Exodus Netherlands, Promised Land America

Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States

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Magnitude of Immigration

DUTCH settlement in North America antedates that of almost every other European nation, except the English; it spans three and a half centuries. Yet despite the lengthy time span, Dutch ncm-immigration rather than immigration is the salient fact.[1] For one of the most densely populated and land-starved nations of Europe, it is remarkable that less than 300,000 Netherlanders emigrated overseas from 1820 to 1920 (Table 1).[2] Dutch labor, as one scholar remarked, "showed little inclination toward long and adventurous voyages."[3] The proverbial Dutch attachment to family, faith, and fatherland outweighed the appeal of overseas utopias.

Among European nations, the Dutch ranked only tenth in the proportion of their population that emigrated overseas in the nineteenth century (Table 2), and in the United States in 1900 they ranked a lowly seventeenth among foreign-born groups. There are today an estimated 3 million persons of Dutch birth or ancestry in the States, or a little more than 1 percent of the population.[4] This proportion is considerably smaller than at the birth of the new nation, when Dutch Americans, 80,000 strong, numbered nearly 3.5 percent of the populace.

Unlike other Western European nations in the nineteenth century, the Dutch never contracted "America fever." While its influence

was felt in a few villages, no mass migration emptied a third to a half of the countryside as happened in Ireland.[5] Few of the Dutch who emigrated were driven by a desperate struggle to survive. Most made a conscious calculation that their future in America promised more prosperity for them and their children than if they remained in their homeland. Religious and cultural motives were secondary, except among a few thousand Dutch Quakers and Mennonites in the seventeenth century and several thousand Seceders *(Afgeschiedenen)* from the Netherlands Reformed *(Hervormde)* Church in the 1840's. Nor did a failed revolution or political libertarian ideals impel the Dutch to America, as with the German "Forty-eighters."[6]

Characteristics of Immigration

Although the total Dutch immigration was relatively small, its impact on the United States was significant for several reasons. First, the Dutch who did depart had a strong "America-centeredness." Ninety percent of all Dutch overseas emigrants before the mid-1890's settled in the States; the remaining 10 percent went to Netherlands colonies in the East Indies and South America, or to South Africa.[7] Only Norwegians surpassed the Dutch in the desire for "destination — America." This funneling pattern, like a megaphone, amplified the Dutch visibility in America.

Netherlanders have also had a greater presence in the United States than their numbers warrant because of their clustered settle-

TABLE 1.
Annual Overseas Emigration per 100,000 Dutch Population, 1820-1920

Year	Population on Dec. 31 (1000s)	Overseas Emigration	Rate per 100,000
1820-29 av.	2,424	39*	2
1830-39 av.	2,737	96*	4
1840	2,894	107	4
41	2,931	103	4
42	2,957	127	4
43	2,989	296	10
44	3,020	321	11
45	3,053	874	29
46	3,061	2,831	92
47	3,050	8,090	265
48	3,055	3,103	102
49	3,057	3,143	103

TABLE 1. (continued)

Year	Population on Dec. 31 (1000s)	Overseas Emigration	Rate per 100,000
1850	3,031	1,299	43
51	3,080	1,771	57
52	3,128	1,951	62
53	3,163	2,653	84
54	3,195	5,074	159
55	3,216	3,087	96
56	3,252	3,050	94
57	3,282	2,844	87
58	3,303	1,363	41
59	3,309	713	22
1860	3,336	1,163	35
61	3,373	863	26
62	3,410	931	27
63	3,453	1,333	39
64	3,492	1,036	30
65	3,529	1,814	51
66	3,553	3,727	105
67	3,592	4,923	137
68	3,628	3,520	97
69	3,580	4,018	112
1870	3,618	2,288	63
71	3,637	2,520	69
72	3,675	4,447	121
73	3,716	5,576	150
74	3,767	1,719	46
75	3,810	1,245	33
76	3,865	875	23
77	3,925	603	15
78	3,982	832	21
79	4,013	1,553	39
1880	4,061	4,670	116
81	4,114	7,462	181
82	4,173	5,975	143
83	4,225	3,433	81
84	4,278	2,611	61
85	4,336	1,782	41
86	4,391	1,758	40
87	4,451	4,214	95
88	4,506	4,461	99
89	4,511	7,495	166
1890	4,565	3,143	69
91	4,622	3,825	83

TABLE 1. (continued)

Year	Population on Dec. 31 (1000s)	Overseas Emigration	Rate per 100,000
92	4,670	5,934	127
93	4,733	5,724	121
94	4,796	1,357	28
95	4,859	1,457	30
96	4,929	2,299	47
97	5,004	1,543	31
98	5,075	1,175	23
99	5,104	1,472	29
1900	5,179	1,548	30
01	5,263	2,886	55
02	5,347	3,603	67
03	5,431	5,296	98
04	5,510	4,030	73
05	5,591	3,927	70
06	5,672	4,958	87
07	5,747	7,221	126
08	5,825	4,680	80
09	5,858	6,769	116
1910	5,945	7,136	120
11	6,022	7,752	129
12	6,114	7,774	127
13	6,213	8,503	137
14	6,340	6,275	99
15	6,450	4,131	64
16	6,583	3,905	59
17	6,725	1,983	29
18	6,779	2,182	32
19	6,831	5,574	82
1920	6,926	11,924	172
TOTALS: 1820-1920	380,104	272,882	72

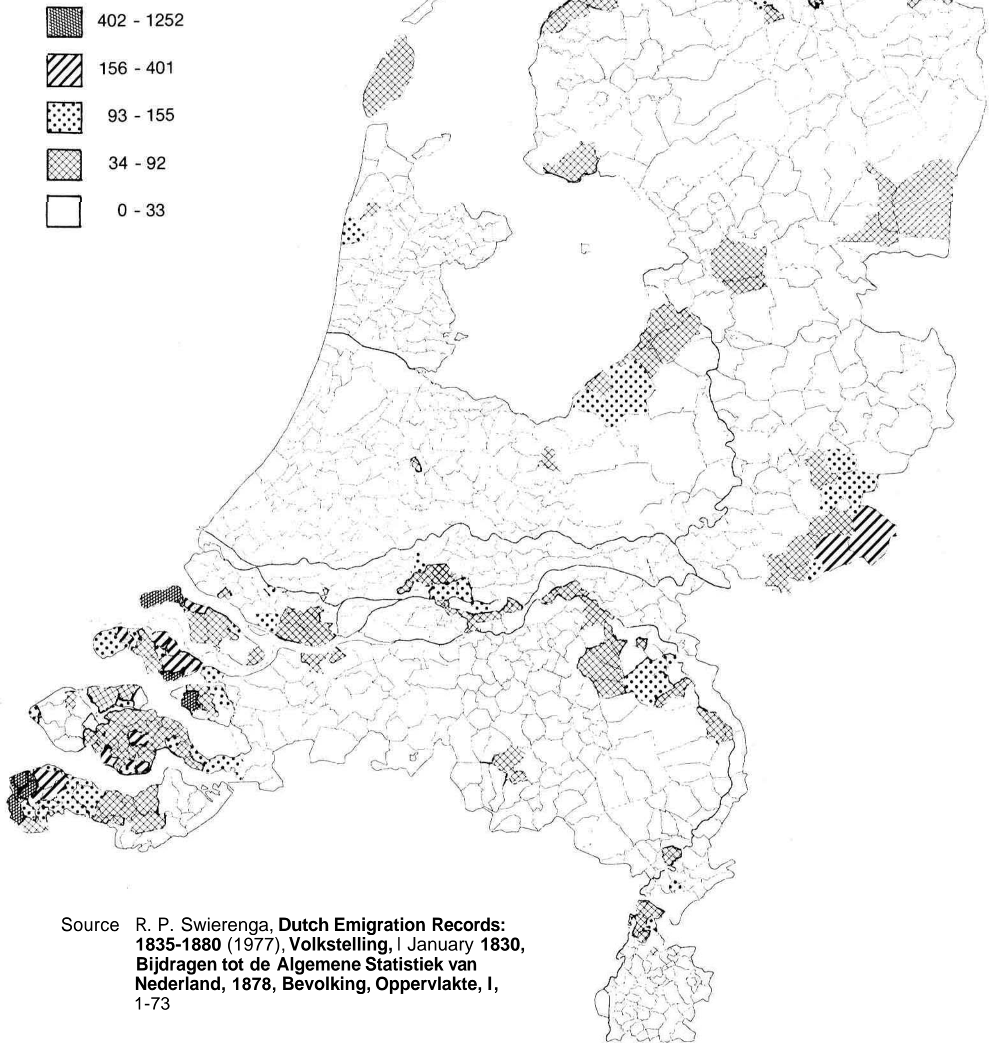
* U.S. immigrants only: 1820-29 = 387, 1830-39 = 958

Sources: Emigration figures for 1820-80 are derived from the author's analysis of the *Landverhuizers* records and *U.S.* ship lists (see notes 10 and 19). Emigration data for 1881-1920 are in *Bijdragen tot de Statistiek van Nederland* and in *Bijdragen* . . . (Nieuwe Volgreeks), Central Bureau for Statistics, The Hague. Population data are from the *Jaarboekje over* . . . , 1841-64, and the *Bijdragen tot de Statistiek* . . . , 1865-1920.

TABLE 2. *Emigration from Different European Countries to North America (mean annual emigration in per mille of the population, 1851-1910)*

	1851–60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	Average
Ireland	—	14.7	10.2	14.9	10.1	11.1	12.2
Norway	2.4	5.8	4.7	9.6	4.5	8.3	5.9
Italy	—	—	1.0	3.2	4.9	10.8	5.0
Iceland	—		4.2	8.8	3.0	2.3	4.6
England	—	2.8	4.0	5.7	3.6	5.8	4.4
Sweden	0.4	2.3	2.3	7.0	4.2	4.2	3.4
Finland	—	—	0.2	1.2	2.4	5.5	2.3
Denmark	0.3	1.0	2.1	3.9	2.2	2.8	2.1
Germany	2.6	1.7	1.5	2.9	1.0	0.5	1.7
Netherlands	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.9	0.7
France	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2

Sources: Hans Norman, "Emigration from the Nordic Countries: Some Aspects," in Rob Kroes, ed., *American Immigration: Its Variety and Lasting Imprint,* Table 1, p. 51 (European Contribution to American Studies, **I**, 1979). Based on Official Statistics of the Nordic Countries; and W. F. Wilcox, ed., *International Migrations,* Vols. *I* and **II** (New York, 1931). For the Netherlands, see Table 1.



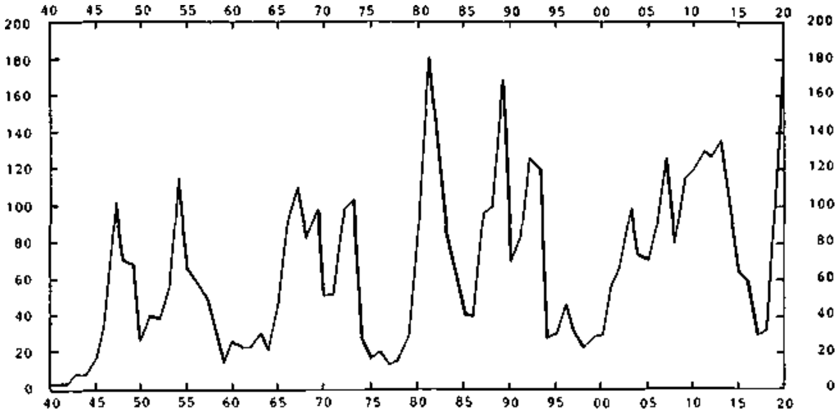
Source R. P. Swierenga, **Dutch Emigration Records: 1835-1880** (1977), **Volkstelling,** I January **1830, Bijdragen tot de Algemene Statistiek van Nederland, 1878, Bevolking, Oppervlakte, I,** 1-73

ments. In 1790, more than 125 years af ter the English seized New Netherlands, 80 percent of the Dutch Americans yet resided within a fifty-mile radius of New York City, where they comprised one-sixth of the population. Eighty years later, in 1870, af ter sixty to seventy thousand of the "new emigrants" had arrived, over 90 percent could be found in only eighteen counties or city wards in seven midwestern and mid-Atlantic seaboard states.[8]

The primary settlement field was within a fifty-mile radius of the southern Lake Michigan shoreline from Muskegon and Holland on the eastern side to Chicago, Milwaukee, and Green Bay on the western side. Secondary areas were in central lowa and the New York City region including northern New Jersey. Subsequently, of course, the Dutch dispersed themselves over a wider area of the Great Plains and the Far West in search of cheap farmland. But few immigrant groups, if any, have clustered more than the Dutch. They chose precisely their intended destinations. Thus, in spite of a relatively weak volume of overseas migration, the Dutch single-mindedness for the United States and their clannish settlement behavior created a choice environment in which to nurture and sustain a strong sense of "Dutchness" for many generations.

At first the Dutchness was more apparent than real, given the fact that the Netherlands in the nineteenth century was a culturally diverse and locally oriented country, in which one's municipality or perhaps province often took pride of place over the nation. Indeed, in the 1870's Netherlands social scientists identified more than one hundred distinct subregions, based on variations in dialect, religion, soil types, and economic activity.[9] Only a few of these regions became significant "emigrant fields." These can be readily identified on an emigration density map (Fig. 1).[10] In the east, the Geldersche Achterhoek on the German border early became a prime field; in the north, it was the rich coastal farming regions *(bouwstreken)* of Groningen and Friesland; in the Southwest, the Zuidholland island of Goeree-Overflakkee and the Zeeland islands of West Vlaanderen, Walcheren, Schouwen-Duiveland, and Zuid Beveland; and in the southeast, the Brabantse Peel centered in Uden.

The geographical origins of the Dutch emigrants, therefore, were as compact as the American settlement areas. Of the 1,156 Netherlands administrative units *(gemeenten)* in 1869—the equivalent of U.S. townships—only 134, or 12 percent, provided nearly three-quarters of all emigrants in the period from 1820 through 1880; 55 municipalities (5 percent) sent out one-half of all emigrants; and a mere 22 municipalities (2 percent) furnished one-third of all emigrants.[11] Thus within the Dutch immigrant funnel, there were actually many separate channels, like a clump of drinking straws, each carrying people from spe-



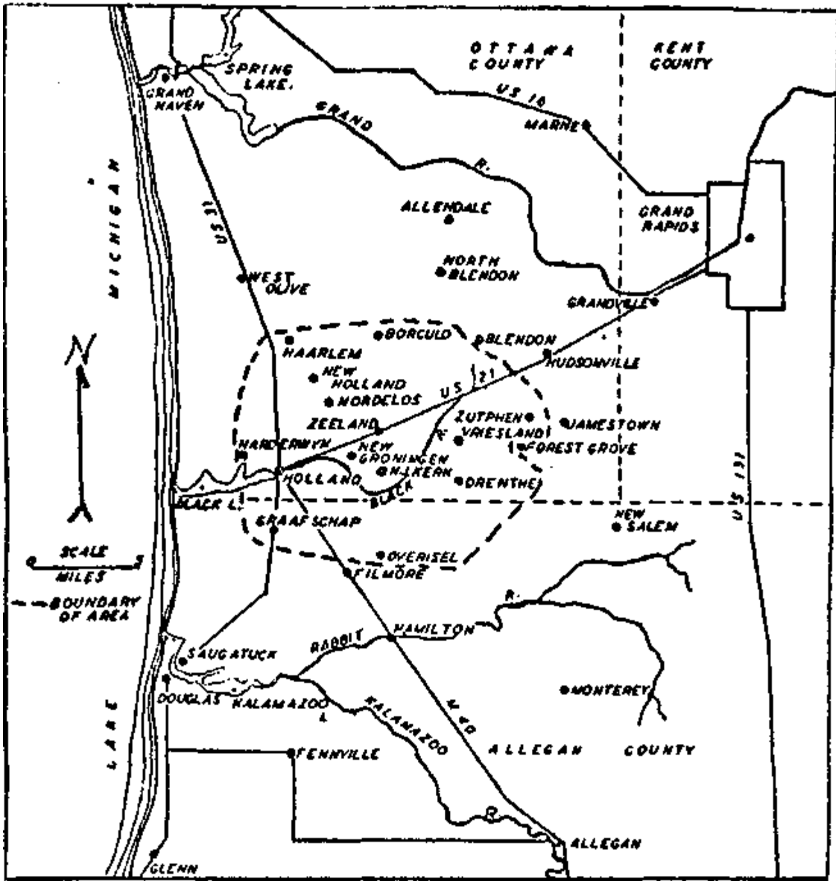


Fig. 3: Area of Dutch place names in Kent, Allegan, and Ottawa Counties, Michigan

cific Dutch villages to specific American communities. The notorious "bacon letters" from earlier emigrants who had established themselves in the States provided the suction in the straws, so to speak, by appealing to and even compelling family and friends to come and join them in the bonanza. The fact that, over a period of six decades, three-fourths of the emigrants came from only 134 municipalities in the Netherlands, and in America three-fourths settled in only 55 townships and city wards by 1870, indicates the localized processes at work.[12] It was clearly a migration of transplanted communities and family chains: parents and children, siblings, grandparents, in-laws, and friends moving in an ever-widening circle from particular localities in the fatherland to particular communities in the States.[13]

Timing and Termini

Another feature of Dutch immigration in the last century is that "pull" forces in the States were more influential than "push" forces in the homeland. Theoretically, the moderate degree of emigration indicates that rational choices and pragmatic preferences, rather than dire want, led most of the Dutch to depart. They not only chose to leave, they also chose to come to the States, where cheap farmland or urban job opportunities among family and friends awaited them.

Both the timing of the Dutch transatlantic migration and its socioeconomic structure point to the greater influence of American forces. This is not to deny the importance of adverse conditions in the homeland; only to give them a subordinate place. Indeed, Dutch emigration began in earnest in the mid-1840's (Fig. 2), following a decade of religious strife and amid potato erop failures, cholera outbreaks, sharp price increases on basic foodstuffs, and lengthening relief rolls. But this was also a time, across the Atlantic, of the settling of the upper Midwest, after President Jackson's Indian removals and congressional liberalization of land policies. In 1841 Congress legalized squatting on surveyed public lands, and during the Mexican War, Congress offered soldiers millions of acres of land warrants to induce enlistments or reward those who served. This land paper quickly passed into the hands of land dealers and provided land buyers a substantial discount in the purchase of government land. In the initial Dutch colonies of Holland, Michigan, and Pella, Iowa, founded in 1847, the leaders stretched the groups' supply of Dutch Willempjes at the land office by entering thousands of acres of virgin land with land warrants purchased through dealers at discounts of up to 33 percent. Henry Peter Scholte, Pella's leader, entered nearly all of the colony's 16,000 initial acres of land with warrants.[14]

When the American land boom came to a sudden end in 1857,

due to a financial panic, prospective Dutch emigrants responded by postponing their move until conditions improved. Most waited for eight years until the Civil War ended, the major exception being a few hundred farm families, mainly from Zeeland Province, who decided rather than delay to go to Brazil in 1861-63.[15] From 1865 to the next American economic crisis of 1873, a second wave of Dutch emigrants crossed to the States, enticed largely by the Homestead Act of 1862. Yet a third wave, the greatest in Dutch history, except for the decade following the devastating World War II, began in 1878 when economic conditions improved and the farmer's last frontier was thrown open by Congress and the railroad companies. This phase was sustained by an agricultural crisis in the cash grain region of the northern Netherlands, resulting from a worldwide glut of grain.[16] This saturation phase o£ Dutch immigration continued until the American economy plunged into yet another economic depression in 1893, which was capped by war with Spain. In 1894, Dutch immigration dropped by 80 percent and continued at a low ebb until 1901, when it gradually began to rise, reaching its high point in 1913. World War I, of course, checked this fourth phase and again diverted Dutch emigrants away from the States. From 1915 through 1920, more than one-half of the reduced emigrant stream went to the Netherlands East Indies.

In the early twenties, the flow to the States increased sharply, but the quota limit, imposed first in 1921 and reduced in 1924, took its toll.[17] Never again, except by special congressional dispensation, could more than 3,100 Dutch annually enter the United States, even af ter World War II, when there was a lengthy waiting list of 40,000. This dismal prospect induced over 80 percent of the nearly one million post-1945 emigrants to settle in Canada, Australia, or elsewhere. In 1968 Congress replaced the national origins law with a quota based on needed skills; this has proven to be even more restrictive and only 1,500 Netherlanders per year have been admitted. Unprecedented prosperity at home in the 1970's also dampened the desire of many to emigrate, although in 1979 inquiries about emigration were up 100 percent over 1978 and 40 percent more people completed formal applications to emigrate.[18] This suggests that another emigration upcycle may be building.

The main point of this review of the timing and termini of Dutch overseas migration is that, at least until the quota system created artificial barriers, prospective Dutch emigrants favored the United States and they responded directly to American conditions. "Land booms" sparked each emigrant surge and economic panics and depressions dampened them. In the troughs of the cycle, most prospective immigrahts waited at home, although the usual small numbers

of white-collar types and the occasional farm family continued to go to the Dutch colonies or to developing countries elsewhere.

Structural Characteristics

The salience of American pull factors is also indicated by the social structural characteristics of the nineteenth-century migration, which can be determined from the *Landverhuizers* (Emigration) lists compiled by the Netherlands government and from the ship passenger lists collected by U.S. customs officials.[19] Of the more than 60,000 registered emigrants in the period 1835-80, only 12,000 (20 percent) lived in the Randstad cities, provincial capitals, or lesser urban municipalities. The remainder were from rural villages and the countryside. Farmers and farm laborers comprised 26 percent, day labprers—many of whom undoubtedly also worked in agriculture—made up another 39 percent, 21 percent were village craftsmen, and 4 percent worked in the industrial sector, mainly in textiles and small instruments. Only 10 percent were in the white-collar class—professionals, administrators, etc. (Table 3).[20] Farmland was the obvious objective of these largely rural, blue-collar emigrants.

Social class data likewise portray an exodus of lower-middle-class rural folk. Two-thirds were classified in the emigration documents as middling in economic status and a fifth were needy. Only one in eight was wealthy.[21] It is instructive that 96 percent of those in middling circumstances and 85 percent of the needy emigrants went to the States compared to only 60 percent of the well-to-do.[22]

Figures on age, sex, and family status for the years 1820-80 likewise indicate the exodus of young peasant families seeking upward mobility and trying to avoid a seeming inevitable decline in status.[23] The average age of all Dutch arrivals in the States was 22 years, adult males outnumbered females by a ratio of six to four, and more than three-fourths of all immigrants left with family members. This high degree of family involvement exceeds by fifteen to thirty points the German and Scandinavian migration and reveals the Dutch as a "folk" migration rather than a "labor-type" migration of solitary adult males, as with the British and Irish. Of the emigrating families, two-thirds were couples with children and half the remainder were single-parent families and half childless couples. The average age of husbands was 36 years, wives 33.5 years, and children of all ages 8.3 years. These were young, still growing families. The average family size at the time of immigration was only 4.3 persons. The fact that Dutch immigration was a family affair also increased the likelihood of newcomers settling near relatives and neighbors rather than striking out on their own.

TABLE 3. *Occupations* by *Industrial Sector, Dutch Emigrants,* 1835-80*

Sector	1835-57		1858-68		1869-80		Total	
	Row N	Row %	Row N	Row %	Row N	Row %	Row N	Col. %
Primary								
Farmers	1,245	44	779	28	813	29	2,837	16
Farm Laborers	540	31	465	27	738	42	1,743	10
								26
Secondary								
Pre-industrial Crafts:								
Building trades	653	43	371	25	484	32	1,508	8
Food processors	261	33	295	37	235	30	791	4
Metal workers	162	49	76	23	93	28	331	2
Wood workers	487	49	234	23	273	23	994	5
Saddlers, tanners	148	40	113	30	112	30	373	2
								21
Industrial:								
Textiles	160	60	56	21	49	18	265	2
Iron and steel	6	35	5	29	6	35	17	0
Engineers	14	37	12	32	12	32	38	0
Watches, instruments	134	38	96	27	122	35	352	2
Printers	4	16	11	44	11	40	20	0
Misc.	14	25	17	30	26	46	57	0
								4
Laborers (unspecified)	2,176	31	2,256	32	2,673	38	7,105	39
Tertiary								
Clerical	24	19	41	32	64	50	129	1
Commercial	310	37	218	26	300	36	828	4
Officials, government	31	15	98	46	82	39	211	1
Professional	148	26	212	38	199	36	559	3
Gentlemen, students	44	44	25	25	31	31	100	1
Service	29	52	10	18	17	30	56	0
								10

*The categories are those employed by Charlotte Erickson, "Who Were English Emigrants of the 1820's and 1830's? A Preliminary Analysis" (unpublished paper, 1977). Excluded are 2,043 individuals with no occupation or trade or not employed.

Source: R. *P.* Swierenga, *Dutch Emigration Records,* 1835-1880.

Settlement Patterns

Dutch immigrants carried their familism and localism to America as part of their cultural baggage. Like other European peasants from areas generally isolated from the forces of the industrial revolution, the Dutch immigrants valued an ordered, traditional society based on kinship, village, and church. When these people emigrated, they sought to transplant their village cultures, churches, and kin networks. Most were not innovators seeking to break free of their identity group but conservatives intending to maintain their culture in a new environment. Group identity and the desire for religious and cultural maintenance dictated settlement in segregated communities on the frontier or in urban neighborhoods.[24] In-group marriage patterns resulted from these residential patterns and also perpetuated them. In 1850, only 4.8 percent of the Dutch in America had non-Dutch spouses, in 1860 the figure had risen to 11.1 percent, and in 1870 to 13.3 percent.[25]

Because Dutch from the same old-country villages preferred to settle together in the New World in order to lessen the emotional shock of leaving the homeland and to facilitate the adjustment to a new environment, provincial or local loyalties remained strong in most settlements in the States, at least until the first generation passed from the scène. In the classic example of this phenomenon, nearly every village and town in half a dozen townships surrounding the largest Dutch colony of Holland in Ottawa County, Michigan, boasted a Dutch place name derived from the province or town where most of the first settlers originated. The central city of Holland, called simply *de stad,* initially in 1847 consisted largely of people from Gelderland and Overijssel provinces. New arrivals soon founded villages within a ten-mile radius bearing the provincial names of Zeeland, Vriesland, Groningen, Overisel, New Holland, Drenthe, and the Geldersche Buurt (Fig. 3). The names of Dutch municipalities also appeared, such as Zutphen, Nordeloos, Haarlem, Hellendoorn, Harderwijk, and Staphorst. The majority of settlers in these villages originated in the place bearing the village name, they spoke the local dialect, and perpetuated dress and food customs. The entire settlement was known as *de Kolonie,* but it required the passing of the first generation before the colony became a community. Holland's sister colony of Pella, Iowa, also founded in 1847, similarly had its cultural divisions. The majority of the settlers were from the large cities of Utrecht and Amsterdam, but there was also a smaller group of rural Frisians who settled a mile north of Pella in the Vriesche Buurt. The entire colony consisted initially of religious Seceders from the Netherlands Re-

formed Church, yet their provincial diflerences caused friction for many years, despite a shared religious bond.[26]

In frontier settlements in the 1880's and 1890's, new Dutch immigrants continued to perpetuate such provincial distinctions. In Charles Mix County of South Dakota, for example, a group of Calvinist immigrants from Friesland and Overijssel in 1883 established separate communities five miles apart, bearing the names of their respective provinces. Each insisted on its own church congregation and edifice, although they belonged to the same denomination and shared a minister between them.[27]

In American cities and villages that predated Dutch occupancy, Holland settlers likewise clustered in neighborhoods with kin and friends. In Chicago, immigrants from the province of Zuidholland located their community in the Calumet district of south Chicago, calling their village Lage (Low) Prairie and later South Holland. Meanwhile, other immigrants from the province of Noordholland planted their settlement six miles north in Hooge (High) Prairie (later called Roseland), while yet another group from Groningen Province established themselves a mile west of the center of Chicago in a neighborhood popularly known as the Groningsche Hoek (Groningen Quarter). Milwaukee's "Dutch Hill" and Rochester's "Holland Settlement" were populated with Gelderlanders. Zeelanders founded the oyster-fishing village of West Sayville, Long Island, and the New York farm communities of Pultneyville and East Williamson on Lake Ontario. Other Zeelanders found work in the New Jersey manufacturing cities of Paterson, Passaic, and Lodi. Gelderlanders predominated in Clymer and Frisians in Lancaster, both farm settlements near Buffalo, in western New York. Dutch Jews, nearly a thousand in number, emigrated in an axis from Amsterdam to New York City, with a few proceeding to the inland commercial centers of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago. In Wisconsin the pattern is similar: Frisians founded the town of Friesland in Columbia County and New Amsterdam in La Crosse County. Zeelanders dominated the cities of Sheboygan and Oostburg, Gelderlanders in Alto, Groningers in Gibbsville, and Catholic Brabanters in the Fox River valley south of Green Bay centered at Little Chute. Lesser Dutch Catholic settlements were in Michigan's Saginaw Valley near Lake Huron, in Ohio's major cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati, and in Chicago.

Geographical Mobility

Even within the United States, internal Dutch migration was generally from one Dutch settlement to another, although patterns

varied in rural and urban communities. In rural colonies, Dutch farmers first expanded locally by buying for their sons adjoining farms of non-Dutch neighbors, as these came on the market. Like a giant oil slick, the Dutch gradually expanded outward until land prices were driven up prohibitively within the perimeter area of the core community, which might have extended up to ten miles from the center. Thereafter, expansion was of the "mothering" type in which original colonies birthed daughter colonies up to 100 miles or more distant. The Holland, Michigan, colony in Ottawa County had within thirty years (1880) expanded into five adjacent counties and one small settlement 100 miles north. By 1900, its people even reached the Upper Peninsula. Pella, Iowa, within a generation was likewise a "beehive ready for swarming," according to a local resident. Farmland fetched $60 per acre and was scarce at that price. Consequently, in 1870 sixty families organized and founded a new settlement in Sioux County in the northwestern corner of the state, where free homestead land was yet available. The cheap land in the new colony, centered in Orange City, soon attracted settlers from other overpopulated Dutch colonies in Wisconsin and Michigan as well as new immigrants directly from the Netherlands. Again within a generation, by 1900, almost every township in Sioux County was filled with Hollanders and they spilled over into adjoining counties, and even across the border into the neighboring states of Minnesota and South Dakota. Subsequently, the Orange City settlement mothered a Dutch movement to the Pacific Northwest.

In rising metropolitan centers such as Chicago, Milwaukee, and Grand Rapids, the Dutch immigration pattern differed from the rural areas. It was both centripetal and centrifugal. The cities initially served as a magnet which attracted Dutch settlers from nearby rural villages and farms within a ten- to fifteen-mile radius. Several pioneer Dutch communities near Milwaukee, for example, lost virtually all of their families to the metropolis. Simultaneously, as the central cities became industrialized and densely populated, the Dutch tended to move outward in concentric circles. The more affluent moved into the better-class suburbs and those who preferred to continue truck gardening resettled beyond the suburban limits, moving repeatedly as the city encroached on them.

The Calvinist Dutch in Chicago and environs best exemplify this urban pattern.[28] Initially in the 1840's, Hollanders, as noted above, founded three core communities in the Chicago area: the near West Side Groningers, a lower-class group of teamsters, peddlers, and day laborers who worked in the central city; the Roseland Noordhollanders, a truck-gardening settlement fourteen miles directly south;

and the Zuidhollanders of South Holland, a general-farming settlement twenty miles southeast near Lake Michigan at the Indiana border. These communities grew slowly but steadily until the 1880's and 1890's, when a mass uprooting occurred under the combined forces of new affluence, urban sprawl, and a renewed wave of immigration from the Netherlands that created land scarcity in the two farming communities, and the press of other ethnic groups such as Italians and Greeks on the West Side settlement. Within a generation, the entire West Side Dutch community sold their homes, churches, and Christian day school building and moved two miles directly west to the Douglas Park-Lawndale district. A few West Siders went seven miles south to the vegetable farms of Englewood, where they were joined by new immigrants from Groningen and Friesland provinces, who had been victims of the agricultural crisis of the 1880's. Other West Siders opened truck farms at the city's western fringes. The Roseland vegetable gardeners were invaded in the 1880's by Chicago's major industrial firms, which attracted tens of thousands of Slavic and Latin laborers to the community. Most of the Dutch farmers who had bought their lands in 1849 for $5 per acre now sold them for $2,000 and more per acre. Many remained in Roseland, choosing to adapt to urban life, but others bought farms in South Holland or in northern Indiana. A few went north several miles to Englewood, where vegetable farming remained viable. Every location, of course, contained a Dutch Reformed community, complete with churches, a Christian day school, and Dutch-owned shops and services.

From the 1920's through the 1940's, the West Side community of Groningers, 2,000 in number, under the continuing pressure of the other ethnic groups, fled to the western suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn. Subsequently, after World War II, the inexorable "flight to the suburbs" continued, as the expanding black community pressed against the Dutch enclaves of Englewood, Roseland, and Cicero, all of whom within twenty years relocated beyond Chicago's city limits.

Thus, in the course of 130 years, the Protestant Hollanders of Chicago fanned out from three core areas by a series of community migrations, until they entirely abandoned first the inner city for the near suburbs and then the near suburbs for the far suburbs. Although they number only 30,000 to 40,000 out of a population of several million in Greater Chicago, their religious solidarity and in-group marriage pattern, plus their clustering tendency, have enabled them to retain their ethnic identity for five and six generations. Given the existence of Christian day schools and churches in each cluster area, the Chicago-area Dutch could virtually choose the way of life they preferred—urban, suburban, or rural—without jeopardizing their ethno-religious solidarity.

Economic Life

Immigrant Hollanders typically were farmers, laborers, and artisans, who brought to America an ethic of industrious work, practical farming methods, and a strong desire for agricultural land.[29] Prosperous Dutch settlements throughout the midwestern and northern plains states attest to their land hunger. Except for the Dutch Jews of New York City, and the Protestant enclaves in Paterson, Passaic, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Grand Rapids, and Milwaukee, most Dutch pursued farming. They commonly had enough capital to open farms, or barring that, they rented before moving up the agricultural ladder to ownership. Having come from an area with advanced agricultural practices, they brought a knowledge of grain, livestock, and dairy farming that was readily adaptable to the American environment. Thus, the Dutch shared with other Northern Europeans a predilection for rural life. In 1880, less than 25 percent of the Dutch-born lived in the fifty largest American cities; in 1920, the proportion of Dutch-born farm operators was twice as large as their share of the total population.[30]

Farming patterns differed widely. The Dutch near metropolitan centers engaged in vegetable gardening, often after laboriously draining swampy mucklands that Americans had passed over. The Dutch supplied cauliflower, cabbage, onions, and especially celery to the urban farm wholesale markets. Dairying was another natural specialty for Hollanders, especially those in Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York. In Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and elsewhere on the plains, however, the Dutch adopted American methods of mixed grain and livestock farming on extensive acreages. Fishing and bulb growing, although traditional in the old country, attracted very few immigrants, except for the Zeelanders, who established a fishing settlement in West Sayville, Long Island, and Noordhollanders, who took up bulb growing in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Kankakee, Illinois, and Puget Sound, Washington.

The immigrant Dutch in the nineteenth century were artisans and rural laborers who understood simple mechanics but not a factory system with sophisticated machinery. Those who settled in Paterson, Grand Rapids, Chicago, and other cities, however, easily adjusted to industrial work, as did the sons of rural immigrants who gravitated from farm to cities. By 1880, the Grand Rapids furniture industry, largely Dutch-owned and manned by Dutch craftsmen, was nationally renowned. The Chicago Pullman Car Company in Roseland and Paterson textile milis also attracted an increasing number of Dutch workers in the late nineteenth century. In rural Michigan and Wisconsin, other Dutch young men took employment in the lumber milis.

Most urban Dutch preferred to remain independent. They opened small retail shops to cater to an almost exclusively Dutch clientele or they penetrated the service sector, becoming building contractors, general teamsters, and refuse haulers. Increasingly, as the third, fourth, and fifth generations attained higher educational levels, the Dutch moved upward into white-collar jobs in the professions, in the civil service, and in corporate management positions. A 1969 occupation survey o£ household heads in the most ethnically conscious Dutch-American denomination—the Christian Reformed Church—revealed that 41 percent held white-collor positions, compared to 33 percent blue-collar workers and 14 percent farmers.

Group Maintenance

This upward mobility, coupled with the virtual end of Dutch immigration to the United States, has threatened the survival of Dutch ethnic identity. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the Dutch strove for economic security and cultural space in a host society. They reached the high point of ethnic consciousness and pride in the period 1900-20, bracketed by the heroic Boer War and the chauvinistic World War I, when a hyperpatriotism took its toll on Dutch solidarity. Following the war, immigrant leaders encouraged the Americanization movement in their churches and schools. In the 1920's and 1930's Dutch-language preaching and teaching in the churches ceased, except in a few congregations, and most ethnic newspapers and periodicals likewise succumbed. Compared to other Northern European nationalities, however, even in the interwar years Dutch-American Protestants retained a relatively sharp sense of ethnic identity, although its decline was perceptible with each passing generation.

Viewed in this light, the great post-1945 Dutch immigration to Canada's Ontario Province directly across the U.S. border from Michigan and New York, and in lesser degree to the United States itself, was a most timely influx for renewing from within the lagging Dutch ethnic consciousness. This internal force was augmented by the rising sense of ethnicity among Americans generally, as reflected in the enthusiastic response to Alex Haley's book *Roots* and its television production.[31] Dutch-American institutions are presently thriving, many people are studying the Dutch language and culture, and the free flow of people and ideas across the Atlantic is greater than since the 1920's. As a result, the inevitable process of Americanization has slowed somewhat, thus providing at least a temporary reprieve for the survival of Dutch ethnic identity. It is a reprieve for which I am most appreciative.

NOTES

1 This point is analyzed in P. R. D. Stokvis, "Dutch Mid-Nineteenth Century Emigration in European Perspective" (unpublished paper). Stokvis notes (pp. 2-4) that W. S. Petersen was struck by the low emigration of the 1840's and F. D. Scott and F. Thistlethwaite were puzzled by the minimal outpouring of the 1880's and 1890's. See Petersen, *Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement* (Berkeley, Calif., 1955), pp. 42, 58-60; Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *XIe Congres International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 1960, Rapports, V; Histoire Contemporaine* (Göteborg, Stockholm, and Uppsala, 1960), p. 54; Scott, "The Study of the Effects of Emigration," *Scandinavian Economic Historical Review,* VIII (1960), 169.

2 For the latest estimates of the actual rate for 1820-80, see R. P. Swierenga, "Dutch International Migration Statistics 1820-1880: An Analysis of Linked Multinational Files," *International Migration Review,* XV (Fall 1981)445-70.

3 J. Mokyr, "Industrialization and Poverty in Ireland and the Netherlands: Some Notes Toward a Comparative Study," unpublished paper presented to the American Historical Association meeting, San Francisco, 1978, p. 15.

4. R. P. Swierenga, "Dutch," in S. Thernstrom, A. Orlov, and O. Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 284-95.

5 Petersen, *Planned Migration,* pp. 7, 42-43, 60-64; H. S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955), pp. 44-58; J. van Hinte, *Nederlanders in Amerika: Een Studie over Landverhuizers en Volksplanters in de 19e en 20ste Eeuw in de Vereenigde Staaten van Amerika* (2 vols.; Groningen, 1928), I, 117-202; G. F. Dejong, *The Dutch in America, 1609-1974* (Boston, 1975), pp. 129-48.

6 The attribution of motivation is highly controversial. American scholars view religious factors as primary in the 1840's and economic forces thereafter; Dutch scholars stress the social and economic factors. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America,* pp. 42, 471-78; Dejong, *Dutch in America,* pp. 132-33; P. R. D. Stokvis, *De Nederlandse Trek Naar Amerika, 1846-184-]* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 203-5; van Hinte, *Nederlanders in Amerika,* Ch. 4; G. B. van Dijk, "Geloofsvervolging of Broodnood: Hollanders Naar Michigan," *Spiegel Historiael,* V (1970), 31-36.

7 R. P. Swierenga, "Dutch International Labor Migration to North America in the Nineteenth Century," in M. Boekelman and H. Ganzevoort, eds., *Dutch Immigration to North America* (forthcoming, 1982), note 21.

8 Based on the author's compilation of Dutch-born persons in the U.S. manuscript population censuses of 1870; R. P. Swierenga, *Dutch Immigrants in U.S. Population Censuses, 1850, 1860, and 1870: An Alpha-*

betical Listing by Household Heads or Single Persons (Kent, Ohio, 1982).

9 Department of Binnenslandsche Zaken, *Verslag van den Landbouw in Nederland over 1871* (The Hague, 1871), pp. 22-31.

10 Derived from R. P. Swierenga, *Dutch Emigration Records: 1835-1880: A Computer Alphabetical Listing of Heads of Households and Independent Persons* (rev. ed.; Kent, Ohio, 1977).

11 Derived from a computer-accessible file, compiled by R. P. Swierenga, entitled "Netherlands Census, Labor, Land, and Migration Data, 1830-1878" (Kent, Ohio, 1979).

12 See note 8 for source.

13 Examples are in Y. Saueressig, "Catholic Emigration from the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at the Netherlands Interuniversity Demographic Institute, The Hague, May 1981; Irene Hecht, "Kinship and Migration: The Making of an Oregon Isolate Community," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* VIII (Summer 1977), 45-67; R. P. Swierenga, "The Anatomy of Migration: From Europe to the U.S. in the Nineteenth Century," in Val Greenwood and Frank Smith, eds., *Preserving our Heritage: Proceedings of the World Conference on Records* (12 vols.; Salt Lake City, Utah, 1980), IV, Series 357, 13-15.

14 R. P. Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier* (Ames, Iowa, 1968), p. 96.

15 M. C. Saris, *Emigratie naar Brazil, 1858-1862* (Paris, 1977); G. A. C. van Vooren, "Emigranten naar Brazilië uit West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, 1858-1862" (mimeograph, n.d.); "The Lost Dutch of Espirito Santo," New Westminster (B.C.) *Windmill Herald,* March 14, 1977, p. 10.

16 H.deVries, *Landbouw en Bevolking Tijdens de Agrarische Depressie in Friesland (1878-1895)* (Wageningen, 1971).

17 Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the USA* (New York, 1971), pp. 250-55.

18 "Dutch Alarmed at Soaring Emigration," Los Angeles *Times,* December 25, 1979. Part IX, p. 4.

19 R. P. Swierenga, *Dutch Immigrants in U.S. Ship Passenger Lists, 1820-1880: An Alphabetical Listing by Household Heads and Single Persons* (Kent, Ohio, 1981). See note 10 for the citation of the Dutch Emigration Records.

20 Compiled from Swierenga, *Dutch Emigration Records.*

21 R. P. Swierenga and H. S. Stout, "Dutch Immigration in the Nineteenth Century, 1820-1877: A Quantitative Overview," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly,* XXVIII (Autumn 1975), 7—34.

22 For extensive statistical data on the demographic aspects, see R. P. Swierenga, "Dutch Immigrant Demography, 1820-1880," *Journal of Family History,* V (Winter 1980), 390-415.

23 Recent findings indicate that transplanted homogeneous communities were the norm rather than the exception among all European immigrant groups. See R. Ostergren, "A Community Transplanted: The Formative Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community in the Upper

Middle West," *Journal of Historical Geography,* V (April 1979), 189-212; W. Kamphoefner, "Transplanted Westphalians: Persistence and Transformation of Socioeconomic and Cultural Patterns in the Northwest German Migration to Missouri" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1978), Ch. 4; J. T. Cumbler, "Transplanted Working Class Institutions," *Journal of Historical Geography,* LXI (July 1980), 275-90.

24 Computed from Swierenga, *Dutch Immigrants in U.S. Population Censuses, 1850,1860, and 1870.*

25 See, for example, the pamphlet published in the Netherlands written by the Pella pioneer Sjoerd Aukes Sipma. An English translation is R. P. Swierenga, ed., "A Dutch Immigrant's View of Frontier Iowa," *Annals of Iowa,* XXXVIII (Fall 1965), 81-118.

26 *75th Anniversary Booklet 1883-1953,* Platte Christian Reformed Church, Platte, S.D., pp. 7-9.

27 This section relies on A. Vanden Bosch, *The Dutch Communities of Chicago* (Chicago, 1928); Swierenga, "Dutch," pp. 288-89.

28 This section is a summary of Swierenga, "Dutch," p. 289.

29 *Compendium of the Tenth Census,* June 1, 1880 (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1883), I, 470; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1810,* Vol. I: *Population,* pp. 695, 794-95; Vol. V: *Agriculture,* p. 178.

30 R. P. Swierenga, "Ethnicity in Historical Perspective," *Social Science,* LII (1977), 31-44.

The Dutchness of the Roosevelts

FRANK FREIDEL

Two of the most notable of American Presidents in the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt, took intense pride in their Dutch ancestry. It was the first topic that Theodore Roosevelt wrote about in the opening pages of his *Autobiography.* Franklin sketched the family line in a paper he wrote as a student at Harvard University, and at the beginning of each of his unprecedented four terms as President took his oath of office on the old Dutch family Bible.[1]

Yet both Roosevelts were Dutch more in name and in tradition than in origins. Theodore, a fifth cousin of Franklin, was less than a quarter Dutch; Franklin had only a trifling percentage of Dutch ancestry. Both Roosevelts, despite their name, were predominantly English in origin.

There were sound reasons, both political and social, for their pride in their Dutch name. Socially there was no more prestigious pedigree in New York than to be a member of one of the old Knickerbocker families, tracing descent from the founders of New Amsterdam. The Roosevelts enjoyed a secure position in New York society.

The political worth of a Dutch name was rather less tangible but nevertheless seemed consequential to both the Roosevelts. It was well to give the impression that one was somehow not an unadulterated blue blood of English colonial aristocracy, but rather a product of the American melting pot. Both Roosevelts had a tendency to claim as varied an ancestry as possible depending upon the ethnic origins of the group whose votes they were soliciting at a given moment. Both were prone to some exaggeration. There were those who joked that TR would have alleged any ancestry that would pull him a few additional votes, and that through citing it he sought to identify himself with almost any ethnic group he addressed. He could express his pride over not only his Holland but also his French Huguenot and English