Dutch Immigrant Women in the United States, 1880-1920

Betty Bergland

Reviewer Rudolf Jensen is professor of Scandinavian studies at Grand View College. His research interests include Scandinavian emigration and immigration, as well as Scandinavian history and literature.

This translation of selected articles originally written in Danish by various authors is the second in a series from Lur Publications about late nineteenth-century Danish immigrants in the Midwest. The first volume focused on the history of Danish American Lutheran history from 1860 to 1908; this second volume focuses on Danish immigration to Kansas and especially Nebraska. Editor John W. Nielsen explains that “even before they were linked together in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of the 1850s. . . Kansas and Nebraska shared a common history” (xi). That may be true, but why focus on these states? There were many more Danish immigrants and Danish settlements in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Perhaps we may anticipate a third volume from Lur Publications on those states.

In any case, the editor and the translator deserve congratulations for translating and publishing this long out-of-print history of Danish immigration to the Midwest. Their project makes the common experience of nineteenth-century mass immigration accessible to the general public. Two earlier publications, still in print, are definitive studies of the Danish-American experience in the United States: A New Life, by Niels Peter Stilling and Anne Lisbeth Olsen (1994); and Danish Emigration to the U.S.A., edited by Birgit Flemming Larsen and Henning Bender (1992).


Reviewer Betty Bergland is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–River Falls. Her research and writing have focused on immigrant women.

Immigration history and women’s history have been parallel fields for too long. Suzanne Sinke’s publication on Dutch immigrant women represents a rich and refreshing integration of these two fields. Her work thus contributes to a growing scholarship that clearly demonstrates the gendered nature of immigration, and, further, that a full
understanding of migration patterns and adjustments over time requires the inclusion of women.

A scholar of both immigration and women’s history, Sinke demonstrates the complexity of that history. Explaining that the prevailing form of Dutch ethnicity to emerge in the United States was a Calvinist one, Sinke focuses on Dutch Protestant women immigrating in the period, 1880–1920. Although this period tended to be characterized by the migration of industrialized labor to urban centers, Dutch migration to the United States remained, notes Sinke, “heavily familial and much more strongly rural in origin” (9). Most immigrants settled in rural areas in the Midwest, especially in Michigan and Iowa. While Dutch migration was comparatively small (under 172,000 during this period) and the focus here is quite specialized, this integrated study offers a fresh perspective by emphasizing the gendered nature of the migrations. Other works have focused on Dutch immigrants, but this is the first monograph to address Dutch immigrant women.

Sinke’s approach is to examine “social reproduction” in the wake of immigration, specifically how migration affected gender roles: “how people put those roles back together, sometimes replicating, sometimes revising, sometimes totally reformulating their ideas of what women and men should do” (1). Focusing on changes and adaptations in gender roles in the process of migration, she moves between the Old World and the New, examining the conditions and lives of women as social and cultural practices were preserved or transformed on the other side of the Atlantic. Drawing especially on letters, diaries, and interviews of more than 300 individuals, as well as on Dutch American newspapers and church records, Sinke places in the foreground the voices of the immigrant women, emphasizing their own words, making this study personal, immediate, and a thoughtful corrective to the usual focus on male immigrants.

Women are often seen as the “arch conservators of tradition.” Sinke argues that Dutch immigrant women did tend to be “relatively conservative in adjusting gender roles” (4), but this depended on when in the life cycle women emigrated. Five factors shaped adaptation: age and marital status at the time of migration; degree of ethnic clustering in the new home; proximity to urban area; class, especially as it afforded educational opportunity; and women’s place in America’s ethnic/racial hierarchy. Although Sinke includes some single women from bourgeois families with education and opportunities, such women were exceptions. Most of the women in her study became wives and mothers in rural communities shaped by two patriarchal institutions in the Dutch Protestant culture, the family and the church.
Sinke's book is organized into six chapters, arranged topically and emphasizing gender patterns in six areas: the family; household management; domestic economy; health; language and culture; and religion. The centerpiece of Dutch women's lives was the family—both the nuclear and extended family. The extended family underwent "wrenching changes" (42) through migration, but the family still served as the foundation of women's lives. The international labor market that brought male laborers, disproportionately, to the United States also generated an international marriage market, skewing gender ratios on both sides of the Atlantic. Dutch immigrant men sought marriage partners among the more ample supply of young women in the Netherlands, while migrating single Dutch women found better marriage opportunities in the New World. Sinke points out how ads for brides in ethnic newspapers, as well as "letter brides," helped fuel the international marriage market, while also sustaining Dutch cultural practices in the New World.

Sinke's discussion of household management and the domestic economy demonstrates effectively how Dutch women's skills contributed to the survival of families and communities—not only through wages but through frugality, gardens, careful management, and sacrifices. Caretaking of the sick and dying was historically gendered (for most ethnic groups), yet as migration disrupted cultural knowledge and medical treatments became institutionalized, Dutch immigrants turned to professional caretakers. At the same time, Dutch immigrants also provided models of care, such as in the Holland Home in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where Dutch women played significant roles.

Next to the family, the church dominated Dutch immigrant life. Sinke examines the life of one extraordinary woman who gained independence and influence, yet women were more often subject to the patriarchal authority of church doctrine and structure. Her discussion of the consistory (the board of elders) demonstrates how this was so. The consistory determined discipline in cases of sins—including premarital sex and illegitimacy—and judged cases in which women brought charges against their husbands. Sinke documents that women's charges were sometimes ignored or not believed; some women were forced to "tolerate abuse or leave the community" (220).

This last chapter on religion made me wonder how women's social reproduction also helped secure patriarchal institutions, and thus the women's own oppression. Gerda Lerner, in her pioneering book, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, argues that women have always contributed to patriarchy. I wish Sinke would have explored this issue, but perhaps incorporating it would have made her already complex work too un-
wieldy. Readers might also wish for charts to convey demographic patterns and maps of immigrant settlements to situate them geographically. And while the women’s voices are a strength of the work, they are presented transparently—as evidence, as fact. I wondered how representative, how reliable, they were. More contextualization of the voices might have addressed such questions.

Nonetheless, Sinke’s volume is a fine study of Dutch immigrant women. Scholars of immigration and ethnicity, historians of women, and students of American culture and regional history will appreciate this thoroughly researched, richly documented, and highly readable work. Her knowledge of relevant secondary literature and familiarity with both Dutch and U.S. history enables her to place these women in broader social, cultural, and political contexts. Sinke demonstrates that immigration history includes more than demographic patterns, labor statistics, or the building of political institutions, and that social reproduction provides a useful analytical framework for discerning a more complex and complete, implicitly gendered, immigrant community. This work represents an important contribution to both ethnic and women’s history.


Reviewer Andrew Mast is director of instrumental activities and assistant professor of music at St. Ambrose University. His D.M.A. thesis is a history of the Mason City (Iowa) high school and community bands, 1920–1999.

Thomas Hatton traces the history of the Karl L. King Municipal Band of Fort Dodge from its earliest inception as a military unit through its development as a municipal band. Data for the book came primarily from local newspapers and interviews with past and present band members. Hatton himself had significant firsthand experience with the topic, being a former member of the band and a Karl King biographer.

After examining city history and early bands, Hatton describes how conflicts between town and military organizations were resolved under the leadership of Carl Quist, establishing the quality of the band between 1901 and 1920. Karl King’s arrival in 1920 had the effect of bringing to Fort Dodge a prominent bandleader, composer, and marquee name that provided leadership for the ensemble. Using his skills as a conductor, composer, and promoter, King left an indelible mark on the band and the city. He was revered by those who knew him and had a significant impact on the state through his advocacy of the Iowa