

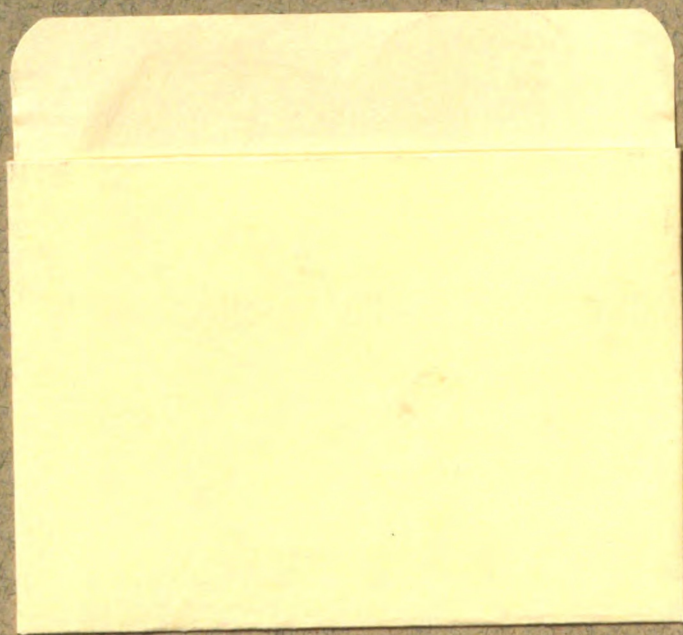
THE CHURCH AND ASSIMILATION  
IN AN ISOLATED NATIONALITY  
GROUP

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
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Meinte Schuurmans

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THE CHURCH AND ASSIMILATION

IN AN

ISOLATED NATIONALITY GROUP

A Study of the Role of the Christian Reformed Church  
in the  
Dutch Community near Manhattan, Montana

by

Meinte Schuurmans

A THESIS

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THESIS

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

This paper is a sociological case study of the Dutch colony located near Manhattan, Montana, giving special emphasis to assimilation and the role of the church in the lives of the people.

Purpose. The purpose of the study was to discover to what extent this foreign group had become assimilated in American life; how their Christian Reformed faith directed and controled their lives; and how the church as an organization functioned to enforce its standards. An attempt was also made to discover the outside influences that have operated to change the attitudes or practices of the people, and to note to what extent and in what direction the church exerted its influence. Is the role of this church increasing or decreasing? What is the probable future role of this church?

Method. The writer was reared in the colony and lived there until he finished high school in nearby Manhattan in 1918. His mother and other members of his family still reside there. Also the great majority of the older folks are his personal acquaintances. During the summer of 1937 he returned to visit and observe more



carefully. While there he sent a hundred questionnaires (see sample in appendix) to heads of families, forty-five of whom returned them in various degrees of completion. He had long interviews with the pastor, prominent members of the community, and business men in town. He also obtained considerable information about church procedure from a brother-in-law, who was also reared in Manhattan, and is a graduate of the denomination's theological school in Grand Rapids. Subsequently many questions have been answered through correspondence with relatives and friends residing there.

Organization. It was thought desirable first to describe the location and origins of the colony in Chapter I. In Chapter II the necessary historical facts about the Dutch, both in the Netherlands and in the United States, are presented as a background for a better understanding of Dutch psychology, attitudes and customs. Chapter III deals specifically with the creedal standards, judicatory organization, and special practices of the Christian Reformed Church. This is presented in some detail because the church is the central dominating institution which exerts a powerful influence on the lives of the people. Chapter IV gives the history of the local congregation at Manhattan, while succeeding chapters deal with various phases of life in the settlement.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DUTCH COLONY at MANHATTAN, MONTANA

The Gallatin Valley. The Dutch settlement at Manhattan, Montana lies in the beautiful and fertile Gallatin Valley in the southwestern part of the state, ninety miles north west of the Yellowstone Park. (See Figures 1 and 2.) The elevation is nearly five thousand feet, causing the average growing season to be only one hundred to one hundred and fourteen days. This is the region where Sacajawea, of Lewis and Clarke Expedition fame, spent her childhood. Hunters, trappers, and prospectors subsequently roamed the country for years. Later many wagon trains passed through the valley to Virginia City and the gold country after John Bozeman, the trapper and guide, discovered his famous short-cut pass over the mountains. The earliest permanent settlers arrived in 1864 when Bozeman and others filed claims to the land on the present site of the city that now bears his name.<sup>1</sup>

The early settlers raised mainly cattle and horses. Agriculture seemed impossible, for irrigation was all but

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1. Mrs. E. Lina Houston, Early History of Gallatin County, Montana, Bozeman Chronicle Print, Bozeman, Montana, 1933.



unknown. Only enough food for home use was grown. There were no railroads and little machinery. Any large machinery, such as that required for grist and saw mills had to be shipped in by river boat to Fort Benton near Great Falls, a hundred forty miles distant, and then hauled over land by ox teams.

The valley was really opened up for settlement only when the Northern Pacific Railroad came through in 1883. It made markets accessible for agricultural products, while machinery could be shipped in at reasonable rates. Within relatively few years the population of the valley increased tremendously. Gradually the cattle men were forced to turn to agriculture as more and more land was taken up by new settlers.

Before the Dutch arrived, all the low land along the rivers had been settled because it could be easily irrigated. Agriculture was considered impossible without it. In the course of time, however, longer and larger canals were built to bring more land into cultivation. Until 1890 the higher table lands were only good for open range grazing. At that time the longest canal of all, some thirty miles, was constructed to supply water high up on the table lands. The West Gallatin Irrigation Company purchased all Northern Pacific Railway land--every other section--under the ditch for \$1.25 per acre, and began selling it at \$15.00 per acre. The Company

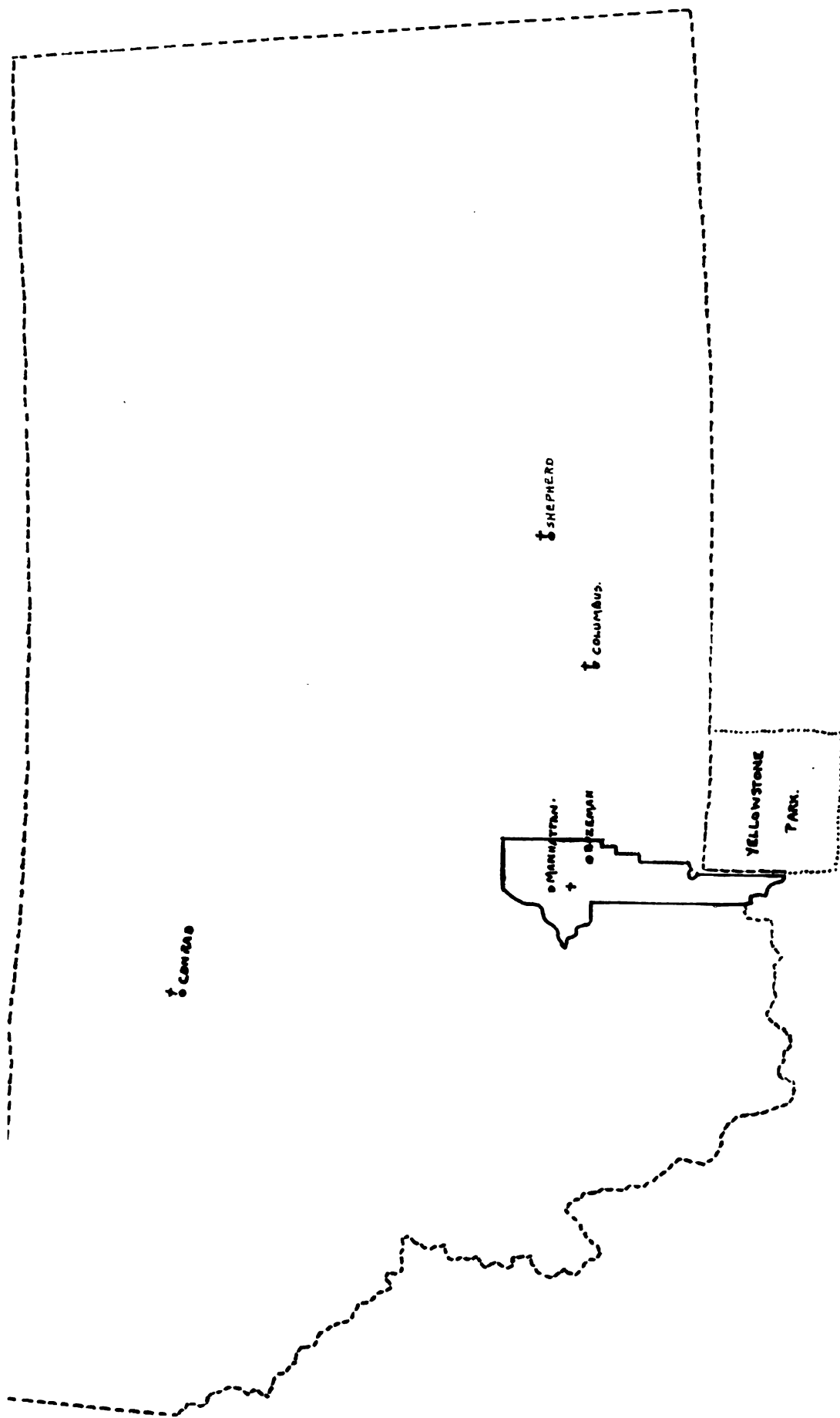


FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH NEAR MANHATTAN  
IN GALLATIN COUNTY, MONTANA

AND THE OTHER THREE CONGREGATIONS OF THE DENOMINATION IN THE STATE

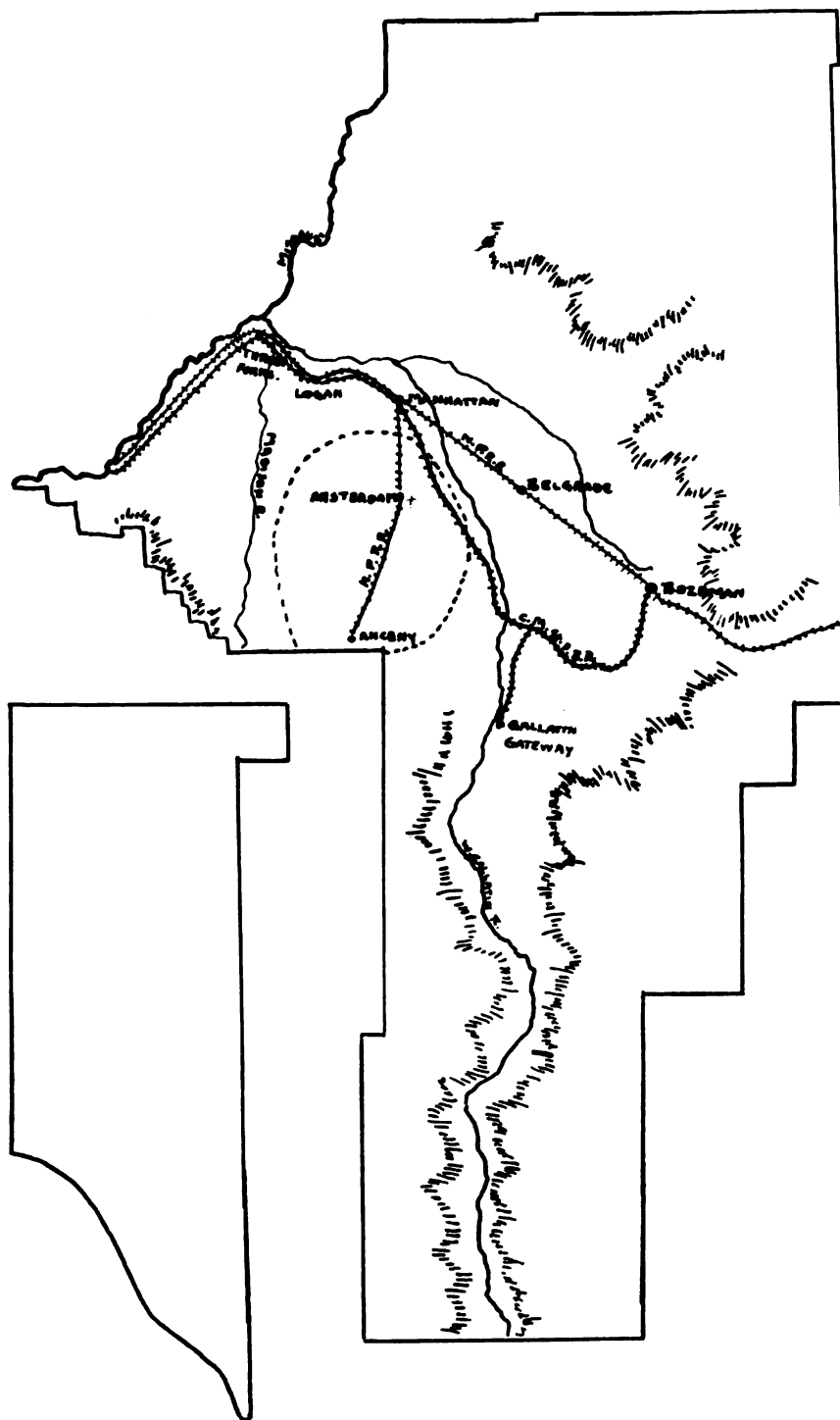


FIGURE 2

THE GALLATIN VALLEY, HOLLAND SETTLEMENT AND  
CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN GALLATIN COUNTY  
MONTANA

was organized by a New York brewing concern because the valley produced such excellent malt barley. The problem was to get the right kind of settlers. They decided they should import beer drinking German or Dutch farmers.

Dutch Immigration. It happened that Rev. A. J. Wormser, a preacher of Dutch descent, was then serving the Presbyterian Church as home missionary at Bozeman, the county seat. He agreed to become the company's agent to induce Hollanders to immigrate. He went to the Netherlands, and through advertisements and speeches, gave a glowing account of the possibilities in the valley. Times were difficult in Holland and taxes were high. He finally succeeded in getting nine families, each having a little money, to come over in 1893. They had absolute faith in their leader, and being ignorant of the situation, most of them were induced to buy very unlikely land. They were not informed about the possibilities of homesteading adjacent sections. When they learned of it they became very bitter against Rev. Wormser. Later these and others did file and improve homesteads, however.

The early years were extremely difficult. Language, of course, was a great barrier. Everything was so strange and new. They hardly knew what to do first or last. They bought horses, many of which died of glanders. And worst of all, the irrigation canal, being

new, with loose banks, kept washing out. Fixing the ditch kept them away from their own work, and they got no water. Inevitably crops were a failure. Fortunately for them, a few business men in the towns gave them credit to carry them over. But with a few years' experience, improved water supply, better prices and more rain, things began to improve rapidly by 1900.

Growth of the Colony. In the meantime, by means of the Dutch language press, letters and travel, the word spread that a new Holland settlement was developing at Manhattan. More and more families kept coming, largely from Michigan and the East, but later also from the Netherlands.

Forty of those who returned the questionnaires answered the question about where they came from as follows:

Netherlands	13	Michigan	10
Illinois	4	Montana	3
Iowa	2	Massachusetts	2
Minnesota	2	Canada	1
Washington	1	Idaho	1
California	1		

Many of those listed as coming from some other state were born in the Netherlands. The 1930 United States Census, Table 18, gives three hundred sixty-five people in Gallatin County born in the Netherlands. Table 19 shows six hundred seventy-eight native whites of foreign or mixed parentage under Netherlands. Not all of these can be considered as belonging to the settlement



under discussion, but certainly most of them are. This indicates how foreign this group is.

In almost every case the people came for economic reasons--the hope of a better living. A few came in search of health. In the early nineteen hundreds until after the World War, prices and production were excellent, and the community prospered. Many large spacious homes and farm buildings were erected. Also, in 1910, a large, beautiful, twenty-three thousand dollar church was built. The fame of the valley spread and the population of the colony increased rapidly. During this period dry-land farming methods were developed and became very successful because of sufficient rainfall during those years. The settlement spread out wider and wider by purchase and rental, until today it covers the whole southwestern third of the valley. Only here and there is there an American left stranded in the midst of the Dutch.



CHAPTER II  
DUTCH BACKGROUNDS  
IN THE NETHERLANDS AND IN AMERICA

To understand a foreign people, one must know something of their history. What is today, is the product of yesterday's experiences. Chapter II deals with certain conditions that created the present psychology, beliefs, practices, and organization of the Dutch in Manhattan. The Christian Reformed Church is a product of two secessions, one in the Netherlands, and one in Michigan. To understand the denomination today, one must have a knowledge of the struggles and the principles involved, as they occurred.

Dutch Characteristics. The Dutch people are always spoken of as possessing certain distinct characteristics. They are said to be thrifty, industrious, honest, religious, unemotional, tenacious, conservative, slow at innovation, clannish and individualistic. To what degree they may possess these qualities in certain combinations to a greater extent than other peoples is difficult to say. That they, as a people, however, do differ from other Americans seems beyond dispute. As a matter of fact, the Dutch themselves see distinguishing characteristics in the residents of each of their eleven provinces.

The Frisian, the Gronniger, and the Zeelander are somehow different.<sup>2</sup> The traditional reputation of the Dutch may be partly due to the fact that a people gets its reputation through its most frequent contacts with the outside world. That part of the population that is sea-faring, traders, governmental or military, creates a reputation that is then applied to the total population. And there is a tendency for groups as well as individuals to live up to their reputations.

The physical environment, the economic situation, and the social, religious, and national experiences of a people are the main influences that mould their character. The Dutch, in certain provinces particularly, have had a constant and unrelenting struggle with water and the ocean. Danger of disaster was ever present. Life was not easy. Inevitably it influenced their emotional life and attitudes. Land was scarce, so every available parcel was utilized. A relatively large population in a small country on the sea, forced the Dutch into sea-faring commerce. Situated at the crossroads of Europe, every social upheaval on the continent, through all the centuries, left its influence there. Holland is not isolated. The Medieval Ages, Renaissance, Reformation,

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2. H. E. Ryskamp, The Dutch in Western Michigan. Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Michigan, 1930.





Religious Wars with Spain, Age of Discovery and Colonization, Wars with England and Napoleon; all left their traces in Dutch psychology, character and customs.

Holland's history has not been an easy-going one. Levity and emotional expression are not a Dutchman's heritage. Tenacious hard work, dogged determination, and constant struggling against odds developed, possibly through compensation, a faith in the supernatural nigh unto fatalism. Self-discipline, and making the very best of every situation, is the fundamental background of the people.

Life on earth being hard, it seems quite logical that the Dutchman tended to sublimate his present lack by developing a strong faith in the glories of the life hereafter. They are said to be naturally religious. It is certainly true that the poorer elements who comprised the vast majority of the immigrants to this country were predominantly religious. And such were those who settled in Manhattan.

Netherlands Church History.<sup>3</sup> To understand the role of a local church one must know the history of the

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3. Henry Beets, The Christian Reformed Church in North America, Grand Rapids, Eastern Avenue Book Store, 1923, Chapters 1 and 2. The writer has drawn very heavily upon this work for the most of this chapter.



denomination to which it belongs, for no institution can be understood except in terms of its past.

Principles of the Reformation. All Protestant churches, of course, have their origin in the Reformation which started when Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door at Wurtemberg in 1517. There are said to be three fundamental principles of Protestantism.

The first, or objective principle, affirms that the Bible is the supreme and infallible rule of our faith and practice. The second, or subjective principle . . . is that we are justified before God by a true and living faith, without any merits of ours, merely grace. The third Reformation principle is called the social one. Christ is the King of the Church, and subject to Him, all believers are of equal spiritual rank. This involves the general priesthood of believers, the right to interpret the Bible, and to share in the government of the church.<sup>4</sup>

These principles are not merely words in a history book as far as the Dutch in Manhattan are concerned. They are a vital part of their attitudes and characters. They are principles that govern and influence their daily activity. They are very real factors in their psychology.

All the Reformers agreed on these principles, but soon differences arose on views about the Lord's Supper, Baptism, Church government, and what might be called minor doctrines. These caused many schisms, which still continue to occur, resulting in a very confused Protestantism.

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4. Ibid., p. 14.

The Reformed Church in the Netherlands. The followers of John Calvin and Zwingli formed the Reformed Churches of Christendom as distinguished from the Lutheran Churches. Dutch temperament and certain fiery preachers of the time, together assured the dominance of Calvinism in the Netherlands after about 1560. It was during the Eighty Years' War with Spain (1568-1648) that stern Calvinism organized the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. It was at the famous National Synod of Dordrecht held in 1618-19 that the Church Order subscribed to today by the people in Manhattan, received its essential present form.

About a century later it was charged corruption of preaching and doctrine set in. The Church, for the most part, lost its orthodoxy by the time of the French Revolution, when it was disestablished. When King William I ascended the throne in 1816, after the Napoleonic Wars, he autocratically forced a new organization upon the old church, placing it more or less in bondage to the State, and to that of oligarchies or administrative bodies, contrary to the Presbyterian order. Doctrinally there was very flagrant departure from the official standards of the "Church of the Fathers" while ministers, through changes in ordination vows, could preach practically what they liked. However, there were a few pastors





who continued to preach the old faith with vigor and contention.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in 1834, a small group of these ultra-orthodox seceded, and formed the Christian Reformed Church of the Netherlands. The reasons given for the secession were as follows:

- (1) A falling away from the pure doctrine of the Reformed Church, as expressed in its Standards of Dordrecht.
- (2) A hierarchical form of church government and arbitrary regulations.
- (3) The introduction of unsound hymns.
- (4) A new and dubious-sounding formula of subscription. Reformed doctrine was to be taught not because (quia) but in so far as (quatenus) it was contained in the Word of God.
- (5) Unfaithfulness of preachers regarding their ordination vows.<sup>6</sup>

These secession principles are looked upon today by the church in this country as the "work of the fathers," and is highly revered.

The seceders were immediately ostracized, despised, and persecuted. Frequently they were arrested, fined and boycotted. Their children were often abused and even stoned on the way to and from church and school, and many people were ejected from their rented farms. To add to

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5. Ibid., p. 18.

6. Ibid., p. 21.

their troubles, the times were unusually hard as an aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the introduction of large amounts of farming machinery. Also Russian wheat flooded the Dutch market depressing prices and reducing wages, besides throwing many out of work. To add to these difficulties, the potato crop failed because of blight, and the winter of 1844-45 was excessively severe.

Dutch Emigration. Thoughts of migration were thus forced upon these unhappy people. Finally in 1847 after much difficulty, argument, and divisions, a large Dutch colony was established in western Michigan, centering about the present city of Holland. The wilderness was most inhospitable, and many fell ill and died. Their first few years were miserable in the extreme. But hard, persistent work finally produced a prosperous community.

#### Union with Dutch Reformed Church in America

Dutch Church History in America. Strange to say, these immigrants did not keep any ecclestical connections with their church in the Netherlands. The leaders of the emigration knew in a vague way about the existence of a Dutch Reformed Church in America which had its origin in colonial New Netherlands two hundred years earlier. But there is no evidence that they ever contemplated joining that church. But in 1849, an emissary of that church, Dr. I. N. Wyckoff, visited the new colony during its most



trying period, and invited them to join his denomination. The leader of the colony, Dr. A. C. Van Raalte, to quote Dr. Wyckoff,

dispatched letters and messengers to several ministers and consistories, inviting them to a conference with me on Monday, June 4th. Quite a large company attended . . . At the Classical meeting it was soon made known that the brethren were a little afraid of entering into ecclesiastical connection with us . . . (but) I stated that they would be most perfectly free, at any time they found ecclesiastical connection opposed to their religious prosperity or enjoyment, to bid us a fraternal adieu, and be by themselves again. . . . As the result they agreed, with those explanations, to join our Synod.<sup>7</sup>

And so, in due time, the union was affected.

That was the beginning of years of trouble and division amongst the Dutch. The union was consummated too quickly, almost naively, and without thorough investigation and understanding. These immigrants were purists, individualists, sticklers on what might be considered small matters of doctrine and practice. There had been no congregational meetings and no public discussion of any kind. The people seemed to have faith in their leaders, and the leaders had faith in Dr. Wyckoff.

Church Schism in America. Within a few years disturbing reports started trickling in about many practices and doctrines of the eastern church which caused many to shudder. Eventually a few of the immigrants went East

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7. Ibid., p. 41, quoted by Beets.

for one reason or another and stayed for shorter or longer periods. Upon their return more news spread about the "abominable practices" of the "impure" church which they had joined. A ferment of agitation set in, calling for a separation on the basis of Dr. Wyckoff's reservation, which, incidentally, was not incorporated in the official papers of union.

The following is a resume' of what was usually objected to:

- (1) Departure from the Calvinism of the standards,-- particularly as to . . . atonement and election.
- (2) Neglect of Catechism,--preaching and teaching.
- (3) The use of 800 hymns, contrary to the Church Order of Dordrecht. . . . (This was a sore point because of the great controversy in the Netherlands years before.)
- (4) The toleration of Free Masons as members in good standing.
- (5) Private baptisms taking the place of public administration of the sacrament in connection with preaching, according to Reformed principle.
- (6) Admission of non-reformed people to the Communion table: open communion.
- (7) Neglect of family-visiting as required by the Church Order.<sup>8</sup>

The inevitable break came at the Holland Classis meeting on April 8, 1857. Two pastors and three congregations presented notices of withdrawal.

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8. Ibid., p. 46.

There was evidently a pleading that all of the brethren might return to the "standpoint of 1849," as their former condition and position was called. But most of the clerical leaders defended the "East" as much and as long as they could.<sup>9</sup>

The seceding group immediately organized a new denomination. But not until 1859 was it officially named the "Holland Reformed Church," to be succeeded two years later by the name "True Dutch Reformed Church." In 1880 the name "Holland Christian Reformed Church" was adopted. Finally the "Holland" was dropped in 1890 because of German and English speaking churches. The name today is the "Christian Reformed Church." For fifty years a veritable ecclestical civil war existed between the Dutch. In certain localities the feeling remained extremely bitter until very recently, especially where both churches were strong. Both church papers carried polemic after polemic. Being the smaller, the Christian Reformed Church was on the defensive, but very militantly so. Like the seceding church in the Netherlands, it fought for what it believed, and is still a fighting, aggressive, orthodox denomination. That is the ecclestical heritage of the Dutch colony at Manhattan, Montana.

Growth of the Christian Reformed Church. Until 1880, the church remained very small and feeble. The secession movement did not take fire. In fact some of

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9. Ibid., p. 47.



the preachers and churches who had seceded, soon returned to the old affiliation. Not over one hundred fifty families comprised the entire group. After twenty-three years of existence, there were only thirty-nine widely scattered congregations with only three thousand five hundred sixty-six confessing members. One of their biggest difficulties was preachers. The Netherlands was so far away and the seceding church there could not understand the situation here. They would not allow affiliation, and preachers found it difficult to transfer. The only recourse was to designate one of their own local preachers to train candidates in theology. It was an extremely difficult period. The task would have been well nigh futile had not a few very able, well-educated ministers come over from the Netherlands in spite of obstacles. By 1877 at least nine such had come. Thus, after twenty years, the church had become well established with a secure future, although small.

The year 1880 marks a distinct turning point for the church. After this date it began to grow very rapidly due to a number of factors, the most important one being immigration. Industrial and social conditions were very unfavorable in the Netherlands, forcing wage earners to thoughts of migration. Most of these immigrants joined the Christian Reformed Church in America because it was more Dutch in nature, and also because

the Netherlands seceding Christian Reformed Church had come to prefer the American seceded church. In 1882 a Dutch Reformed Church preacher wrote a letter to the Netherlands Synod stating:

Many of our best and most orthodox ministers and church members are Free Masons, . . . Our Synod could not take action which would virtually excommunicate these brethren . . . what God hath cleansed that call thou not common or unclean.<sup>10</sup>

This was a shock to the Synod, the result being:

advice to the Netherlands churches no longer to address membership papers to Reformed congregations until turned from the abomination of Free Masonry.<sup>11</sup>

Since then almost the entire Dutch immigration has been absorbed by the Christian Reformed Church.

Other factors in the growth of the church were (1) the tireless work on the part of some devoted preachers in organizing small, isolated groups; (2) immigration of seceding German elements from just across the Netherlands borders; (3) union with the True Reformed Dutch Church, a seceding group in this country dating from 1822; (4) the joining of eight large Dutch Reformed congregations, plus many individual families elsewhere, who left their denomination in 1881 because of a resurgence of the Masonic issue. Since then the denomination has had a steady regular growth until today it is composed of

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10. Ibid., p. 79, quoted by Beets.

11. Ibid., p. 79, quoted by Beets.

two hundred seventy-two congregations in twenty states, having a total membership of over one hundred eight thousand. (See Tables I and II) However, in recent years, because of the restriction of immigration by the United States, the rate of growth of the church has naturally dropped considerably.

While not all the members of the church at Manhattan, especially the younger people, know all these facts about church history, nevertheless the general spirit and attitudes of the people have been affected by it through the denominational patterns set by church leaders and press through the years.



TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONS OF  
THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH

	1926	1936		1926	1936
Massachusetts	1	1	North Dakota	2	2
New York	3	3	South Dakota	11	12
New Jersey	14	15	Kansas	2	2
Ohio	4	4	Montana	4	4
Indiana	4	5	Colorado	3	4
Illinois	18	21	New Mexico	1	4
Michigan	100	105	Washington	6	9
Wisconsin	10	11	California	5	9
Minnesota	17	17	Texas		1
Iowa	40	42	Idaho		1
			Total	245	272
			Increase		27

TABLE II

GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH  
from  
1857 TO 1936

Year	Churches	Communicants	Souls
1857	4	250	750
1880	39	3,566	12,001
1890	99	12,470	
1900	144	17,584	53,794
1906	174	26,669	
1916	226	38,668	57,017
1920	245		95,995
1926	246		98,534
1936	272		107,993

## CHAPTER III

### THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED DENOMINATION

To the Dutch of the Christian Reformed Church, their doctrines, organization, and Church Order are very real things in their lives. They are not merely of historical interest, but of vital import. Creed, synod, classis, and consistories are powerful factors in their lives. To understand why the Dutch are as they are, one must know something of this background. Chapter III deals with the beliefs, governing bodies, and practices of the church.

The Presbyterian System of Church Government. The Christian Reformed Church is organized according to the Presbyterian System of government, comprising the local church with its consistory, then the classis, and finally the synod.

The following may be called the chief principles underlying the Presbyterian order of Church Government:

- (1) The Sovereignty of God. Christ has sovereignly been "set" as King over Zion, and God's Word is the Constitution of the Church. . . .
- (2) Christ exercises His authority by means of His office bearers. . . . Their power is not original. They have no authority for legislating laws not found in or based on the Word of their Lord. 1

- (3) These office-bearers are called, in the sense of being designated, by the various churches as instruments, not deriving their authority from the congregations, however, . . . but from Christ whom they represent.
- (4) These various churches are considered complete local manifestations of the body of Christ. There is a parity of churches as well as of office bearers, and each congregation possesses autonomy, except in so far as it has transferred some of its rights to other church judicatories in the interests of Federation in classical or synodical organizations.<sup>13</sup>

In the Christian Reformed Church, the following judicatories exist. First, the consistory, composed of the elders both teaching, (preachers) and ruling,--in small churches augmented by deacons. These consistory members are chosen by the communicant male members in good standing. Second, delegates from consistories comprising certain groups of churches meet from time to time in a classis or presbytery. The Manhattan Church is part of Classis Pacific comprising all churches in Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Western Canada. Only teaching and ruling elders are eligible to represent their consistories. Specified numbers of both teaching and ruling elders in equal numbers are delegated by the classical judicatories to meet as a third judicatory called the synod. This judicatory is the final court of appeal and the supreme legislative body of the Church.

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13. Ibid., p. 235.





Its decisions rule in all congregations. Even personal problems may be appealed from consistory to classis, and finally<sup>14</sup> synod for decision. Consistories and individuals also have the right to overture synod on ecclesiastical problems. Many of these are received each year. However, Manhattan seldom sends any. Synod now meets annually in Grand Rapids, Michigan, but until recently it met biennially.

The Church Order. The Church Order, or constitution dates back to that drawn up at the famous Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-19.

The authority of the Church Order is built on the command regarding subjection to office-bearers. Like children owing obedience to their parents, . . .; and subjects to magistrates, Rom. 13:1-7, so the Lord demands obedience to church authorities, as evident from Matt. 16:19 . . . ; and especially Heb. 13:7 and 17. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them; for they watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account.<sup>14</sup>

Authority and obedience are two important concepts in church life, which carry over and permeate their entire lives.

The Church Order is not considered absolute and conscience binding. Only the Bible is that. But the Order is based on "God's Word" and is therefore binding unless proven contrary to the Bible. The purpose of a Church Order is to regulate the functioning of the offices of the church.

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14. Ibid., p. 239.

After repeated attempts to bring the Church Order of Dordrecht closer to American church life, a limited revision was adopted by the Synod of 1914 after a much more elaborate revision had been rejected in 1912.

Church Creed.<sup>15</sup> The Christian Reformed Church has a definite written Creed which it prizes very highly, and to which it enforces the strictest adherence. In these days when creeds seem to be outmoded, the Christian Reformed Church is as strict as ever. Their argument on the matter runs as follows: A creed is an official statement of belief. There are many people today who decry creeds, or say they have no creed except the Bible, as if the Bible and creeds had no connection. Calvinists have always believed in the necessity of specific written creeds, and that for many reasons. The argument is not about the authority of the Bible, but about the interpretation of its statements so as to fit into some system.

Creedal standards, first of all, form something of a compendium or digest of the great truths of the Bible, a 'resume' of its leading contents. The second reason for a written creed is that it may serve as a bond of union and fellowship of like-minded followers of Christ. A third reason has at times been the need of furnishing outsiders, particularly government, with official statements of what

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15. Ibid., Chapter VIII.



was really believed by the group of believers, in the face of calumny which provoked persecution, or to prove that all could not be charged with the extreme views possibly held by a few. A fourth reason for a creed has resulted from activity of people within the church, propagating views undermining fundamentals or drawing pernicious inferences, so that re-statements were needed, or more careful defining and elaborating. Finally, a written creed renders service as a standard of orthodoxy for preachers and teachers of a given denomination. In case difficulties or different sentiments regarding them should arise in the mind, these are not to be proposed, taught or defended in public until first revealed or submitted to the consistory, classis or synod. The latter is part of the formula of subscription which all ministers sign upon entering the ministry. It is most rigidly enforced.

The creedal standards, often called the three formulas of unity or articles of concord, which all ministers and officials of the church must subscribe to are (1) The Heidelberg Catechism; (2) The Netherlands Confession of Faith; and (3) The Canons of Dordrecht.

The first doctrinal standard as printed in the Psalters is the Heidelberg Catechism. It was drawn up in 1563 for Frederick the Pious of the Palatinate to "instruct the people of his domain in the fundamentals of

the Christian religion as he had embraced them in the Reformed presentation as distinct from the Lutheran."<sup>16</sup>

The Netherlands Confession is the older of the documents, covering the same field in a different way.

The Canons of Dordrecht are answers to the Arminian "Remonstrance" dealing with five fundamental doctrines. Arminius taught (1) that God's decree of election was based on foreseen faith; (2) that the Atonement of Christ was general for all who would accept Him; (3) that man accepts the Gospel according to his own arbitrary choice; (4) that God's grace is resistable, and (5) that a believer may fall from grace.

The Heidelberg Catechism is the one most commonly used, as it is the basis of a sermon each Sunday. But the arguments used in the Canons of Dort are frequently used in sermons, catechetical classes and Bible study groups.

Church Visitation. A great deal of care is taken to assure that all officials subscribe to absolutely sound doctrine. To make this doubly sure, annual church visitation by delegates from its classis is regularly practiced in the denomination. In 1922 the synod approved an extensive set of Rules for Church Visitation. Among other things, all church books are inspected; the record of

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16. Ibid., p. 188.

the visitation is kept in classical archives, and report made to classis. There are questions to be asked of the entire consistory, and also a number in the absence of each group, the preacher, the elders and the deacons. Inquiry is made regarding two services per Sunday, Heidelberg Catechism preaching at at least one service, four Lord's Supper celebrations per year, catechetical classes, church discipline, lodge memberships, Christian Schools, how well the minister performs his duties, as also the elders and deacons.<sup>17</sup>

A special duty of the elders is to watch that the minister does not preach false doctrine. At each meeting of the classis, delegates from each church are asked, "Is Church discipline exercised?"

Article 55 of the Church Order reads:

To ward off false doctrines and errors that multiply exceedingly through heretical writings, the ministers and elders shall use the means of teaching, of refutation, or warning, and of admonition, as well in the ministry of the Word as in Christian teaching and family-visiting.<sup>18</sup>

Advocacy of any doctrines at variance with that of the Church is always a serious matter that is strictly dealt with.

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17. William Stuart and Gerrit Hoeksema, Rules of Order for the Christian Reformed Church. Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, 1935, pp. 54 and 65.

18. Ibid., p. 65.

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This procedure is a great unifying factor in the denomination for it assures uniformity of practice and doctrine in all parts of the country. The church is a very closely-knit institution with the membership having a very strong sense of belonging. In fact this is so strong that few people move to places where there is no Christian Reformed Church.

The general atmosphere of the denomination is one of constant effort to guard against deviation of thought and practice. Discipline is strong and severe. The church is small enough for all the preachers to know each other, and some enjoy the reputation of being the watchdogs of the fold. Therefore everybody is very careful. It is easy to get into trouble so the old and tried ways are faithfully trod by all.

However, now and again someone writes or preaches something that is questioned. Then follows a session of synod, a good share of which is taken up with trying the case. Never has an accused been acquitted. Recantations, schisms or withdrawals are the inevitable result. And this often over matters that in most other churches would not have created an issue.

The Consistory and Church Discipline. The governing body of every congregation is the consistory which is composed of the minister, elders and deacons. These are elected by a majority vote of the male members in good



standing, upon nomination of the consistory. Two names are proposed for each office. To quote from a letter:

The nominations are announced two Sundays, and if objections are received concerning any one, they must be voiced at a meeting of the consistory following the second announcement. If the charges are sustained, another nomination is made. A member nominated may not refuse except for very good and proved reasons in the eyes of the consistory. We believe that the Holy Spirit directs in a special way in the work of making nominations, there being only One King in the Church, namely the Lord Jesus Christ, Who thru His Spirit and Word guides the consistory. It is asked of the chosen one at his installation, whether he believes that he was called to the office by the Consistory and by Christ Himself. That makes it a very serious matter all around.<sup>19</sup>

Members at Manhattan serve for two years with half retiring each year. Often members are reelected. The number of members increases with the size of the church. In Manhattan the number has been thirteen since 1931. The consistory meets regularly once a month with the minister as chairman. Routine matters of congregational business are first disposed of, and then matters of congregational welfare are considered. It is the duty of the consistory to watch over the congregation, and to investigate and attempt to settle all matters of aggravated difficulty. Members are expected to attend church services regularly, and to participate in the feast of the Lord's Supper. Any one neglecting these duties is called upon by the minister and elders, and questioned. Any moral delinquency

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19. Private letter from the pastor at Manhattan.



involving the breaking of one of the Ten Commandments, or serious infringement of civil law, or participation in "worldly amusements" is investigated, and dealt with by the consistory according to the Church Order.

I Corinthians 11:27-29 reads, "Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

Matthew 5:23-24 reads, "Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." These passages have a profound influence upon a sincerely religious people. If any very serious difficulty exists between individuals, they dare not attend Holy Communion. On the other hand, they dare not stay away either. There are many cases where difficulties have been adjusted before the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Matthew 18:15-17 reads, "Moreover, if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take

with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." Regarding this, Articles 73 and 74 of the Church Order state: "Secret sins of which the sinner repents, after being admonished by one person in private or in the presence of two or three witnesses, shall not be laid before the consistory," and, "If any one, having been admonished in love concerning a secret sin by two or three persons, does not give heed, or otherwise has committed a public sin, the matter shall be reported to the Consistory."<sup>20</sup> Great stress is laid in the Church upon following this procedure. When anyone brings a matter before the Consistory he is asked if he has been to the brother himself. If not, he is requested so to do.

If this procedure does not produce the desired result, the matter is turned over to the consistory to act. If, as a result of consistorial efforts, the sinner is repentant, Article 75 of the Church Order prescribes:

The reconciliation of all such sins as are of their nature of a public character, or have become public because the admonition of the Church was despised, shall take place (upon sufficient evidence of repentance) in such manner as the Consistory shall

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20. Stewart and Hoeksema, p. 98.



deem conducive to the edification of each Church. Whether in particular cases this shall take place in public, shall, when there is a difference of opinion about it in the Consistory, be considered with the advice of two neighboring Churches or of the Classis.<sup>21</sup>

A ruling on a specific case by the Synod of 1908 reads:

In case of transgression of the Seventh Commandment before marriage, the form of confession is left to the discretion of the Consistory, provided the confession is made at least before the whole Consistory. The advisability of announcement of the names to the congregation shall be determined by the Consistory in each case.<sup>22</sup>

Article 76 reads:

Such as obstinately reject the admonition of the Consistory, and likewise those who have committed a public or otherwise gross sin, shall be suspended from the Lord's Supper. And if he, having been suspended, after repeated admonitions, shows no signs of repentance, the Consistory shall at last proceed to the extreme remedy, namely, excommunication, agreeably to the form adopted for that purpose according to the Word of God. But no one shall be excommunicated except with the consent of Classis.<sup>23</sup>

However, before resorting to excommunication, the sinner shall be dealt with according to instructions given in Article 77.

After the suspension from the Lord's Table, and subsequent admonitions, and before proceeding to excommunication, the obstinacy of the sinner shall be publicly made known to the congregation, the offense explained, together with the care bestowed upon him, in reproof, suspension from the Lord's Supper, and

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21. Ibid., p. 99.

22. Loc. Cit.

23. Loc. Cit.

repeated admonition, and the congregation shall be exhorted to speak to him and to pray for him. There shall be three such admonitions. In the first the name of the sinner shall not be mentioned that he be somewhat spared. In the second, with the consent of the Classis, his name shall be mentioned. In the third, the congregation shall be informed that (unless he repent) he will be excluded from the fellowship of the Church, so that his excommunication, in case he remains obstinate, may take place with the tacit approbation of the Church. The interval between the admonitions shall be left to the discretion of the Consistory.<sup>24</sup>

Very seldom is there an excommunication in the Church at Manhattan. Usually a person liable to censure is one who holds his Church membership lightly, and he therefore resigns before censure is ever instituted. However, it must be remembered that members have the right of appeal to the Classis and finally to the Synod. Almost every Synod has appeals of one kind or another to deal with.

If the sinner be a minister, elder or deacon, Article 79 prescribes:

When Ministers of the Divine Word, Elders or Deacons, have committed any public, gross sin, which is a disgrace to the Church or worthy of punishment by the Authorities, the Elders and Deacons shall immediately by preceding sentence of the Consistory thereof and of the nearest Church, be suspended or expelled from their office, but the Ministers shall only be suspended. Whether these shall be entirely deposed from office, shall be subject to the judgment of the Classis, with the advice of the Delegates of the Synod.<sup>25</sup>

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24. Ibid., p. 100.

25. Ibid., p. 101.

The sins by officials worthy of such punishment are listed thus in Article 80:

Furthermore among the gross sins, which are worthy of being punished with suspension or deposition from office, these are the principal ones: false doctrine or heresy, public schism, public blasphemy, simony, faithless desertion of office or intrusion upon that of another, perjury, adultery, fornication, theft, acts of violence, habitual drunkenness, brawling, filthy lucre; in short, all sins and gross offenses, as render the perpetrators infamous before the world, and which in any private member of the Church would be considered worthy of excommunication.<sup>26</sup>

The work of the Consistory in settling difficulties is kept secret up to the point of censure. The records of proceedings are therefore necessarily secret and not open to public inspection. Article 81 states:

The Ministers of the Word, Elders and Deacons, shall before the celebration of the Lord's Supper exercise Christian censure among themselves and in a friendly spirit admonish one another with regard to the discharge of their office.<sup>27</sup>

All these rules are not merely items in the Church Order, but are functioning factors in the church at Manhattan. Church authorities really act according to these rules.

The Ministry. A ministerial vacancy is filled by "calling" another minister or candidate. The consistory nominates a trio of pastors who seem to them desirable choices. These names are announced for two Sundays at

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26. Ibid., p. 102.

27. Loc. cit.



church services and published in the church press. Then a congregational meeting comprising all male members in good standing elects the one to be called. Two weeks are allowed such a one to accept or decline the call. If unsuccessful the procedure is repeated. This happened for three years at Manhattan between 1913 and 1916. Ministers did not care to come to this isolated Dutch colony. Finally the brother of a prominent member came for family health reasons. Since then the congregation has been continuously supplied with a pastor. But at present the difficulty lies in getting a change of pastors.

The preachers of the Christian Reformed Church are, without exception, highly trained men. Since 1927 the requirements for ordination have been a college degree plus three years of theological training. With very few exceptions, the minister is still the most highly educated man in his congregation. Add to this his ordination to the ministry, and he has tremendous prestige with his people.

As the Lord's spokesman, he reads and preaches the Word, administers the sacraments, and blesses the people. He also serves as the mouth of the people of God in confessing sin, in imploring His mercies, and in praising His Name.<sup>28</sup>

In the realm of religion, doctrine, theology, and the Bible generally, he is the authority. Here and there,

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28. H. E. Ryskamp, The Dutch in Western Michigan, Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1930.

there may be a layman who has become an expert in theology, who might dare to question him on obscure points, but generally the pastor's voice is supreme. However, he is under the strict control of his brethren through the ecclesiastical organizations of classes, and synod. Preachers cannot overstep the bounds of a strict creed. In recent years, a number have been tried by synod for such causes.

Of course a great deal depends upon the personality and tact of the preacher. There are some who do not possess the confidence of the majority of their people, with the result that their influence is greatly lessened. And when their reputation spreads very far, they do not receive calls to other churches, thus seriously victimizing their unfortunate congregations. The latter seem to have no recourse under the Presbyterian system. Occasionally congregations suffer great losses on this account.

The average pastor is usually thoroughly conversant with the troubles of his flock. A tactful minister helps adjust many difficulties before they become too aggravated. On the other hand, some are the cause of much unnecessary trouble. Their great knowledge of creed and doctrine tends to make them self-important, dictatorial and tactless.

The denomination is extremely conservative and doctrinaire. Any hint of liberalism or modernism is utterly taboo. The preachers are the guardians of orthodoxy and are all too prone to denounce any new suggestion. Creative imagination, initiative, new forms of culture, and social events of a different kind are often frowned upon as instruments of the devil that will lead the people, especially the youth, astray. The criterion of conduct is always what has been.

The Christian Reformed preachers tend to be very exclusive, seldom associating with those of other denominations. They tend to be polemical and militant in their ideas, so they find it impossible to cooperate with others who believe differently. They will never allow ministers of other denominations in their pulpits except on the very rarest of occasions, and then not for a regular worship service.

Neither are they active in civic affairs. Pure personal religion is their whole interest; everything else is considered secular. Discussing social, political or economic problems from the pulpit is utterly taboo. Textual exegesis is the prevailing form of sermon. Interpreting and explaining the Word of God is the minister's special mission--not promoting reform.

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Being conservative and doctrinaire in religion, the preachers, and people too, tend to be conservative in secular life as well. The status quo, or even the past, is usually supported. The "backward-look" prevails. There is little evidence of creative imagination grappling with great present problems in a realistic manner. Synods seldom discuss or pass resolutions on social questions. This can be partially explained by the intense other-worldly interest of the church and its strong supernaturalism. They seem to feel that God rules the world very much like an immense puppet show. The pastor at Manhattan stated in a sermon, "If the Lord wants to send rain, He will; if in His plans there is to be no rain, there won't. You can be sure of that." They believe that man by his own efforts, can do little or nothing. God rules the world according to His own will, and according to a predestined plan. They seem to have no idea of the great social and economic forces that control men's lives. To them the world's problems are the result of sin, and sin will always remain until the judgment day. The redeemed are relatively few, so man's efforts are well nigh senseless. It is God's grace only that brings about change.

Church Liturgy. The Christian Reformed Church is not a liturgical church, but through the centuries certain

forms and prayers for special occasions have gained common acceptance and finally, synodical authority. Most of these date back to near Reformation days with some minor revisions since. Forms for Baptism and Administering the Lord's Supper came first, followed in order by those for Excommunication, Readmitting Excommunicated Persons, Ordination of Ministers of God's Word, Ordination of Elders and Deacons (revised 1934), For the Installation of Professors of Theology, Ordination of Missionaries, and finally, the Form for the Solemnization of Marriage. The latter was adopted only in 1934. The Form used before that dated from 1566 and was entitled Confirmation of Marriage Before the Church. "Confirmation" in the title was due to the situation in the Netherlands where civil magistrates solemnized the marriage while the Church confirmed it. The main objection to the old form was that it did not sufficiently bring out the Christian character of marriage.

However, the 1934 Synod did not adopt the Dutch version of the new marriage Form, but decided to continue the use of the old Form, or whatever new Form might be adopted by the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands.<sup>29</sup> This shows how closely the church is associated with the old country in psychology and practices.

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29. Henry Beets, The Christian Reformed Church in North America, p. 194.



Distinctive Principles  
of the  
Christian Reformed Church

There are certain distinctive principles and practices to which the Christian Reformed Church including the Manhattan congregation, adheres.

(1) Militant Calvinism. First of all the Church is distinctively and militantly Calvinistic. The main doctrines of Calvinism are:

(a) Predestination or election--the purpose or decree of God from eternity respecting all events; especially the preordination of men to everlasting happiness or misery.

(b) Total depravity--The entire sinfulness or moral depravity of man, which is due to original sin and in which he remains until regenerated by the influence of the Spirit of God.

(c) Perseverance of the saints--Continuance in a state of grace until it is succeeded by a state of glory. This is the opposite of the Methodist "backslider" concept.

(d) Limited atonement--The righteousness of Christ was accepted by the Divine Father as a substitute for the righteousness of mankind lost through the fall of Adam and Eve. The suffering and death of Christ were accepted as an equivalent of the punishment justly incurred by



mankind; men being consequently released from punishment, on condition of their acceptance, through faith, of Christ's sacrifice.

(e) Effectual Calling--The Holy Spirit produces conviction of sin and acceptance of salvation by Christ.

Calvinism especially emphasises the sovereignty of God in the bestowal of grace. God of His free grace promises eternal blessedness to all who believe in Christ as the revealed Savior.

(2) Preaching of the Heidelberg Catechism. A second distinctive practice of the Christian Reformed Church is regular, compulsory preaching of the Heidelberg Catechism. Article 38 of the Church Order insists that ministers expound regularly the fifty-two Lord's Days of the Heidelberg Catechism. The reasons advanced for this practice are the following:

(a) It keeps a living contact with the past of our people. . . .

(b) Catechism-preaching constitutes a living bond of union between the different congregations of the denomination . . . in a world full of change. It means a real, living uniformity of belief, . . . such as no Confession can bring about. Confessions are but seldom read, whereas a Catechism explained regularly, gets into the very warp and woof of our intellectual and spiritual life.

(c) Catechism-preaching presents the truths of the Bible as a system. The doctrines of God's Word form one systematic whole. . . .

(d) Catechism-preaching safeguards the preacher from one-sidedness in his treatment of Bible truth. . . .

(e) The usefulness of Catechism-preaching is shown in the fact that unpleasant as well as pleasant things can be presented without shocking the congregation.

(f) Catechism-preaching is useful because it magnifies religion as a living, soul-saving revelation, requiring personal embracing of God's truth and God's Savior.

(g) The systematic preaching of the Catechism equips the church member to defend his faith and propagate it. He acquires great self-assurance.<sup>30</sup>

(3) Catechetical Instruction. A third distinctive practice of the Church is regular catechetical instruction of the children. Its purpose is to indoctrinate them in the teachings of the church, to

bring the children of the Covenant of grace to spiritual and ecclesiastical maturity, to a walking in Covenant ways, to inherit the blessings of the Covenant, to build up the Church and to assist in carrying out its mission.<sup>31</sup>

The character of this instruction is "religious, ecclesiastical, authoritative, and elementary." All the children of the church are expected to attend regularly the classes provided, which are usually taught by the minister. The elders of the church check on those who fail to attend. Parents are disciplined for persistent neglect in sending their children.

(4) Christian School. Fourthly, the Church, wherever possible, maintains free Christian schools. That was

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30. Ibid., p. 213.

31. Ibid., p. 217.

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one of the main reasons for the early Dutch immigration. The Church maintains that the child really belongs to its parents, not to the State or Church. Therefore, the first responsibility for education lies with the parents. The church may advise and urge, but not usurp, while the State may only regulate. Therefore Christian parents are urged to form a Christian School Society, elect their own board, erect a building, select and pay the teachers and, in general, run the school to their liking under State supervision.

(5) The Separated Life. The fifth distinctive practice of the Christian Reformed Church is the laying of great stress upon the "separated life." God's people are a "peculiar people." "Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers," is the apostolic injunction. This applies to marriages and many other relationships of life. Especially in two matters is the principle applied--secret orders and worldly amusement. This is further discussed in Chapter VIII, RECREATION AND SOCIAL LIFE.

(6) Psalm Singing. The last distinctive practice is the use of Psalms rather than hymns in the Church worship service. Until 1932 the Church used only the Psalter in divine worship. The motto was: "In God's House nothing but God's Word, also in song." Calvin himself

stated,

When we sing them (Psalms) we are certain of it that God puts these words into our mouths as if He Himself sang in us to His own glory.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most serious charges against the Church by the seceders, both in the Netherlands and in America, was that hymns were sung to the exclusion of Psalms. And what was worse, many of the hymns were doctrinally unsound, tainted with Arminianism.

(a) The Hymn Question. In 1928, however, for the first time, the matter of introducing hymns in public worship was brought to the synod.

No fewer than nine classes, and one Consistory had sent overtures concerning this matter, some favoring and others opposing and still others desiring a thorough investigation of the question.<sup>33</sup>

The following material dealing with the "Hymn Question" is presented as an illustration of how thoroughly and in what detail a subject is analyzed and discussed by the synod before any change is made affecting the practices of the church.

The traditional arguments against hymns were as follows:

(1) God has given but one collection of Psalms in Holy Scripture, viz., the Old Testament Psalms, and that

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32. Ibid., p. 208, quoted by Beets.

33. Special report of the Hymn Committee of the 1930 Synod.

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these were designed also for the New Testament Church. The New Testament contains no poetical books, no psalms. So God intended that only Old Testament Psalms be sung, otherwise He would have given poetical works in His New Testament.

(2) The Psalms excel in spiritual depth.

(3) Psalm singing is more expressive of the unity with the Church of all ages.

(4) Yet hymns, once introduced, have always supplanted the Psalms, so that man's work superceded the work of God.

The arguments for using hymns were as follows:

(1) Holy Scripture says nothing concerning the use of hymns in public worship, neither for nor against. Therefore the matter of singing is left to the freedom of the New Testament churches.

(2) Hymns need not be in the exact language of scripture because

Scripture teaches us that in Public Worship the free expression of divine truth in human language is in accordance with the will of God and divinely instituted.<sup>34</sup>

Preaching and praying constitute instances of such freedom of expression.

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34. Ibid.

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(3) The Reformed Churches

have never condemned the free Church-song in principle, nor declared that Hymns are in conflict with Holy Scripture.<sup>35</sup>

Even the Synod of Dordt permitted the "Bedezeang voor de Predicatie," which is truly a free song.

(4) The reformed fathers had a right to be suspicious of hymns in their day, under their special circumstances. But that does not argue that our attitude should not change for our day under different circumstances.

(5) It is agreed that Psalm-singing is important and necessary, but it need not be exclusive. Hymns will

enable believers of the New Testament to sing the praise of the God of their salvation as revealed in Christ with New Testament tongues. Without Hymns this can only be done in the Old Testament language of hopefully expectant prophecy, not in the New Testament language of jubilant fulfilment. Is it not the high calling of the Church to make such New Testament singing possible? Is it not also for the fulfilling of this task that she has received the anointing of the Holy Spirit?<sup>35</sup>

(6) An untenable situation as to hymns already exists. New German Churches and those of Classis Hackensack in New York State have for some time been allowed the freedom of using hymns, while most of the churches are strictly forbidden their use.

The 1928 Synod appointed a committee to investigate the entire Hymn Question from all points of view;

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35. Ibid.

and if found feasible, to compile a sufficient number of sound hymns for approval of the Synod of 1930. After very arduous labors the committee compiled and printed one hundred ninety-seven hymns for the approval of synod. The language of many of these hymns was revised to make them more doctrinally sound or appropriate.

The 1930 Synod then instructed the committee to revise Article 69 of the Church Order

in such a way that the singing of the 150 Psalms of David shall remain a requirement for our public worship, but that our churches shall have the freedom also to sing a greater number of Synodically-approved hymns than is now permitted.<sup>36</sup>

The number of hymns was finally reduced from one hundred ninety-three to one hundred thirty-eight. The report was finally accepted by the 1932 Synod. Today the Manhattan congregation sings at least one hymn at each English service, although the consistory had overtured synod not to allow the introduction of hymns.

The Synod of 1934 also granted permission to the Holland speaking churches to sing hymns that were accepted by the last synod of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, but these have not as yet been introduced into the Dutch services at Manhattan or anywhere else.

The settlement of the hymn question is an illustration of how change gradually creeps into orthodoxy.

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36. Acts of Synod, 1930.

New attitudes in the minds of the people create new interpretations or attitudes towards Scripture. If Scripture can be drafted to support a change, or at least not to disapprove, then change is possible.

(b) Choirs. The Synod of 1926 for the first time allowed churches, at the discretion of their consistories, to introduce choir singing. However, the synod discouraged it as a distinct element of public worship on the following grounds:

(1) The danger exists that congregational singing shall be curtailed.

(2) If the choir sings separately, there is the difficulty of maintaining the principle of Article 69 (about Psalm singing) of the Church Order. In 1928 Synod warned consistories having choirs that

they exercise close supervision regarding the membership of the choir, and permit the singing of no songs which are not included in Article 69 of our Church Order.<sup>37</sup>

In 1930 Synod declared that anthems which quote scripture exactly may be sung by church choirs.<sup>38</sup> No choirs have ever sung in worship services at Manhattan. It will be interesting to watch when the Choral Society sings its

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<sup>37</sup>. William Stuart and Gerrit Hoeksema, Rules of Order for the Christian Reformed Church, p. 88.

<sup>38</sup>. Ibid.

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first numbers before a regular Sunday congregation, as is done in some of the Michigan churches occasionally.

Internal Change. The Christian Reformed Church, however, is not entirely free from internal ferment. Its membership and clergy do not live in a vacuum. They live under the constant bombardment of changing economic, political and social conditions in the world, so new ideas and attitudes are bound to develop. Dr. Beets states the situation well:

The great World War shook the whole of humanity. The church, a part of this humanity, could not escape the upsetting of things and the changing of thoughts involved in this. Moreover, Protestant North America, to confine ourselves to that, is rapidly changing. The acceptance and application of the hypothesis of Evolution has brought forward "Old foes with new faces": Rationalism including Higher Criticism as it undermines Bible authority, Materialism, and Worldliness. These foes from without are also threatening us more and more, since the former barriers of language isolation and lack of means to obtain culture are practically removed. Besides these there are indications, or at least charges made, that our differences are no longer as before, intraconfessional, but much deeper and broader. . . .

We do not view the future without apprehension as we note statements volunteered in some periodicals about Psalms vs Hymns, calls for change in Catechism preaching, a questioning of the value of creedal statements, etc. Moreover, such books as Dr. James Orr's The Progress of Dogma and the agitation in the Netherlands Churches about the "extension of the confession," will not fail to bring up new issues among us. What has been called "the urgent need of a theology which expresses the social aspects of Christ's Gospel with the same emphasis as the New Testament" . . . "the need of the modern church, requiring in addition to the well-tested theological fundamentals, the formulation and authoritative adoption of ethical

and social dogmas," (Vollmer, New Testament Sociology, pp. 269 ff.), that, too, will not leave the Christian Reformed Church in America untouched. . . .

In the Calvinist of September 15, 1917, the Rev. W. Groen wrote about "The Difficulties that the Christian Reformed Church must Overcome in Solving its Problem of Americanization." He asked: "Can these churches retain their distinctive features and flourish as the influence of the religious and church life of the Netherlands becomes weaker, and our people are assimilated by the growing American nation?" The first difficulty, he stated was the lack of a single vivid historical background. Three movements are involved in the growth of the denomination: of 1857, of 1881, and the influence from the Netherlands since 1890. "The last has an overwhelming influence. However, the break with the Netherlands must come sooner or later, and as a result there will arise the question: Can the Church be self-sustaining after such a break, or shall this prove fatal? The answer depends upon whether or not these churches can reconstruct their historical background and create for themselves a definite task for the future."

The second difficulty, it was asserted by Rev. Groen, would be that of applying a strict discipline even over the industrial lives of the membership--in view of the spirit of American economic principles, and the third one proceeded, it was said from American religious life, which cares, as a rule, little for purity of faith and doctrinal distinctions.

No doubt, there are "breakers ahead."<sup>39</sup>

Even amongst the clergy there seems to be some ferment, for Dr. Beets writes

At the Synod of 1920 the significant terms "progressives" and "conservatives" were used repeatedly without being challenged.<sup>39</sup>

Dr. Ryskamp also reports a younger element in the church centering in Calvin College and Grand Rapids who are working

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<sup>39</sup>. Henry Beets, The Christian Reformed Church in America, pp. 93-95.

for what seems to some as radical innovations. There is also a criticism of too powerful clerical domination in the church. But the conservative element is still in the great majority.

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## CHAPTER IV

### THE MANHATTAN CHURCH AS AN INSTITUTION

The Holland West Gallatin Presbyterian Church. It will be recalled that Rev. A. J. Wormser, who brought the first Dutch settlers to Manhattan, was a Home Missionary of the Presbyterian Church. He naturally led his charges religiously into that denomination, although they could speak no English. They called themselves the Holland West Gallatin Presbyterian Church. They first met officially during the last of October, 1893, in a granary belonging to one of the members. The first consistory meeting was held October 27, 1893, when it was decided to start "home visitation" immediately, to check up on the spirituality of the people.<sup>40</sup> This group had settled at the far south end of the valley on the high table land owned by the irrigation company for which Rev. Wormser acted as agent.

The next year other Dutch came from various parts of the United States, but settled nearer Manhattan in the north end of the valley, on lower ground. A distance of about seven miles separated the groups, a distance which was considerable in the horse and buggy days.

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40. Original minutes of the church.

Each group had its own organization and held separate services in school houses, but shared the same preacher.<sup>41</sup> As other settlers came in, the matter of where to build a permanent church became a most vexing and heated problem, each group demanding that it be near them.

The Congregation Becomes Christian Reformed.

About 1900 a Home Missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church visited the settlement, but he considered the prospects poor. Later in 1903 Rev. William Stuart of the Christian Reformed Church stopped while enroute to the Pacific Coast. He decided that conditions were favorable and so took matters in hand. Church and spiritual life were at a low ebb. He ministered to the congregation which comprised only twenty-five families at that time; helped settle difficulties; reorganized the two groups; and directed the building of a lovely church mid-way between them at the present location, now commonly called Church Hill. He preached the dedicatory sermon on April 8, 1904. The congregation then became officially known as the Christian Reformed Church of Manhattan, Montana. The change from the Presbyterian Church was logical, because most of the people had belonged to the Christian Reformed Church in the Netherlands or elsewhere in America.

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41. Ibid.

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Growth and Expansion. By this time the news of 57 the new settlement had spread far and wide through the Holland language press and by correspondence. It was a prosperous period, promising a glowing future. A steady flow of new settlers began to arrive, many of them from the Netherlands. Within a very few years the church had been out-grown. (Membership growth is shown by Figure 4.) So in 1910, a new twenty-three thousand dollar edifice was constructed with a seating capacity of six hundred. (See Figure 3.) It is believed to be the largest distinctly rural church west of the Mississippi River. The first plans for the church were rather modest, but various additions made it quite an imposing structure. Pledges were taken to cover the first set of plans so money was borrowed for the additions. As is often the case, expenses ran higher than anticipated and a few people failed to honor their pledges. As a result, there is still today, thirty years later, a four thousand dollar debt upon the building. Some say that this could and should have been paid off long ago, but no systematic plan has been made to liquidate it. However, a large beautiful parsonage was later built; the bell replaced three times; electricity installed; a new heating plant put in; and the property kept in good repair.

A succession of five pastors (Figure 3) have served the church with one period of three years (1913-1916)

CELEBRATION  
of the  
Twenty-Fifth  
Anniversary

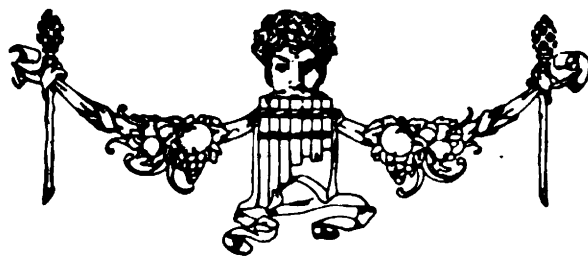


FIGURE 3

Christian Reformed Church  
of Manhattan, Montana  
September 25, 1928

# PROGRAM

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## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

of the

Christian Reformed Church of Manhattan, Montana

September 25, 1928

7:30 P. M.

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|------------------------------------|--|
| 1—Organ Voluntary                  |  |
| 2—Processional (A)                 | Mrs. John LeFebre                                  |
| 3—Doxology, "Praise God" (A)       | Audience, standing                                 |
| 4—Invocation (H)                   | Albert H. Bratt, Pastor                            |
| 5—Psalm 122:1 (H)                  | Audience   |
| 6—Scripture Reading (H) Psalm 90   | Our Nestor, J. H. Bos                              |
| 7—Apostles' Creed (H)              | Pastor   |
| 8—Response (H) Avondzang 7         | Audience   |
| 9—Psalter No. 125 (A)              | Audience   |
| 10—Historical Sketch of Church (H) | Elder E. Bos                                       |
| 11—Occasional Sermon               | The Rev. A. Guikema                                |
| 12—Sermonette (A)                  | The Rev. A. H. Selles, F. M.                       |
| 12—Psalm 68:10 (H)                 | Audience   |
| 14—Commemoratory Prayer            | Pastor   |
| 15—Orchestra                       | Our Own  |
| 16—Recitation                      | John Weidenaar                                     |
| 17—Announcements                   | Martin Wybenga, Sec. Y. P. S.                      |
| 18—Psalter No. 393 (A)             | Audience   |
| 19—Short Address (5 min.)          | The Rev. M. Borduin, H. M.                         |
| 20—Brief Speech (5 min.)           | The Rev. J. Homan                                  |
| 21—Oration (5 min.)                | The Rev. J. W. Brink                               |
| 22—Psalm 150 (H)                   | Audience   |
| 23—A Message (2 min.)              | The Rev. J. Mulder                                 |
| 24—Reflections (2 min.)            | The Rev. P. Hoekstra                               |
| 26—Oration (2 min.)                | The Rev. D. H. Muyskens                            |
| 27—Mixed Quartette                 | Our Own  |
| 28—Greetings                       | Dr. Walter J. Feely, Presbyterian Church Manhattan |
| 29—Offertory and Announcements.    |  |
| 30—Refreshments, served in church  |  |
| 31—Closing                         |  |
| 32—Postlude                        | Mrs. John LeFebre                                  |
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We are happy to announce that Classis Pacific of the Christian Reformed Church will join us in our festivities and help us to make the celebration a success D. V.

(Simon Cole is also an elder of the church... His name was omitted in the historical write-up on the back page of this program)



THE REV. WM. STUART, H. M.  
ORGANIZER—1903 TO 1904



THE REV. J. HOLWERDA  
FIRST MINISTER—1904 TO 1908



THE REV. J. VANDER MEY  
SECOND MINISTER—1908 TO 1913



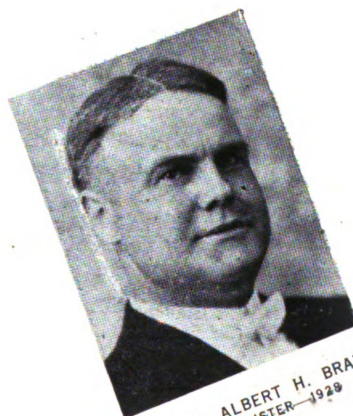
**The Christian Reformed Church of Manhattan, Montana**



THE REV. T. VANDER ARK  
FOURTH MINISTER—1916 TO 1923



THE REV. A. B. VOSS  
FIFTH MINISTER—1923 TO 1927



THE REV. ALBERT H. BRATT  
FIFTH MINISTER—1929

## ITEMS OF INTEREST ANENT OUR PAST HISTORY

We may divide our history into two periods. In the first period we belonged to the Presbyterian Church, and in the second period we are part of the Christian Reformed Church of North America.

### First Period—1893 to 1903

The Holland immigrants were organized into a Presbyterian Church by the Rev. A. Wormser, Superintendent of Domestic Mission in Montana, and were served by three ministers, D. E. Dueninck, J. A. Vanden Hook and H. Scholters. Church was held in a barn at first and then in the Hill and Heeb schoolhouses. Spiritual life had its ups and downs and incompatibility soon developed. In spite of the good offices of the Presbytery at Helena, Montana, the Hollanders did not feel at home in the new Church. Members of the first session were: P. Van Dyken, Wm. Broekema, J. Braaksma and L. Van Dyken.

### The Second Period—1903 to 1928

In 1903 the Rev. Wm. Stuart was sent by Classis Iowa of the Christian Reformed Church to Manhattan because of news received in regard to the peculiar situation of the Hollanders ecclesiastically. The result was the organization of the Christian Reformed Church on June 22, 1903 with the approval and well-wishes of the Helena Presbytery. Membership numbered 19 families and five unmarried men. First consistory—Elders, J. H. Bos, A. Elings and Wm. Broekema; deacons, E. Bos and J. Braaksma. Presbytery Helena gave its holdings here locally to the new congregation. At different meetings various decisions were made as follows: On Nov. 2 it was decided that "Manhattan" should be the official name of the Church and that there be only one place of congregating, Church-hill being chosen. J. Weidenar donated two acres of land. On Nov. 8 it was decided that \$200.00 be paid to the Mission Fund each year. On Nov. 9 decision was made that a church edifice, parsonage and horse stables be built. Feb. 6, 1904, permission was asked to call a minister when Classis met. On April 18 it was decided that Rev. Wm. Stuart be called as first minister and that April 28 should be the date of the dedication of the new church edifice. Present at this dedication were the Presbyterian ministers, R. M. Donaldson, Wilson and Vanden Hook of Bozeman, and Burrows of Manhattan. A Free Christian was also organized. The Rev. Wm. Stuart declined the call extended. The brother left in May 1904. At this time the Church numbered about 40 families.

**THE REV. J. HOLWERDA—1904 to 1908—**First minister. Was installed by the Rev. Wm. Stuart. Doings: Church incorporation decided on Feb. 3, 1905. Sunday School, Y. P. S., Singing school, Ladies Aid and band, "Little Holland" organized. First Church wedding, Wm. Alberda and Miss Braaksma. Farewell sermon was on Oct 20:38. At departure congregation numbered 50 families.

**THE REV. J. VANDER MEY—1908 to 1913.** Inaugural sermon was on Dan. 12:3. Happenings. Men's Society organized. Manhattan became member of Classis Pacific. In 1910 new church edifice built at cost of \$24,378.86. Dedicated March 17, 1911. First church bell purchased. Young people help finance the buying of large pipe-organ. The Church at this time had grown to 90 families.

Vacancy 1913 to 1916. Girls' Mission Band organized.

**THE REV. T. VANDER ARK—1915 to 1923.** Installed Jan. 28, 1916. Inaugural text Ps. 122:9. Activities: New parsonage built at cost of \$3500. Girls' Mission Band decided to support a Navaho child in Mission School. Y. P. S. organized in Hills. Aug. 29, 1919, a "Home Coming Feast" in honor of the returned soldiers of our Church who had served in the World War. One Gold Star in memory of Cornelius Lucas who was killed in France. The Society for Christian Instruction decided to add grades 9 and 10 to its curriculum of instruction. In 1919 many calls for financial aid were received from sister churches in Montana and we were able to give aid. Number of families rose to 98.

**THE REV. A. B. VOSS—1923 to 1927.** Inaugural text was I Cor. 2:2. Matters of interest: Y. P. S. decided to support Zuni child. The Church agreed to care for Near East Orphan. Advendo Club organized. Earthquake June 27, 1925. Two church bells purchased. At farewell Church numbered 120 families. Last society to be organized was American Ladies Aid, 1928.

**THE REV. ALBERT H. BRATT—1928.** Inaugural text John 3:29, Aug. 19, 1928.

Monies received in 1927 for various purposes was \$12,246.12.

The oldest and regular church attendants are Mr. J. H. Bos, 82 years old and Mrs. Wm. Vander Schaaf, 79 years old.

The present consistory consists of the following members: Elders—Albert Vander Ark, John De Boer, E. Eos, N. Denhof and M. Noot; deacons, Thomas Triemstra, Tunis Bolhuis, Wm. Albert and Klass Dykema.

Those who were Charter Members of the Manhattan Christian Reformed Church and are still, are J. H. Eos, P. Alberda, E. Eos, Jerry Weidenaar, Sr., A. Brouwer.

Clerks were Wm. Broekema, A. Vander Ark, P. Wytenga, John Klaver, P. Alberda, Karko Kimm and John De Boer.



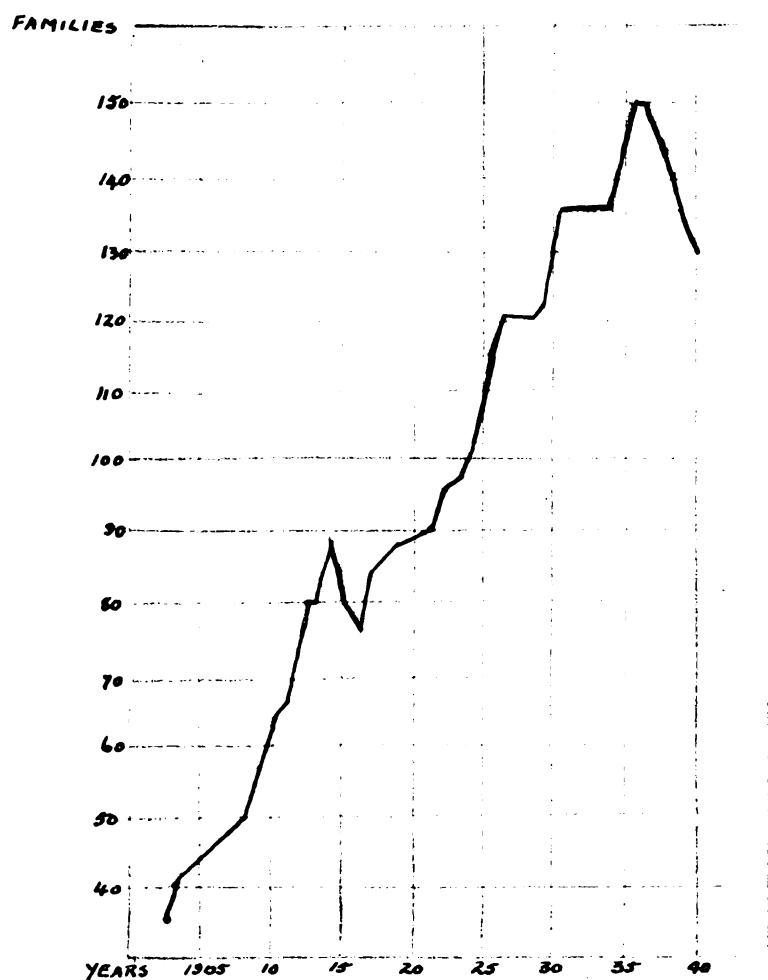


FIGURE 4-A

NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED  
CHURCH AT MANHATTAN, MONTANA FROM 1904-1940

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MEMBERS

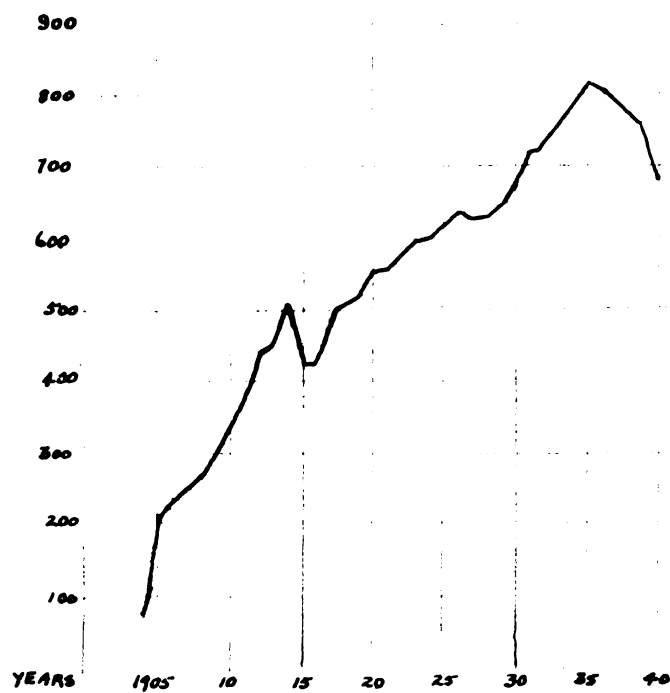


FIGURE 4-B

TOTAL NUMBER OF SOULS IN THE CHRISTIAN  
REFORMED CHURCH AT MANHATTAN, MONTANA  
FROM 1904 TO 1940

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being vacant. The church is at a great distance from any other of the denomination, so it is not the most pleasant situation for a preacher for he is isolated from all his colleagues. Some have come because of family health reasons; others because they wanted to move, and received this call. The present pastor has been there since 1928. Unfortunately, he has largely lost the good will and confidence of the people. But he receives no other call, so he cannot move. This is a most unpleasant impasse' inherent in the Presbyterian form of church government. It is causing considerable discontent among the people, which is discussed later.

The Budget. The present budget of the church is four thousand dollars, all raised by free-will offerings through the envelope system. All donations are recorded. For many years there was a double budget, one for Salary, and the other for the General Fund. The Salary Fund was assessed among the membership while the latter was raised by church collections. At the beginning of the depression, the single budget system was begun. The minister received fifty per cent of the total collections which never was less than eighteen hundred dollars. On January 1, 1937, the salary was set at two thousand dollars and became a first charge on the budget. The church seldom runs behind on its current expenses.

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Two collections are taken at each service. The first is a regular budgetary envelope collection; the second is for stated purposes. The first Sunday of each month is reserved for special causes like those starred in the list below. The list is the church's report to Classis in 1938. Those unstarred are raised by assessment or quota upon each church family.

Classis Expenses. . . . .	\$140.00
Classical Home Missions . . . . .	102.45
General Home Missions . . . . .	36.88
Church Subsidy. . . . .	280.00
\$2.50 per family	
Church Extension. . . . .	133.21
1.50 per family	
Heathen Missions. . . . .	587.46
4.05 per family	
Jewish Missions . . . . .	161.05
.75 per family	
Calvin College and Seminary . . . . .	254.67
3.00 per family	
Emeritus Fund . . . . .	211.15
1.75 per family	
Church Help Fund. . . . .	73.50
.50 per family	
Emergency Fund. . . . .	40.00
Chicago H. H. Mission*. . . . .	35.00
Hammond City Mission* . . . . .	20.00
American Bible Society* . . . . .	20.00
Bethesda Sanitarium*. . . . .	15.00

Christian Psychopathic Hospital*. . . . .	\$215.00
Immigrant and Seaman's Home*. . . . .	20.84
National Christian Association* . . . . .	21.65
National Union Christian Schools* . . . . .	21.65
Hollanders in South America*. . . . .	25.84
Denver Second Church* . . . . .	46.42
Lord's Day Alliance*. . . . .	10.00
Synodical Expenses. . . . .	153.50
.40 per family	
Total . . . . .	\$2,625.17

The second and fourth Sundays are reserved for collections for the poor. In the years before direct relief, WPA, old age pensions, and mothers' pensions were inaugurated, most of this fund was used in the congregation to help those unable to pay for hospital care or the like. However, in recent years this ~~this~~ money has been sent to the churches of Denver and Bethesda Tuberculosis Sanitarium, where large numbers of poorer people from the East go for their health.

The third and fifth Sundays' collections go to support the two local Christian Schools. This is divided according to the number of pupils in each school. The total collections per year for the schools amounts to eight or nine hundred dollars.

Worship Service Schedule. Two services are held each Sunday, at 9:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Occasionally



an evening meeting is held for special purposes. For over ten years the English and the Dutch languages were alternately used. The morning service on the first and third Sundays was in English, while those of the second, fourth and fifth were in Dutch. A very large number of the younger element is not very conversant with the Dutch language, so they only attend the English services. On the other hand, a very large per cent of the older people were born in the Netherlands and prefer the Dutch, so they are often absent from the English services. As a result church services were not being as well attended as fifteen years ago. However, this year two Dutch preaching services per month were changed to Dutch reading services by elders. These two services are held in the basement at the same time as English services in the sanctuary. This gives the preacher two more English sermons per month.

In many congregations the language question was a very serious problem when English services were first proposed. Bitter quarrels raged for a number of years, and in some cases actually caused the organization of new churches. In Manhattan the change was gradual. The first sermon in English was preached by the Rev. T. VanderArk at a special evening service as an experiment some time about 1920. Regular English services were begun in 1924.

Besides the regular Sunday services, the following special days are also observed: New Year's Day, Day of Prayer, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and Old Year's Evening.

Church Schism. Dutch Calvinism is proverbially a dour, stern, rigid and cold precept. It is highly intellectual, emphasizing the intricacies of doctrine, creed and church history. Knowledge, proof-texts, and argumentation are its atmosphere. One senses a strong feeling of self-assurance, if not self-sufficiency and down-right religious egotism. They have little short of contempt for most other denominations, especially if at all tinged with what they call "modernism."

As a result they are peculiarly subject to schisms. The more doctrinaire a group is, the more likely will it split over what others might call trivialities. No deviation from doctrine is allowable. There have been a number of ecclesiastical conflicts and trials in the denomination with consequent schisms. Some have been due to ultra-conservative innovations, but most to contacts with current American fundamentalist, evangelistic, pre-millennial preaching. The latter preach prophetic explanation of current history and the imminence of Christ's return. There is something warm and appealing in it. Religion does not seem to be quite so distant

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and abstract. It appeals more to the emotions than to the intellect. Calvinistic predestination has much of the automatic about it. There is little emotional appeal to the individual to exert himself. Man has no free will in the matter. Only God's grace can save people.

. . . if as we believe, the sinner has a will that is free only to do evil and to disbelieve; if there cannot be the least inclination in him to abandon his sinful life until the Holy Spirit enters his heart with irresistable grace, such methods are not only unnecessary but out of place. Intense emotionalism, insistant appeals to come to Christ without a moment's delay, persuading men and women to raise their hands, enter enquiry rooms, or come to the front and kneel in prayer--all are poisoned with the false supposition that the sinner himself, not God, must take the first and decisive step on the way to salvation.<sup>42</sup>

This other preaching does just that. It appeals and persuades. It tries to do more than teach and give information. The general atmosphere is much less formal and institutionalized. There is a kind of emotional thrill and excitement about the sermon messages that attract certain kinds of people. The emphasis upon prophecy and the certainty of the speedy end of time and the imminent return of Christ, captivates those who come under its influence.

This influence has also been felt in Manhattan where five schismatic groups have been formed. An

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42. Editorial in The Banner, Grand Rapids, September 29, 1938.

outside minister arranges to hold lectures in some school house, and before long a few people who are dissatisfied with the regular preacher or some church doctrine organize a new group. The first was at Amsterdam in the heart of the settlement, where ten families have established a Christian Missionary Alliance Tabernacle. Four Dutch families joined a similar group in Manhattan town called the Manhattan Community Church; and ten Dutch families are affiliated with the Bozeman Grace Gospel Tabernacle. These three are all similar, but are what is known as undenominational, i.e., not officially affiliated with any other congregation into a larger organization. The main doctrinal differences of these groups with the older church concerns infant baptism, the Covenant, and the doctrine of predestination. They are not so highly organized and operate more on the faith principle.

In Manhattan town there is still another group called just "Christians," with which seven Dutch families have affiliated. This group is at great variance with all the others. They do not believe in church buildings and salaries for preachers. They meet in members' homes, while their ministers travel in pairs, and are supported by faith offerings.

The fifth group, known as the Protestant Reformed Church, is only slightly different from the Christian Reformed Church. It also meets on Church Hill nearly next door to the big church. It had its origin in a church schism in Grand Rapids over the question of whether there was common grace or not. This group claims there is no righteousness or goodness except in redeemed people. Otherwise its doctrines and practices are the same as the Christian Reformed Church. Thirteen families formed this group last year. It is said that this group left the old organization primarily because of the dislike for the present pastor. No doubt that is also a contributing factor for many others leaving the church. People find it much easier to visit these groups when they are discontented at their own services, and thus become subject to proselyting.

Seldom are immediate families divided on religious issues. Always it is whole families that transfer their memberships, indicating the strength of family loyalty among the Dutch.

Church membership in the older organization is too often a traditional, customary thing. Usually, some time between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one approximately, the applicant appears before the consistory to be examined of his faith. After having passed through

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catechetical classes, and possibly the Christian School; and after having heard years of doctrinal sermons and Bible study in the Young People's Society, the applicant knows the proper answers to the questions. On a succeeding Sunday he is accepted into the Church. Social pressure about him practically forces him to this step --it is expected of everyone. But that does not mean that he is truly religious, having had a real religious experience or conversion.

On the other hand, people leave the traditional and accepted way only with some effort and determination, usually involving conviction. Dislike of a preacher may be sufficient to keep them away from the regular services of the old church, but it usually involves some conviction to join with a new group. The fact is, that large numbers of the Dutch who have left the old church have become more religious in their new organizations. And not a few who were only nominal church members, or totally irreligious, have accepted the new teachings with devotion and enthusiasm. It must also be noted that none of these organizations is liberal or modernistic. On the contrary, they are all deeply fundamentalist in their own way.

All these schismatic groups, except the last are much more American in their atmosphere. All the old



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Dutch religious customs and traditions are missing; no more Dutch language or press; no denominational connections with other Dutch groups in America; and most significantly, each group has many American families in it. So inevitably, their Dutch young people are marrying Americans which will cause these groups to lose their Dutch identity long before the Christian Reformed group will. Their Dutch self-consciousness is rapidly disappearing. They will soon be completely assimilated. These religious schisms naturally carry over into the social life of the settlement. Belonging to different churches makes deep cleavages. To quote from a private letter

No ill will from our side, but we do feel it from the attitude of some of the Christian Reformed people. . . It seems impossible to visit with some people as our language is different now.

At first there was a great deal of argument regarding religious doctrine, but in time that dies down.

The first three schismatic groups mentioned associate with each other considerably, but they have absolutely nothing to do with the original church group. They have their own publications and various organizations and activities. The fourth group mentioned remains entirely isolated from all other groups, but they do belong to some kind of international organization. The new Protestant Reformed Church continues to support the Christian Schools

and participates in the community picnics. Many believe that if a change in preachers were soon made in the big church, most of this group would eventually return. However, that is questionable for they have already built a basement church and a fine parsonage. Institutional property has been accumulated which makes for more permanent loyalty.

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## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATION

Early Schooling. Upon the arrival of the first settlers, schooling was very soon arranged for on the regular district public school basis. A new building had to be built for the southern-most group in "The Hills," so the first school was held in one of the homes. The northern group attended already established schools. Later another, known as the Bos School, was built near the present church location in the center. All the teachers in these schools were Americans until 1904 when a Hollander took charge of the Hills School.

The Christian Schools. The Christian Reformed Church has always promoted its own Christian Schools. At the same time that the congregation was being reorganized in 1903, meetings were also being held to promote a Christian School. In 1907, three years after the congregation became Christian Reformed, a building was erected adjacent to the church, and Christian instruction commenced with forty pupils.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>. The writer was one of the first pupils to attend this school.

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The main reasons for having Christian Schools, as given by Dr. Beets are the following:<sup>44</sup>

(1) The parents, at baptism of the child, vow to bring it up in the doctrines of their religion.

(2) Love of the Word of God demands a place for it in the day school as well as in the home, and in the Sunday School.

(3) Children should learn to sing of their Redeemer as well as of their Creator, something which State institutions do not allow.

(4) Prayers in Christ's name should be said daily in the schools.

(5) Religion should permeate the education of Covenant children; "religious education (must be made) an integral part of the child's education throughout the whole period of its plastic development, building religious concepts, attitudes, and habits into the expanding life from the first, so that they may become an inseparable part of its structure."

(6) The chief aim of life is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever. Secular education under State control cannot very well aim higher than good citizenship and success.

(7) The doctrine of a fallen mankind in absolute need of the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, which is pledged to the children in Baptism, is radically different from that of the world, especially as it is under the spell of the evolutionary hypothesis.

(8) Religious training is the only real basis for morality. Without religious authority, morality is built on sand.

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44. Henry Beets, The Christian Reformed Church in North America, p. 222.

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(9) Religion should be an integral part of education which trains for character and leadership so that there may be a proper reckoning with God, His revelation, and His judgment day.

The Christian school is not a parochial school, but a free uncontrolled school, supported by Christian parents of any evangelical denomination. The Church, as an organization, has no connection with it. The school board is elected from the patrons of the school, and they exercise full authority. Each month one of them visits the school and reports to the board. But the County Superintendent of Schools supervises it like any other rural school. The county doctor and nurse visit these schools annually like any others. The curriculum taught includes all that is prescribed for Montana public rural schools, but in addition, Bible study, church history, doctrine, and worship services are incorporated in the program. All teaching in all subjects is with a definitely religious and Biblical bias; indoctrination being the purpose.

The Manhattan school has been financed by student tuition of two dollars per month, and collections in the church. Needless to say, finances are a continuous problem, resulting in inferior equipment and poor pay to the teachers. The total budget with two teachers is only twenty-five hundred dollars. The first teacher had very inferior training, but subsequently the standard has become very good. Only teachers who belong to a Reformed

Church are acceptable. The school year has always been ten months.

When the Christian school was established, the nearby Bos rural public school was closed. There was only one American left in the district, and he had no school-age children. However, a school board continued to be elected until April, 1923. At that time its territory was divided amongst adjacent districts.

The Church Hill Christian School is not the only school attended by Dutch Children. Some do come from as far as four miles, but many attend nearby schools. The Hills School, about five miles south of the Church, in which church services were held when settlers first arrived, for a short time after 1909 was also a Christian School. Because the financial load was too great it soon reverted to a public school. However, in 1926 a Christian School was built across the road from it. Today grades one to three are taught in the public school, while grades four to eight, with approximately twenty pupils, are taught in the Christian School. During the period when the school was wholly Christian an attempt was made to finance it by all the property owners agreeing to voluntarily pay the public school tax assessments they had the previous year. With no public school in session there was no tax levy to support it. However, the plan failed because all would not cooperate. The

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

present arrangement seems to be very successful. Both Christian School Societies have also erected homes for their Principals.

Public Schools. Besides these two schools, there are seven other rural district schools attended by Dutch children, who compose eighty-five to one hundred per cent of the enrollment, (see Figure 5). As the population of the settlement increased, the Dutch spread out farther and farther, buying or renting land from nearby Americans. Most of the children naturally attended their own district schools. Today all these schools are taught by teachers reared in the colony. They all have at least two years of Normal training, mostly at the Dillon State Normal College. All of them have opening exercises including Scripture reading, song and prayer, and usually close with prayer. Once a week after school they teach catechism. The use of this kind of program in the public schools is wholly dependent upon the interpretation of the word "sectarian" in the school law. The present County Superintendent of Public Instruction interprets the word very narrowly. She believes general religious teaching is not meant. In fact she contends that the teaching in the Christian Schools themselves is not sectarian. But other superintendents have interpreted the word to mean any kind of religious teaching, so the Dutch

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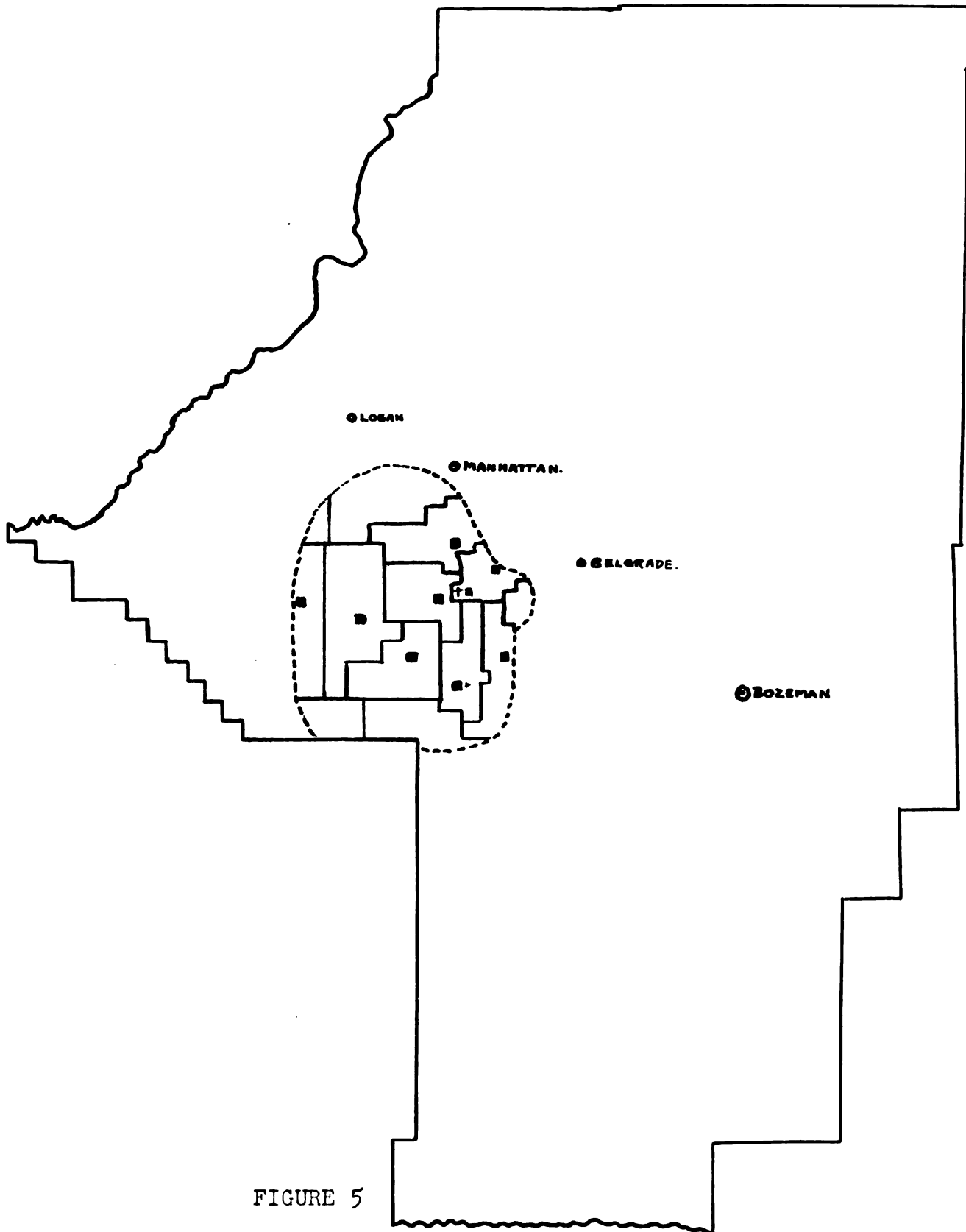


FIGURE 5

CHRISTIAN AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE HOLLAND  
SETTLEMENT NEAR MANHATTAN, MONTANA

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continue to support their own Free Christian Schools.

Because the public schools are thus being staffed by local graduates, many parents fail to see the necessity of sending their children great distances to the Christian Schools, thus paying extra tuition and school taxes too. Consequently, whereas in the late nineteen twenties there was an enrollment at the Church Hill Christian school of from seventy five to one hundred pupils, in recent years this has declined to from fifty to sixty-five. The salaries paid in the public schools range from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month, while the Christian School pays seventy-five to eighty-five dollars.

Christian School Expansion. For two years after its erection there was but one room and one teacher in the Church Hill Christian School. In 1909 another room, and teacher were added for the lower grades. In 1914, for the first time, three Dutch students took and passed the county eighth grade examinations.<sup>45</sup> For a few months the ninth grade was taught for these students, but soon discontinued. Two of these later went to the Manhattan High School, seven miles distant, where in 1918 one became the first high school graduate in the settlement.<sup>46</sup> However, before this,

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45. The present writer

46. The present writer



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three young men had gone to Calvin College, the denomination's college and seminary in Grand Rapids, and had completed the academy, college, and seminary training for the ministry.

In the fall of 1925 a third teacher was added to the school, and limited work in the ninth and tenth grades was offered. This continued until 1931 when the plan lapsed for two years. It was again revived from 1934 to 1936, but has since been discontinued. The main reason was that because the school was not accredited, two girls' credits were refused for hospital training requirements, and students were made to take entrance examinations when they went to Manhattan to finish high school.

Very recently, however, in May 1940, the two Christian School Societies voted to cooperate to reopen the ninth and tenth grades on an accredited basis. A committee of seven was appointed to lay plans to build a new standard building to be completed by the fall of 1941. Equipment is to be improved, and certified teachers are to be hired. Late in the summer of 1940 it was suddenly decided to open the ninth grade immediately even before certification.



### Manhattan High School

For a number of years after 1918 only a very few attended any high school. Most of those who did went to Grundy Center or Hull in Iowa, or to Grand Rapids. These were all distinctly Christian Schools. Since about 1930, however, all the children who have finished high school have done so at Manhattan, and since 1936, in ever-increasing numbers.

At present there are forty-seven Dutch students attending Manhattan High School, riding back and forth by school buses. The total cost is defrayed by the Manhattan Schools from county levies. The Dutch students comprise more than one-fourth of the total enrollment. In 1938 there were six Dutch graduates, and in 1939, five.

According to the Manhattan Superintendent of Schools, the Dutch students are very much like all the others, except that they are not so active in the social activities of the school. Having to return home by bus immediately after school makes it impossible for them to do much, except as they return by private car in the evening. Then, too, the Church and the parents disapprove of dances, card parties, movies and similar social events. However, he states that in and about school there seems to be no noticeable tendency



for the Dutch to segregate themselves in any way. Some of their finest and most pleasant students are Dutch. Their scholarship range is average, many making the honor roll. However, a relatively few youngsters are reported to affect a kind of blase' toughness or sophistication that is far from popular in the settlement. They seem to delight in shocking people. They evidently rebel at the old controls, and affect a new freedom.

The superintendent reports that many of the students seem to attend from their own volition only, without any special interest on the part of their parents. The teachers find it difficult in some cases to get home cooperation in motivating to more effort. That, of course, is not peculiar to the Dutch. Occasionally students drop out for no seeming reason. Later it is found that some very easily adjusted difficulty or hurt feeling may have occurred, but they seldom return. Some parents do not seem to care whether their children attend or not, sometimes even encouraging them to stop school and start working.

The great increase in Dutch high school attendance is due to a number of factors. One is the advent of the farm tractor, combine harvester, and other modern farm machinery. Boys do not have to quit school to help on the farm any more. As work is not so plentiful, it is becoming more and more difficult for the youth to make



a decent living. This not only increases the length of the schooling period, but also causes more parents and children alike, to lay plans ~~for~~ them to make a livelihood in some other way besides farming. Almost unconsciously the first consideration is more education to increase the likelihood of employment. Another important factor is the break-down of isolation, first by the automobile, and second by the radio. Both parents and youth demand and expect more. It has now become a common expectation, a custom, to go to high school. Family social status is also becoming involved. The group is becoming Americanized.

Higher Education. So far preaching, teaching, with two or three nurses, and one insurance agent, are the only occupations that have attracted the educated youth of the settlement. As stated elsewhere, all the rural schools largely attended by Dutch children, and which have Hollanders on the school boards, are now being taught by local teachers. However only one as yet is teaching in a near-by town. Their certification is still not high enough with only two years of Normal training which most of them have. But state requirements are constantly growing necessitating much correspondence or summer school work on their part. No doubt more will finish college from now on to prepare themselves for town and high school teaching. No doubt, too, they will then begin filling positions in nearby towns. There are some half dozen



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though who are now teaching in distant towns in Montana, Washington, and Michigan.

Although Montana Agricultural College is located in nearby Bozeman, the county seat, only one Dutch student has been in regular attendance. Only three or four others have attended previously as short course students, and under Veteran's Rehabilitation. Very recently a few have taken short courses in agriculture. So few attend the college because there is no department of Liberal Arts there. But with one Dutch student graduating this year, it is possible that others may follow in increasing numbers, particularly if the advantages of agricultural education could be impressed upon the group. Then, too, the cost of college attendance is a deterring factor. It costs little extra to attend a high school, but college is different. There are eight students from the settlement attending other colleges in the United States.

From this little colony have come eight preachers, five other college graduates, eighteen Junior College graduates, three nurses, and a considerable number of other high school graduates. For a distinctly rural foreign community this is a most remarkable record. However, the general educational level of the adult population is only about fifth or sixth grade, with many never having attended beyond the third or fourth grade in the

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Netherlands. Very few over thirty years of age have completed the eighth grade. This is largely accounted for by the European class-attitude towards education of the lower classes, and by the economic necessity for older children's labor. The church as such is largely neutral as to the amount of education, but it does exert its influence as to quality, insisting as much as possible that it be fundamentally Christian. There is no illiteracy. The Dutch as a rule are extensive readers and thereby educate themselves.

Every child is expected to attend catechetical classes each week. Formerly the minister taught all the classes immediately after school at the various public schools on certain designated days each week. But since 1931, when all the public schools in the colony were being taught by local Dutch teachers, this task was delegated to them. They attempted to protest, but it was not considered. All classes are now being held Fridays after school hours. Pupils who have graduated from the eighth grade are supposed to attend a Saturday afternoon class at the church taught by the pastor. All too often, catechetical classes are perfunctory. The students and teachers alike look upon them as an extra burden. However, the pupils do become indoctrinated with the teachings of the Church, which is their purpose. The course of instruction is somewhat graded, there

1. The first step is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

being separate texts for different age groups. Pupils are promoted automatically as they progress through the grades in school. The greatest weakness of the instruction lies in the lack of proper motivation. (Figure 6 shows catechetical enrollment through the years.)

There is no Sunday School in the settlement, although for a few years in the beginning, there was. The population is so scattered that only children near the church could attend. It was thought the Christian Schools and catechetical instruction was sufficient.

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

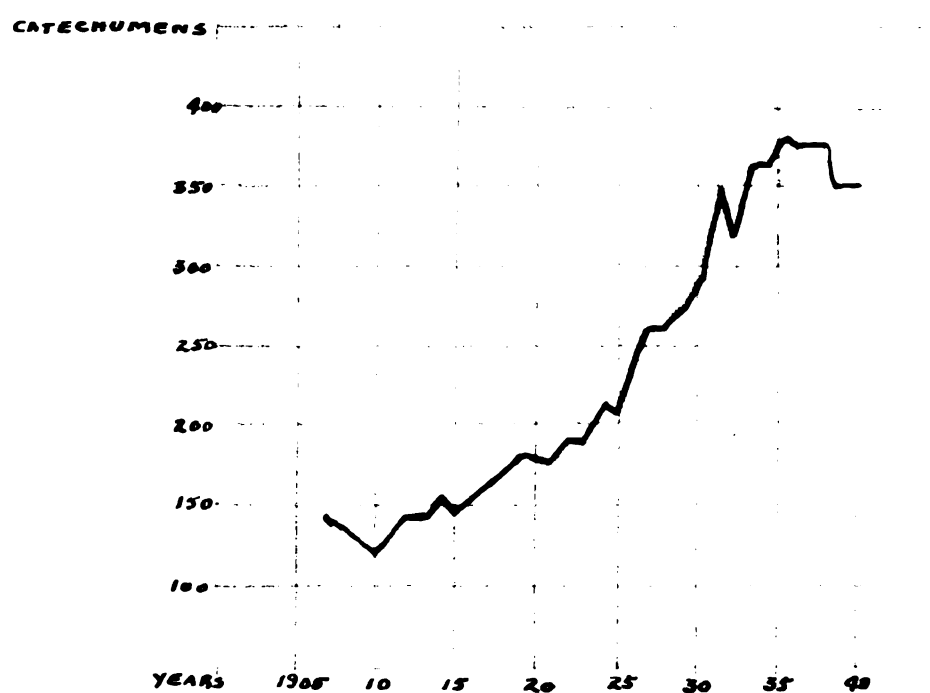


FIGURE 6

CATECHUMEN ENROLLMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED  
CHURCH AT MANHATTAN, MONTANA FROM 1907 TO 1940



## CHAPTER VI

### MAKING A LIVING

The Dutch Colony at Manhattan is a distinctly agricultural group. But not all the Dutch who have settled there were farmers previous to their coming. As the years passed, some factory workers from eastern cities also came in the hope of improving their economic status. Usually, for some time, they worked for established farmers and then later rented and possibly finally bought places of their own. Until after the World War all factors were very favorable for the community. Land was cheap and easily procurable; rainfall, as compared with a fifty-year average, was excessive; irrigation water was plentiful; and market prices were excellent. (See Figure 7.) The community boomed, and was prosperous. Many fine homes and farm buildings were erected; the large church, parsonage, and school were built; and the number of families in the community grew very rapidly. (See Figure 4.)

Crops. The Gallatin Valley has nearly five thousand feet altitude. This makes the growing season much shorter for the same latitude than nearer sea level, it being only one hundred to one hundred fourteen days long. The danger of frost continues late in the spring and

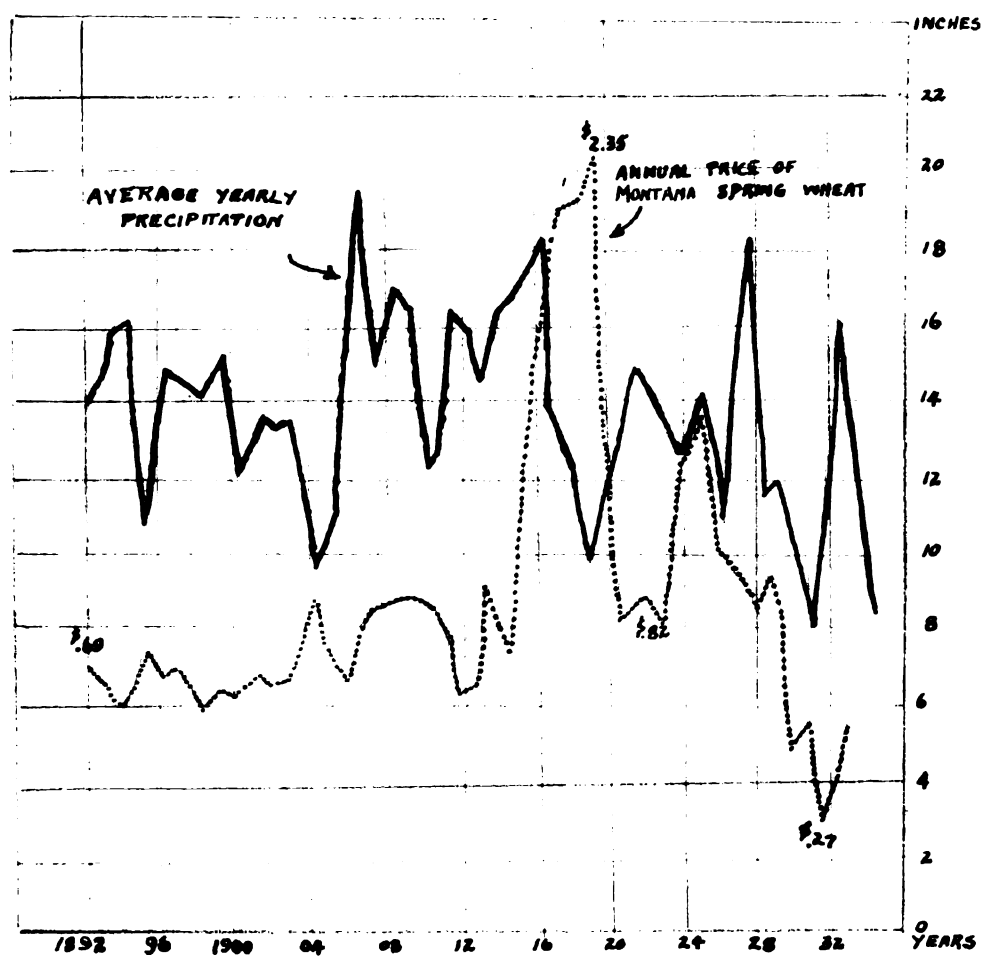


FIGURE 7

AVERAGE YEARLY PRECIPITATION AND AVERAGE  
PRICE OF MONTANA SPRING WHEAT, 1892-1935

comes early in the fall. Therefore only hardy or quick-maturing crops can be grown. Field corn, tomatoes, and most fruits cannot ripen. The prevailing field crops are spring and winter wheat, oats, barley, green and seed peas, alfalfa, clover, and timothy. Every family that has irrigation available puts in a large garden for its own use. A few market a considerable number of potatoes. Besides this, many farmers on irrigated places keep varying numbers of hogs, sheep, cattle, dairy herds and chickens. Dry land farmers above the canals cannot produce feed for animals, for they grow nothing but spring or winter wheat.

Power Machinery. The dry land farms are all much larger than the irrigated ones, some men working two or three sections. Approximately half of a dry farm must be summer-fallowed to conserve sufficient moisture to grow a crop the next year. All the work is now being done by power tools. Dry farming especially, has been revolutionized by the tractor, combined harvester, and trucks. The tractor travels much faster than horses, and by means of lights, can be used all night if it is necessary. Thus more land can be worked with much less help and expense. And it therefore follows that a lower yield with lower prices can still be profitable to the large operator. But it is the same recurring story that fewer people are earning their livelihood from this

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production. This tendency also prevails to a less degree with irrigated farms. But some established farmers are now working two or three places by hiring local men without farms. Often the latter are younger married men who live in the houses on the other places. There are a number of instances where these extra houses are rented to unattached day laborers. It is reported that twenty-five men work as wage laborers.

Value of Water. Moisture, water, is the great need of the farmer. The dry land farmer has to depend upon winter snow, slow spring thaw, thorough summer fallow, and summer rains. The average annual rainfall in the valley varies from ten inches at Three Forks to eighteen inches on the eastern mountains. This compares with an average of thirty inches for Michigan for instance. Fourteen inches will grow good dry land crops. The irrigation farmer with different crops, depends very largely on river water produced by thawing snowdrifts in the higher mountains. An easy winter or early spring means lack of water. Most of the Dutch live on irrigated farms, so their prosperity is closely associated with water supply.

Irrigation Canals. The West Gallatin River, whose origin is in the Yellowstone Park, is the source of supply for irrigation water for most of the Gallatin Valley, including the colony under consideration. There are some

fifty-eight irrigation canals leading from various points on this river to all parts of the valley on both banks. Until 1909 there had been no difficulty in getting sufficient water for irrigation. But that year one of the canals far up the river was greatly enlarged and extended, thereby diverting an excessive amount of water, causing a shortage for those in the lower reaches. Then started a protracted litigation instituted by "old water rights" holders against holders of more recent rights. Water rights and its units of measure originated with the gold miners of early days. A second-foot is a cubic foot of water passing a point per second. A miner's inch is a square inch under a six inch head. This is one-fortieth of a second-foot. A person could file on as much water as he wanted, but actually the size of the ditch he constructed determined the amount of his right. The earlier rights have precedence over later ones. The earliest right to be filed on the West Gallatin is dated May 1, 1865, and the latest, October 1, 1907.

The Decree of the Court of October 1, 1909, Section XI dealing with the above case reads as follows:

That the parties to this action shall be entitled to the priority of use of the waters of the West Gallatin River, and its tributaries, to the extent of their appropriations, in the order of their several and respective appropriations as against any and all subsequent appropriators, . . . and whenever there shall not be sufficient water to supply all the rights of the said parties, then every junior

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appropriator in the order of his juniority shall cease to use the waters of the said river and its tributaries for any purpose which will diminish the quantity of said water until the older and prior appropriators shall have been supplied, . . . upon notice from such prior appropriator that he has not sufficient water as decreed to him by this Court and as is need<sup>d</sup> by him, for any useful purpose, such junior and subsequent appropriator is hereby ordered, and directed to close down his headgate and permit all of the water of said stream flowing through his headgate or ditch to flow down the channel of the said stream, for the use of such prior appropriator, or so much thereof as the said prior appropriator shall then be entitled to in this decree, or shall actually need.

The Dutch get their water from six different canals with different water rights. Naturally the farms with the best water rights are the most desirable. A crop failure is impossible with sufficient irrigation water. On the other hand, it is almost a certainty with very little or no water. Most of the Dutch farmers get their water from the two canals constructed by the old West Gallatin Irrigation Company which brought the original settlers. Since then there have been various reorganizations of the companies, and changing of classes of water rights, and some litigation. Today they are known as the High Line Canal Co., and the Low Line Canal Co. They rise at different points on the river and parallel each other at different levels through the settlement. The Low Line, supplying forty Dutch farmers, extends to two miles south of Logan making it nearly thirty miles long. The High Line serving thirty farmers is nearly



fifty miles long. Both have identical water rights:

2500 inches each filed as of May 9, 1890  
3400 inches each filed as of June 1, 1901

The first is a very good right, but the latter, under prevailing conditions fails as the summer progresses. If the above amounts of water could be maintained, the Dutch colony would be assured bountiful crops. But in recent years early July brings the shutting off of the latest water rights. To some farmers this means shutting off most of their water because the rights they now possess are inferior to others. This of course is tragic. Then as August comes on, the original rights are cut down more and more, often causing a certain amount of crop damage, depending upon the weather conditions and type of crops.

Decrease in River Water Supply. What makes this situation so serious is the annual decrease in precipitation as shown by the river flow. Montana State College records show the average annual river flow to be dropping precipitously:

1897-1906	The average was 718,000 acre-feet.
1907-1916	The average decreased 58,000 acre-feet from the above period.
1917-1926	The average decreased 60,000 acre-feet from the 1907-1916 period.
1927-1936	The average decreased 92,000 acre-feet from the 1917-1926 period.

The total decrease was 210,000 acre-feet or thirty per cent less than the 1897-1906 period. This is a most serious situation, to say the least.

There would still be plenty of water for irrigation purposes if the spring freshets and chinook thaws could be conserved. In the summer of 1935 government engineers surveyed a dam site far up the West Gallatin Canyon, but nothing has since materialized. Some say politics and the Montana Power Co. are at fault. Beyond question such a dam would insure the future of the valley. But the Dutch have done little or nothing to promote this idea. They have never organized for a common economic goal. A farmer and a Dutchman is an utter individualist. Group action for a distant goal is beyond his social vision. They tend to let things go as they have been. After all, God rules in the world, and they are trustful and make the best of things as they are. Personal responsibility, not social responsibility is preached by the church.

Credit. The Dutch are known for their industriousness and frugality. As a result, from the very beginning, their trade and business was eagerly solicited by the merchants and bankers of nearby towns. Their credit has always been excellent. The earlier settlers pride themselves that during the first few years, when conditions were so difficult, they were given extensive credits by various business men, and, "no creditor ever lost a

dime," they say. The Dutch are honest; they pay if they can. These characteristics are at least partly due to their strong religious faith and convictions; belief in an ever present and watchful God; and a strong sense of otherworldliness. Personal morality is also constantly preached on Sundays.

Trading Centers. Before the advent of the automobile, which only came into common use there as late as 1920, the bulk of Dutch trade went to Manhattan and Belgrade, both of which are about seven and a half miles from the church. Bozeman is about twenty miles. That was too long a drive with horses. During the prosperous period both the banks in Manhattan and Belgrade had Hollanders as cashiers or assistants. In Bozeman, a son of one of the very earliest preachers has been one of the most prominent bankers in that city. However, only in Belgrade were any of these men identified closely with the settlement. In Manhattan one of the most successful merchants was a Hollander, but again, not associated with the church. At present practically everybody does most of their trading in Bozeman. It is a common saying in the towns among business men that if one can get a few of the Dutch Leaders' business he is assured of the business of practically all.

The Market Haul. Before about 1910 all the grain had to be hauled by wagon or sled to Manhattan or Belgrade in the late fall or winter. Four horse teams would start moving at four or five in the morning, trying to get to the elevators early to get unloaded. By late morning lines a half mile long would be waiting their turn. The grain was all bagged, which took time to unload. Later came the wide tight wagon bin-box, and then a tip-up arrangement on the scales. This reduced the labor and time greatly, but entailed granaries for storage.

Railroads. About 1910, the Chicago Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railroad built a branch line from Three Forks through Manhattan, west of the river right along the edge of the settlement, to Bozeman. Convenient sidings were constructed all along the line, and also a number of elevators. This decreased the market haul by half. The next year the Northern Pacific built a road straight south from Manhattan right through the heart of the settlement to Anceny, about fifteen miles distant. Elevators were built at Amsterdam and Anceny. With the advent of the truck, grain could be taken directly from the threshing rig or combine to an elevator or car siding, eliminating the long haul and granaries altogether.

Prohibition and Barley. Before 1917 malt barley had been one of the main crops of the farmers. It was of such excellent quality that it always drew premium

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prices. A large malting plant had been erected in Manhattan by the original promoters of the settlement, so there was always a ready market for the barley. But with the advent of prohibition the malting company failed, and the plant was razed so that the farmers lost a profitable crop. Since the repeal of prohibition there has not been a return to malt barley growing. Lack of a near market seems to be the main reason.

Seed peas is a crop that is now widely grown in the Gallatin. This was introduced about the time of the World War. It is a contract crop. The valley does not have the Weevil pest that attacks the pea elsewhere. A most recent and profitable crop introduction is the green canning pea. However only farmers who have excellent water rights can get such contracts. The cannery is located in Bozeman. Last year the cannery refused to give contracts to the Hollanders because they refused to work on Sundays. The Sabbath is absolutely sacred, peas or no peas. But the Dutch were so reliable and were such hard workers that the company this year restored the contracts, to the Hollanders' great satisfaction. This is evidence of the extent that their religious convictions control their conduct and shape their personalities and character.

Economic Status. Since the World War, as part of the general crisis in agriculture, the community has been

having its difficulties. Many have lost their farm equities completely, so that about one-half are tenants on corporation-owned farms. (See Figures 8 and ~~9~~.) Nearly all have varying degrees of indebtedness. Very few, possibly five per cent, own their land free and clear. However only three have gone through bankruptcy proceedings. Bankruptcy is a public admission of failure which has a tinge of the dishonorable attached to it for the Dutch. The church teaches that honest labor and honest dealings bring divine favor and blessing. Bankruptcy would be resorted to only under the most extreme circumstances. The church has no ruling against it, however, considering it a legal matter. A few people have left the community with considerable amounts of debt left unpaid. This is distinctly condemned. Too expensive land and poor management undoubtedly were important factors in some such cases. Bad luck, such as crop failure and excessive expenses due to illness, involved others. Government statistics show that in Gallatin County between 1920 and 1935, farm tenancy increased sixty-two per cent; full owners decreased twenty-seven per cent; and part owners increased thirty-one per cent. (See Figure 8.) One prominent farmer has stated that had it not been for the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the entire settlement would have gone

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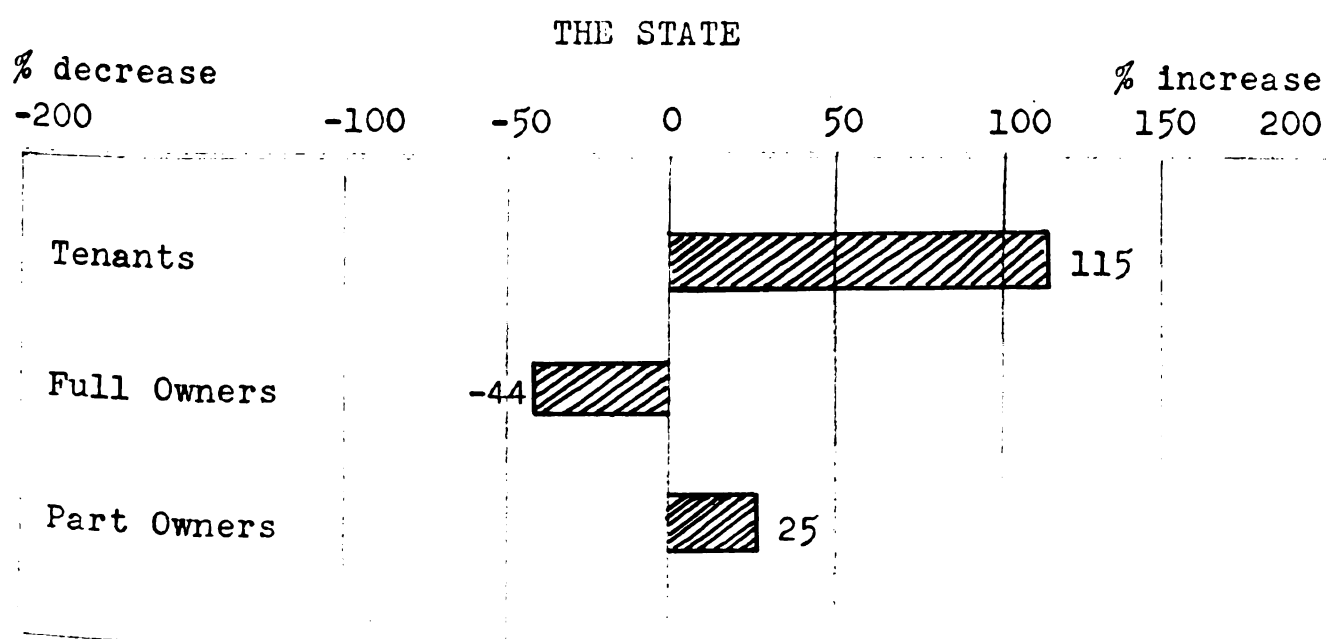
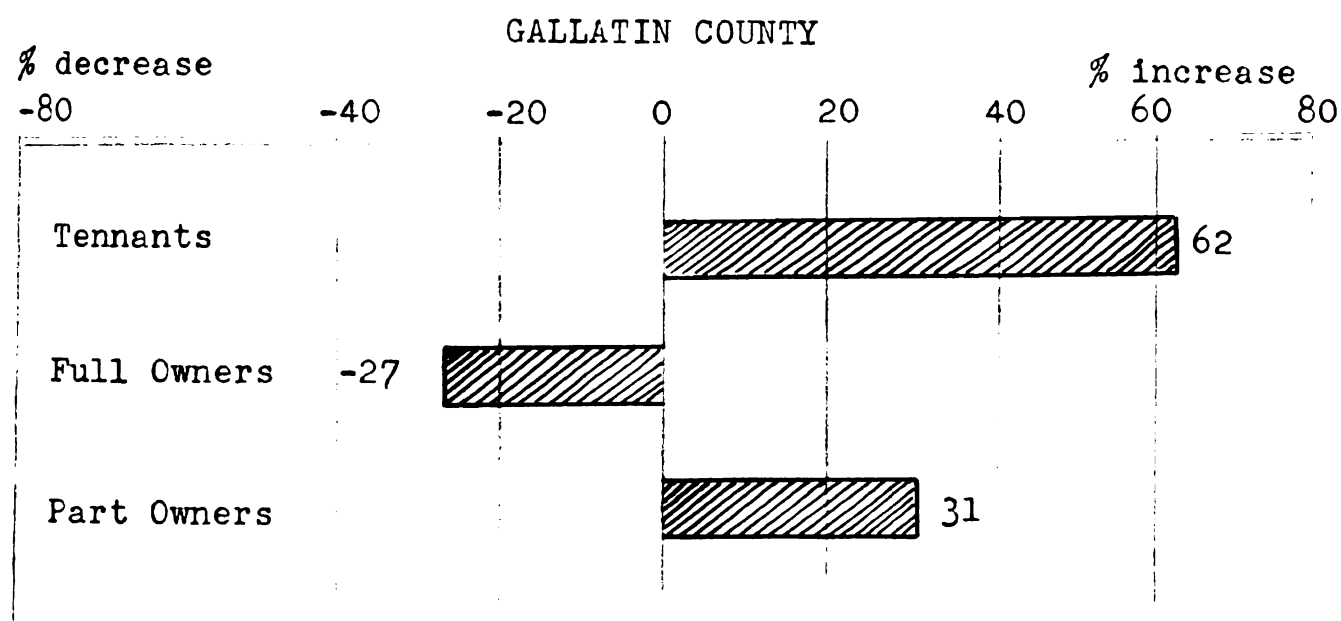


FIGURE 8

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IN NUMBER OF  
TENANTS, FULL OWNERS AND PART OWNERS OF FARMS IN  
GALLATIN COUNTY AND THE STATE, 1920-1935

(Prepared from U. S. Census Data by the Montana Agricultural  
Experiment Station in Bulletins Numbers 310 and 322.)



bankrupt. But that is probably true of agriculture in general. An unfortunate result of the government program is given by the following quotation from a letter of a prominent person in the colony:

By a queer quirk of good intentions of Uncle Sam in helping the farmers by the allotment money given, the better fixed buy up more land and squeeze out those who Uncle Sam wanted to help. The holdings of a few are becoming greater, and as a result, people are moving out of the settlement perforce.

Cooperatives. The Dutch, until recently, have never learned how to cooperate except along religious lines, like church and school. Economically they are extremely individualistic. Being very orthodox in religion --frowning on change and new ideas--they tend to suspicion all social and economic change as well. Recently, however, cooperatives have been gaining favor, and slowly but surely more and more Dutch are joining them as others prove their value. The church has made no specific pronouncements about cooperatives, but some fear that they are socialistic in their nature, and the church has condemned socialism. Estimates of the percent of the Dutch who are members of various cooperatives by a very progressive member of the group are as follows:

Gallatin Farmers' Gas and Fuel Co.. . . . .	75%
Gallatin Service Implement Co. . . . .	30%
Gallatin Cooperative Creamery. . . . .	10%
Farm Bureau . . . . .	10-20%
Gallatin Madison Telephone Co. . . . .	25%



While most of the farmers take one or more farm journals, very few, until very recently have used the services of the nearby Agricultural Experiment Station and the Extension Department of the College. The County Agent also reports that he has found the Dutch "very difficult." There seems to be a distinct aloofness from Americans and unsolicited advice. Their religion keeps them separate. It creates a social chasm that is difficult to bridge. None of the Dutch, for instance, use commercial fertilizer. None of them has ever used it, so far as they are concerned, it doesn't exist. Until now they cannot be convinced they need it. However there is evidence that a different attitude is slowly developing.

Other Occupations. Until fairly recently none of the Dutch attempted to make a livelihood by any other means than farming. It was known to be an agricultural colony so only those interested in farming came. The few bankers, one store-keeper, and a few preachers, have been mentioned. In 1911, a widow and her family came from Grand Rapids and opened a little store next to the church. Later a local youth began one in Amsterdam, a mile and a half away. However, it failed. The first establishment has continued until today, under various managements, but is now located in the Amsterdam building. About 1914 a blacksmith shop was built in Amsterdam, and was early purchased by a Hollander. After the advent of the

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automobile one young man with a flare for mechanics erected an auto repair shop near by, which he subsequently sold to another, and himself moved to Manhattan and established a machine shop and hardware business. As the railroad was being completed, a lumber and coal yard was established at Amsterdam. After a few years a Holland boy became its manager. The blacksmith has now leased his shop and is operating an implement agency. Very early one of the settlers became the community painter, and later the carpenter and general handyman. At one time and another there have been various carpenters plying their trade. Today there are two who compete for the building and repair work, while another has pretty well monopolized the painting. Two Dutch manage the High and Low line Irrigation Canals; others "ride the ditches" during season; one is a road superintendent; two buy and ship grain, one of whom also sells coal; two are stock buyers; and some ten or twelve teach local schools. Two or three are connected with the AAA and one has been elected one of three County Commissioners who administer county affairs. These all live in the community and are members of the church. The church has no rules or taboos for controlling economic endeavor except those of ethical conduct. Any kind of work is honorable if it be honest.

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Trend to the Towns. Besides these, others have moved into the towns. In Bozeman some ten younger people have become clerks or truck drivers; two are in banks; eleven girls work as maids in homes and the hospital; one retired farmer has been employed by the County Agricultural Agent; one is an insurance agent; and a Dutch doctor from Grand Rapids has settled there after having practiced in Manhattan for some time. Then there are a few laborers and farmers nearby making a total of over thirty Dutch people in Bozeman. Belgrade has attracted very few Hollanders. Only one farmer lives near there. Manhattan has always had a number, but few have ever been connected with the church in the country. From about 1912 to 1925 the Dutch Reformed Church had an organization there, but it was always very small and finally had to disband, selling its building to the Catholics. Only a few Hollanders from the settlement have gone there to work or to retire. Most of those who live there are either non-religious, or are connected with the two schismatic groups.

Population Movement. Making a living has not been an easy matter in the settlement. It has meant hard work and much gamble, so much so, that about seventy-six families have moved elsewhere after shorter or longer stays. Table III gives an analysis of their destinations. Of the forty-five questionnaires returned, thirteen, in answer

TABLE III

DESTINATION OF EMIGRANT FAMILIES  
from  
THE DUTCH COLONY AT MANHATTAN, MONTANA

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California	22	Ohio	2
Washington	14	South Dakota	2
Michigan	11	Minnesota	2
Other towns in Montana	7	Colorado	2
Illinois	5	New Jersey	2
Idaho	3	Wisconsin	1
Iowa	2	Canada	1
Total . . . . . 76			

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to the question where they would like to move to if they could, answered: California (6), Michigan (4), Washington (2), and the Netherlands (1). The reasons given were: climate (7), church life (2), working conditions (3), and like it better (1). There are two concepts involved in climate. One is bodily comfort, and the other is growing condition for crops. It is the latter idea that prevails in the answers, I believe. The former is bearable if a better livelihood were assured. Others did not answer, or stated that they were satisfied, or that there were "drawbacks" everywhere. The church makes no attempt to control population movements except to urge migrants to settle where there is a Christian Reformed Church.

In recent years there has developed a considerable mobility of population within the settlement due to the increase of tenantry. There is a good deal of shifting about in search of better farms. This has made a great difference in public school enrollments from year to year in the various districts. It is an indication of an insecure existence for a large part of the population.

The big question facing the Dutch settlement is what the young people who are becoming married are going to be able to do to make their living. All they can possibly do is hire out as farm labor at very low pay, or possibly rent a farm. But it is becoming more difficult to rent farms outside of the settlement. Under present

conditions it is impossible to buy a farm and pay for it by contract out of earnings. Interest payments would take far too much to leave a margin to live on. Inevitably many will have to leave the settlement. One wonders whether the colony has reached the limits of its expansion. In fact two families have moved some twenty miles distant to the neighborhood of Willow Creek, but they can still come to church. It is rather significant that no young men from the settlement have entered the Civilian Conservation Corps, except one as a teacher. A strong sense of family ties and responsibility plus an aversion to living in a non-church situation is the explanation.

The Church and Work. The church in no way attempts to regulate or control the occupations of its members. But no member could operate businesses like theaters, pool halls, saloons, or taverns. The denomination has never taken a "teetotaler" stand on the liquor issue. While no member may operate a saloon, some merchant members do sell beer and wine to take out.

In one way the Church most definitely controls work, and that is in the matter of the Sabbath.

This day must be so consecrated to religion that on that day we rest from all toilsome works, except those of charity and present necessity. Also from all such recreations as hinder religion.<sup>47</sup>

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47. Stuart and Hoeksema, op. cit., p. 84.

Plowing, haying or threshing on the Sabbath would be subject to censure. Very few, if any, even change the setting of the precious irrigation water on Sundays. There were a few cases in earlier years when the consistory definitely took certain people to task for work on Sunday. There also was a case when Americans, threshing for a Dutch farmer, went to work on Sunday without the consent or knowledge of the owner, while the family was at church. But of course he was not held responsible. The general rule is that nothing should be done on Sunday that could be done on Saturday, or that could just as well wait until Monday. Shoes are polished, potatoes are peeled and men shave on Saturday. However, meals are cooked on Sundays. In case of a fire or storm, they most certainly would work. But if the weather report showed rain for Monday, there would be no haying or threshing on Sunday. There has been very little if any change in these attitudes and practices through the years. There probably are slight variations in practices between families.

Calvinism has always laid stress on work as a duty. "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it." (Genesis 1:28) "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." (Genesis 3:19) It is to be expected. The Dutch also have a tradition of work; economic necessity in the Netherlands. They also have a real drive to activity as they are exhorted to

work for the glory of God and the maintenance of the family. The prevailing opinion of the townspeople is that the Dutch are hard workers, thrifty, and generally good business managers. The banks report their credit above average, although not one hundred per cent perfect.

The church each year observes a day of prayer for rain and good crops. These services are always well attended. Whether this is merely a traditional observance, or whether they really believe it to be efficacious is a question. At least it is a duty performed.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE FAMILY

Family Dominance. Family life among the Dutch in Manhattan is still central in their lives. Being rural, and largely socially self-isolated, the family is the most important social unit. Living on the farm, the interests of all members are the same. Life for all is similar and regular, for there are very few forces that tend to break up the unity of the home. Meals are eaten together, and all retire about the same time.

The Father. Religion makes the father the high priest and king of the family. He possesses divine authority, and therefore responsibility. This does not mean that he acts the Roman tyrant, but it is unequivocally accepted that the husband is officially or theoretically the head of the household. The wife, officially at least, plays an unassuming role. The so-called Pauline attitude towards women prevails in the church. But that does not require that in the home the wife be unassuming. Fact is, many a household is completely dominated by the mother. Women are not considered inferior or incapable, but the prevailing attitude most certainly is that the place of the woman is in the home. Women do not vote in church affairs, but most of them do vote as citizens.



At every meal each day every father, almost without exception, audibly asks the blessing before eating, and each child until about fifteen, repeats a very short blessing prayer. Then after the meal, the father or possibly someone else, reads a portion of Scripture, usually the next chapter in a cover-to-cover reading. In many families the last sentence, phrase, or word read must be repeated by the smaller children to show that they have been listening. This is followed with a prayer of thanksgiving by the father, with the usual short prayers again by the children.

Size of Families. Families tend to be large, as is generally the case in rural sections. The church also encourages large families. Genesis 1:28 says, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it." Birth control is condemned. A study of the church records as of 1937, for all families of all ages, who have ever lived in the settlement, showing the number of children per family, is given on the next page.

These figures include couples just married and also those who may have moved from the settlement some years ago while yet young and thus might have had more children by 1937. However it must be recorded that there are a

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number of older couples who have no children.

Number of Chil- dren per Family	Number of Families	Total Number of Children
0	27	0
1	21	21
2	17	34
3	29	87
4	31	124
5	31	155
6	13	78
7	9	63
8	16	128
9	10	90
10	4	40
11	5	55
12	1	12
13	0	0
14	0	0
15	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>
	215	902

Average 4.2

Training of Children. The church, through all its agencies, preaching, press, and governing pronouncements, continuously emphasizes the responsibility of the parents for the proper rearing of their children.

Parents, do you know that the home is a greater factor in the education of your children than the school? The foundation of education has been laid before the child enters school...it can be said that the Christian character of our schools depends upon the Christian character in our homes. The river can rise no higher than its source. The duty of parents to rear and train their children is God-imposed. By sending their children to a school the parents are not relieved of their educational responsibility. A responsibility placed by God, cannot be shifted by man. The parents will be held accountable for the training of their children, whether the training be

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given in the home or elsewhere. Christian parents, let us ever be mindful of the solemn fact that God has instituted the family, not only to bring forth children, but also to bring up children. The Christian school is an auxiliary, that is, an aid to the Christian home. . . . It may never supersede the home, but must remain an auxiliary thereof.<sup>48</sup>

Dutch Homes. The Dutch housewife is proverbially spic and span. This is generally the rule in the settlement. Most of the women are hard workers and take pride in their homes, and most of the homes are quite comfortable. The check list on home conveniences of the questionnaire produced the following results:

Electricity . . . . .	16-35%
Running water . . . . .	18-40%
Hot running water . . . . .	9-20%
Electric flat iron. . . . .	16-35%
Gasolene flat iron. . . . .	12-27%
Large floor rugs. . . . .	26-58%
Linoleum . . . . .	38-84%
Bath tub . . . . .	7-15%
Indoor water toilet . . . . .	6-13%
Kitchen sink . . . . .	31-70%
Electric refrigerator . . . . .	4-10%
Gasolene lamp . . . . .	27-60%
Electric stove . . . . .	2- 4%
Gasolene or kerosene stove . . . . .	21-46%
Heating stove . . . . .	21-46%
Furnace . . . . .	3- 6%
Radio . . . . .	30-66%
Electric washer . . . . .	14-31%
Gasolene power washer . . . . .	26-58%
Hand power washer . . . . .	1- 2%
Scrub board only . . . . .	3- 6%
Telephone . . . . .	19-42%

For a western rural group, this is an excellent showing

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48. Are We Doing Our Duty as Parents? As Teachers?  
The National Union of Christian Schools, p. 1.

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as can be seen from Table IV. Electric and gasoline washing machines total forty, with only one hand power washer and three scrub boards left. Of the latter, one is a day laborer who went broke farming. He now has an income of about eight hundred dollars per year. He is forty-one years of age and his wife is thirty-seven. They have three children, and live in a four room house. The other two families have no children. One is thirty-one years old and has just started farming under a great debt, while the other has farmed since 1926, but is still in debt.

However, of the sixteen having electricity only four have refrigerators, and only two have electric stoves. Cooking is done largely on ranges which serve to heat the kitchen at the same time. Twenty-one have kerosene or gasoline stoves for summer use. In winter the living rooms are heated by coal heaters. Only three furnaces are reported. Economic status determines the standard of living of the family. The church leaders generally counsel conservative spending and the use of common sense. All live simply but comfortably, for living beyond one's means is frowned upon. Credit is used less than formerly because of economic experience. However, the church does not attempt to dictate in private affairs within the bounds of moral and ethical conduct.

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TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL FAMILIES USING VARIOUS TYPES  
of  
HOME CONVENIENCES

Convenience	Dutch Colony	Oklahoma*	Michigan**	Gallatin County***
Electricity	35	25.4	15	15
Gasolene lamp	60	25.4		
Running water	40	6.2	51	26
Bath tubs	15	6.4	35	
Indoor toilet	13	2.4		14
Electric Refrigerator	10	39.7		
Furnace	6	4.1	51	
Radio	66	46.1	66	
Electric washer	31))			
Gasolene power washer	58))	26.2	58	
Hand power washer	2			
Telephone	42	23.8	22	45
Automobiles	100	62.9	85	94

\*William H. Sewell, The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families. Technical Bulletin No. 9, Oklahoma Agriculture and Mechanical College, Agricultural Experiment Station, Stillwater, Oklahoma, April, 1940.

\*\*E. B. Mumford, J. F. Thaden and M. C. Spurwood, The Standard of Living of Farm Families in Selected Michigan Communities, Special Bulletin 287, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, October, 1932.

\*\*\*United States Census, 1930.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The Dutch are great lovers of flowers. Nearly every home has its windows banked with a variety of house plants, and in summer every home plat has its many flower patches. However the church is never decorated for any kind of program. Once the teachers of the Christian School brought in a number of potted plants for a school children's program, but some members of the consistory objected. It just is not done. Evidently it is supposed to be a show of vanity. Yet the church itself is rather beautifully decorated and has stained glass windows. Only the basement room may be decorated at will. The incident is evidence of stern Calvinistic Puritanism. This no doubt will shortly be modified.

Exogamy. The young people in the settlement have very seldom married non-Dutch for they have had very few social contacts with American youth. This only happens when individuals attend schools or get work outside the Dutch orbit. And seldom do such couples become a part of the settlement. There is only a single case of a mixed marriage in the settlement today, and he has left the church for one of the evangelistic sects. The denomination as a whole is much concerned with this problem. Synod has warned the churches of this danger, and has time and again urged pastors and consistories to do all in their power to prevent it.

Courting. Courting is largely an automobile phenomenon because social life is so limited. There are no places to go, except to church or some of its organizations. The church sponsors no kind of social program where young men and women can get together in each other's company. The Young Peoples' Society is the one regular occasion when the youth meet each other. During recess in the program and afterwards the contacts are made that lead to dates for rides home and other courting opportunities. In fact the meetings themselves are used by many for social purposes, only casual and fleeting attention being paid to the official program. There is a constant undertone of talk, foolishness and giggling. Some stay out in the cars or leave after recess. Sunday night is recognized as dating night. But it is dating under difficulties in public, as it were. The shy or retiring person is simply out, and it is therefore very easy to become an isolated personality. The distinct tendency has been to date very few different individuals. Very commonly the first date results in eventual marriage. However, there seem to be no evil social effects from this, as far as divorces or broken homes are concerned. There is seldom any dating during the week and only advanced or engaged couples court at home, say in the parlor, where there is one. "A side road, drive-way, (provided 'her' folks are in and not coming home any time) or some such place are favorite parking places. Rarely

does any couple go to town on a date. A preliminary ride with a main feature at parking is the best summary of an evening out with a girl."<sup>49</sup> Engagements, for some reason, tend to be rather long, rarely less than two years. Inability to arrange for economic needs is possibly the best answer.

Formerly weddings were mostly held in the church, but since the World War the home of the bride has become the customary place. Always the minister officiates. There is only one case on record of a marriage by a Justice of the Peace.

There has always been a surplus of males in the settlement as in the West generally. This has resulted in a considerable number of bachelors. There are at present at least fifteen men thirty years and over, who have never married. But there are also a few such women. The Young People's Society has a membership of sixty boys and fifty girls. This inevitably means that some are going to lose out in the competition. Upon occasion, some men have somehow made acquaintances and found wives elsewhere, as far away as Michigan and even in the Netherlands and India.

Forced Marriages. During the early 1930's there was a period of a few years when at least nine couples had

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49. From a private letter.



to get married post-conceptually. During the past four years there have been two. Some have blamed it on too long engagements due to economic stress. Another explanation is that ~~it was~~ at that time ~~that~~ articles on the so-called "safe-period" were appearing in magazines, and couples got naive ideas about it, and experimented to their regret. There are too few opportunities for young people to be together in normal healthful situations when others are present. And above all, there is no training whatsoever in normal sex relations in a positive way. Possibly once in two years, as the Heidelberg Catechism is preached through, there is a sermon on the Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and somewhere in the catechetical classes the subject may be lightly brushed. But that does not produce a healthy moral self-control. Parents do not seem to instruct their children in this regard.

Where the Seventh Commandment is broken, the church demands confession of guilt. Formerly this took place before the entire assembled congregation, but more recently it has been before the consistory only, with announcement of that fact in church.<sup>50</sup> In no case does there result any social ostracism. There have never been any cases of unwed mothers or known cases involving married people of either sex.

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50. Cf. Chapter III

With the passing of the years intermarriage among the relatively few families in the settlement is gradually making the colony one big related family. A few of the earlier settlers had a large number of sons, which today results in their family names being confusingly represented in every kind of membership list. However there are enough families in the settlement so there is no immediate danger of any genetical inbreeding. On related marriages Synod ruled in 1896 that

Marriages within the three most intimate degrees of relationship are to be condemned as improper. Those of less close blood-relationship are also to be discouraged, but touching eventual cases, the ecclesiastical assemblies concerned shall judge.<sup>51</sup>

Divorce. The church is strongly opposed to divorce. There is only one accepted reason for it, adultery. In the history of the settlement there has been only one divorce, when a man left his wife to marry a young widow. All three parties resigned from the church and left the community. The divorced wife returned to the Netherlands to live.

On problems involving people unbiblically divorced, Synod has ruled as follows:

Synod in 1890 answered the following questions in the negative, "May the man from whom the woman legitimately divorced herself, because he committed adultery,

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51. Stuart and Hoeksema, op. cit. p. 89.



in case he remarries while his first wife is living, be a member of the church?"<sup>52</sup>

In 1926 Synod

decided that a person, once divorced upon non-Biblical grounds, and having withdrawn from the church can again be received into the church after sincere penitence is shown, and confession of his sin is made, though all efforts to re-establish the marriage tie with the divorced party prove fruitless.<sup>53</sup>

Family Visitation. Family visitation is a regular annual systematic program conducted by the minister with one or more elders in turn during the off-work season. Each Sunday the announcements includes the names of the families to be visited each day of the following week and everyone is expected to be at home. Its purpose is to canvass the spiritual condition of the congregation. Questions naturally vary from family to family; warnings and admonitions are given; and attempts are made to bring to light any secret difficulties within the families or between individuals. Especially the personal relation between individuals and God are inquired into--their prayer life, their assurance of being saved, and difficulties of doctrinal beliefs. The "separated life," free from worldly contamination, is emphasized where necessary. Support of the Christian Schools, catechetical classes, and regular attendance at church are all

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52. Loc. cit.

53. Loc. cit.

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duly stressed. Some ministers use a theme program from year to year, using the personal touch as an added means of edification.

The reaction in families varies a great deal. Those who are really religious welcome the visit and co-operate with the visitors, but others dread it and try to make the visit as short, curt and innocuous as possible. The practical value of this practice depends largely upon the esteem of the pastor held by the people. With the situation in Manhattan as it is, this official visit is in many cases quite perfunctory. The atmosphere often is not cordial. In some congregations the practice seems to be undergoing a subtle change, for a prominent minister writing in the September 18, 1938 issue of The Banner, the official Church paper, states:

Family visiting according to the Church Order, has in many instances, become a farce. Yes, the minister with the mistress of the manse make the rounds, but that is not what is intended by the Church Order. That is not conducive to good order of the church.

Evidently it becomes little more than a social call.

This, however, is not yet the case in Manhattan.

Retirement. Church Hill, the immediate vicinity of the church, is becoming the retiring place of many of the aged and widows with children. A number of small homes have been erected there, making a sizable village. The widows live on widows' pension while the others

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draw on savings. A few of the aged have retired in Manhattan. Others of course, live with their children. Very seldom does anyone leave the settlement to retire elsewhere.

Funerals. Death is the eventual lot of all men. Funeral services are always held in the church and are largely attended. The corpse is never brought into the sanctuary, but is left out in the hallway. Formerly funerals were very bare, without flowers or even artificial grass at the cemetery. But today floral tributes are used in abundance. The services are always lengthy for the pastor preaches a full length sermon. At such a time, of course, their religious faith is of the greatest solace.

The entire community is organized into a Cemetery Club which is a cooperative burial association. No one is excluded, schismatic groups nor non-church members. But there are no American members. There are four districts, each having an elected manager. They, with the secretary-treasurer and the secretary of the Cemetery Committee constitute the Board of Directors. The membership fee is one dollar per family per year.

Whenever a death occurs the district manager must be notified as soon as possible. It is his duty to arrange the order and duties of certain members. Members' names are printed in geographical rotation. Numbers one

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and two before and after the family which has the death must inform all those who must be notified of the death. Numbers three, four, and five before and after, are to be pall bearers. Number six before and after, shall in case of snow, provide for a good path in the cemetery. Any one who refuses to do his duty, or fails to pay his dues, forfeits his membership. There are no insurance benefits with this plan. Relatives, women, and certain others are excused from performing these duties.

There are two Dutch cemeteries. One was established very early adjoining the school in the Hills, where most interments are made. Another was established more recently near the church by one of the prominent settlers as the result of some kind of altercation. It is very little used.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATION

Social life amongst the Dutch has been rather limited, but there are evidences of expanding interest. Their main purpose in life has been religion and maintenance of the family. Hard work has dominated their lives. The church is the center of nearly all contacts for everyone except the youngsters at school. Time before and after the two Sunday services is commonly used for visiting. Many groups remain for a considerable time discussing matters of mutual interest.

Women's Societies. Besides the regular Sunday services there are the various regular meetings of other church organizations, particularly those of the women. There are the Holland and English Ladies' Aids, and the Girls' Missionary Society, which meet fortnightly. None of these organizations is very large, their membership in 1938 being thirteen, nineteen, and thirty-four respectively. This is due to the considerable distances at which people live, the difficulty of transportation, busy farm life, and the matter of taking care of the children.

The programs of all three societies are similar,

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comprising a devotional period with Bible study, and sewing. In the fall or winter each society has a sale of its goods as a means of raising money for their projects. The money is always given to some church work like the Christian Schools, charitable institutions or missions.

There have never been any regular organizations of men in the church. During a few winters a Men's Bible study group met, but it was always short lived. The men are too busy during the day and too tired in the evening to attend any such meetings.

Young People's Society. Probably the most important organization from a social point of view is the Young People's Society of one hundred and ten members, which meets each Sunday evening. The first hour is spent in Bible study, led by the minister. The older young people have their Bible study apart, conducted by themselves, as they are more advanced. Then after a recess, a general program of entertainment, recitations, songs and essays is given. It is at this gathering that the young folks learn to know each other. It is also the social unit for larger parties and outings.

Expansion of Social Interest. A varied social life for young folks has been one of the greatest deficiencies in the settlement. There was nothing to do and no place



to go. Very few opportunities were provided for young men and women to get together in each other's company. There were absolutely no social activities for couples as such to attend, that would encourage the practice of varied dating. This created a strong tendency for boys and girls to go out with very few of the opposite sex in social situations.

This latter situation may now be in the process of being alleviated because of the fact that such a large number of youth from all over the settlement are daily riding together on the school bus in attending high school in Manhattan. They have opportunities of acquaintanceship and social contact that the youngsters of a few years ago never had, when the majority quit school before finishing the eighth grade. However, because of the bus schedule, they are unable to take an active part in the extra-curricular activities of the school. But these youngsters are making contacts outside of the settlement group, which is certain to affect the life of the settlement in years to come.

For many years a considerable number of the young men and boys have been interested in baseball. Two or three evenings each week they have gathered to practice in a pasture in Amsterdam. They have become fairly proficient



in it too, often playing games with nearby towns and winning their share. After practice they congregate at the store or garage for a time and visit before going home, often some miles distant. But there was very little interest except on the part of the actual participants. This year four sectional teams were organized with a regular schedule. More boys participated and larger crowds have attended. Needless to say, no games or practice take place on Sundays, although in some families the boys do play "catch" or "knock up flies". Many of the younger men are ardent fans of big league baseball. The church accepts baseball as a matter of course when conducted in harmony with their religious tenets.

During this past winter a skating rink was made near the church. It was well organized with care-takers and fee charges, and was well patronized by young and old. These are much-needed innovations that will greatly add to the social life of the colony. There are excellent opportunities for skiing and tobogganing, but such equipment has never been seen in the settlement. The Netherlands is flat country with canals. Skating is the great heritage of the Dutch.

Picnics. In the summer time there is an annual Fourth of July picnic in a grove along the river. This





event had its origin about 1907. There are patriotic and religious addresses; contests and games for all and the inevitable baseball game in the afternoon. And of course there is the general buzz of family picnics and group conversation. The concession stand always does a big business. However, because of the schismatic events of recent years, the affair is not as unanimous as it once was. Also, many avail themselves of the automobile and good roads to go on trips. Weather and crop conditions often affect the attendance too, for the Fourth comes at the height of the irrigation season when water is likely to be turned off.

For a number of years all the young people of the settlement have had an outing on Memorial Day. It usually takes the form of a picnic far up one of the mountain canyons. A very fine time is usually had by all.

Every wedding is an occasion for a large youth reception. An evening of games and fun marks the occasion. There are from four to six such a year. Smaller common interest groups have parties amongst themselves on occasion. These quite naturally leave out the shy and retiring. This is causing some criticism of cliquishness, but does not as yet seem to be causing any serious divisions among the young people. Halloween and New Year's Eve are the most common occasions for smaller group parties.



Music. Since 1907 there has been a band in the settlement. But it has had its ups and downs, depending largely on the leadership. It always plays at the Fourth of July picnic, and usually has a winter concert if sufficient practice has been had. Upon occasion the band has played at various farmer functions in the county. Five years ago it accepted an invitation to play at the Three Forks Fair, but the minister and consistory strenuously objected. Such a fair is considered to have many immoral and worldly features with which God's children should have nothing to do. The younger people composing the band could not see it that way. They felt that as long as they did not patronize those objectionable features they should be allowed the thrill and publicity of playing before a crowd. However, the will of the officials prevailed. But the resentment was so great that the organization disbanded for two years. Since then it has been revived and rehearses once a week during the winter months. Their big problem is to get adequate leadership.

The young people have for many years had a choral organization which also rehearses weekly during the winter. They give a very presentable annual program in the church. Last season, for the first time, a Men's Chorus was organized. It joined with the Bozeman Community Chorus in pre-

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senting Handel's "Messiah". This was indeed an innovation, indicating a broadening interest and a growing cooperation with non-Dutch. However, there is no church choir for reasons indicated elsewhere.<sup>54</sup>

Quite a number of youngsters take music lessons of one kind or another. A concern from Portland, Oregon, sends a violin and guitar teacher once a week to meet students at either Manhattan or Amsterdam. Piano instruction is given by four or five local musicians, one of whom has at least twenty-five pupils. The teaching is probably far from first class, but it is very valuable culturally nevertheless. Some years an instructor from Bozeman has come out to give lessons. Besides this a number of the high school students are in the school band. All this indicates a very wide interest in music among the people of the settlement.

Reading. Nearly every family subscribes for one or both official Church papers. The Banner has one hundred and twenty-five subscribers, and the Holland language paper De Wachter, sixty-five. There are probably one hundred and fifty separate households in the colony. The business manager of these papers states that gradually De Wachter subscribers are taking the English The Banner. The two papers have different editors and

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54. Cf. Chapter III.

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makeup, but both are printed in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Quoting from a letter, "The church papers are read quite thoroughly. The people are interested in Church news. Since our denomination is small, the people know a great number of the ministers, the church people, etc., and are consequently interested in the papers. It's good Sunday reading for most of us." The Banner is written in excellent and scholarly English. Its constant reading should develop a good command of the language. While most of the journal is taken up with religious articles and church news, there are regular departments and occasional articles on social and personal problems, family life and child rearing, psychology, and foreign news.

Besides these, a very large percentage get the Bozeman Daily Chronicle, the Pathfinder, one or more local town weekly papers, a farm journal or two, a women's magazine, and often a Missionary or Christian School magazine. There are also a considerable number of subscribers to other Dutch language papers like De Volsvriend and De Hollandsche Amerikaan. This would indicate a high average of periodical reading. As to books, a few reported having read a large number of both Dutch and English books, but the majority had read very few. The reasons for this probably lie in the fact that the educational level of the people reporting is not very high; books are more formidable and demand more sustained effort; they are





relatively expensive; and there is no public library nearer than Bozeman, twenty miles distant. The teachings of the Church and their religious sensibilities limit what is read. Modern novels with their ultra realism are considered filth. The Church papers through their book reviews and comments on current literature no doubt influence reading habits.

"Worldly Amusements." "Worldly amusements," as card-playing, theater-going and dancing are held to be contrary to the demands of a really separated life.

Card-playing fosters in our hearts the dangerous tendency to look away from God, and to put our trust in Fortune, or Luck, placing Fortune above the disposition of God, and the hankering after Chance above the firm confidence in His will. To fear God, and to bid for favors of Fortune, seems to the Calvinist as irreconcilable as fire and water. (Dr. A. Kuyper, Stone Lectures, p. 93.)<sup>55</sup>

Constant playing produces exaggerated stimulations which amount to intoxication. This, again, produces enervation and affects for evil, the whole intellectual and moral nature. Card-playing finally leads to gambling, to all kinds of deception and dishonesty.<sup>56</sup>

There probably is not a deck of regular playing cards in the settlement. But one does find among the younger families games like Rook and Flinch.

The objection to the theater is the claim that it subordinates education, morality, and public welfare to

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55. Beets, op. cit., p. 229.

56. Loc. cit.



the one demand for entertainment. Often the theater appeals to the unreal and the sensational, and provides plays that exalt vice, and debase virtue. The actors frequently are or become men and women of loose character, involving moral sacrifice which ruins souls, and strikes at the foundation of society.

No drama of any kind, Biblical or non-Biblical, has ever been produced in the settlement. There has been no leadership to promote it. It is quite questionable whether the minister and the consistory could be induced to allow such an innovation so suggestive of the theater.

The Church also distinctly disapproves of moving picture theater attendance. This ban holds pretty well in the settlement. However, careful inquiry reveals probably three or four who attend movies in nearby towns openly, and probably ten to twelve who attend secretly upon occasion. A third group includes those who have been away to school, who attend good shows when away, but not while in the settlement, out of deference to their parents and the general attitude of the community.<sup>57</sup> Of the forty-five questionnaires returned, only three reported any attendance. They were "three or four times a year," "once a month," and "twice in ten years."

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57. Private letter.

But educational films have been shown a number of times to good crowds in the basement of the church.

As for dancing, it is

passion, however skillfully veiled, (that) lies at the basis of the modern dance.<sup>58</sup>

The impure suggestion is often more manifest in the afterthought than in the act of dancing. To defend the modern dance from the Scriptures, is to manifest ignorance, and to be almost guilty of sacrilege.<sup>59</sup>

There probably is not a person in the Manhattan colony who has ever participated in a dance, unless it might be some of the youngsters who attend high school or college, and that is most doubtful.

Attitude Towards Secret Societies. The Church maintains that secret societies are contrary to the Word of God. Initiation oaths are administered by men who are not "God ordained magistrates," and therefore do not have authority to administer oaths. The oaths often are made binding before the candidate knows to what he swears. Such oaths are unwarranted and therefore sinful. Why should societies be secret if their works are good? Too often their good works are selfish and therefore unscriptural. "If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?" How can saints and atheists be brothers

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58. Beets, op. cit., p. 230.

59. Loc. cit.



in a lodge and remain scriptural? Some lodges have used their secret power to become an "empire within an empire," to the detriment of justice to all, and special privileges to none. Some lodge nomenclature is positively ridiculous and even blasphemous. No sinner (as each of us is) ought to dare to assume such names and titles, full of the most solemn significance. Many of their ceremonies are too frivolous and even dangerous for earnest Christians to engage in. And the abuse of the Bible in lodge ritual is common, passages being distorted in meaning and application. This is especially true at funerals of members. They are usually considered saved and in Heaven, even though Christ as Savior is virtually excluded from all lodges, and the member may have been an atheist.<sup>60</sup>

Liquor. The Dutch are not prohibitionists, but neither are they habitual drinkers. There has been only one case of habitual drunkenness among the group. Once, years ago, some young men went to town on a holiday and in a lark, took some drinks. They got drunk and had to confess before the congregation. Some of the people constantly have a little wine or possibly beer in the house. But usually it is served only when visitors come. Only six of the forty-five returns stated that they used

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60. Ibid., p. 224.

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liquor. However it is said that many of the ministers of the church enjoy a glass of beer or wine occasionally. At the communion service only fermented wine is used, no substitutes being allowed by the Church.

Radio. Fourteen of the questionnaires, or nearly one-third, stated that they had no radio. This is rather surprising. Of this number, six even have electricity, and all but one have either electric or gasoline power washing machines. One has an electric stove, but no radio. This would seem to indicate a great lag in acceptance of new culture media. The old way of life is satisfactory to them. They have no broader interests and therefore no desire for wider, possibly disturbing contacts. Probably the cost overbalances all other values they can imagine. The Church, however, does not oppose the possession of radios, although it goes out of the way to warn against some of the programs, especially some kinds of radio preaching. The denomination has been planning a coast to coast transcription broadcast by its most prominent preachers. All those who reported having radios indicate their favorite programs to include various speakers and gospel singers. Thus, for the first time, these people hear religion propounded by other than Christian Reformed preachers. And many of them like it. It adds an emotional factor to their lives. It is a kind of relief from stern mechanistic



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Calvinism. And it is also bound to affect their attitude towards their own church. Heretofore they have been almost fanatical in their religious convictions and practices. Under these new contacts this attitude is certain to mellow into greater tolerance of others. The ministry may be expected to do all in its power to oppose this tendency, but it will be a difficult matter to control the turning of radio knobs. Other programs listened to are news, speeches, certain continued story programs, weather and market reports, and sports. No doubt as time goes on the radio will become more and more an accepted and valued instrument in every household, enriching the lives of these people.

Yellowstone Park. A very important source of recreation for the settlement is trips through Yellowstone Park which is only eighty miles distant. All of the younger people have gone at least once, some report having taken the trip ten times, others every year. The trip became popularized in 1922 when the pastor and twelve others, including the writer, made the trip. Others had gone before, but by this time all the Dutch had cars. Roads were also getting better, making distances seem smaller. The attention of the people had been fastened upon the idea with the present result.

During each winter a few people take extended trips to California, Washington, Michigan or even the



Netherlands, usually to visit relatives. This is especially true when crops have been good.

Also in the winter many of the younger men go up to the mountains for a week or two to hunt deer and elk. This is becoming more popular, as is also fishing. An afternoon or evening of fishing is now quite common, though as a boy, the writer cannot recall any of the Dutch ever doing so. The automobile and tractor have made the difference.

Thus it is evident that life in the settlement is becoming broader and richer. These people are developing new interests and are becoming more socialized. There is more time to think of other things to do than work. However the great majority are still self-conscious and exclusive. No outsiders participate within the group, but the group is beginning to associate with and cooperate with other acceptable groups in certain limited ways. Their religious beliefs and traditions are still the dominating and controlling factors.

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## CHAPTER IX

### AMERICANIZATION AND DUTCH ATTITUDES

The Hollanders in Manhattan have been in a sense a voluntary religiously isolated group. They are not isolated geographically nor culturally, except as self discipline does it. As one banker states it

on account of their religious beliefs and moral opinions, they do not enter entirely into the community life of the surrounding towns.<sup>61</sup>

They live their own lives in their own way religiously and morally. But in secular matters, they are very much a part of the general western American scene.

Willingness to Work. Economically they conform very largely to the common rural pattern. Agriculture, finance, markets, animal husbandry, and farm journals are very similar to the general American farm scene. The Dutch may be a little more conservative, careful, thrifty and hardworking, but otherwise they do not differ radically from their neighbors. As was stated elsewhere, a very large percentage of the adult population was born in the Netherlands in very poor surroundings. They left their old homes in the hope of improving their economic status here. Their desires were not very great.

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61. Private letter.

They were willing to work hard at long hours for the returns they got. So they are satisfied and happy with relatively little. Theirs is not a complicated over-organized, thrill-seeking life. They find happiness, contentment, and solace in their practice of religion; in their faith in God, the Bible and prophecy; and in the hard work that keeps them busy. In fact work in itself is glorified as a duty, for it is God-ordained.

Cause and Cure of Depressions. One could hardly expect a naturally conservative people to be very active in reform movements. Being intensely given to the belief in the super-natural as the governing agency in human affairs, the general attitude is that the problems and sufferings of humanity are due to God's vengeance upon a sinful mankind. In answer to a question about the cause and cure of depressions, of the eighteen who answered it, nine stated the cause variously, as "Unbelief; Departure from the faith and tradition of the fathers; Immorality; Falling away from God (disobedience); God sends them (depressions) to man when people get too wicked, so he may stop and think and return to God." And the cure of course is "Return to God; Turn to Him and all will be well; the only way out is to look to Him for help; Turning back to their old faith (repentance)." There is no recognition at all in these statements of any impersonal economic forces working through social organization.

However, other answers included the following:

"Do not know (3); Mechanical age; World War (2); Taking away free trade; egotism." Three persons answered quite strikingly as follows:

(1) The cause of depressions are that the capital interest takes more than their share out of the nation's income. The cure is that the consuming public must have a bigger share of the nation's income in order to get more of the industrial output.

(2) The speculative tendency in human nature, monopolistic control of industry and prices, installment buying, etc. (Cure) Apply the Golden Rule in all our business transactions. Do our utmost to shoulder our own responsibilities.

(3) After every war has been a depression, and this new method of working with machinery in every field is ~~throwing~~ throwing labor out of work. And the government is trying hard to remedy this, but is only temporary help, and lots of people are misusing this, and that spoils them for society (no work, unless big pay and small hours). The present New Deal Government is at least trying to help and remedy the situation (which the old party never did). But I think they are going too far. When we have to raise wheat at 29-31, oats for 65¢, anybody knows we can't live even by working 16 hours daily in summer. But the whole thing comes down to this, Religion is left out, God is left out. The nation as a whole is forgetting about God and His Christ. And I think, yes I know, that is the main cause of today's unrest and strife.

Labor Unions. A question on labor unions elicited the general response that they were both good and bad. The general feeling seems to be that they have gone too far; they demand too much; they are too radical. A number seemed to feel that unions were necessary so labor could get its share to live on. One answer reads

Labor unions are good because if men have a right to capitalize their ideas and the resources of their





country, then that implies the right of men to capitalize their labor. In fact men must do so, if any balance in the social order is to be preserved. That is why I say I should like to see our country unionized to the hilt.

This questionnaire reported the husband as 55, wife 52 and that they came from Holland in 1909.

The Christian Reformed denomination in the course of years has made a number of declarations regarding labor unions. In 1881 the Synod condemned unions outright as unchristian. Two years later it was mentioned that some unions of employers merited rebuke. In 1892 it was decreed that each union was to be judged on its own merits. The Synod of 1904 distinguished between, "De generated unions, whose principles and activities were plainly contrary to Holy Writ . . . and Neutral unions." The Synod of 1916 stated that there were not enough data on hand to show that membership in the church was incompatible with membership in neutral unions, "unless it can be shown that a certain union gives constitutional warrant to a certain sin or sins, or reveals in its regular activities that it champions sins." It also stated that if church members were forced to join neutral unions, they were to witness for Christ by word and deed, in the midst of these unions, and if hindered in this, to break with them. It also advised that Christian unions be established where desirable and that these cooperate as much as possible with other unions



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to establish social justice.<sup>62</sup> This has been done in western Michigan in the Christian Labor Association, a very small organization.

Professor W. Heyns of Calvin College has stated

Since it is undeniable that capital has dealt unfairly with labor, especially because it pays the workingman what it must and not what it should; since it forsakes him in his old age; and the State, the police and the press usually care less for his interests than for those of capital, it cannot in itself be condemned that the laborer by means of joint action, tries to protect and to strengthen himself, . . . unless of course, he employs forbidden means and himself oversteps the boundaries of justice and fairness. Consequently the attitude of the Church regarding unions is entirely different from that regarding Secret Orders.<sup>63</sup>

These pronouncements show an evolution of thought and attitude towards the labor problem, influenced unquestionably by the factory labor membership of Michigan cities. But the attitude of most of the Manhattan farmers is like that of most rural populations--decidedly anti-union, especially anti-C. I. O. and sit-down strikes. To most of the people, unions are dangerous and radical. To many they are organizations of agitators who want a good living without working.

The attitude of the people in Manhattan is greatly influenced by what appears in the Church papers. Considerable is reported about the doings of the Christian Reformed Church sponsored Christian Labor Association

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62. Stuart and Hoeksema, op. cit., p. 92.

63. Beets, op. cit. p. 116.



which outlaws strikes and violence. Many articles on labor and social problems are also appearing in The Banner and other church papers, written by men of more advanced social views. These in time are bound to have an effect upon the thinking of the entire church membership, for the people have great confidence in their church papers, considering them absolutely authentic.

The New Deal. The answers to a question on the New Deal were in general favorable. Many said it was both good and bad. Some feared it had gone too far and was dictatorial. A few representative answers are the following: "Done good in some ways, and failed in some; Given needy assistance to down and out; Wholesome effects upon the country; It has helped the farmer more than anything else; I think the New Deal has been trying to do something for the common people; Worth trying; Abnormal times require abnormal measures which I favor only as an emergency measure; Hoover is the bunk, Roosevelt is the man."

Citizenship. As citizens the Dutch are regarded very highly. They are exceptionally law-abiding, only two or three arrests having been made in the history of the settlement. And very seldom are Hollanders involved in any kind of civil suit. As tax payers they have an extremely low delinquency record. Their general attitude towards the State and Government is that of the

highest respect for authority. All this is very largely a product of their religious faith, their sense of honesty and duty. They wish to do what is right. Their record for exercising their right of franchise at elections is above average. The women generally also vote, most of them voting the same as their husbands, according to questionnaire answers. Twenty-one reported husbands and wives voting the same ticket, seven reported differences, three didn't know. In 1924 sixteen reported voting Republican, and only five Democrat, with three non-committal. In 1932 fifteen voted Democrat, and ten Republican, with some non-committal. In 1936 ten voted Democrat who had voted Republican at some previous election, while two voted Republican after having voted Democrat in 1932. One had voted Democrat until 1924 and Republican since. In 1936, twenty-three voted Democrat and eleven Republican. Thus one sees that it is something besides religion that controls political preference.

Some years ago a Hollander ran for the office of County Commissioner, but it was not until five years ago that one of their number was elected to that office. He has served so capably that it has made the whole settlement proud. He was reelected at the last election. From now on, no doubt, they will become more active in local politics. They have developed a kind of political self-confidence.

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Although such a large number were born in the Netherlands, less than ten remain unnaturalized. During the World War, before the entry of the United States, the general sympathy of the older people was with Germany, or possibly more accurately, anti-British, because of European history. But after the United States declared war, they cooperated in Liberty Loans as much as any others, although a few did it under duress. Only two young men from the settlement volunteered for service although by the close of the war some thirty had served. One man escaped to Holland to avoid service, but has since returned and, after serving a prison sentence, now resides in the settlement. Another also had to serve time at Leavenworth for deserting in France. Only one from the settlement was killed in action.

Assimilation. Today the younger generation is thoroughly Americanized. No attempt whatever is made to keep up the Dutch language or customs, or to develop any kind of loyalty or sympathy with the Netherlands. One never hears Holland referred to except in private conversations among the older people. The youth in fact know practically nothing about the history of the old country. There are no Dutch nationalistic secret societies, or insurance associations. The Church is the only organization that continues Dutch self-consciousness, but not along nationalistic lines. The Dutch are not a



difficult people to assimilate into American life. They learn the language easily, and seem to adjust themselves readily to the American situation. Practically all of the older folks can speak and read English acceptably well. For a few years Dutch was taught in the Christian schools. But today many of the first generation children can hardly speak it any more, while the second generation cannot even understand it. Until about the World War, children were always christened with distinctively Dutch names, but these were always anglicised in actual use. Since then, however, one hears only the English version of the names. The most characteristic names are the Frisian from the province of Friesland.<sup>64</sup> Some of the Frisian names and their Americanizations are as follows. There are no rules except possibly first letters.

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|-----------|--------------|-------------|---------|
| Meinte. . | Martin, Mike | Hieltje . . | Helen   |
| Douwa . . | Dan          | Jella . . . | Charles |
| Jetska. . | Julia        | Wieba . . . | William |
| Antje . . | Anna         | Bouka . . . | Barney  |

The minutes of the church consistory are still kept in Dutch. The question has very recently been raised as to whether this should not be changed to English, since most of the church services are now in

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64. Frisian is a distinct language very closely allied to the old Anglo Saxon. Dutch is closely related to the German, but the Frisian is more allied with the English. A Hollander cannot understand Frisian at all.

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English. This will probably be done very soon. The minutes of the Christian School Society were also at first kept in Dutch, but they have been kept in English for over twenty years now. Incidentally the year book of the Christian Reformed denomination was first printed in English in 1914.

Another Depression? In answering the question concerning another depression, a good many said they did not know. One said just, "Yes," another said, "No." Other answers were, "Depends largely on war conditions; Expenses larger than income so people cannot control budget and resort to installment buying; No, unless people lose confidence in government or too drastic legislation is passed; You can't eat your cake and have it too, so it seems the piper will have to be paid, which may spell further depression; Over-production will bring it; Not unless God permits; If more machinery is going to be used, working hours should be shortened, otherwise a large number will be without employment."

War. The verdict was almost unanimous that the United States should not go to war except for self-defense. However one answer stated, "A condition under which I would favor war must be pending before I could give my opinion." Since Germany has conquered the Netherlands, the Dutch in this country are furious. They are

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collecting thousands of dollars for relief of their people. Tremendous bitterness has developed against Germany.

Spanish Civil War. Only ten answered the question concerning which side they favored in the Spanish Civil War. Five of those said they didn't know or didn't favor either. One said, "None. They receive as a nation what they have done to God's people in former times. Look up history." This no doubt refers to Holland's Eighty Years War with Spain, and the Spanish Inquisition. The other five distinctly favored the Loyalists because of "democracy, free religion, against German and Italian interference, freedom of speech, press and religion."

Insurance. For a number of years at the turn of the century the matter of insurance of all kinds was argued in the Christian Reformed Church. Many condemned it on the ground that it showed lack of trust in God's care. There still are those who believe this, and thus do not have insurance of any kind. Synod in 1886 decreed that purchasing fire insurance was a matter for the individual conscience. Today the great majority of the people under discussion have purchased various kinds of insurance, especially fire and crop insurance. Most of them also have a small amount of life insurance.

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Anecdotes. The Dutch as a group are considered very honest, but some of them have very peculiar ways about them. When the church was being built the windmill on a deep well broke down, so the minister approached an implement dealer for the loan or rental of a gasoline pumping outfit. After many months of use the minister returned and said they had decided to keep the outfit if the dealer would make them a good price, seeing as now the machine was a second hand one. The outfit retailed for one hundred forty-five dollars. Previously the dealer had promised to pay one hundred dollars towards the church building, so he said he would donate the pump and cancel the pledge.

This same dealer got the contract to supply all the hardware for the church at four hundred dollars, a very low price. The church borrowed money to pay all their bills but his, asking him to wait a year. To keep his business going, he had to borrow that amount himself at eight percent. The next year when the treasurer came to pay, the dealer added the eight percent to the bill, but the treasurer objected vehemently, saying he would not dare do that. To keep good will, the business man let it go.

Another time this implement dealer asked to leave a demonstrator Oliver plow in a farmer's shed for a while. The farmer had another make of plow, and boasted

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how well his scoured, even though a long-handled wooden paddle hung from the seat. Later in the fall he asked how much rent the dealer would charge if he used the plow, because he liked the way it scoured. "How do you know?" asked the dealer. Then he had to admit that he had used it without permission to plow twenty acres. The dealer said the only rent would be to bring it into town when he got through. Month after month went by, but no plow came. Finally he offered the farmer two dollars and fifty cents to bring it in. The next morning it was there and he took the money.

Another farmer hitched his team to a plow for fifteen minutes to demonstrate its scouring ability, and then stood and talked three quarters of an hour. Upon invitation to send a bill, he collected five dollars.

These anecdotes are not presented as typical of all the Dutch, but often there is peculiarity of conduct that is perplexing, to say the least. They have lacked refinement, good taste and manners. Many of them are a bit crude.

In recent years, the Dutch have become more approachable. For two years a professor from the College at Bozeman came out once a week and lectured to large audiences on farm bookkeeping, seed ratios, crop rotation and similar subjects. Some of the younger men are getting interested in "educated farming," and are taking winter

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short courses at the College. Also there are a few of the more progressive or more assimilated farmers who are active on county committees of various organizations. At one public school a number of Dutch boys have entered 4H Club work and won many prizes at the County Fair. This work should rapidly expand in the near future. With these expanding activities and increased association with the non-Dutch, the culture patterns of the Dutch will gradually become modified.



## CHAPTER X

### SUMMARY

In summary the main facts resulting from this historical and case study of the Holland settlement near Manhattan, Montana may be briefly reviewed. They center around the role of the church in social control.

The first Dutch settlers at Manhattan were brought there direct from the Netherlands in 1893 to grow barley for an eastern brewing concern. The early years were very difficult because of ignorance and water scarcity. But as conditions improved, the news spread, and soon more and more Hollanders came from many parts of the United States and the Netherlands. Most of these people were of the poorer working class who were members of the very orthodox Christian Reformed Church, either in the Netherlands or in this country.

The Christian Reformed Church is the product of two schisms, one in the Netherlands in 1837 and one in Michigan in 1857. The creedal standards of the church are (1) the Heidelberg Catechism, (2) The Netherlands Confession of Faith, and (3) The Canons of Dordrecht. The Church Order or constitution is substantially that drawn up by the famous Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-1619.

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This set up a Presbyterian System of church government composed of local consistory, classis, and finally the highest judicatory, the synod. The consistory is the ruling power in the local congregation. It is composed of elders and deacons, each having special duties. The chairman is the pastor. They deal with problems of members involving religious and moral issues. The consistory takes its responsibilities seriously. All major infractions of civil or church laws are investigated, and, if after due procedure proper relationships are not reestablished, disciplinary measures are instituted ending in excommunication. Usually the member resigns before matters proceed so far.

The Christian Reformed Church is distinctive in its strict adherence to certain principles. (1) It is militantly Calvinistic; (2) it requires regular preaching from the Heidelberg Catechism; (3) all children must attend catechism classes; (4) Christian schools are promoted wherever possible; (5) it demands the "separated life" for its members, being opposed to secret orders and all forms of worldly amusements; and (6) until recently, it sang only Psalms in public worship.

Until about 1930 there was only the one large church at Manhattan. But since then there have developed five schismatic groups, three centered in nearby towns, and two in the heart of the settlement. An important cause

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of this situation is the inability of the present pastor to tactfully handle cases of doctrinal dispute, and the general dislike that the members of the congregation feel for him. But there are also honest doctrinal differences involving the doctrines of predestination and infant baptism. Four of these seceding groups have broken completely with all Dutch traditions. A large part of these congregations and the pastors are non-Dutch. Their youth are also intermarrying with non-Dutch. Within another generation they will have been completely assimilated.

In the field of education the Church exerts a great influence. In 1903 the first Christian School Society was formed to promote the building of a school. This was consummated in 1907. Today there are two such schools. Not all the Dutch children attend these schools however. There are seven public district schools in which the pupil membership is from eighty-five to one hundred per cent Dutch. All these schools today are taught by local youths who have been graduated from high school and have secured the required teacher's certificate. They all incorporate religious worship in their programs. In 1914 for the first time, three Dutch students passed the county eighth grade examinations. Four years later one of these was graduated from Manhattan High School. For ten years very few went on to high school, but those who did went to Christian schools in

Iowa and Michigan. Later, for a few years, the ninth and tenth grades were taught in the Christian School in the settlement, with many going on to finish at Manhattan. Since 1936 large numbers have been transported by school bus to Manhattan where they finish their entire course. Plans, however, are under way to again offer the ninth and tenth grade work on an accredited basis in the fall of 1941. Some thirteen from the settlement have been graduated from Calvin College in Grand Rapids with A. B. degrees. However, only one has been graduated from Montana Agricultural College in nearby Bozeman because they have not felt the need for "educated farming." None of these college people have remained in the settlement.

Although the church does not demand that parents send their children to the Christian Schools, the officials do urge it very strongly. But it is required that all children attend catechetical classes. Everything possible is done to indoctrinate "Biblical truth" as contrary to the theory of evolution, materialism, rationalism, and humanism. Where Hollanders are on Public School Boards, they now always insist on local youths as teachers, thus insuring correct instruction of their children, or at least not mis-instruction. The determination to reestablish the ninth and tenth grades in spite of extra expense, is a product of this purpose. It is doubtful whether as many will hereafter complete high school



at Manhattan, for the tendency may be to stop at the end of the tenth grade. These youngsters will also be deprived of valuable socializing influences of the town school. But of course, that is the intention.

Farming is the main occupation of the people. Between 1900 and 1923 conditions were most prosperous, but since then most of these people have had difficult times. As a result debt and tenantry has mounted considerably. The mechanization of farming has increased the amount of capital necessary, and reduced the amount of labor needed to operate farms, thus making it more difficult for young men to become established. As a result many younger people are going to the nearby towns, especially Bozeman, to gain employment. Others are going on to school to become teachers, while a few are entering various trades or small businesses. Many are just hired hands. Some are leaving the settlement while a few are finding farms to work at a considerable distance. One of the big problems facing the farmers is the scarcity of water for irrigation purposes. The Church makes no attempt to control economic endeavors within the bounds of traditional ethics and morality. However it is very strict in the matter of Sabbath observance.

The family is still a very strong unit in Dutch life in Manhattan. Within nearly every family religion is practiced in the traditional manner. There is much

reading of the Bible, church papers and other religious literature; prayers are always said before and after meals, and by most people at retiring and arising from bed. This is traditional, habitual and demanded by the church. Dutch families tend to be large, and family discipline on the average is quite strong. Religious doctrine vests the father with supreme authority. Thus it happens that most families have been of the authoritarian type. However among the younger element there is less evidence of the autocratic type of father. This is probably largely due to a gradual change in attitude towards women as a result of a higher educational level of both sexes. The ministry no doubt approves of this. But there is as yet no demand or discussion about women voting in church elections or holding offices, let alone entering the ministry, as they have done in some churches. Dutch homes are usually well equipped, neat and clean. Courting in the settlement is almost entirely an automobile phenomenon, because religious scruples deprive the youth of recreational places to attend. The tendency is to date very few of the opposite sex. Because of economic factors engagements tend to be quite long, resulting at times in forced marriages. There are very few marriages with non-Dutch by Christian Reformed young people. There are very few cases of divorce in the history of the settlement. The church through the consistory and the pastor,





annually officially visits each family, conferring with its members concerning their spiritual lives and general conduct. Often these are very perfunctory; but they have been a powerful medium for exerting institutional control.

Most of the associational life of the colony revolves about the church and its various organizations. The Sunday services are the general gatherings of the population. The youth of the church also meet each Sunday evening. Women's and girls' missionary societies meet bi-weekly, but these are rather small. During the winter there are regular weekly rehearsals of the band and singing organizations. These all meet at the church. Besides these activities there are baseball in summer, and skating in winter, fishing and hunting, travel, an annual Fourth of July picnic, wedding receptions and private parties. There are no card clubs, bingo, movie or theater attendance, pool halls, dancing or lodges. Very little liquor is used. The church strictly enforces its ban on "worldly amusements." The people practice the "separated life", but with gradual modifications.

Most families take a daily paper, church periodicals and two or three popular magazines. Many read a number of books also. There is a surprising lag in acceptance of the radio, however. Fully one third of those reporting stated that they had no radio, even though they



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may have had electricity and even an electric range. The church does not oppose radio for the denomination regularly broadcasts sermons by some of its preachers. It is simply a case of frugality versus culture. The expense is not worth the return to them.

The Dutch people have developed a high sense of the beautiful. Their homes are simply but artistically arranged; nearly all the women do excellent embroidery and sewing; and flowers are grown in abundance. The church is beautifully decorated and has stained glass windows. Some of the men have also developed handicraft to a marked degree. A large proportion of the people participate in music and singing. It is a real delight to hear the congregation sing Dutch Psalms or English Hymns. Everybody sings with utter abandon. Needless to say there is no appreciation of the modern ultra-realistic novel and paintings of nude figures. To them those are distinctly immoral sentiments parading as art.

The Dutch people possess certain qualities of character that are generally recognized as being exemplary. Among these are willingness to work hard and long, frugality, careful management, personal integrity and religious devotion. Much of this is the product of historical and geographic factors. With such a large proportion of the group in Manhattan having been born in the Netherlands, in the poorer classes of society, it is only to be

expected that old country ideas and traditions have been very strong. Until recently these people were very much socially self-isolated. They felt themselves to be different nationally, linguistically, and especially religiously. As the children have grown older the nationality feeling has rapidly declined, the linguistic barrier has completely disappeared for most of them, and the religious cleavage with Americans has considerably mellowed. By means of the radio they have learned that there are Americans who believe much as they do.

The local congregation at Manhattan is not an isolated entity, but is part of a nation-wide organization. It is subject to the decisions of Classis and Synod--not that there have ever been any decisions to which there was any serious opposition. But it is important to their psychology that they belong to a much larger group. It broadens their horizon and gains their interest in larger problems than their own. This is accomplished most effectively through their virile and well edited church press. Slowly more enlightened positions are being taken on many matters.

Officially the church remains as orthodox and fundamentalist as ever, for creedal standards have been strictly upheld. As long as the ministry is carefully trained and rigid discipline over preaching is maintained this will no doubt continue for many years. Change will

come in church methods and practices before it will in the creed. But modification of the Church Order is probably inevitable.

The work of the ministry is to keep the membership convinced that the traditional creeds, standards, and disciplines are absolutely true and unchangeable. However, there are other forces outside of the church that are working contrariwise. Religiously there are other doctrines and methods being preached, to which some listen; educationally there is the question of scientific fact and theory versus orthodox faith that creates doubt; culturally the problem resolves itself in time and energy--expanding interests leave less time and energy for the church.

Social pressure in a colony like that at Manhattan is most powerful when the group feels self conscious and isolated, for social life is limited within the confines of the group. There is no escape so individuals almost necessarily conform without question. However, right from the beginning there have been a few who were not religiously inclined, and who have never attended church. Where these latter have been on the edge of the settlement or in the towns they seem to have found association with Americans easier than church folk. Thus it would seem that religion is a greater isolating factor than language. But for those who have lived in the settlement

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there has been very little social intercourse with anyone. In a number of cases this has produced retiring and shy personalities in the children.

With the church being somewhat on the defensive its control by punitive methods is less effective because not so fearful. The individual or family now have other places to go; other associations are possible. It is the larger family connections that tend to exert some considerable control however. The family plus the church is the most effective social control factor.

The church is not entirely synonymous with religion. The Christian Reformed Church is very legalistic, emphasizing knowledge of official doctrine. Their people are trained to know the correct answers to certain questions. But knowledge does not guarantee a truly religious personality. One is impressed with the fact that in many instances, especially among the younger group, it is the group mores that controls rather than true religious devotion. Their religious practice tends to be intellectual rather than emotional or spiritual. Theirs is merely a mechanistic conformity which some day under certain circumstances may make it easy for them to leave the church. On the other hand those who have left the church for other schismatic groups have done so as the result of a conversion or definite conviction. Theirs is a subjective control and not an institutional one. They

practice no formal discipline.

One of the most important organizations in the settlement sociologically is the Young People's Society. The youth are here further trained in matters of religion and are kept vitally connected with the church as an organization. And it is here that associations are formed that lead to marriage and family life. Upon marriage, their membership in the organization ceases. But single people often continue to attend when nearly forty years of age. Unfortunately there are a dozen or more men who have never married, having lost out in the competition for girls. A few girls have also not married due to personality complications, no doubt. Very few marry non-Dutch, which practice is frowned upon by the church. However, the non-Christian Reformed Dutch are marrying their non-Dutch coreligionists. Very few have civil weddings.

Politically there is no uniformity of conduct in the colony. The church is absolutely neutral. Each individual votes according to his understanding of his own self-interest. The Dutch are good, loyal citizens, proud of their adopted country. Very seldom do any of them run afoul of the law. Their honesty, integrity and sense of duty and responsibility are everywhere highly commended.



## CHAPTER XI

### CONCLUSION

The Dutch settlement under consideration is typical of most Dutch rural communities. A predominantly common religious faith with its Dutch traditions and connections, is the strongest force that keeps the members united and self-conscious, but socially isolated or segregated from the rest of the American community. They exist as ethnic islands under constant bombardment by exterior social, economic and religious forces which gradually produce modification of attitudes and traditional behavior. From the facts of the case in Manhattan, language and national loyalties are the first to be affected, while the last are religious beliefs and church institutional customs and traditions. Their church history, traditions, creeds and fraternal connections all emphasize their Dutch origin and differences. The church is still interested only in the Dutch. It would be a shock in Manhattan, at least, for an American to make application for membership.

However, those Dutch who have resigned in favor of affiliation with organizations that include Americans have severed all Dutch traditional connections and

associations, even to the extent of commonly intermarrying with their American co-religionists. These people can be said to be nearly completely assimilated. Until the Christian Reformed Dutch accept Americans all unconsciously into their church and intermarry with them freely, they cannot be said to be completely assimilated. It will probably be a good many years before this transpires. The process will be a gradual and continuous one probably culminating in the unification of the church with one of the more orthodox American denominations. But at present that is almost unthinkable.

In other phases of life the Dutch are quite easily assimilated. They very readily adopt the English language and American national sentiments, and make good, responsible, law abiding citizens. A very high percentage always votes and some even hold elective offices. In no sense do the Dutch constitute a nationalistic problem.

With the passing of time, the Dutch become more and more Americanized, especially through their children. The school curriculum, advanced education, newspapers, periodicals, politics, radio, business connections and travel all make them conscious of being a part of the total American scene. There are no nationalistic societies or other organizations that promote any distinctly Dutch sentiments. Even the church does not do it at all consciously.

The church exerts a powerful influence over the lives of its members. In its preaching, teaching and disciplinary activities it uses many appeals and techniques to maintain its position. It persuades by constant repetition; inspires love of truth and righteousness through suggestive imitation of Christ and the Saints, stressing the otherworldly rewards to the faithful; and develops restraint and self-discipline through fear of the ever watchful eye of God and the terror of eternal punishment in hell. To guard against evil influences and also as evidence of true religious faith, the church prescribes the separated or segregated life, free from the evil contamination of an outside world. Coercive measures of investigation, publicity and final excommunication are invoked against all non-conformists in faith and overt behavior. The people are trained to accept authority, especially that of the Bible. The preeminent status of the minister is founded upon his authority derived from the Saints and his great knowledge of the Bible itself.

The church constantly preaches "the separated life," "the unique chosen few," "the elect," "keeping oneself unspotted from the world," and the wickedness of "worldly amusements." All unconsciously the Dutch have assumed that the non-Dutch social world was the personification of evil. They have developed a kind of unholy pride, a "holier than thou" attitude. But this attitude

is gradually disappearing as they become more informed about American groups who believe much as they do. For example, the Lutheran Hour on the radio has had a great influence upon Dutch attitudes towards non-Dutch. There are increasing evidences of a broader outlook. They are beginning to participate in many non-religious activities of the community, sports, athletics, high school attendance, county fair, cooperatives, political rallies and concerts. They are more and more becoming a participating part of the larger community to the benefit of all.

Faith in religion as such is not on the decline in the settlement. In fact the conflict situation as it exists tends to emphasize the role of religious faith among the people. All the various groups accept the Bible as the eternal revealed Word of God, but they disagree about its interpretation. There are very few influences in the settlement that would lead many to question the truth of the Bible. The only possibility might be those who have taken science courses in high school or college, but they are in the great minority and would hardly dare reveal their doubts. There are some, no doubt, who lack religious fervor because their daily personal experiences do not evidence the kind of supernaturalism preached. But even such might get into heated arguments about what the Bible teaches.

Those who have left the old church and its traditions have developed a defense psychology to justify their position. A kind of fanaticism has grown up that increases the tenseness of the conflict. The social unity of the settlement has been shattered beyond much hope of repair. Each group has its own youth organization and activities, with no cooperation between them. Intermarriage will be discouraged because of institutional and family loyalties. Associational life among the smaller groups is certain to be greatly restricted with consequent serious effects upon personality development.

It is quite evident that people possessing a deep religious faith have a self-discipline that produces desirable behavior. Their honesty, integrity, high credit rating, law observance, and general good citizenship are unquestionably greatly influenced by their religious faith and practice. Also their remarkable family stability, shown by the absence of divorce and broken homes, is further evidence of this.

Change within the Christian Reformed Church is most likely to originate in the larger urban centers in Michigan and farther east. Some of it will come from younger preachers whose backgrounds and contacts before seminary days have been more liberal. Other modifications will result from a slow change in membership opinion and loyalty on certain beliefs and practices. It will very

probably not be rapid nor radical, but it will be a definite response to an ever changing social situation. The events and results of the present World War are bound to create ideas and problems that will have repercussions in the realm of religion.

The Manhattan church will not be in the vanguard of denominational change. Being rural and more isolated it will probably remain more conservative. A social lag will no doubt exist even in official practice.

Whatever change takes place in Manhattan will be in the attitudes and loyalties of the people themselves. As they have ever widening and increasing numbers of contacts with the outside world through the radio, press, education, and personal contacts in the towns, the younger people are certain to modify many of their traditional attitudes. As their culture expands their interests will grow and their wants will increase. Thus new forms of association will develop leaving less time and energy for religious things. Their absolute certainty and unquestioned devotion to all that their church stands for is undergoing a slow change. The very fact that so many have already severed their connections with the Christian Reformed Church will make it easier for others to show dissatisfaction. At the same time this situation is likely to create a more careful and less rigid attitude on the part of the officials and the rest of the

loyal devoted membership. After all, the disciplinary power of a church depends upon the assent and support of the great majority of its membership. As membership attitudes change, so do the powers of the institution.

It is quite probable that the colony has reached the limits of its growth, especially if the rural economic situation remains unchanged. However with modern transportation, people can live at quite a distance and still come to church on Sundays. The peak of church membership has also probably been passed. A few families may, from time to time, leave the church for the schismatic groups, but barring some unseen conflict, the church situation is about stabilized. The old church will probably get no stronger, and its control is not apt to increase. The chances are that the opposite will take place. But much will depend on how soon they will be able to obtain a new pastor, and what kind of man he proves to be.

Just as this manuscript is being typed word has come that the pastor has received and accepted a call from Edmonton, Canada. The identity and type of man to replace him has not yet been decided.

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APPENDIX

LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE  
sent to the  
FAMILIES OF THE DUTCH COLONY  
near  
MANHATTAN, MONTANA

Church Hill, Montana  
August 5, 1937

Dear Friend:

No doubt you are surprised to receive this letter from me. But besides being home on a visit, I am also attempting to do some work for a higher College degree. I wish to write what is called a "Case Study" of the Holland settlement. To do this I must get a great deal of detailed information. It is simply impossible for me to visit every family this summer, so I would appreciate very much if you would take an evening or so and answer the following questionnaire as best you can, and return it to me at your earliest convenience in the enclosed envelope. I expect to be leaving August 23rd.

These answers will be kept in the strictest confidence. I pledge absolutely that nobody besides myself and possibly a College Professor in East Lansing, Michigan will see these sheets. Notice I do not ask you to sign your name, and no attempt will be made to identify the sheet later. I am only interested in the TOTAL SITUATION not in PERSONALITIES. But I would like the most accurate information possible. Of course only answer the questions applying to you.

You may wonder why I ask some of the questions I do. For instance, I want to find the average size of families; the number of males and females; growth and change of population; economic status today; changes in recent years; possible trends in the future; average income; amount of farm tenancy; percentage and change of

farm ownership; size of farms; total interest payments of the community; changes in farming etc., etc. No doubt you will be interested in what I find out.

If I can get enough cooperation on the part of everybody in this matter, I may return next year and get the complete family histories of all the people in the settlement today, plus as much information as I can get of the more prominent families that have left, and publish it in booklet form. Naturally the selling price of such a book would depend upon the number of copies to be printed. My last question then is, "If I can get the book published to sell for \$2.50 or less, how many copies might you be interested in?"

If in answering the questionnaire you need more space, use the back of the sheet, numbering the question, please, or use a sheet of your own. Do the very best you can.

I thank you heartily for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

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### QUESTIONNAIRE

(If you do not have accurate figures, make the very best estimate you can)

1. Age of husband \_\_\_\_\_ Wife \_\_\_\_\_ Boys at home \_\_\_\_\_ Girls at home \_\_\_\_\_ Total number of children living \_\_\_\_\_ Died \_\_\_\_\_
2. When did you come to the settlement? \_\_\_\_\_ Where from? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many of you at home now were born in the Netherlands? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Where would you like to move to if you could? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you are farming, when did you start? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many acres do you work now? Irrigated \_\_\_\_\_  
Dry \_\_\_\_\_
7. How many acres did you work in 1922? Irrigated \_\_\_\_\_  
Dry \_\_\_\_\_
8. How many acres do you own clear title to now? \_\_\_\_\_  
In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
9. How many acres do you have mortgaged now? \_\_\_\_\_  
In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
10. How much mortgage do you have now? \_\_\_\_\_ In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
11. How many acres do you rent now? \_\_\_\_\_ In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
12. How long have you stayed on each farm you have rented?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_\_
13. What is your total indebtedness of every kind now \_\_\_\_\_  
In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
14. What is your total interest payments now? \_\_\_\_\_ In 1922 \_\_\_\_\_
15. Who owns the land you work now? \_\_\_\_\_
16. Give the various prices that you know your land has  
been sold for at various times, giving the years. \_\_\_\_\_
17. What was the yield per acre the past two years of the  
various kinds of crops you grow? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
What was the money yield per acre for those crops? \_\_\_\_\_
18. What irrigation canal serves you? \_\_\_\_\_ How many  
inches of water right? \_\_\_\_\_
19. To what extent have you used commercial fertilizer? \_\_\_\_\_
20. In what year, and how much was the very best yield  
per acre for various crops you have grown? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
What was the income per acre? \_\_\_\_\_

21. Last year what income did you derive from hogs\_\_\_\_\_ Dairy products\_\_\_\_\_ Cattle\_\_\_\_\_ Sheep\_\_\_\_\_ Poultry\_\_\_\_\_
22. In what year did you make most money, and how much, from the following? Hogs\_\_\_\_\_ Dairy products\_\_\_\_\_ Cattle\_\_\_\_\_ Sheep\_\_\_\_\_ Poultry\_\_\_\_\_
23. To what extent do you keep books of your business?\_\_\_\_\_
24. What machinery and power equipment do you have that wasn't in common use in 1922?\_\_\_\_\_
25. How many all-year men do you hire now?\_\_\_\_\_ At what wage\_\_\_\_\_ In 1922, number\_\_\_\_\_ Wage\_\_\_\_\_
26. How many men do you hire for short terms now?\_\_\_\_\_ At what wage\_\_\_\_\_ In 1922, number\_\_\_\_\_ Wage\_\_\_\_\_
27. How many sons over 15 help you?\_\_\_\_\_
28. What pay if any do they get?\_\_\_\_\_
29. How much Government Aid money have you received to date?\_\_\_\_\_
30. If you work for wages (a) what do you do?\_\_\_\_\_ (b) At what rate are you paid?\_\_\_\_\_ (c) How much income per year?\_\_\_\_\_ (d) How much have you been unemployed the past five years?\_\_\_\_\_ (e) For how many years have you previously farmed?\_\_\_\_\_ (f) Why did you quit farming?\_\_\_\_\_
31. How many horses do you have now?\_\_\_\_\_ 1922\_\_\_\_\_
32. When was your house painted last?\_\_\_\_\_ Other buildings\_\_\_\_\_
33. What improvements have been made on your place during the past five years?\_\_\_\_\_
34. What make and year automobile do you have?\_\_\_\_\_
35. To what Cooperative Organizations do you belong?\_\_\_\_\_
36. In what city do you do most of your trading now?\_\_\_\_\_ In 1922\_\_\_\_\_

37. To what extent do you trade with Mail order houses?\_\_\_\_\_
38. How many quarts of fruit\_\_\_\_\_vegetables\_\_\_\_\_meat\_\_\_\_\_  
do you can each year?
39. How much baked goods do you buy per week?\_\_\_\_\_
40. How much doctor bills have you had the past year?\_\_\_\_\_
41. For what causes?\_\_\_\_\_
42. Hospital bills?\_\_\_\_\_Causes\_\_\_\_\_
43. Have the older members of your family been through  
Yellowstone Park?\_\_\_\_\_
44. When did you go?\_\_\_\_\_
45. What party did you vote for President from 1912 to 1936?  
1912                      1920                      1928                      1936  
1916                      1924                      1932
46. Have husband and wife always voted the same ticket?\_\_\_\_\_
47. What language do you mostly speak at home?\_\_\_\_\_
48. Can your children speak Dutch?\_\_\_\_\_Understand it\_\_\_\_\_
49. List the papers and magazines of all kinds that are  
read by any members of your family.
50. How does this list compare with 1922?\_\_\_\_\_
51. List separately the books wife and husband read last  
year. (On back of sheet)
52. Do you read the Bible regularly at meals?\_\_\_\_\_
53. What radio programs do you listen to most regularly?  
(On back of sheet)
54. What kind of special broadcasts do you tune in on?\_\_\_\_\_
55. To what extent do you use beer, wine, or hard  
liquor?\_\_\_\_\_
56. How often do any of your family attend moving picture  
shows?\_\_\_\_\_

57. Do you play any kind of card games?\_\_\_\_\_

58. How many rooms does your house have?\_\_\_\_\_

59. Check the following list for equipment which you have and use regularly in your home.

|                                |                            |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Electricity                    | Kerosene mantle lamp       |
| Running water                  | Kerosene wick lamp         |
| Hot running water              | Electric stove             |
| Electric flat iron             | Gasoline or Kerosene stove |
| Gasoline flat iron             | Coal range                 |
| Flat irons                     | Coal heater                |
| Large floor rugs or<br>carpets | Oil heater                 |
| Linoleum                       | Coal furnace               |
| Bath tub                       | Oil furnace                |
| Indoor water toilet            | Radio                      |
| Chemical toilet                | Electric washer            |
| Kitchen sink                   | Gasoline power washer      |
| Electric refrigerator          | Hand power washer          |
| Gasoline lamp                  | Scrub board only           |
|                                | Telephone                  |

60. If you will, I would like to have a brief statement of your opinion on the following subjects.

a. What do you believe to be the cause and cure of depressions?

b. Are labor unions good or bad. Give reasons for your answer.

c. What do you think about the New Deal in general? Do you think we'll have another depression soon? Why?

d. Under what conditions would you favor the U. S. going to war?

e. Which side do you favor in the Spanish fight? Why?  
(Answer on back of sheet)

61. If I can get the book published to sell for \$2.50 or less, how many copies might you be interested in?\_\_\_\_\_





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