, Johan remembers outings to the countryside that became a regular adventure for the Woudenberg children. The family rented their Prospect Park apartment from a member of the Second Paterson Christian Reformed Church, and in the summer their kind landlord, who was also a produce huckster, sometimes invited the immigrant family to his Midland Park farm on Saturday afternoons. On the journey home by streetcar, the children’s arms would be full of surplus produce and seasonal fruit—sweetcorn, tomatoes, beans, peas, apples, peaches, pears, and sometimes a few melons—that the farmer had no plans to sell on the next day, the sabbath.

Unfortunately, as Johan recalls, “the following year, our dear friend and landlord (for reasons of his own) decided to sell the house which we rented from him) and so we began looking for other quarters.”

Woudenberg found a downstairs apartment (including use of an attic bedroom) nearby in Prospect Park. But once the family moved in, “it didn’t take long to realize that the small family living upstairs had a big problem. The man of the house was a week-end drunkard. He would come home sometime Saturday afternoon and be very abusive to his family. The wife would scream in terror as the drunk would carry on. During the week, when he was sober, he was a fairly decent man to talk to and try to reason with. Dad tried to point out to him the folly of spending his life that way. He would agree, but come
Saturday, he wouldn't have the resistance and would indulge again." Finally after about six months of this unpleasantness, the Woudenbergs moved again, this time to an apartment above an A & P grocery store on the corner of Seventh Street and Haledon Avenue in Prospect Park.

As Johan recounts the events of this time, he records interesting details in the family history that his father Willem leaves unmentioned. Johan remembers that not long after arriving in the United States, two of his older brothers longed to head west and strike out on their own, much to the dismay of their mother and father. In fact, although the move in 1910 from the Netherlands had been predicated on what the parents believed would be best for everyone in the family unit, their decision had not been met with equal enthusiasm by all members of the family. For example, daughter Wilhelmina (seventeen at the time of the move), who had been hired out in Amersfoort as a maid in a rather fashionable home, had, in Johan's words, "no mind to go to America, but was reproved by Father that as a child of the family she had no voice in the matter." Others in the family were also reluctant to move, and so Johan's account includes his memories of the first break in a family circle that had been held together by a strong patriarchal hand: "After but a short time in this country two of the up and coming boys (Willem, Jr. [18], and Anton [16]) left home." Johan explains that "with no compulsory military duty in sight, these two left... for the unexplored wild west with its strange and unsettled stories. This was the first heartbreak for Christian parents who had done all in their power to keep the family united."

In the years that followed, the family adjusted to the departure of these two young adventurers, who
eventually settled in Detroit and Cleveland. But the group was soon to suffer a far greater heartache than the absence of sons. Already mother Wilhelmina was suffering from symptoms that would prove to be a deadly cancer. Father Willem’s autobiography terminates with his wife’s death. Of this tragedy, he states that it was “the first sorrow in our circle, though not without comfort. The Giver of Life does not desert His own at the end, and who loves Him and believes on Him, He will succor.”

Willem had no heart to pursue his life history beyond the loss of his beloved Wilhelmina Margaretha Jens Woudenberg. But in April 1913, several days after his wife’s burial, he prepared a detailed letter to relatives and friends in the Netherlands, describing the heart-wrenching circumstances of his wife’s sickness and death twenty-six months after their arrival in America. Among all the family papers, this document stands as the most poignant and moving. Painstakingly and sensitively, the grieving widower recalls his wife’s last months and the medical, psychological, and spiritual hardships the family faced.

Dear family, relatives, and friends:

You are eagerly awaiting a more detailed report on the sickbed and passing of my dear wife.

Without actually being bedridden, my wife had already, for quite some time [since early 1912] not felt well. While at first we thought of influenza or menopause, it soon proved to be something worse. The doctor upon whose advice we proceeded in August [1912] to have a serious growth removed, told us some time later, when various hard knobby growths appeared under her arm, that we had better leave those undisturbed, since they would disappear of themselves. But these did not disappear but rather grew, and arm and shoulder began to be very painful.

Not being at peace with this, we summoned another doctor, who advised excision as soon as possible, because it might possibly be cancer. Her right eye, which had for some time had no vision, though experiencing no pain, now also became painful, although this was not related to the other ailment.

Thus doctor number two judged and strongly urged to call an optician. The optician who came declared that the eye should be removed, otherwise greater danger for the still healthy eye could not be averted. But my wife, having become alarmed by the futile operation on her arm, was also aware of the unsuccessful operation upon her late sister Rika and many other cases with like results, and so she shied away from such surgery. Now there were rapidly increasing pains in arm, back, breast, stomach, head, sometimes even in hands and feet, and this led us, upon repeated counseling, to call a specialist. The specialist concluded this was cancer, and a malignant kind too; he advised operation on the very morrow, even though a favorable outcome could not at all be assured.

In face of these shocking facts, we turned to a homeopathic doctor. This man succeeded to suppress the pain in her back and stomach in the course of some eight days. But after this, he said he could do...
no more, and although he was very much opposed to surgery, yet finally also from him the decisive word became inevitable: operation. Meanwhile the pain in her arm increased along with rising fever and mounted dreadfully. Finally in desperation we decided to submit ourselves to the idea of operation, especially since one of the last doctors was also willing to do it at home (this was 14 days ago today). But on Monday our regular doctor appeared once more according to pattern, and he explained to us how highly questionable it was to have surgery at home—hygienically, surgically, medically, etc. All this became abundant reason why we should yield ourselves to his advice to go to the hospital for surgery.

Having said "A," we naturally came to "B" and decided to go to the General Hospital. This was done Tuesday after about 4 o'clock. Christina and Wilhelmina [two of the oldest daughters] accompanied their mother since they were sufficiently conversant with the English language to take knowledge of the nursing procedures, etc. They remained together with their mother in the hospital for a short while, and then they returned home. Together we tensely awaited the next morning since the operation would take place at that time.

Little did any of the family members realize that in having brought her to the hospital, they would never again see their mother and wife alive. Willem's letter tells the shocking way they learned the brutal news of her death:

About 10 o'clock [a.m.] a neighbor stepped in at our home. "Is your father at home?" he asked Agatha [the 21-year-old daughter]. "I received a phone call that things are not very well with your mother."

But the report could not be worded so cautiously that it did not seize us with a violent shock. Immediately Wilhelmina and I hastened to go to the hospital and did not even hear what the messenger further said to Agatha, namely, "Oh, you need not hurry because the end has already come."

It took a half hour by tram (which seemed like half a day) for us to reach the Hospital. When we made the request to be permitted to see my wife, we were told that during the operation the heart suddenly stopped and death came. Then because the body already had descended with the elevator to the morgue we had to wait in order to see her.

We then immediately called the undertaker and remained at the hospital waiting for him. After a half hour of waiting we returned home with the precious deceased one. Meanwhile the four youngest children [Bernard (12), Marinus (10), Johan (8) and Antonette (6)] had come home from school. Christina [23], Katrien [15], and Maria [13] had come home from the factory, and quite soon Jan [24] also, and but spare me the pain of describing the sad scene of looking upon that lifeless body, and looking to one another.

Willem's letter continues by reflecting on how he and his wife had faced her steady decline and death. He touches on intimate spiritual and familial details he knew the relatives would be vitally interested in:

I sense altogether too well that the above narrative does not satisfy you. You desire to hear more. Well, there is more to be told. To that purpose we will trace the history once more.
heusde with her accompanying daughter at the boat dock in New York. But this hope was frustrated from time to time by the secret fear that this possible reunion might not be possible; a very physical experience [of exhaustion and fatigue] seemed to make her also feel somewhat depressed.

Now you know that as to her spiritual life, my wife was characterized less by the so-called firm, deeply conscious, appropriating faith, and more by a refuge-seeking faith. This often caused a fear upon her soul and body for which she could not account. From lack of thoughts of her own, my wife would rise above these anxious oppressive feelings and find relief if she could calm herself by thoughts from God’s Word and by thoughts from biblical songs, such as “Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness endure as anchor for my heart.” This was often as oil upon the troubled waters. The mysterious theme of the wall-motto “all things work together for good” was often the very undergirding of her searching eye and heart. But while this theme and others like it comforted her, they remained more as an attracting and beaming friendly light from the distance than as a firm rock foundation under her feet.

A few months ago, due to the great labor strike, I became unemployed. Thus I stayed at home and found a welcome opportunity to be a support to my constantly more seriously worsening and ailing one. However, with the passing time my hand proved to be too inexperienced to assist with the necessary tact and routine. Therefore we had Wilhelmina come home [from her employment]. But that did not hinder me from lingering mostly at my wife’s sickbed. And now I was privileged to make a double observation. On the one hand, her ominously increasing pain and grief was noticeably undermining her physical energies, but on the other hand she was gaining a greater spiritual stability to commit herself with confidence upon her Surety and Mediator.

But this trust did not remain unassaulted. Sometimes a simple word from her would truly grip us as it revealed her sadness and how it seemed to her that death was coming ever nearer. For example, Agatha once spoke of a black skirt which she needed but didn’t have. Her mother responded, “Agatha, you can have mine, since I will not be using it anymore.” And Christina said once, “Mother, should I now give your corset a cleaning?”
These somber expressions which foreshadowed the end were very painful for us, especially since she made these statements in calm moments. But such calm periods were often contrasted by others, when under mounting fever and headache and accompanying pains she would cry out “O them from My hand.” For when a calmness of spirit would return again, oh, then it was so genuinely from her heart, “And now, what wait I, Lord, but for Thee! My hope is upon Thee!” And during the last fourteen days it was especially these thoughts that expressed the basic attitude of heart:

And it was a strange fact that as deeply moved as we all were, just so deeply calm and in control of herself was my wife. Fear and hope jostled in the emotions of us all. For in contrast to the present decisive expressions of the ailing one, the same mouth often had expressed how this earthly life and the family circle was not at all surrendered. Also the doctors, the one perhaps denying but the other asserting, that mother was still strong enough to endure radical treatment, would cause our sinking hopes to revive again.

Even mother herself still made the remark the day before her leaving [for the hospital]: “Ha, if I could still possibly have the good fortune to surmount this!” This and similar other words showed that she indeed still knew and felt the earthy ties.

This would appear in a most touching manner when mother would see and call one of the smaller children and lay a caressing hand on its head and speak. To further the strictly required silence and rest, the little folk during the last weeks had been kept in the background as much as possible. But it happened on an occasion with Bernard [12] that she said, “So, my boy, are you there, come close to me, I can hardly recognize you.” And, oh, how that boy

good husband, the terror grips me so, please pray, pray for me and with me.” Or it might occur that when I thought there was a calm stillness, and I would ask, “Well, how are things now; do you have hope?” Then sadly the answer would come, “It is so dark. I see no light; I have no peace.”

But, thanks to God, be the struggle of soul ever so dreadful, still she experienced what Jesus said, “No one can pluck

Lord rebuke me not in anger. Chastened sore I waste away.

Pity now my sad condition, Lord how long wilt Thou delay?

And thus on April 14 [two days before her mother’s death] daughter Wilhelmina was deeply moved to hear her mother say with gripping decisiveness, “Eight days from today I will be lying in the cemetery.” Then on the very next day it was decided that mother be brought to the hospital.

Try to imagine in what a mood we were on Tuesday when we saw her going away.
burst out crying and sobbing and we needed with gentle urgency to lead him away from the sickbed.

Now in retrospect it also appears, what a kind provision of the Lord it was that He gradually dissolved and loosed these strong ties and did not suddenly break them. That would simply have been too much for her spirit.

How different it could have been! She was always vigorously healthy and strong, and never had experienced a sickbed, and at her age of fifty years she was far from any thought of depletion of vitality and by human calculation could well have anticipated another twenty or twenty-five years.

Also this thought often rose in my wife's conversation, espe-
cially when the Netherlands relationships were touched upon, whether she thought of Amersfoort, Oosterbeek, Utrecht, or elsewhere. As she talked about her longing to be in those familiar places after having left them, oh, how this could cause her heart to throb. And when this happened sometimes she could not suppress the tears from brimming in her eyes. This was especially true when Agatha, with the strongest enthusiasm for the beloved Netherlands, echoed forth with voice and organ, "O! dierbaar plekje grond, waar eens mijn wieg op stond; waar eens mijn graf—"

[Oh, precious patch of ground, where once my cradle stood; where once my grave —]. But no, no, for my wife, this could not be further shared. This and many more such things cause us now to reflect that perhaps already for some time the idea
of death had affected her thoughts and her body.

A vacant place has resulted in our midst, which surely fills our hearts with grief and sadness. Yet we need not, we may not sorrow as those who have no hope. For even if we perceived no song of triumph from the deathbed, yet the promise stands too unshaken and firm for those who have sought their refuge in God. Should we then still doubt that the heritage which fell to the man of prayer in Psalm 116 has not also fallen to our beloved one? And so the very Word of God stands as surety for this. And this warns us not to lose our glimpse in the dark pit, but to look upward, for "The Lord has given; the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

Saturday, April 19, the funeral was held. If mother’s last days were somber, sad rainy weather, the clearing weather of Wednesday morning was beautiful.

If this can be an image of life, then it translates into the thought that sorrow and grief have ended. Now this kindly light of God’s gracious countenance will never ever set for her again. Yes, it signifies also that my wife was taken away before the evil day, for had her life been further spared, oh, what an inevitable and protracted suffering had awaited her. And now, yes, I have lost much, but much is still left to me. I have not been left with only small children, but there are also the more matured, who feel and mourn with me, indeed for whom the consolations of the Lord are not too small, and now they traverse this dark road with me in the strength of the Lord. Also the participation by relatives and friends in these days is pleasant and refreshing.

Naturally, the thoughts still multiply within me, but I will now let this suffice, trusting that I have shared with you sufficiently for your love and friendship, committing myself and my family to your interest and concern.

With sincere regard,

Willem F. Woudenberg
and children

The lengthy letter Willem wrote to loved ones in the Netherlands was one of many ways he found to express his grief. After the funeral, conducted by Rev. Kaiser of Prospect Park Christian Reformed Church, Willem returned to work. But the emotional and physical strain was almost unbearable, and soon his older children decided their father should give up employment outside the home and devote full attention to caring for the family. For a time, Willem talked longingly of returning to the Netherlands, but the adult children and his brothers counseled against such a move.

Willem also returned to painting, something he had yearned to do ever since his childhood teachers had unsuccessfully urged his parents to allow him to study under a master artist. In 1913, after their mother’s death, the Woudenberg children arranged a small studio in the attic so their father could sometimes sketch and paint in this quiet spot. Many of the canvases he created in the years following his wife’s death are marked by a nostalgia for his homeland. Many represent his tender memories of places he knew his wife had longed to see again before she died. Through careful preservation by children and friends, this large body of oil paintings has passed along from one generation to the next as a priceless family heritage.

In his account of the April 1913 events, Johan’s narrative complements Willem’s strikingly by offering a child’s perspective on the events surrounding his mother’s illness and death. Johan remembers his father’s heartache in being unable to contact the “two sons roaming in the unknown while the family huddled together” grieving in Paterson. Johan remembers the days immediately following his mother’s death as a steady procession of relatives and friends came to the house to view her body lying in a plain wooden box.

Johan, who had just turned nine on April 7, recalls his mother’s corpse on April 16 dressed in a plain gown and high collar, “her straight combed hair tied in the back” and her head resting on a tiny pillow in the wooden box. He remembers that there had been “no restrictions for us to tiptoe in the front room and in awe stare at mother laying there so still—no greeting, no smile.” For the funeral, Johan remembers, the coffin was carried in a horse-drawn hearse. The carriage body was glass-encased and “the driver’s seat was elevated above the front edge of the roof.” This black coach was followed by a procession of coaches carrying family, relatives, and close friends, and “although the coach curtains were drawn to afford the family privacy in their hour of grief, we children caught glimpses of the long procession as it made its way across about a third of the city to Fairlawn Cemetery, where mother was interred.”

One of Johan’s most vivid recollections, however, is the black crepe which was tacked to the front door of their apartment on Haledon Avenue and which signified that a resident there had died. He remembers that
the thumb tacks positioning the crepe were black and that he and his little six-year-old sister Antonette "would quietly go out the back door, walk quickly and close to the house to the front and in childish awe watch the breeze move the ends of the [crepe] ribbon that were not tacked down. It brought goose pimples on our arms because mother was represented out there."

After her death, Wilhelmina Jens Woudenberberg came to be represented in many more ways than that black crepe solemnly floating in the wind. Her life and memory continued to stir strong in her husband's heart and in her children's lives. Her photograph with its clear dark eyes and resolute face has become for her many generations of offspring a portrait of courage, a reminder of a forebear who tore herself from a beloved homeland to give her progeny opportunities she would never enjoy. To this day her story, like her husband Willem's paintings and writings and her son Johan's memoirs, stands as a memorable piece of Woudenberberg family history.

*Burial scene, courtesy of Zeeland Historical Society.*
The Yff and the Kuipe

by H. J. Bri

L-R: Sara and Peter Yff, Sr. Free University of Amsterdam. "B.K." Kuiper, Roseland's Pullman hospital.
Family Connection
Over many years the Yff and Kuiper families maintained a close-knit relationship. As immigrants, they had much in common, but whereas Klaas Kuiper was an established clergyman when he came to the U.S.A. in 1891, Peter Yff was a pork butcher. In 1906, several years after his conversion under the preaching of Amsterdam's famous Abraham Kuyper, Yff immigrated to Roseland, Illinois. There he met Klaas Kuiper and joined the Second Roseland CRC, which Kuiper served until 1911. The Yffs and Kuipers had large families,* and their children pursued similar careers. Three of both the Kuiper and Yff boys became pastors, and each of the families provided a leading educator to the Christian schools. In each family, too, the oldest daughters sacrificed much of their lives for their siblings’ opportunities. Dena Kuiper tended the family’s needs until the death of her parents, and during her last thirty years she devoted administrative and writing skills to the CRC’s youth organizations. Hermina Yff returned her earnings from nursing to the family coffers, and only after most of her siblings were grown and independent did she join the Pine Rest Hospital’s nursing staff. Other members of both families became grocers.

*The Yff family consisted of nine surviving children, while the Kuipers numbered seven; each family buried one youngster.

When Peter Yff Sr. immigrated in 1906, he followed precise directions to the Roseland parsonage on Perry Avenue, where he met Rev. Klaas Kuiper for the first time. Peter knew no one in town, but Reverend Kuiper had been expecting his arrival. The pastor’s son Barend, or “B.K.,” who was a student at the Free University of Amsterdam, had directed Yff to the parsonage. B.K. was boarding with the Yff family in Amsterdam, and he had informed his father of Yff’s impending emigration. The “Dominie” was a bit disconcerted by the whole arrangement.
Although Kuiper was well accustomed to helping newly arrived immigrants, this newcomer had traveled alone, leaving his wife and seven children in Amsterdam. More than that, Barend had moved in with this stranger's wife and children—and that despite the pastor's stern advice to the contrary. "What? Living in with a married woman?" he wrote. "You don't even know her or what kind of a person she is. But this I know, you must live very carefully and beyond all reproach, in order to keep your name and hers in total honor. Well, that's that. It is very nice for her and for Mr. Yf—financially at least. May God give you wisdom and caution."

Undoubtedly, Rev. Kuiper was overreacting. His twenty-nine year old son was no adolescent, and by that time he had already served for several years as a professor in the Grand Rapids Theological School. Moreover, the thirty-seven year old Sara Yf was fully engaged in the activities of a busy household, and the youngest of her children, Thomas, was still in diapers. But Rev. Kuiper was also unsettled by his son's decision to remain in Amsterdam while preparing for his doctorandus exams. Klaas had urged him to move in with relatives in Drenthe, with whom he could live with few expenses. But that was an understandably bleak prospect, since B.K. needed the resources of the university library and he planned to consult regularly with his mentor, Professor Herman Bavink.

So while Klaas Kuiper glowered across the four-thousand-mile expanse which muted his advice, Peter Yf took great comfort from B.K.'s presence in his Amsterdam household. Writing of this in 1906, Peter asserted, "I can't describe for you what a great comfort it is to have you living with my family. Now I can at least be assured that my wife is not entirely alone. And I am delighted to hear that you get along so well with my children. The Lord is very good in providing all these things to assist me in my weakness. I believe, too, that if all goes well and the Lord wills, I will also enjoy material blessings.

Klaas Kuiper family ca. 1915.
There's much work here and good wages. If I enjoy good health, we should do very well in a few years."

While B.K. lived in with the Amsterdam Yffs, Peter boarded with a Mrs. Minnema, but he sought advice and social solace in the Roseland parsonage. Dena Kuiper reported, "Yff comes here now and then, and he certainly is a good man." The bonds between the Kuipers and Yffs became increasingly intricate. Klaas Kuiper wrote regularly about Peter's employment and the prospects of his saving enough money to transport the family from Amsterdam in 1907."

B.K. expected to complete his examinations that same year and offered to accompany the Yff family as a guide during the voyage. These plans certainly pleased Peter who wrote, "I can't thank the Lord enough. The prospect that you will board the ship with my family in June or July and then serve them as a guide gives me great comfort.""

But the cost of transporting seven persons far exceeded Yff's capacity to save money. He could cover his own expenses and send funds home to support his family, but he could not accumulate an additional four hundred dollars, an amount equal to a laborer's annual income. As the July deadline for B.K.'s departure approached, Peter Yff became increasingly dour. Klaas Kuiper reported, "Yff is in a bad mood. Nothing here is good. . . . He is too dignified to seek charity for the travel costs of his wife and children, and I see no chance of finding four people to loan him one hundred dollars each. He must find help in the Netherlands or get nothing at all.""

Two weeks later Rev. Kuiper added, "Yff is absolutely unwilling to seek help going from door to door with a list. We can raise about sixty dollars in that way, but he refuses. He would rather return to Holland in total poverty. You, Barend, must try to help in getting some money for him there. Call on Mr. Greve. Tell him that if no help comes, the family will sink away into the vast pool of poverty in the Netherlands."

By then Klaas Kuiper had already written Rev. B. Van Schelven, Yff's former pastor in Amsterdam. Kuiper argued that Yff "came here under your advice. He works and earns enough for himself and

some responsibility for this family's reunion.""

Apparently urgings from K. Kuiper, B. Van Schelven, and B.K. produced the desired

his family but not enough for transportation costs. Can't you arrange for the funding to send his wife and children over to him? Separation of this kind is against God's ordinances. And those who are responsible for sending him here also have
results, because a Mr. G. Greve put up a four-hundred-dollar loan and B.K. co-signed the note. Again, Peter Yff expressed his deep appreciation. "I will not disappoint you," he promised and then added, "I am deeply moved and heartened by these developments. Without this I had little hope for my future in this country. Many times I was nearly lifeless from fright and disappointment. But now the time can't pass quickly enough."

Klaas Kuiper's assertion that the Amsterdam church bore some responsibility for the Yff family's situation was well grounded. Peter Yff had instructed him to close his shop on Sundays. He did so willingly, knowing nonetheless that he would lose both business and profit. Without refrigeration, meat spoiled over the weekends. That reduced his inventory with consequent trade losses. So he was forced to sell his business, and when an alternate trade, wholesaling baked goods, didn't succeed, he made plans to emigrate. Thus Yff's decision was clearly linked to his new religious commitments.

By July 26, 1907, news of the Yff family's arrival in Montreal reached the Roseland parsonage. But the telegram from the Allen Steamship Line also reported that "Mr. B.K. Kuiper and family have been quarantined." Rev. Klaas, who often imagined the worst, feared that B.K. had falsified the Yff family name in order to save a four-dollar entry fee. Reality was much kinder. Thomas, the youngest of the Yff children, was infected with measles, and the whole family was forced to remain in quarantine for two weeks on an island near Montreal. George Yff remembered the delay as a glorious adventure. "We had a grand time over there—climbing the mountains, picking wild flowers and raspberries."

The travelers did not reach Roseland until mid-August, and because Barend was scheduled to begin teaching on September 6, he left Roseland quickly. Consequently, the news of the Yff family's reunion and early adjustment came to B.K. in correspondence. He was, in a sense, the linchpin of this social connection, and so he received news from a spectrum of viewpoints. Peter Yff, Sara Yff, Klaas Kuiper, and the children of both families regularly posted accounts of the Yff family's experiences.

By then Rev. Klaas had come to respect and appreciate these courageous immigrants, and he noted that by September 1 they were settling
into their new quarters on 107th Street rather nicely. Three weeks later, Hendrick Kuiper reported that the Yffs were housing ten new arrivals. The Groen family, also from Amsterdam, lived with the Yffs for a full week. "In all," Hendrick wrote, "they have nineteen people in the house."14

By November the Yffs had acquired a more settled routine, which Dena Kuiper described in a letter to B.K. "Today is Ma's birthday," she wrote, "and Piet Yff came with a beautiful bouquet of chrysanthemums. I've been to Yff's house two times already—one for a birthday and later for two days to help Mrs. Yff make blankets. Mrs. Yff is certainly a pleasant woman. Now that Hermia is out working, she is very busy. The house is a bit messy, but what else can you expect with so many boys?

"Mr. Yff is very fortunate with his work. He works steadily at good wages—thirty-six dollars per month. They gain an additional nine dollars from boarders and still another three dollars from Mina."

"At first they had many expenses setting up their household, but now they can save a little and, of course, they have to pay back the cost of transportation. Mina comes home every other weekend, and then she regularly comes here for dinner. The Yff boys come here so often that it can be a little annoying, but they are not bad boys at all."

Not surprisingly, B.K. had become something of a surrogate father to the Yff children. In 1966 Nicholas Yff still referred to him as "Our guardian Brother."16 Nick and the other boys eagerly reported their achievements to B.K. In 1907 Peter Yff, Jr., wrote, "I'm doing well in school at the highest level—and it is easy. . . . I hope educational experiences of his children. Often Mrs. Yff added a note of greeting and regularly urged Barend to join them for tea whenever he was visiting Roseland."

Peter Yff's religious scruples continued to guide his economic behavior. As he had given up Sunday labor in Holland, he also shunned union membership in the Chicago I.W.W.

Winter scenes in Amsterdam.

you come home for Christmas. It's hard to imagine that we have been here for five months already." And in 1908 Nicholas declared that he "was thinking about the days they spent on the ship—when they sat together in the smoking room—sipping lemonade and wine together." He wished B.K. a happy birthday and reported further that at an upcoming program he "was going to speak two verses, and sing 'O Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean.' " Thereafter he was to carry the U.S. flag. Hermia added her birthday wishes and recalled, "At this time a year ago we were tossing upon the ocean and I was sitting with little Teunis (Tom) in the ship's hospital. Today things are far more peaceful."

The contacts between the Yffs and the Kuipers persisted over many years. Peter Yff sent B.K. the news of his changing work places, the births of two additional children, and the He left at least one job on that account and took lower wages on another occasion rather than join in a wage strike. Nonetheless, the family survived decently, and each of the Yff children achieved the goals that their ambitions and abilities warranted.9

Reflecting on his experiences in 1920, Peter Yff wrote, "It is something of a wonder that we have had so few difficulties with our large family. A parent has special worries and sorrows for each of his children. And the whole thing is complicated

"At forty-eight dollars per month, the family income was about five hundred seventy-five dollars per year. The typical CRC pastor in that era earned about eight hundred dollars per year."
when you are in a strange land and do strange work.”

Although he did not express it, Yff certainly knew that however "strange" the New World was, the forces of alienation were blunted considerably by the connection he and his family maintained with the Kuipers and the larger Reformed community. Its benefits were rich and varied—offering worship, education, career choices, and a supportive social network. And, as this article suggests, the examples which a pastor’s family provided could lead children from a working-class family to exceptional achievements.

In 1926, when “B.K.” was appointed to the chair of historical theology at the Calvin Seminary, Nicholas Yff posted a congratulatory letter to his “Guardian brother.” Then he added, “I am going to Munster, Indiana, where I will replace Mr. Zuiderhof as the principal of the Christian school.” Twenty years later Mr. Yff was still there, and I have no reservations in noting that “Nick” Yff became a significantly beneficial “guardian” in my own life. Nor is it farfetched to credit Rev. Klaas Kuiper’s family, and “B.K.” in particular, with transmitting a generous Kuypersian tradition to me and my grade-school cohorts through Mr. Nicholas Yff.

Other Yff boys (Peter, Jr.; Thomas; and George) pastored sixteen churches during their clerical careers. The oldest of these, Peter, Jr., died disappointingly young. At 33, after graduating from the University of Chicago, Calvin Seminary, and the Princeton Theological School, he had served only one congregation when he died. Thomas and George have lived full lives serving churches and other institutions throughout the U.S.

Of the sixteen Yff and Kuiper children, ten became notable servants of various churches and their related institutions. Even at that time this was an exceptional cultural pattern, but it reflected the values of an era in the Dutch Reformed community when children who demonstrated scholarly capacities almost automatically considered Christian school teaching or the pastorate as preferable career choices. The intellectual cream of the community sought both the status and the satisfactions of these professions. It is a not altogether comforting reality to note that this era is swiftly passing.
Endnotes

1 Interviews with Nicholas Yff (1966) and George Yff (1972), in the Calvin College and Seminary Archives.


3 Klaas Kuiper to B.K. in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

4 Letter, P. Yff to B.K., January 18, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

5 Letters, K.K. to B.K., October and November 15, 1906; Dena Kuiper to B.K., December 1, 1906, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

6 Letter, P. Yff to B.K., January 18, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

7 Letters, K.K. to B.K., April 24, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

8 Letters, K.K. to B.K., May 7, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

9 Letter, K.K. to B. Van Schelven, April 29, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

10 Letter, P. Yff to B.K., June 15, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

11 Interviews with Nicholas Yff (1966) and George Yff (1972), in Calvin College and Seminary Archives.

12 Letter, K.K. to B.K., July 26, 29, 1907.

13 Interview with George Yff (1972), in Calvin College and Seminary Archives.

14 Letters, K.K. to B.K., September 1, 1907; Hendrich Kuiper to B.K., September 22, 1907; P. Yff to B.K., September 28, 1907.

15 Letter, Dena Kuiper to B.K., November 25, 1907, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

16 Interview with Nicholas Yff (1966), in Calvin College and Seminary Archives.

17 Letters, P. Yff, Jr., to B.K., December 5, 1907; N. Yff to B.K., July 15, 1908; Hermine Yff to B.K., July 5, 1908, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

18 Letters, P. Yff to B.K., December 10, 1907; July 30, 1908; September 28, 1908; March 12, 1909; May 7, 1909; September 14, 1909; January 5, 1915; September 29, 1915; in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

19 Letter, P. Yff to B.K., April 26, 1920.

20 Ibid.

21 Letter, N. Yff to B.K., January 26, 1920, in B.K. Kuiper Papers.

22 A small bundle of Peter Yff’s sermons are preserved in the Calvin College and Seminary Archives.

Grandson (Peter) of Peter Yff Sr. pictured with 1954 owner of Yff family butcher shop, 18 Kinkerstraat, sold in 1906.
IS THIS SABBATH DESECRATION?

Is it wrong to have enjoyment
If we Christians wish to be
Must we sacrifice all pleasures
Which at public doors we see?

Is it wrong after morning service
To go boating on the lake?
And to skip o'er rippling waters;
Is our soul then put at stake?

Is it wrong to go a fishing
Or go bathing at the park,
When we've gone to morning service,
Or intend to after dark?

Is it wrong to see a ball game
On a Sunday afternoon
Just to see skilled, clean enjoyment
While the band strikes up a tune?

Inquirer

REPLY

A satisfactory answer may be seen
In Isaiah fifty-eight thirteen
Moreover, it is very true:
Such things our Lord would never do.¹

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In 1977, almost six decades after these verses were written, a significantly different response to the issue of Sunday observance was published in the Calvinist Contact. On that occasion restrictions on the length of Sunday travel, going to the beach, and similar matters were described as mere "legalisms, man-made rules. God simply tells us," the author wrote, "to keep the Sabbath holy—God glorifying and God edifying."2

While these two viewpoints contrast rather starkly, they nonetheless preserve traditional Reformed injunctions to "keep the Sabbath day holy,"3 and that principle has never been negotiable. The application, however, has altered considerably between 1921 (the date of The Banner's poetic response) and the 1977 perceptions of the Calvinist Contact. These contrasting applications exemplify a change which became increasingly evident during the post-war era. The earlier and more traditional view received synodical sanction in the 1928, "Report of the Committee on Worldly Amusements." But by 1952 evidence of a dawning new era was becoming obvious.

1926-1950: THE ERA OF THE RESTFUL SABBATH

During the 1920-1950 period the prescription for a physically quiet Sunday was maintained. Golfing, for example, was clearly out of the question. Commenting on a newly constructed golf course, The Banner noted, "This new and beautiful golf course ... will be owned by Christian men who went into this project because they did not [want] memberships in golf organizations which disregarded the Sabbath."4 Commenting on the Sunday activities of another denomination's members, The Young Calvinist declared,

The number of men who spend the Sunday morning on the golf course decreased the number of church attendants considerably. To this problem a happy solution was found. It was announced that there would be an early morning service during the summer months. The services would start at eight o'clock and last only about 45 minutes, thus enabling the men to get to the golf links early enough and enjoy themselves the rest of the morning ... The service was well attended ... the minister preached on the inspiring subject: "Golf and Religion." It seems to be possible in Grand Rapids to serve two masters: God and sport.5 Fishing, even for the president of the U.S., together with joyriding and hiking were also proscribed. But Sunday joyriding was especially dangerous, for as one Banner column announced regarding Sunday behavior,

Booze flows as on no other day of the week. And the Sabbath of our Lord is turned into a lurid holiday, with drunken orgy and smashed motor cars and banality and death—making a record for the Monday morning paper which ought to give warning to all society.6 Sunday observance during vacation periods created a special problem for which The Banner suggested the following guideline:

There are some recreational centers in America that are too worldly for Christians to enjoy. A place where the Sunday is the biggest day for amusements is not preferable for us. We eschew our faithful and loving Heavenly Father's wishes when he said, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." Far better would it be to select a place where we can enjoy a wholesome atmosphere, away from the din and pollution of sin. A place where we can reach a church and spend the rest of the Sunday in keeping with the Lord's day.7

A WHOLESOME ALTERNATIVE

Summer camps, particularly for children, received commendation only when they offered a full range of Sunday observances, which included:

- no bathing on Sunday.
- 100% church attendance 'en masse', morning and evening, is the rule.
- On Sunday afternoon camp is quiet. Automobiles may leave the camp grounds with the camp executive's permission.

More generally The Banner's readers were instructed that holy days should not be holidays nor "weekends become weak ends."8 And those...
who argued that office-bound workers needed outdoor recreation on weekends gained no approval from H. J. Kuiper, who saw such arguments as mere justifications for desecrating the Sabbath—putting "man first and God second," which was "not worthy of the Kingdom of God."
And, of course, professional sports also came under attack. Because many baseball games were held on Sunday, it was difficult for Christians to participate. W. G. Rutgers asserted, "Every real Christian on such a ball team ought and will refuse to give his services on the Lord's Day."
Even baseball fans who wished to listen to radio broadcasts or reports of the games were urged to abstain on Sunday, as such behavior was "nothing but privately and more or less clandestinely giving our support to desecration and sharing in sin."

In the Federation Messenger, J. H. Bruinooge summarized the general view of Sabbath observance which prevailed until the 1950s. He wrote:

Those who use the Lord's day as a day of riotous pleasure, of fun and frivolity, are not keeping it as they should. It goes without saying that the world's trinity of speed, sport and shekels has done more than anything else to rob the Sunday of its holy character. The amusements of a wide-open Sunday, not only wear out the body, but lead to dissipation. It is safe to say that God is a truer friend of the labourer than movie operators, baseball-club owners, and pleasure resort proprietors are. On that day we should direct our attention to the great necessity of life of bringing our souls into contact with God.

One counterexample to this panoramic prescription gained attention in The Banner with an author's observation that John Calvin was accustomed to bowl on Sunday afternoon. The writer added, however,

We can be sure, that he [Calvin] did not allow his recreation to interfere with his participation in public worship, nor with his private meditations, nor with any other Sunday duty.

Two celebrated cases involving the behavior of CRC athletes also gained general attention. Johnny Roukema, for example, was a nationally ranked speed skater who refused to participate in the Middle Atlantic Skating Association tryouts on January 19th, 1947,

Johnny Vander Meer reflecting on Sunday baseball.

Participation in professional sports on Sunday was a very touchy item in the early '30's.

I felt, as an 18-year-old youth... when I signed my first contract that, if anyone had an outstanding talent in a trade, that was good, and it was a sin not to use it.

I will say this: I never played a Sunday semi-pro ball game, and I turned down more money for a Sunday afternoon than I made all week—and I played six days a week. That's more than 50% of the Rangers could say, and we all went to the same church.

I didn't play because my Dad didn't want me to. I had a great family, and to this day it was a real blessing...

I'm very proud of my Dutch heritage, my association and background in the Christian Reformed Church. Its teachings were basically true, and I'm grateful at 75 for it.

My name around Cincinnati is "Vandy" or "The Dutch Master." I was well blessed with God-given talent. I accepted it and did the best with the task in life God gave me, and I'm comfortable with it today.

Sincerely,

Johnny Vander Meer
because that day was a Sunday. The New York Times picked up the story. Arthur Daley, who was running a series of articles at the time on "injustices" in sport, tried to plead his case. He noted that Roukema had won several national championships and had recently been clocked at close to record times. The meet, originally scheduled for a Saturday, was postponed for three weeks because of poor weather and was finally, at the last minute, scheduled to meet on a Sunday. Roukema refused to skate. Daley wrote, "Roukema is a member of the Christian Reformed Church, which forbids participation in athletics on Sundays." Roukema offered to pay his own way for the Nationals but was refused by the Middle Atlantic Skating Association because "it was his fault that his religion did not allow him to skate on Sundays." Roukema was commended, and his actions were referred to as evidence of "real Christian Sportsmanship." He never did get to skate at the Nationals.

The contrasting behavior of Johnny Vander Meer, a baseball pitcher for the Cincinnati Reds, who once threw two consecutive no-hit games, also drew comment. W. H. Rutgers asserted:

It would be a matter of real rejoicing and our boast as Christian Holland Americans if young Vander Meer would resolutely refuse his services on the Lord's day. What a telling testimony that would be. The question of Sunday play was listed as one reason for CRC members to form their own leagues. One rule in these leagues asserted, "If a captain allowed any man to play who had played [elsewhere] on Sunday, the game would automatically be credited to the other team." Furthermore, in 1933, when the state of Georgia was planning to introduce legislation to open baseball parks on Sundays, those who were fighting the legislation found support in the CRC. Vander Meer's case was exceptional, but the problem it illustrated must have been widespread, because the attention given to the issue of Sunday sports (at least 40 articles) indicates some real challenge to traditional Sunday practices. Many who questioned the reigning view simply disregarded it. George Goris noted, for example, that young people who work during the week often go to the cottage on Saturday and stay until Sunday night or early Monday morning. This is quite prevalent among us . . . They go swimming, boating and fishing on Sunday because they feel like it, and then rationalize their conduct by saying that it's restful.

For the most part, however, there was little change in the CRC attitude toward Sunday sports in the pre-war era. Sunday was a Holy Day, a day for going to church, reading church papers, meditating on God, and remaining quiet. Only works of necessity or mercy were sanctioned. There was no room for organized sport nor for individual or family recreation.

1951-1980: AN UNEASY TRANSITION

The post-WWII era saw some significant changes in Sunday observance in North American culture, and it is not surprising that the CRC was also influenced by these developments. Initially there were no breaches in the standards for Sunday observance as the two official church papers consistently maintained the quiet, no-physical-activity approach until the late sixties.

As late as 1964, The Young Calvinist reasserted views which had dominated the early period. In a fictionalized account of "moon" men observing "earthlings," H. Bergsma offered a space-visitor's interpretation of Sunday behavior on earth:

These earth people are nature worshipers. One day a week they stream out of doors to carry out their religious ritual, weather permitting. Their religious practices differ in form but have much basically in common. They all seem to involve some form of dress, require open air, and gather large crowds. Most of the ceremonies include a ball and variously shaped instruments of wood. Others prefer to worship alone, but use the same instruments and a small ball with which they commune on large green pastures. Still others stripping themselves almost naked, hurl their bodies into the waves of the sea with frenzied cries of ecstasy. After this ceremonial baptizing, they anoint themselves with holy oils, and stretch themselves out with eyes closed, to surrender fully to the nature deity.

The Canadian Calvinist Contact took a similar approach, referring to Sunday as a holy day, a day of seeking God's pleasure, as opposed to a holiday, which would be for one's own pleasure. The journal also recommended Saturday-evening preparation for Sunday and condemned sports on the "day of rest." One of the writers who had immigrated in the fifties found Canadian Sundays "heerlijk rustig" (delightfully restful), for which he was thankful.

The preservation of that "heerlijk rustig" day, however, lost out in 1961, when Canadians voted to drop traditional prohibitions against Sunday sports and commerce. One writer noted:
At an enormous rate of speed Canada is losing something which for so long has been typically Canadian; something which for newcomers from European countries was a refreshing and wonderful experience. With the town of Guelph an exception, several Ontario towns and cities have recently voted away officially their one truly Canadian Sunday. There will be Sunday sports, movies, etc. Many, especially the professional movie industry and sports magnates, mark this change as the beginning of a new era. This it is indeed.

The Chatham CRC fought these changes as, just prior to the 1961 referendum, the young people organized a campaign against Sunday sports and movies. They distributed 800 bumper stickers, they advertised on the radio and in newspapers, they delivered pamphlets to every home in Chatham, and they displayed posters in 100 store windows.

However, by 1969 the seeds of change had begun to sprout. That year a Calvinist Contact article declared that watching televised sports on Sunday was wrong, although not because watching on Sunday was evil, but because the time might be better spent in activity with one’s children or friends. By 1977, an editor proposed the possibility that the traditional CRC view was merely legalistic, and he even suggested that professional sports on Sunday might not be inherently bad.

In 1975, when a Banner reader asked, “What can we do on Sunday? Ought it not to be more of a fun day?” the responses were varied. Two writers asserted that a “fun day” would grieve God, but another respondent suggested that only the individual could decide whether bicycling or playing tennis on Sunday were the best ways of honoring the Lord.

Five years later, the father of a young hockey player, while reporting the dilemma he faced in deciding to permit his son’s participation in Sunday hockey finals, registered a sense of guilt and confusion. The father had barely been able to watch the game and sought advice from others in this matter. That he could so openly discuss his dilemma marks something of the changing nature of Sunday observance in the CRC.

From these examples it is evident that the interpretation of what it means to obey the fourth commandment has changed significantly. The earlier view, that proper Sunday observance automatically negated all but the most necessary physical activity, is no longer acclaimed without reservation. And the dilemma which troubled the hockey player’s father speaks for a growing contingent of church members who have incorporated recreational sports as a legitimate feature of Sunday observance.

Endnotes

-C. D., “Is This Sabbath Desecration?” The Banner, January 13, 1921, 18.
-Sabbath Breaking and Monday Headlines,” The Banner, June 25, 1926, 395.
-“Summer Camp Announcement for 1930,” Young Calvinist, May 1930, 194.
To Train A Teacher

In the fall of 1919, when the Reverend John J. Hiemenga, A.M., assumed the presidency of Calvin College, the national mood had taken a turn for the worst. The Great War had ended almost a year before, but, according to Frederick Lewis Allen (Only Yesterday), the euphoria of the country seemed to change with the signing of the Armistice—from the excitement of fighting for holy causes, the rights of oppressed nations, and a “war to end all wars” to something much more cynical, skeptical, self-interested. There were Red scares, determined capitalist opposition to labor unions, bombs planted in the mail of prominent leaders, strikes and strike breakers, and Palmer raids. There was a reassertion of intolerance directed against Jew, Roman Catholic, and Negro. Meanwhile, the U.S. Senate organized its opposition to the Treaty of Versailles, and the League of Nations, while President Wilson, taking his case in favor of the treaty to the American people, suffered a breakdown, partial paralysis, and loss of leadership.

At Calvin events conspired to create an outlook almost as bleak. Just two years earlier in a celebrative mood Calvin had moved from the corner of Madison and Franklin to the new campus at Benjamin and Franklin. With its sixteen lecture-classrooms, auditorium, faculty offices and laboratories, the stately colonial building must have seemed immense compared with the crowded conditions of the old site, in use since 1892. Into such a huge physical plant in 1917, 268 preparatory school students came for morning classes, while collegians and seminarians occupied the building each afternoon.

Even with all that excitement, the 64 collegians ominously represented a drop from an earlier high of 71, and the 34 seminarians were down from 39 the year before. The new building had cost just under $200,000. That debt, combined with the enrollment decline, caused considerable worry. Some of the college faculty were acutely dissatisfied with their incomes, and one prominent member of the faculty, Professor B. K. Kuiper, had already resigned in 1918 because of working conditions and salary considerations. Now, amid a profound post-war economic depression, there was little relief in sight. The financial secretary put it bluntly: “We are greatly coming short in the running expenses of our School.”

Externally the college faced enormous difficulties with fund-raising. Hiemenga reported to the Board of Trustees in 1921 that as soon as he tried to solicit funds, the constituents began to collect for local projects: in Sioux County, Iowa, it was Western Academy; in Chicago, a fund drive for the new Christian high school building; elsewhere churches or schools began campaigning to pay off their mortgages.

Having difficulty raising money, Hiemenga tried to save money. He spoke of unity, of efficiency, of avoiding unnecessary duplication, and the fear of wasting money. When he did so, he had at least two prominent competitive institutions in mind: Grundy College in Iowa and the Christian Normal School in Grand Rapids. Both of them intended to thrive, the one exclusively and the other greatly, dependent on teacher training.

The following article will touch on some of the relevant events that crowded in on the first two decades of this century in the life of Calvin, especially those that called for the leadership of Professor A. J. Rooks, the college’s principal. Then I want to show how President Hiemenga, armed with the promise of an improved college-level elementary-teacher education program, and Johannes Broene, armed with a new secondary program, helped Calvin move into the four-year degree-granting era and survive as a respectable Christian academic institution.
Beginnings: To Preach and To Teach

But first this. Teacher education doesn’t exactly go back to the beginning of this institution, if that’s 1876. But it did come on the scene as early as the fall of 1890, and in two forms: one was a specific course then added to the curriculum and simply called “Pedagogy”; the other was the mention, in the yearbook, that Calvin’s students would henceforth be able to take examinations offered by the county and state to qualify applicants for elementary teaching certificates of various sorts. Understand that these students were of high school age and enrolled in the preparatory school or, more accurately for that moment, the Preparatory Department of the Theological School.

By 1902-03 the yearbook gives a clearer view of Calvin’s commitment to teacher education. The Preparatory Department then listed three courses of study, labeled seminary, college, and teachers’ preparatory course. The teachers’ course had two programs: one, a three-year course of study, intended to qualify the graduate to pass an exam for what was called a Third- or Second-grade Certificate. With either of these a graduate could teach in any public elementary school but only within

Principal A. J. Rinks.
the county where the certificate was issued. The other, a four-year course of study, intended to qualify the graduate to pass an exam for a First-grade Certificate, with which she could teach in any public elementary school within Michigan. Young ladies were specifically admitted by the trustees by a decision in 1900, and several actually enrolled in the fall of 1901 in this till now all-male bastion.

Calvin, in preparatory school, college, and seminary, was throughout the first two decades of the century predominantly a "school of the prophets." But the faculty was also fully conscious that many of the students enrolled with the intent to teach. Students interested in neither the ministry nor teaching were in a decided minority, though some of these went on to other colleges and universities, some later switched at Calvin to the ministry or teaching, and some simply dropped out.

That so many students chose either the ministry or teaching was an advantage to the faculty in their continuing efforts to justify the existence of this parochial institution, particularly to justify the high school work. Remember, now, that the whole Christian Reformed Church was helping to pay for a Calvin College and Theological School consisting, in 1911, for just one example, of 24 seminarians, 33 collegians (most of them pre-seminarians), and 169 high school students. In an era when the Kuyperian principle of sphere sovereignty led inexorably to society-controlled schools, we can understand why, in 1911, Professor Vanden Bosch could eulogize that Calvin was the "principal source whence our free Christian schools from the Atlantic to the Pacific do derive their teachers," and quickly add, "merely with a view to this who can estimate the worth of our College for the welfare of our churches?"

In 1910 Professor A. J. Rooks, since principle that the college should be society controlled but added that the church could not responsibly transfer the college to a society until the society that came into existence could guarantee the Reformed character, scientific excellence, and financial security of the college. In 1914 a committee advised synod to transfer the preparatory school as soon as possible to a society, though synod was advised at this time against doing so for the college.

Given a Theological School building bursting at the seams with 333 students in the fall of 1916, and a study of Calvin's enrollment that showed 246 from Michigan (177 of those from Grand Rapids alone, followed by 25 from Iowa, 11 from Minnesota, and a scattering from 11 other states), Rooks had to act fast. He proposed that, at least in Michigan, ninth and tenth grades be added to the eight grades of the existing Chris-

1900 principal of the Literary Department (which over time included the college and the preparatory school, but not the seminary), was certain that the above ratios of enrollment and vocational choice would change little. "Circumstances point to such a state of affairs for years to come," he said with confidence.

Conflict
Like the weather in Iowa, changes came more quickly than Rooks had anticipated.

For one, conflict heated up over the relation of the college, and especially the preparatory school, to the church. The issue came up at synod in 1904, 1906, 1908, and 1910. In 1912 synod acknowledged on the basis of (above) Calvin College Administration Building under construction ca. 1916. (across top) Grundy College. (across bottom) Eastern Academy.
tian schools. Refusing as yet to jettison the entire preparatory school from the college, Rooks was willing to sacrifice the loss of large numbers of freshmen and sophomores for what he hoped would be a reciprocating increase in Calvin's upper-classmen of high school and college rank, chiefly because larger numbers of high school students would need teachers and likely, thought Rooks, these future teachers would come to Calvin for their education.

It was a grand scheme. With all that potential demand for teachers, Calvin should have flourished. Unfortunately, although secondary education did grow rapidly throughout the denomination from Paterson, New Jersey, to Lynden, Washington, Rooks' major premise—that Calvin would naturally be the source of supply and that there would be a "great influx" into the preparatory school and college of persons seeking teacher education—was seriously challenged during the years that lay just ahead.

Calvin's Competition

The competition came partly from the very Christian secondary schools that Rooks had encouraged. Central to the problem was the fact that Calvin simply did not supply the growing Christian school movement, especially the growing primary schools, with enough qualified graduates from the preparatory school. In spite of the post-war depression, the Christian schools continued to expand. By 1918 there were 66 schools, enrolling just under 10,000 students, taught by 237 teachers and principals. By 1922 there were 82 schools, enrolling 12,127 students, taught by 341 teachers and principals. But during these years of expansion, the preparatory school graduated from the teachers' course only 11 in 1918, one in 1919, three in 1920, nine in 1921, and seven in 1922.

Into that vacuum moved Chicago Christian High, for example. Begun in 1918, it graduated 30 students in 1922, three of whom had completed a four-year teachers' course. The graduates of Paterson Christian High (soon called Eastern Academy) supplied local elementary Christian schools as well as one as far away as Rochester, New York, with teachers. Western Academy in Hull, Iowa, announced in 1919 that in 1921 it would introduce a state-approved program in "normal training." Even Grand Rapids Christian High, begun in 1920, announced four courses of study including one in teacher preparation, though by 1922 that plan was dropped.
Grundy

While the Christian high schools were nibbling away at Calvin's strength, a formidable foe arose out on the plains of Iowa. The Reverend Dr. William Bode began in 1916 an institution first called the Christian Reformed College of Grundy Center. With an impressive faculty of nine, this college in its initial year offered a beginner's course "for those who have not yet finished the eighth grade," four years of preparatory school, the freshman year of college, and three years of theological study in its divinity department. By 1919 Grundy offered a "full" normal or teacher education course in its preparatory department. Though Grundy was compelled by synodical action to discontinue its ministerial training program by 1920, the college remained a force with which to be reckoned, especially since the Iowa farmer represented wealth, and until now Iowa's students were the second largest cohort at Calvin.

Christian Normal School

But Calvin's competition didn't end there. It had problems right in its own backyard. In 1918, 300 men gathered at LaGrave Avenue church to form a Christian Normal School Association. This organization arose from out of rather longstanding criticism that schoolmasters and others within the Michigan Alliance of Christian Schools had been directing at Calvin's teacher education program. The principals usually found that Calvin's high school level teachers' course of study was simply not practical enough to "fit" a person to become a real teacher. There was not enough stress on the "peculiar difficulties" of each grade level, they said; neither did the pupils learn enough about teaching methods. In general, Calvin's program was labeled "incomplete" (because it lacked practice teaching) and "largely theoretical."

What the Association intended to do was to educate young persons for Christian primary or elementary schools only, not secondary. Further, given advances in teacher preparation in Michigan, the normal school that the society intended to begin hoped to enroll students who had already graduated from high school.

With that limited audience, the new Christian Normal School would have been no immediate threat to Calvin because Calvin's normal training (aimed at elementary teacher preparation) was lodged within the preparatory school at the high school level. There were Calvin professors who joined the Association, and several served on its board. The Association was fortunate in being able to hire Prof. B. K. Kuiper as principal, and when it opened in the fall of 1919, it did so in three rooms rented from the Franklin Street Christian School on the near west side of the city. Unfortunately for the Christian Normal School, only three full-time students enrolled that first year, though twenty-five teachers attended classes after regular school hours.

But these were no ordinary times and circumstances. The very existence of the Christian Normal School made some persons at Calvin nervous.

For one thing, given all the criticism of Calvin's parochial style of organization, this society-controlled school was now being touted as organized along Calvinistic principles. Further, the society's propaganda suggested that it hoped there would be national support for this kingdom effort in teacher education. In fact, B. K. Kuiper had a vision that the Society for Normal Instruction should become the nucleus of a Society for Higher Education, thereby eventually taking the whole of
Calvin College out of the hands of church control. David would not only slay Goliath; he’d swallow him.

**Rooks’ Reaction**

Principal Rooks took a dim view of all this, and for several reasons. He knew about the college’s financial difficulties. He was aware that as soon as the field agent of the Christian Normal School went out collecting for this new kingdom cause, he would be tapping into the very same sources of income that the college depended upon.

But Rooks had his eye on something bigger. What he wanted for Calvin was academic respectability, the guarantee of which lay with accreditation by the North Central Association. To achieve that, Rooks knew that the college needed more courses, especially in the natural sciences. It needed at least ten departments; Calvin had only eight. North Central demanded that professors give “full time” to college-level work in their departments; most of Calvin’s professors taught more hours in the preparatory school than the college. North Central called for an endowment of at least $200,000. Calvin had a fund of only $35,000. North Central specified at least 100 college students; in 1918 Calvin had only about 80 collegians. Calvin needed students, college students. If successful, the newly proposed normal school, operating at the post-secondary level, if successful could siphon off precious students as well as precious dollars.

When, in the spring of 1919 Principal Rooks added it all up, he concluded: we must “concentrate our financial strength. Apart from other considerations it is this one thing in particular why at this time our people should not undertake to maintain a second college at Grundy Center or anywhere else.”

**Quick Fix**

Just months before the Christian Normal School was to open its doors, the Supervisory Committee of the Calvin trustees and the faculty (or at least some of them) tried one more tactic. They hastily constructed a plan to expand the four-year preparatory school (elementary) teachers’ course to a five-year course of study, with the fifth year given over largely to practical work in the schools, including practice teaching.

As such, it would have been directly competitive with the program of the Christian Normal School. In fact, the Supervisory Committee went so far as to communicate with the secretary of the (as yet) proposed normal school that “Calvin is now prepared to offer a complete normal course with practice of teaching... and since we deem it inadvisable to needlessly duplicate institutions, we invite your Board to a friendly conference....”

In spite of this bit of effrontery, Calvin’s trustees declined to accept the revised normal course as proposed by its own Supervisory Committee and the faculty. Instead they chose to keep the four-year teacher’s course, though with the promise of some “necessary changes” that remained unspecified. The Reverend Herman Hoeksema, president of the Christian Normal Association, read these events as offering approval for the plans and intents of the society and may have breathed a sigh of relief.
What he failed to reckon with was the appointment in 1919 of the Reverend J. J. Hiemenga as the first president of Calvin College. Already in 1906, Henry Beets had editorialized that Calvin needed a president, a “bright, enterprising, gentlemanly president, combining Dutch orthodoxy with American push.” When Professor Louis Berkhof declined the Trustees’ appointment and Hiemenga, their second choice, accepted, Beets got the kind of man he had asked for thirteen years before. Sensing that there was much to be done, and that the time was ripe for action, Hiemenga quickly assembled a proposed educational program. By the spring of 1920, to what must have been the dismay of Rev. Hoeksema and the Normal School Association, Hiemenga had enlarged his plan to include a college-level program for the training of Christian elementary school teachers.

The First President’s Plan

The Synod of 1918 had agreed with the Calvin trustees that the institution needed a president to work out an educational policy, to simplify the administration of the school, and represent the college to the outside world. Appointed in the summer of 1919, Hiemenga needed just a few months before he unveiled his proposed educational program.

Correctly gauging public opinion, he urged, first, that Grand Rapids begin a high school “at once,” by starting a junior high school in September 1920, with plans for a complete high school by 1922. He spent twenty-one evenings helping to organize a society and school board. The Christian High School Society formally organized itself in February 1920. That part of the educational plan was relatively easy.

Hiemenga’s plan also called for close cooperation between all the new Christian high schools and Calvin. To effect similarity in courses, standards, and aims, Hiemenga called for annual meetings between Calvin and the secondary school principals. After all, if Calvin was about to discontinue its preparatory school, it needed assurances from the new Christian high schools that the quality of their work would be equal to what Calvin had been doing. (Apparently those Calvin professors involved in the pre-seminary program had the greatest fears about quality: most of the preparatory school work was phased out by 1922, but the preparatory school pre-seminary program remained through the spring of 1925 and was finally dispensed with some reluctance!)

His plan also insisted that Calvin remain “the center of our higher education.” He called for a united effort to make Calvin a “full-fledged college” (recall: not until the fall of 1920 did Calvin add a fourth year to its program), able “to compete with any institution of its kind.” Therefore, said Hiemenga, Calvin must offer a “full Seminary preparatory, Classical, Modern Classical, and a Normal Course.” And for good measure he added the need for a boys’ dormitory, a gymnasium, and a million-dollar endowment fund.

By May of 1920, though not yet in office a full year, Hiemenga dourly warned the constituency that “we are in danger of losing our strength in the field of higher education.” Evidence: a tendency at present “to have several schools of higher education”—i.e., Grundy and the Christian Normal School. He was particularly...
contemptuous of the Christian Normal, suggesting that Christian school teachers would not be "fully trained" if prepared in this "separate little school."

But, for the moment, the "complete Normal Course" that Hiemenga had in mind when he announced his educational plan was really aimed at secondary education, not elementary. He said, "a teacher of a primary school, who completed a two year normal course after his high school course, cannot be expected to take charge of a class in a high school..." To that end, Hiemenga announced that with the appointment of William Harry Jellema to the college, Professor Johannes Broene would be able to devote all his time to the chair of education, "and we are making arrangements with the State authorities to arrange such a [four-year] course."

Actually such a four-year college-level course in secondary-teacher preparation, though not then worked out in all its details, had been proposed to the Calvin trustees by the faculty through Principal Rooks in the Spring of 1919 before Hiemenga became president. It was approved by the board during the 1919 spring meeting. Consequently Hiemenga's reference in his plan to a normal course—aimed at preparing secondary teachers—was no new bold move on his part, and in no immediate sense counteractive to the work of the Christian Normal School, which had opened in September 1919, preparing elementary teachers.

Something Added
But now, in the late spring of 1920, Hiemenga went beyond his previously announced plan. He was very direct: "In connection with the training of our teachers for the primary schools at the Christian normal school I would add that I deplore that such a school has been started separate from Calvin." He said he was aware of the criticism that the teachers' course in the Calvin's preparatory school was both incomplete and not practical enough. But he insisted that "with one-half of the expense of a separate school this [teachers'] course at Calvin could have been made a splendid normal course...." Besides saving money and giving future teachers a "better educational standard," an improved teachers' course at Calvin would have "strengthened our school," he wrote. He concluded, "I would still suggest that the [Christian] normal school be in some way incorporated in Calvin College. Perhaps some way could be found to take over the whole Normal school, teachers and students included. Calvin could then train all the teachers and our program would become still more one of unity and efficiency."

To guarantee the success of his educational plan, Hiemenga knew he had to have money. He called for a million dollars. To ease the impact of what must have seemed like a staggering sum to the constituency, Hiemenga urged supporters to tighten their belts with slogans like "two cents per day for five years by each full member of the church," and "a good cigar per week."

And, not so incidentally, to answer those purist critics of Calvin's church-controlled organization who would likely balk at the thought of raising a million dollars for an institution that was NOT controlled by a society, Hiemenga, the Christian pragmatist, wrote: "Do not let the (in the far, distant future to-be-settled question of church or society) question [sic] stand in our way. We are not ready for such a society nor will we be for years to come. Now is the time to get the million dollars."

Professor Johannes Broene.
**Johannes Broene and Secondary Teacher Education**

Meanwhile, Johannes Broene, freed from the double burden of teaching both professional education courses and courses in philosophy, quickly expanded the college offerings in teacher education beyond courses in Principles of Education and History of Education to include the Practice of Education (i.e., the teaching process and problems in classroom management), School Administration, and Principles of Secondary Education. Other departments eagerly joined in, so that Calvin—between 1920 and 1922—could announce new secondary methods courses in Latin, English, history, mathematics, biology, and one in foreign languages other than Latin. Each course demanded 20 clock hours of supervision done by the subject-matter departments, not by Broene.

All this bore fruit: six Calvin graduates of the twenty-seven member class of 1922 qualified for the promised State certificate in what was called the General A.B. degree program.

**Hiemenga: We Need Money to Train Teachers**

While college-level programs in secondary education fell into place, Hiemenga continued his propaganda campaign for the remainder of his educational program, including the million-dollar endowment fund. For example, he began a series of articles offering ten reasons why Calvin had to have a million dollars. The very first reason was this: the college must train teachers for the rapidly expanding Christian primary and secondary schools. In that context he again called for unity in a single strong central institution, casting the fact of “too many separate, local institutions” with all their “unnecessary duplication.”

His solution to the problem of disunity lay squarely with teacher training, though he wasn’t yet sure precisely what direction to go. Listen: “we could easily add one or two years’ normal training to our teachers’ course. Or, since we are getting away from the [high school] preparatory course, we should have at Calvin a two years’ [college-level] normal course.” He called attention, with pride, to the existing department of education at Calvin, and said that “with little effort we would have a splendid normal course at Calvin. This would give us the benefit of having college trained, well prepared teachers for our schools.”

Things apparently did not go well at the Christian Normal School during its second year of operation. By the spring of 1921 the normal school board decided to inform the Calvin trustees that it was suspending operations, but only for one year. The board also requested that Calvin leave the preparation of elementary teachers at the post-secondary level to the normal school, and they pointedly asked Hiemenga to stop writing articles in opposition to the normal school.

**A New Normal Course**

In spite of that request, the Calvin trustees in the spring of 1921, upon the recommendation of President Hiemenga, approved a two-year college-level normal course aimed at preparing elementary teachers. The secondary program, as we have noted, was already in place. The action immediately stimulated protest, including an overture from Classis Pella to Synod 1922 that control of the normal course be separated from the college and transferred to a society. Synod 1922 actually endorsed the overture to the extent that synod declared that a normal course ought to proceed from a society, not the church. But the request of Pella that the normal course be separated from Calvin was denied on the grounds that at that moment there was no such society, and there was a great need for Christian teachers with normal training. Hence Synod approved the action taken by the Calvin trustees the year before.

Hiemenga wasn’t finished. By the spring of 1921 he had trustee approval of a normal course plan. But he also knew that, with the phased-in growth of Grand Rapids Christian High, he had only one
more year to phase out the preparatory school, including its teachers' course.

NUCS Is Born

Just then something fortuitous was happening. In Illinois, the Chicago Alliance of Christian Schools had become particularly active. They were greatly responsible for helping

Schools (now Christian Schools International) was born on September 1, 1920. Of five means listed to achieve the general end of promoting the “interests of Christian education,” aiding the cause of “Christian Normal Training” was listed first.

But the Union members could not agree on how to achieve Christian normal training. Some wanted a soci- and address the delegates at the Second Annual Meeting of the Union, in the late summer of 1921. He pointed out that in “the present stage of development” the Christian school movement could not be satisfied with “anything less than well trained teachers.” He urged cooperation between the Union and Calvin and suggested that the college, now that the trustees had that very spring approved a “real” two-year normal course, was the “natural and logical place for the training of our teachers.”

The Union still being unable to decide which direction to take, Hiemenga inaugurated a proposed plan of cooperation between Calvin and the Union. The Union requested written copies. Hiemenga’s plan called, in part, for a normal course of study worked out jointly by Calvin and the Union; for Calvin’s department of education to remain the nucleus of a normal department; that additional instructors for the normal course be recommended jointly by the college and the Union; that tuition be the same as Calvin’s regular tuition; and that each of the parties pay half the salary of the “instructor of the practical work.” The Union’s counter proposal, in agreement on most points, insisted that Calvin assume the cost of the entire salary of the instructor for the practical work. On this issue negotiations apparently broke off and were never resumed.

Undaunted, President Hiemenga, without formal agreement with the Union, wisely acted in accord with their suggestion that Henry Van Zyl, then principal of the Christian elementary school at Hull, Iowa, was “the logical man for the practical training.” But Van Zyl surprisingly turned down the appointment as instructor in the practical work and director of normal training. So Calvin

organize Chicago Christian High School in 1918, for example, and then quickly became aware of the varying standards of education among the eight Christian elementary schools that fed into the new high school. To obviate that curricular problem, they had to unite more closely. They also sensed that they would achieve higher and more uniform standards if they had better-educated teachers. In January 1920 the Alliance pondered a committee recommendation for a Union of Christian Schools on a national basis to do two things: publish a magazine for teachers and school board members, and establish a “National Christian Normal School.”

That National Union of Christian

ety-controlled, independent Christian normal school, something like the Christian Normal School in Grand Rapids, then about to enter its second year of operation. Others thought that the Union should merely decide on certain standards for teacher preparation, leaving the actual work of teacher preparation to a variety of institutions, from high schools, including Calvin’s preparatory school program and Western Academy, Chicago Christian High, and that of Grundy College, to that of the Christian Normal School. The Union being divided on the issue, the matter was left unresolved.

Hiemenga: Follow Me

Into this amorphous situation stepped the intrepid J. J. Hiemenga. Though not listed on the program, Hiemenga managed to gain the floor
offered the appointment to Gerriet Heyns, then principal of Western Academy, located in the same small town where Van Zyl was employed. Heyns didn't want the job either, but he kindly informed Calvin that Van Zyl would likely be interested if certain conditions were met. With some financial assistance and the promise of a year's leave-of-absence to pursue his bachelor of philosophy degree studies at the University of Chicago, Van Zyl accepted the appointment then tendered so that he could begin his work at Calvin in the fall of 1923.

**Putting Things into Place**

These arrangements regarding teacher education produced a continuous, uninterrupted program at Calvin aimed at educating teachers for the elementary schools. The teachers' course, begun in 1900 within the preparatory school, was phased out completely by the spring of 1922 while Grand Rapids Christian High's program was by then completely phased in. And in the fall of 1922, while Van Zyl was a student at Chicago, the college initiated the new two-year elementary program under the leadership of Johannes Broene. In fact, by the fall of 1921 Broene had already added to the curriculum new courses in Psychology for Teachers, and Child (or Genetic) Psychology. None of the so-called "practical work" demanded by the new two-year course—such as methodology or practice teaching, work which Broene did not want to be personally responsible for—had to be offered until 1923.

Meanwhile Hiemenga had been meeting personally with T. E. Johnson, Michigan's Superintendent of Schools regarding these events. As a result Calvin received notice, in April 1922, of State Board approval for the new normal course of study. Hiemenga eagerly advertised its merits, especially that graduates would immediately qualify for the three-year State certificate and, after three years of successful teaching, for a Life certificate.

Calvin's faculty, without any of the persuasive help of Hiemenga, developed another significant aspect of teacher education during the school year 1923-24. Those students who began the two-year normal course in 1922 would have graduated in 1924 unless the college devised something to give them a broader education than the two-year course provided, prior to entry into the profession. With little fanfare, a new wrinkle in the program, called the A.B. in Education, was officially in place by the fall of 1924. Without destroying the integrity of the sixty-nine hours required for the two-year normal course, the faculty permitted the Normal Department graduate to apply sixty hours to the new bachelor's degree program in education. The A.B. in Education allowed a student to take as many as thirty-one hours in education, leaving over ninety hours for general or liberal studies.

Thus by 1924 Calvin had adopted three state-approved routes into the teaching profession: (1) the two-year normal program, (2) the four-year A.B. in Education degree program, and (3) the four-year General A.B. degree program which, when supplemented with but eleven hours of work in education and observation, also led to a certificate. The first two were for preparing elementary teachers; the other, secondary.

The two-year normal course proved to be popular. In the fall of 1924 Calvin enrolled a record-setting class of 110 freshmen; of these, 33 were new students in the Normal Department. Two years later 28 students graduated from the Normal Department, the largest single category of graduates for that year. Commenting on all this, A.J. Rooks, then Dean of the College, wrote, "This is the third year in which the [two-year] normal training is in force at our
College and the wisdom of its introduction is guaranteed by the results it has produced for our Christian schools.”

In spite of these successes, several of the Christian high schools continued to offer teacher-training courses. In fact, at Western Academy (later Western Christian High) in northwest Iowa this practice continued into the mid-fifties and ended only when Dordt College began in 1955. In the name of unity and efficiency, Hiemenga urged that all such efforts cease. He noted, in the spring of 1923, that the North Central Association discouraged the training of teachers within the high schools. For Hiemenga, normal work was “college work”; therefore it should be preceded by a full four-year high school course. He took the National Union of Christian Schools to task for not insisting that “every teacher in the future” take the normal training course at Calvin rather than doing normal training, for example, by correspondence courses with persons appointed by the Union.

To obviate whatever lingering criticism there may have been of Calvin’s normal training program, Hiemenga added tellingly, “Let me remove from the mind of some the idea that the normal course is to be a side issue of Calvin College.” To make his point, he listed “stars” like J. Broene, Vanden Bosch, Van Haitsma, Dr. Peter Hoekstra, and others who were involved in the program. Thus, by the mid-twenties, teacher education in both elementary and secondary programs was firmly lodged within Calvin College. Hiemenga, for a variety of reasons, soon thereafter retired from the presidency, to be succeeded by Johannes Broene. It was Dean Rooks, in summing up the achievements of Hiemenga and his administration, who called special attention to a “matter of great significance”: the introduction of the two-year normal course aimed at supplying teachers for the Christian primary schools.

This account suggests that teacher education at Calvin not only served the Christian schools, but—thanks to Rooks, Hiemenga, J. Broene, and others—it provided some desperately needed help to enable Calvin College to weather the storms of this post-war era and move to achieve greater financial stability and academic respectability.

Note: the above account is based on a book-length manuscript entitled: “And Gladly Teach: Origins of Teacher Education at Calvin College; 1900-1930,” housed in the College Archives.

Calvin College: completed in 1917.
Mins Reinsma, the author of "The Auction" and other tales, immigrated to New Holland, South Dakota, from the Netherlands village of Andijk in 1950. He and his family lived in South Dakota for only about one year, and his initial encounter with the New World occurred in that rural setting. In the Netherlands he had been a retail grocer, but in New Holland he became a painter and carpenter. These were temporary endeavors which he replaced when he became a jeweler in Seattle, Washington, for twenty-five years. But however successful he became in these later years, his first year in New Holland provided the "greenhorn" episodes which he recalls below. They are sometimes poignant, unfailingly humorous, and occasionally hilarious.

We were looking at the amazing assortment of canned fruits and vegetables in the New Holland general store. We had arrived about a month before as new immigrants from Holland, and we were trying to buy some groceries.

Everything was new and strange, but this store, with its array of diverse merchandise, was bewildering to us. The variety was odd. I had never seen sugar and shoes, peanuts and pencils, or shovels and soap available in one store. Tryni, my wife, was studying the pictures on the cans of vegetables, hoping to find some familiar items; I wondered what "cranberries" were.

This country store was my first impression of American merchandising. The big wooden building with the well-worn plank floor and the mismatch of counters and shelves looked unrelated to the wealth of goods.

It was Saturday afternoon. Most people from around the town were shopping. Farmers brought and sold their cream; their wives traded neatly packaged eggs. You could clearly see that this getting together at the store once a week was a familiar and pleasant event. A few benches lined up on the wooden platform in front of the building were occupied by men who were discussing matters of importance to farms and farming.

When we were standing in line to pay for our groceries, a man came up to me and said, mostly in Dutch, "I
am Arie Tuininga; me and the Missus would like to have you and your wife over for coffee tonight." Since we were eager to visit people who could talk Dutch and help ease us into the bewildering ways of life in America, we happily accepted.

"First we have to run some errands. We'll pick you up later," Arie said.

Around seven they drove up. Mrs. Tuininga, whose first name was Marge, moved to the back seat of the big Buick with Tryni; Arie and I sat in front. That is the way things are done in New Holland, South Dakota.

Arie was in his late fifties; he was tall and somewhat skinny, with a face that spoke of work, sun, and wind. "The Missus" was rather short and just beginning to gray. She had a round, friendly face with clear blue eyes that sparkled from time to time.

We sat at the kitchen table. "This is more cozy," Marge said. Coffee and, new to us, apple pie, were served.

Arie looked at me across the table and said, "So you are here."

I replied, brilliantly, "Ja."

Marge asked Tryni how the trip had gone. "Very good," Tryni said, "especially the ocean part; that was exciting! There was a big storm over the Atlantic, and very few people were around; I had plenty of room." She then slipped in the fact that I was as seasick as most of the other passengers.

After a second cup of coffee Arie said, "I heard that they had a lot of fun with you at the auction."

I made an effort to smile and realized that things got around fast, since this sale had taken place only two days ago. I told him that from now on I would use exclusively the terms quarters, dimes, and nickels.

"What really happened?" Marge asked.

I then told her that we had gone to a farm sale to buy some things Tryni needed to set up housekeeping. We had bought a number of things and noticed that everyone else stopped bidding as soon as they knew which items we wanted. We knew that this was done on purpose, and, since we had little money to spend, we were very grateful.

When an ironing board was held up for a bid, Tryni said to me, "We need that."

Someone next to me said, "Just offer two bits."

I didn't really know what he meant, but trusting that this was a good offer, I yelled, "Too bitches!"

Everybody started laughing, so I knew something was wrong. The auctioneer asked, "Anyone for three bitches?" Again, lots of laughter. He then announced, pointing his finger, "Sold to him."

Arie looked at me, grinned a little, and said, "I hope you do know by now what a 'bitch' is." I told him that I had looked it up in the dictionary but that I was still confused. He then said, "Among other things, it means, 'Een kijfachtige huisvrouw (quarrelsome wife).'"

Mrs. Tuininga looked at him and remarked, "Well, she is more than quarrelsome, and surely no housewife." She then told us that it was not a very nice word to use and that it was really farm talk. She also explained the more common and civil use of the word.

I remarked that some English words and terms were very confusing to me; it had taken me several days, by asking people, to figure out the difference between much and many. One answer was, "You just don't say, many corns."

Margé said not to worry about it. "In time, you will speak as good English as most people around here."

Before Arie drove us home, Marge gave Tryni a basket with canned fruit and vegetables.

We were thankful to have met a friendly couple and also to have learned the proper use of some unfriendly words.

Over the last fifteen years, University of Calgary History Professor Herman Ganzevoort has talked to thousands of Dutch-Canadians about their immigration experiences and new life in their adopted land. The author dedicates his book to these folk who in formal interviews, or over a cup of coffee, responded to his various questions. Ganzevoort’s study is a composite of the remarks of those who were willing to share their thoughts on why they came to Canada and recollections about becoming Canadian. For Ganzevoort the word “bittersweet” is the adjective which best summarizes and portrays the Dutch-Canadian past and present.

Ganzevoort was five years old when he came to Canada in the late 1940’s, a time when many from Holland sought a better life there. In 1893, a half century before the Ganzevoort family arrived, a group of “single Friesian agriculturists” arrived in Winnipeg where a Christian Reformed church was established in 1908. Among other early settlements Ganzevoort mentions are Nieuw Nijverdal in the Nobleford area of Alberta founded in 1904. In 1911 a group of Dutch folk, disenchanted with Edmonton life which they viewed as a threat to their social and religious values, moved north and formed the colony of Neerlandia. Ganzevoort has this to say about these Neerlandia pioneers:

They hoped that by keeping out other nationalities they would be able to run the local school in such a fashion as to preserve the finer qualities of the Dutch character. They planned to have a Christian Reformed church supported by all of the settlers. The preservation of the Dutch culture and the Reformed religion was to be accomplished by the cooperation of the homesteaders in all facets of settlement. (pp. 29-30)

Neerlandia’s success was largely due to the strength of the religious values shared by the pioneers, an element not found among those who participated in the ill-fated Nova Scotia experiment.

The stalwart immigrants who came to Holland Marsh in the 1930’s also exhibited a communal spirit which Ganzevoort views as the crucial factor contributing to the eventual success of this undertaking. During the two decades before World War II the Canadian government welcomed Dutch immigrants. The Canadians found these new arrivals clean but often condescending. During the years 1918-1930 about 15,000 came to Canada and most were single men or married men without their wives and children. Canada was not a land of opportunity in the early thirties and as a result few Dutch left The Netherlands for Canada during the Depression years. When the economic outlook became somewhat brighter in the late thirties, the flow increased a bit.

Often immigrants were victimized by the Dutch government, the Canadian government, the Canadian Pacific Railway and steamship lines. Ganzevoort portrays these organizations in less than flattering prose. In contrast, he comments as follows about the role of the local Christian Reformed church:

It was the one institution that reached out to these strangers in their own language and made this alien land a little more like home. Difficulties with employers, hard toil, and personal fears were somewhat assuaged and most immigrants returned home Sunday night spiritually refreshed. (p. 48)

As a social institution the church blunted the effects of culture shock experienced by both children and adults who knew that returning to The Netherlands was out of the question. Their economic survival and success depended on the support of those who had come before them.

After World War II the Roman Catholic, Reformed, and Christian Reformed immigration societies helped many of the 185,000 immigrants who came to Canada during the period 1947-1970. Many justified their decision to immigrate as “a calling from God” and,
they came not as refugees, effusively grateful for rescue, but as a tribe on the move, with suspicion and cold assessment in their eyes, getting the measure of their neighbors and expecting little but what they could provide for themselves. (p. 66)

Religious faith was a serious matter for many of these folk and they ardently desired to put it into practice in their new homeland. In their local churches, and to some extent the parent denominations, the immigrants found a congenial social environment, nourishment for their faith, and help in discerning what was right and wrong about their Canadian environment. Yet at times their Christian outlook and cherished religious institutions were molded by the uncompromising and relentless demands of a Canadian way of life which the immigrants embraced. But in doing so, they exhibited twinges of dismay often coupled with much apprehensive and anxious thoughts.

When we read this study, we note that leaving an ancestral home for the New World was not for faint-hearted souls unable to cope with loneliness, unfamiliar surroundings, language barriers, and grinding hard work. Today, as always, Ganzenvoorst's Dutch-Canadians cherish family loyalties, Reformed doctrines, and those institutions which reflect Calvinistic principles. As an ethnic group they are "invisible," desiring only to become an integral part of Canadian society. Those who came before World War II found those who arrived immediately after the War quite different from themselves, and those who settled in Canada in the forties noticed that their compatriots who arrived in the fifties had some characteristics not particularly endearing. As their ministers noticed, the immigrants put a high value on money and in its pursuit often sacrificed family relationships and participation in church affairs. Though successful in their new homeland those who left The Netherlands compromised their cultural heritage and as Ganzenvoorst concludes:

Most immigrants attempted to make a place for themselves in the new land, merging the unknown and the strange into the known, yet realizing that the fulfillment was less than the dream. (p. 128)

Ganzenvoorst's heroes are these Catholic, Calvinistic and non-religious Dutch-Canadians and in his book, a pioneer study about the Dutch in Canada, we read about the Canadian-Dutch dialect "Denglish," Calvinist Contact, overworked fieldmen, geld-zucht (money lust), Voortman's cookies and the traveling peddler who dispensed gossip and sold to his fellow Dutch-Canadians the "much desired horsemeat." Summarized in Ganzenvoorst's 133 pages is the intellectual, emotional and religious odyssey of a people who left one country for another. About his kinsmen, Ganzenvoorst comments in a manner which will strike the reader as a combination of kindness, appreciation and critical remarks which only can be said by one Dutch-Canadian to another. This illustrated volume belongs in all church and school libraries on both sides of the border where there is an interest in Dutch ethnicity. It is must reading for anyone desiring to better understand our collective immigrant heritage.


Reprinted in this lavishly illustrated volume of 256 pages are random recollections and brief historical vignettes written by Marie K. Rowlands, the daughter of Roseland's first photographer Henry R. Koopman. The Calumet Index, Roseland's local newspaper, first printed these collected sketches under the title Down the Indian Trail in 1849 in a centennial issue dated June 20, 1949. Among those who deserve credit for the republication of this popular and informal history are genealogist-historian Ross K. Ettema, who edited the book, and the members of the Dutch Heritage Center Committee. The volume also includes a short biography of the author together with clarifying editorial comments.

Roseland's story in prose and pictures awaits anyone who leafs through this book. Here you can read about the town's founding fathers, real estate deals, Calumet Harbor, churches, the Pullman Company, and the word "vreemde," a contraction of the Dutch word "vreemdeling" which means stranger. The Roseland portrayed in this volume is gone forever. Many Roselanders who can never go home again will find this book the next best thing. After reading this book those who never walked Roseland's streets will have vicariously experienced the hustle and bustle of a community which remained for many years a Dutch-American enclave.
FOR THE FUTURE

The topics listed below are being researched, and articles about them will appear in future issues of Origins.

M. Schoonbeek—Hard Times in Grand Rapids, 1873-1890

Mins Reinsma: Stories of an Immigrant in the 1950s

Recalling Chicago's West Side by Henry Stob, William Dryfhout and others

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