

A DENOMINATIONAL SCHISM FROM A BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVE: THE 1857 DUTCH REFORMED SEPARATION

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The reasons for ecclesiastical schisms often seem plainly obvious to participants, but scholars struggle for generations to comprehend their origins. Theological dissension, historic, cultural or ethnic rivalries, and personality clashes usually enter into these tragedies in varying degrees. Admitting the complexities of such events, it is the obligation of historians to search for underlying patterns of thought and behavior that might illuminate the causes.

For Dutch Calvinists in North America, the schism of 1857 within midwestern immigrant congregations of the Reformed Church in America (RCA), out of which the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) emerged, is one of those major turning points that demand continual re-examination. This is now possible because new sources have become available. Some fifteen years ago, the Committee in the East on Historical Documents of the Christian Reformed Church obtained from public archives in the Netherlands copies of the official lists of immigrants for the years 1847-1877. These records include specific biographical information on each family or single adult, including occupation, religious affiliation, family status, social class, and place of residence. When these emigration records are linked to the church membership records of the pioneer Reformed congregations in North America (now being collected by the Heritage Hall Archives at Calvin College, Western Theological Seminary, New Brunswick Seminary, and Herrick Public Library in Holland), it is possible to learn much about the Old Country backgrounds of the RCA and CRC churches and to discern possible differences between them. When the Reformed immigrants were forced to make a decision in 1857, or subsequently, to join the Seceders or not, their family traditions, life histories, and cultural differences, emanating from the Netherlands, invariably provided the context for such decisions.

Traditional interpretations are far simpler. The RCA apologists B. DeBeij and A. Zwemer in their 1871 publication, *Stemmen uit de Hollandsch-Gereformeerde Kerk in de Vereenigde Staten van Amerika* (Voices from the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States of America), charge that no more than twenty miscreant leaders were responsible for the 1857 secession. Conversely, R. T. Kuiper, an early CRC defender, took his stand on theological principle rather than on idiosyncratic personalities. In 1882 Kuiper argued in *Eene Stem uit Amerika over Amerika* (A Voice from America about America) that the 1857 split was a culmination of the struggle against theological liberalism begun in the Netherlands in the 1834 Afscheiding (Separation) from the Hervormde Kerk.

While these early explanations are worthy of

consideration, they fail to explain why only some church members followed dissenting clerics or why only some parishioners were theologically astute. To help answer the "why" question, a prior question is necessary—*which* Dutch Calvinist immigrants in North America seceded in 1857? Were the Separatists of 1857 in America a remnant or faction of the Afscheiding of 1834 in the Netherlands? Secondly, were CRC members from differing social and cultural backgrounds in the Old Country?

I

Before answering these questions, it is necessary to describe the historical context of these denominational divisions. The roots of the Reformed Church in America (RCA) run deeply in the American past. It was founded in the New Netherlands colony in 1628 under the jurisdiction of the Classics of Amsterdam of the Netherlands Reformed Church. In 1792 in response to the changed political climate of the revolutionary era, it declared ecclesiastical independence from Amsterdam and adopted its first denomination constitution. The denomination numbered 116 churches and 40 ministers in 1791 and was heavily concentrated in New York state and northern New Jersey. During the next fifty years, the RCA became increasingly Americanized and grew steadily, until it totaled 274 churches and 33,000 communicants by 1845. The final Dutch language service was held in 1844, only two years before the beginning of the great Dutch migration of the nineteenth century. The process of Americanization had been hastened by the Dutch tendency for Anglo-conformity, the affinity of the Reformed religion with the "Puritan legacy", and the very low rate of Dutch immigration in the post-Napoleonic decades. Until the mid-1840s, immigration averaged only 100-200 persons a year. Such a small influx was obviously insufficient to slow the pace of assimilation of the old Dutch.

While the RCA was undergoing change, an upheaval occurred in the mother church in the Netherlands that had major repercussions in the United States. In 1834, a largely rural, pietist group, led by a few university professors and their students, separated themselves from the Hervormde Kerk and were indifferent to historic Reformed orthodoxy. The Separatists also rejected King Willem I's structural reorganization of the national church in 1816, which had abolished the historic localistic form of church government and replaced it with a centralized structure in which the monarch appointed all key officials in the Hervormde Kerk. Within a decade the Christian Separatists numbered over forty thousand adherents throughout

the Protestant northern and western provinces of the Netherlands.

Dutch authorities at first tried to check the Separatist movement by levying stiff fines on dissenting clerics and banning worship services. Some employers refused to hire Separatists. Such harassment created an emigration mentality and when the potato blight struck in 1845 and 1846, entire congregations of Seceders departed *en masse* for North America. The "Groote Trek" was led by a half-dozen Seceder clergymen, notably Albertus Van Raalte and Hendrik Scholte, who each took a thousand members of their congregations to Holland, Michigan and Pella, Iowa, respectively. Other thousands of Seceders soon followed. In the years from 1846 through 1850, eighty of every one thousand Separatists departed the fatherland, compared to only four per thousand among Hervormde Kerk adherents.

Since the Secession of 1834 was a series of locally-organized reformations, rather than a centrally-organized movement, it developed into several factions. According to the Dutch scholar, Cornelis Smits, there was a rural and conservative "Northern party" led by Hendrik de Cock and Simon Van Velzen, which was centered in the provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Drenthe, with a related group in Zeeland, led by Cornelis Vander Meulen. The other major faction was the more urban and liberal "Southern party", led by Antonie Brummelkamp, Van Raalte, and Scholte, which was concentrated in the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland, with lesser contingents in Noord and Zuid Holland, Utrecht, and Noord Brabant.

Among the Separatists who emigrated in the very significant early period of the 1840s when entire congregations left for America, there was a much stronger southern, urban element than in the later years when the northern contingent predominated. For example, 93 percent of all Seceder immigrants from Utrecht province between 1844 and 1877 departed before 1857. Comparable figures for other southern provinces in these early years are Gelderland 71 percent, Zuid Holland 80 percent, and Noord Brabant 72 percent. (See Table 1.) In the northern farming province of Groningen, on the other hand, the rate of Seceder migration increased over the years, from 20 percent in the early period to 32 percent from 1858 through 1868, and 48 percent from 1869 through 1877. It was the large influx of Groningen farmers after the Civil War that furnished the growth figures for the fledgling Christian Reformed Church in these years.

The Seceders had a remarkable impact on the American Reformed community not because of their large numbers, but due to their intense and focused migration in the early years of settlement. This gave them a strong presence in the Midwest that was disproportionate to their numbers. There is a common misconception that most Dutch immigrants in the midwest were Seceders. Elton Bruins voiced the general thinking in his article "What Happened in 1857?" (*Reformed Review*, 1974, p. 170) when he declared: "Nearly all of the Dutch

who came to the middle west in the nineteenth century were *Afgescheidenen*." Bruins was merely echoing the views of R. T. Kuiper, who stated the traditional wisdom already in 1882: "The first immigrants that came here were mostly out of that church." One can easily gain this impression, given the fact that one-half of all Seceders who emigrated before 1880 did so in the early years before 1857, whereas Hervormde Kerk emigrants departed at a steadier pace over the entire period. But the fact is that the 1834 Seceders comprised only 13 percent of the total emigration in the years 1835-1880, whereas Hervormde Kerk emigrants totaled 65 percent. Indeed, Hervormde Kerk emigrants outnumbered 1834 Separatists in every year, even in 1847, the peak year of Separatist migration (see table 2). The fact is, therefore, that numerous Hervormden were found in the mid-western Dutch settlements in the first struggling years.

Another perennial misconception is that emigrants of Hervormde Kerk background were more prosperous, whereas Separatists represented the "kleine leiden." Given the largely rural composition of the Separatists and the ostracism and distress that they suffered from the Royal Government, the assumption seemed natural that Seceders were at the bottom of the wage scale. In the words of Albertus Pieters: "More than any other element of the population, the numbers of separated churches suffered from these conditions [i.e., severe poverty], since they were mostly from the poorer classes, and since the general contempt in which they were held hindered them in securing employment and in every form of enterprise." Although the picture of harassment is doubtless correct, if somewhat overdrawn, and the Separatists who emigrated in 1846-1847 may have been pitiful, yet in this decade and the next they were *not* the poorest group among the emigres. This distinction belongs to the Jews, of whom 29 percent were in the poverty class. The Separatists, in fact, were the *least* poor (Table 3). Between the years 1835-1857, only 19 percent of the Separatist emigrants were in the poverty class, compared to 28 percent of the Hervormde Kerk emigrants. Of the well-to-do emigrants, the Separatists again were far more numerous than the Hervormden (18 percent compared to 9 percent). In both groups, of course, the middle class predominated.

II

Once settled in the United States, the Dutch Protestant immigrants staked out a tangled religious path. The key ecclesiastical events were the union of 1850 with the RCA and the separation of 1857. Initially in 1848, the Dutch Separatist congregations in western Michigan, led by Van Raalte, had created an independent church organization, known as Classis Holland, but within two years the Classis merged with the RCA, centered in New York and New Jersey. This union of 1850 was a natural outgrowth of strengthening ties that developed even prior to emigration between the Separatist

leaders and the old colonial Dutch. Two New York Dutch clerics and their congregations, Isaac N. Wyckoff of the Second Reformed Church in Albany and Thomas DeWitt of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church of New York City, after learning of the impending group migration in 1846, created a Dutch emigrant society and became personally involved in aiding the new arrivals, most of whom entered via New York harbour en route to their midwestern destinations. The old Hollanders were the first source of cultural indoctrination to the New World. They met the immigrants at customs; provided temporary lodging; gave food, clothing, and money to the destitute; and later loaned Van Raalte several thousand dollars to purchase more land in Michigan. Needless to say, these acts of kindness engendered much goodwill and many cultural perceptions among the first contingents of Dutch dissenters during their "time of troubles."

Not surprisingly, therefore, the merger overtures from the East were well received. When the old Reformed Church sent Wyckoff to the Michigan colony in 1849 to explore ecclesiastical union, he capitalized on this fund of friendship. Wyckoff's salesmanship was most effective, especially on the leader, Van Raalte, who threw his considerable prestige and influence into merger efforts. At a general meeting of the eastern emissary and the leaders of the seven churches in the colony in June, 1849, Classis Holland agreed to bring its 600 families into the Reformed Church *en masse*, provided that they could retain their local organizational identity. Only a few years earlier, the RCA had created Classis Michigan for a half dozen small, English-speaking, frontier congregations of Yorkers. The Van Raalte colonists did not wish to combine with the Michigan Yorkers, and Wyckoff did not insist. He and Van Raalte, who represented all the ministers and elders of Classis Holland, then presented the merger agreement to the next session of the parent body, the Albany Particular Synod, at its meeting in early 1850. The Particular Synod ratified the merger provisionally after considerable debate and the General Synod of the entire church confirmed the decision in June, 1850. The Dutch Reformed in the United States were again one.

But all was not harmonious, especially among some of the Michigan colonists. Their tradition of separatism and suspicion of autocratic synods made them wary, as did the syncretistic nature of the host culture. Within two years of the 1850 merger, one cleric (Roelof Smits) and two-thirds of his congregation in the settlement of Drenthe, Michigan, seceded from Classis Holland. The subsequent arrival of new colonists further complicated the situation. Those who came directly from the Netherlands, such as the congregation of Dominee Koene Vanden Bosch in 1856, could not appreciate the crucial help from the East in the early days. Vanden Bosch decried the Separatists' union with the RCA as "a welcoming of the Assyrian and begging bread of the Egyptians." Other emigrants who had temporarily remained in the East among Reformed communities brought reports of

purported "irregularities" in the churches. For example, some ministers and elders held membership in "secret societies" (masonic lodges), churches practiced "open" (e.g. unregulated) communion and used choirs in worship services and sang "man-made" hymns rather than psalms, one elder's nine children were not baptised, some ministers rejected the doctrine of election, and so forth. A layman, Gysbert Haan, was one of those who lived for a time in Albany and Rochester and then in 1850 resettled in western Michigan and related the objectionable practices he had observed or learned from others. More than any other individual, Haan's polemics "fed the fires of discontent."

The end result of the constant vexation was yet another secession and the creation of the True Dutch Reformed (later Christian Reformed) Church (CRC). Four congregations decided by majority vote to withdraw from the RCA and "return" to an independent status. A fifth church joined them shortly. Altogether, the 1857 Secession involved 250 communicant members, or 10 percent of the membership of Classis Holland. When the dissenting churches formally organized a new denomination later in 1857, Koene Vanden Bosch was the only ordained minister among the five charter congregations. The remainder were led by lay "elders". Vanden Bosch remained the sole cleric of the CRC for its first six years. So difficult were these early years that in 1863, according to Henry Zwaanstra (*Reformed Thought and Experience in the New World*) the leaders seriously considered disbanding (p. 6). But primarily through effective lay leadership, the struggling seceders survived and after the Civil War when the flow of Dutch immigrants resumed, dissenting congregations sprang up throughout the Midwest and even in the East. There were also continuing defections from the RCA. By 1880 the new denomination had 12,300 baptised and communicant members. In virtually every Dutch Protestant settlement, one could find church buildings of both denominations existing side by side or facing each other across Main street. In the thirty years from 1873 to 1900, the CRC grew 800-fold, compared to a 100-fold increase in the immigrant congregations of the RCA (Table 4).

III

The causes of the 1857 schism are historical, theological, cultural, and idiosyncratic. They have been much debated and this is not the place to rehearse them. Rather than asking the "why" question, it seems useful as noted earlier, to pose a prior question, that is *which* Dutch Calvinist immigrants living in south-western Michigan took part in the schism in 1857? Were the Separatists of 1857 a remnant of the Free Church movement in the Netherlands stemming from the 1834 Secession?

Scholars have suggested several common socioeconomic characteristics of the 1857 Separatists. The Dutch historian, Jacob Van Hinte, who wrote the first scholarly history, *Nederlanders in Amerika* (1928), contended that many had not been part of the initial

1846-1847 contingent who had endured hardship together and learned to appreciate help from their Dutch-American brethren in the East. Van Hinte is undoubtedly correct. Only 52 (22 percent) of the 242 known charter members of the CRC can be found among the 1846-1847 group of colonists. Sixty-four others emigrated in 1848 and 1849. However, the fact that the Holland colony's population increased from 1700 in 1847 to 6,000 in 1857 indicates that *many* settlers in 1857, not just the dissenters, lacked an appreciation of the early struggles.

A more complex theory is that of Henry Beets, the first historian of the Christian Reformed Church. Beets reported that "it was said in the Netherlands at the time that Groningers went to the seceders [Christian Reformed Church] while the Frisians, Zeelanders, Overijsselers, and Hollanders [Noord and Zuid Holland] went to the Reformed Church." Van Hinte adds a variation to this provincial scheme by insisting that the Separatists of 1857 were, in the main, members of the rural and conservative Northern party in the Netherlands, whereas the more broad-minded Southern party of Van Raalte remained with the Reformed Church of the East. Van Hinte also asserts that the CRC founders in western Michigan were poorer and were largely city dwellers, i.e., from Grand Rapids. To this latter point there was disagreement from sociologist Henry Ryskamp who contended that over half of the seceding families in the Grand Rapids area lived in the country, not in the city, and that the "urban-rural distribution of the Reformed Church, if not at that time, after 1857 was about the same as that of the Seceding Church."

Many of these questions can be resolved by comparing American church membership lists with Dutch emigration lists. By comparing church records against emigration lists, I have assembled a background profile of 2180 Dutch family heads and single adults in the years before 1880. Of these immigrants, 1151 belonged to immigrant congregations of the RCA and 1029 were affiliated with the secessionist group, the CRC. This is a sufficient sample for a comparative behavioral analysis of the membership of the two denominations, although it is not without some deficiencies, because Dutch emigration lists are incomplete before 1848. Since the 1857 secession is the key event in the history of the Reformed churches in America, I will focus especially on this seminal period, although some post-1857 findings will also be reported. The pre-1857 sub-sample totals 973 heads of households and single adults, 731 in the RCA and 242 in the CRC.

The major question is this—can we predict, on the basis of Old Country social, economic, religious, and geographical characteristics, which Dutch Reformed immigrants would secede in 1857 and subsequent years? And if so, which background characteristics are significant and which are not, in distinguishing between the two groups? The results are as follows: First, there is no predictive value in knowing the previous denominational affiliation of the Calvinist immigrants. Among the earliest immigrants before 1857, former mem-

bers of the Hervormde Kerk predominated in roughly equal proportions in both American Dutch Reformed denominations, comprising 54 and 55 percent respectively (Table 5). Thus, contrary to popular impressions, CRC laity were not notably more Afscheidig in background than were RCA members. Among the clerics, however, the pattern is entirely different, which may explain the misconception. Herbert Brinks has shown ("Voices from our Immigrant Past," *The Banner*, June 2, 1978) that *every one* of the 114 clerics ordained in the CRC from 1857 to 1900 were Afscheidig in background, compared to only 26 percent among Dutch-born clerics in the RCA in the years 1846-1900. Equally important is the finding that only one-third (148 of 395) of the 1834 Separatist families who had settled in the Michigan colony before 1857 participated in the schism of that year. This proportion rises to one half, if the 125 members of the German-born Graafschap, Michigan, seceder congregation are included. In short, an Afscheidig affiliation is not significantly related to the RCA-CRC division of 1857 and later years.

The two Dutch immigrant churches were similar in socioeconomic status as well as in ecclesiastical origins. Local government officials in the Netherlands classified each departing family economically into three categories: well-to-do, middling, and needy. Table 6 presents the data for immigrant members of both denominations. Considering only the pre-1857 immigrants, the RCA had a slightly larger proportion of wealthy immigrants, but it also included more poor families. The charter members of the CRC had comparatively more families of middling origin. Likewise, the same proportion (41 percent) of pre-1857 immigrants in both American denominations owned sufficient real and personal property in the Netherlands to be subject to municipal income taxes. In occupations, blue collar immigrants comprised over 90 percent of both groups, but the CRC included a greater proportion of farmers and day laborers and fewer white collar people than did the RCA (Table 7). Finally, in age and family characteristics, heads of immigrant households in both denominations were also virtually identical.

Of all the behavioral characteristics, the salient discriminator is place of residence in the Old Country. Immigrants from certain regions were more attracted to one or the other of the two Reformed communions in America. The CRC members included proportionally more immigrants from rural communities in the province of Drenthe, Groningen, Overijssel, and Zeeland. (Table 8). The RCA families, by contrast, came in larger measure from the more cosmopolitan provinces of Noord- and Zuid-Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland's Achterhoek, and Friesland. Zeeland and Groningen provinces provided one third of the members to each denomination, but sub-regional variants were determinative in these provinces. In Zeeland, which is composed of three groups of island "fingers" in the Rhine delta, immigrants from the islands farthest north from the Belgian border were more likely to join the CRC. From the island group of Schouwen-

Duiveland-Tholen north of the Eastern Scheldt River, the CRC attracted two immigrant families for every one who affiliated with the RCA. From the middle island of Walcheren-Zuid Beveland north of the Western Scheldt River, the ratio was nearly one for one in the denominations. But of the immigrants from the southernmost island of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen along the Belgian border, the RCA attracted six families for every four who joined the 1857 Seceders.

Immigrants from Groningen province who joined the 1857 Separation were concentrated in the most isolated northernmost region along the North Sea, particularly from the municipalities of Ulrum and Leens. In Ulrum, Hendrik de Cock, the leader of the northern contingent of the 1834 Secession, pastored a large congregation for many years. De Cock trained many of the young men who went to America after the Civil War to pastor CRC congregations. His followers in Michigan generally rejected the union of 1850. Similarly, in Gelderland province in the East, which comprises three distinct regions—the Achterhoek, Veluwe, and Betuwe—the conservative Veluwe area near the Zuider Zee and the very similar neighboring province of Overijssel, and Zeeland provided more recruits for the 1857 Michigan schism than did those from more cosmopolitan and urbanized areas.

In the twenty-five years after 1857, these early patterns became even more pronounced. The proportion of CRC members from traditional regions increased while that of RCA members decreased (Table 9). There is also a marked shift northward after 1857 in the regional origins of CRC members; the provinces of Drenthe, Friesland, and Groningen gained 15 points. Between 1857 and 1880 nearly one half of the CRC members originated in these northern provinces, whereas before 1857 less than one third did so. If the eastern rural regions of Overijssel and the Gelderland Veluwe are included, the northern Netherlands contingent in the CRC rises to 64 percent. Among immigrant families in the RCA, by contrast, although there is also a northward shift after 1857, the southern and western areas of the Netherlands, from the beginning of emigration and continuing till 1880 at least, furnished a substantial share (40 percent) of members.

For CRC clerics before 1900, the northern tendency is again much stronger. According to research conducted by Herbert J. Brinks, 77 percent of the CRC ministers were born in northern provinces compared to only 42 percent for Dutch-born RCA clerics. Thus, behavioral differences among the elite prefigured the distinctions among the rank-and-file that increasingly distinguished the two Dutch Reformed immigrant communions in North America. If not before, at least by 1880, Henry Beet's observation is correct that the CRC was primarily a denomination of Groningers. Over time, the CRC took on an increasingly northern character, and this was even more true of leadership.

Niebuhr's analysis fits the Dutch Reformed schism. From the existing data it appears that the keys to understanding church membership deci-

sions among Dutch immigrants in North America are non-quantitative cultural factors such as differing religious traditions, customs, habits, and of course, the individual state of mind. These differences in local origins suggest that the Dutch Reformed immigrants tended to differentiate themselves in the New World, as they had done in the homeland, according to historic cultural distinctions. Although it is a small nation in territory, the Netherlands is extremely diverse in racial composition, language dialects and folk ways. Its several sections border on different countries, Belgium, Germany, and (across the North Sea) England. The population is Nordic, of mixed Alpine and Celtic stock, and the three leading historic groups—Frisians, Saxons, and Franks—differ considerably. Culturally, those living along the major waterways—the Rhine, Maas, Waal, and Lek rivers—or near the seaports of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or the Hague were most international in outlook. Likewise, residents near the Belgian and German borders had frequent cross-border contacts with those more culturally diverse and industrialized societies. Dutch commercial farmers and their hired hands in the rich northern regions of Friesland and Groningen, who produced foodstuffs and dairy products for foreign markets, were more cosmopolitan, whereas people in the interior regions east and north of the Zuider Zee were isolated geographically, economically, and culturally.

IV

The comparative data on homeland origins show that the CRC had greater membership from the traditional, localistic regions of the Netherlands than did the RCA. This fact may help explain why the traditionalist habits and customs remained strong for a longer time in the junior denomination. Immigrant members of the RCA accommodated themselves theologically, ecclesiastically and culturally to their new environment, whereas the CRC continued to look to the Mother Country for leadership and direction. Its members had not immigrated to create a new culture but to enjoy a better living within a transplanted community where they could continue life as they had known and valued it in the Old Country. The Seceders of 1857 truly remained an "immigrant church" until after the First World War.

The differences in the Reformed communions were fixed, however, not by the events of 1857 but subsequently. Immigration trends, clerical recruitment practices, and ecclesiastical events after 1857 established the enduring distinctions between the two Dutch Reformed denominations in North America, rather than the 1857 schism itself. Moreover, the distinction in large part reflected Old World regionalism and social differentiation. Immigrants with more cosmopolitan origins tended to resist religious isolation and preferred a church oriented toward the broader American scene. The RCA was their choice. Homeland culture and traditions is thus the salient variable in explaining socioreligious conflict among Dutch Reformed immigrants on the American frontier.

Table 1
Netherlands Hervormde Kerk and Separatist Emigrants
by Province and Emigration Periods, 1835-1880
Heads of Households and Single Persons

Denomination	Emigration Periods						N	Rank Order
	1835-57		1858-68		1869-1880			
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Hervormde Kerk:								
Drenthe	36	22.9	49	31.2	72	45.9	157	10
Friesland	295	32.7	157	17.4	450	47.9	902	6
Gelderland	1336	42.9	861	27.7	916	29.4	3113	2
Groningen	378	19.0	723	36.3	890	44.7	1991	4
Limburg*								
Noord Brabant	52	29.2	92	51.7	34	19.1	178	9
Noord Holland	260	23.7	392	35.7	447	40.7	1099	5
Overijssel	214	43.7	107	21.8	169	34.5	490	7
Utrecht	79	22.1	208	58.3	70	19.6	357	8
Zeeland	1537	43.0	854	23.9	1185	33.1	3576	1
Zuid Holland	761	36.9	712	34.5	590	28.6	2063	3
Totals	4953	35.5	4158	29.8	4829	35.4	13940	
Separatist:								
Drenthe		54.8	42	20.2	52	25.0	208	7
Friesland		39.1	48	20.6	94	40.3	233	5
Gelderland		70.7	49	13.9	54	15.3	352	3
Groningen		19.7	291	32.1	437	48.2	907	1
Limburg*								
Noord Brabant		71.7	7	13.2	8	15.1	53	10
Noord Holland		47.2	22	20.7	34	32.1	106	8
Overijssel		66.5	34	15.4	40	18.1	221	6
Utrecht		92.6	4	7.4	0	.0	54	9
Zeeland		62.8	50	13.2	91	24.0	379	2
Zuid Holland		79.7	31	11.4	24	8.9	271	4
Totals		49.3	578	20.8	834	30.0	2784	

*Limburg Province had a total of 11 Hervormde Kerk emigrants and no Separatists.

Table 2

Netherlands Emigration by Year, Hervormde Kerk and Separatists, 1835-1857, Heads of Households and Single Persons

Year	Hervormde Kerk		Separatists	
	1835-44	92.0	52	7.9
1845	90.0	117	10.0	13
1846	74.4	311	25.6	107
1847	57.3	709	42.7	529
1848	65.3	327	34.7	174
1849	71.7	339	28.3	134
1850	89.6	147	10.4	17
1851	88.0	206	12.0	28
1852	95.1	273	4.9	14
1853	89.8	345	10.2	39
1854	89.0	867	11.0	107
1855	83.6	453	16.4	89
1856	82.9	403	17.1	83
1857	92.2	404	7.8	34
Totals	78.3	4953	21.7	1372

Table 3

Netherlands Religious Groups by Social Class Ranking, Emigrant Heads of Households and Independent Persons, 1835-1857

Religious Groups	Dutch Social Class		
	Well-to-do	"Middling"	Poor
Hervormde Kerk	8.9% (352)	63.5% (2514)	27.6% (1090)
Separatists	18.1% (188)	62.6% (652)	19.3% (201)
Roman Catholic	12.2% (198)	69.1% (1119)	18.7% (303)
Jewish	9.0% (16)	61.8% (111)	28.7% (51)

Table 4

Comparative Growth Rates from 1873, Reformed and Christian Reformed Denominations, 1873-1899

Denomination	1873-1875	1875-1881	1881-1884	1884-1887	1887-1890	1890-1893	1893-1896	1896-1899
Reformed ¹	3%	4%	3%	6%	2%	10%	7%	4%
Periodic rate	3%	7%	10%	17%	19%	31%	40%	45%
Cumulative rate								
Reformed (Immigrant Classes only ²)								
Periodic rate	18%	3%	3%	20%	14%	14%	6%	2%
Cumulative rate	18%	22%	25%	50%	70%	94%	106%	111%
Christian Reformed ³								
Periodic rate	41%	52%	66%	31%	28%	28%	11%	9%
Cumulative rate	41%	116%	257%	367%	496%	664%	748%	831%

¹Based on number of families, communicant and non-communicant.²Includes Wisconsin, Grand River, Holland, Illinois, Iowa, and Dakota Classes.³Based on number of souls, communicants and baptised members, incl. children.SOURCE: Reformed Church of America *Yearbooks*, 1873-1899; Christian Reformed Church *Jaarboeken*, 1875, 1881-1899; *De Wachter*, Sept. 19, 1973.**Table 5**

Netherlands Denominational Affiliation of Reformed and Christian Reformed Church Household Heads and Single Individuals, Pre- and Post-1857 Immigrants

Netherlands Affiliation	1835-1856		1857-1880	
	Reformed	Christian Reformed	Reformed	Christian Reformed
Hervormde Kerk	53.7% (383)	55.0% (214)	79.7% (341)	61.0% (388)
Separatists	45.0% (321)	44.0% (171)	19.6% (84)	38.1% (242)
Other	1.3% (9)	1.0% (4)	.7% (3)	.9% (6)
N.A.= 4				

Table 6
Netherlands Socioeconomic Classification of Reformed and Christian Reformed
Household Heads and Single Individuals, Pre- and Post-1857 Immigrants

Socioeconomic Classification	1835-1856		1857-1880	
	Reformed	Christian Reformed	Reformed	Christian Reformed
Well-to-do	15.7% (98)	12.7% (47)	13.2% (57)	7.1% (45)
"Middling"	64.3% (401)	68.4% (253)	70.3% (303)	74.1% (472)
Poor	20.0% (125)	18.9% (70)	16.5% (71)	18.8% (120)
	N.A. = 112		N.A. = 5	

Table 7
Netherlands Occupational Classification, Reformed and Christian Reformed
Household Heads and Single Individuals, Pre- and Post-1857 Immigrants

Occupational Classification	1835-1856		1857-1880	
	Reformed	Christian Reformed	Reformed	Christian Reformed
White Collar/ Professional	7.9% (51)	4.9% (18)	5.0% (21)	5.6% (35)
Farmers	22.7% (147)	25.8% (95)	17.3% (73)	13.4% (83)
Skilled Workers	26.8% (147)	23.1% (85)	20.7% (87)	17.1% (106)
Unskilled workers/ Farm laborers	42.7% (277)	46.2% (170)	57.0% (240)	63.9% (397)
	N.A. or without=89		N.A. or without=31	

Table 8
Province of Last Residence, Pre- and Post-1857 Immigrant Samples
Reformed and Christian Reformed Church Household Heads and Single Individuals, 1835-1880

Province	1835-1856			1857-1880		
	Reformed (1)	Christian Reformed (2)	Index No. ^a	Reformed (3)	Christian Reformed (4)	Index No. ^a
Drenthe	4.8% (35)	13.2% (32)	275	1.4% (6)	7.4% (58)	529
Friesland	9.3% (68)	6.6% (16)	71	7.4% (31)	10.6% (83)	143
Gelderland	17.0% (124)	7.4% (18)	44	23.6% (99)	11.7% (92)	50
Groningen	11.2% (82)	11.6% (28)	104	24.5% (103)	28.2% (222)	115
Noord Brabant	1.1% (8)	1.7% (4)	155	1.7% (7)	1.6% (13)	94
Noord Holland	4.4% (32)	2.1% (5)	48	7.4% (31)	5.1% (40)	69
Overijssel	10.4% (76)	19.4% (47)	186	4.3% (18)	5.6% (44)	130
Utrecht	2.3% (17)	.8% (2)	35	.9% (4)	.6% (5)	67
Zeeland	24.2% (177)	27.7% (67)	114	14.0% (59)	14.2% (112)	101
Zuid Holland	15.3% (112)	9.5% (23)	62	14.8% (62)	15.0% (118)	101
	N=731	N=242		N=420	N=787	

^aIndex numbers are computed by dividing column 2 percentages by column 1, multiplied by 100.

Table 9
 Provincial Regions of Last Residence, Reformed and Christian Reformed
 Household Heads and Single Individuals, Pre- and Post-1857 Immigrants

Provincial Regions	1835-1856		1857-1880	
	Reformed	Christian Reformed	Reformed	Christian Reformed
Local/ Traditional ^a	59.8% (429)	67.6% (263)	52.1% (226)	69.8% (446)
Cosmopolitan ^b	40.2% (288)	32.4% (126)	47.9% (208)	30.2% (193)

^aProvinces of Drenthe, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Zeeland.

^bProvinces of Gelderland, Noord and Zuid Holland, Noord Brabant, Utrecht.