

## **REVEREND PIETER ZONNE FOUNDER OF DUTCH-AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM**

Dutch-American Presbyterians, as a discernable group in America, exist today due to a fiercely independent, Dutch secessionist minister, Pieter Zonne. Rev. Zonne's 1847 arrival in Milwaukee made him the first Dutch minister to settle in the Wisconsin Territory. He encouraged Dutch immigrants to settle in southeast Sheboygan County in an area initially referred to as the "Zonne Settlement" and later known as Cedar Grove, Wisconsin. In 1848, Rev. Zonne organized the first congregation in Cedar Grove, as an Independent Reformed Church until he led the congregation to affiliate with a Presbyterian denomination in 1853. Whereas today only a few Presbyterian churches trace their existence directly to Dutch immigrants, within the small Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC) denomination, descendants of Dutch immigrants represent a significant percentage of total members. Likewise, in the much larger Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (PCUSA), several congregations continue to consist of mostly Dutch descendants.

Why Rev. Zonne led Dutch immigrants into a Scottish, instead of Dutch, Calvinist denomination has often been overlooked or misunderstood by historians.<sup>1</sup> The answer reveals an interesting development in Dutch American religious history and reflects not only differences in how Dutch immigrant settlements developed, but also the many complexities of leadership in an immigrant

settlement in America. Ultimately there are three primary reasons why Rev. Zonne chose to affiliate with a Presbyterian denomination. These include his independent leadership style, the piecemeal pattern of Dutch immigration to Wisconsin, and the strong influence of Presbyterianism in Wisconsin.

In addition, after making the decision to affiliate with Presbyterians, an equally interesting course of events took place, which included the attempted criminal prosecution of Rev. Zonne over the use of a church building. The two-day jury trial of Rev. Zonne, and the press coverage afforded the trial provide a detailed account of the struggles and controversies that confronted many Dutch immigrant leaders. Only after successfully navigating these challenges did Rev. Zonne become the founder of Dutch American Presbyterianism. Thus, the details of Rev. Zonne's ministry are unique within Dutch American immigration history.

### **1. Pieter Zonne's development as an independent religious leader**

The Secession of 1834 profoundly shaped the life of Pieter Zonne, including his development as an independent and forceful leader. Born on August 4, 1807 in Vlaardingen, Netherlands, Zonne was baptized in the Reformed Church.<sup>2</sup> His father owned a prosperous barrel-making business and in 1827, at the age of twenty-one, Pieter borrowed money from his father to purchase a house and building in the city of Delft to start his own sail-making business.<sup>3</sup> In 1830, he married Adriana Wilhelmina De Waal.<sup>4</sup> The couple continued to live in the City of

Delft where Zonne's business flourished; he became a member of the merchant class.

After the secession movement began, Zonne joined a group that met regularly on Sunday evenings at the store of a fellow merchant.<sup>5</sup> The meetings attracted the attention of both local residents and civil authorities who viewed the group as having secessionist sympathies. In 1836, during a meeting, a large group of agitators assaulted members of the group, including Zonne. Zonne did not capitulate, but rather helped to hire an attorney to defend the group from prosecution by local authorities.<sup>6</sup> The group was successful in protecting their right to meet, but fines were imposed pursuant to strict assemblage laws. As a young man, Zonne's determination to stand up for his beliefs, despite the risk of becoming unpopular, was clearly evident.

In 1839, Zonne and his family joined the secessionist congregation located in Schiedam, where he became an elder. Shortly thereafter, the congregation called a prominent leader within the secession, Anthony Brummelkamp to become the group's minister.<sup>7</sup> However, by 1840, membership in the Schiedam congregation was limited by local authorities to only those persons living in the town. Consequently, in January of 1840, Zonne, with the assistance of Rev. Brummelkamp, organized the first secessionist congregation in the city of Delft.

At the age of 33, Zonne was installed as the congregation's first Elder and was influential in the growth of the congregation.<sup>8</sup>

In 1841, Zonne began ministerial training under Rev. Brummelkamp at Schiedam and was approved for the ministry in the spring of 1842.<sup>9</sup> His first pastorate was in the Village of Genderen located in the province of North Brabant. The Genderen congregation had originally been led by Rev. Scholte and had become the second congregation to secede from the Reformed Church.<sup>10</sup> As a minister, Zonne experienced the challenges of leadership within the secession. Although those within the secessionist movement agreed the changes imposed by royal decree in 1816 had brought unwanted secularization to the Reformed Church, no single approach to restore proper orthodoxy had initially emerged. Instead, three different strands or groups, each with its own leaders, theological mentalities, and concepts of church governance developed, and competed for support within the secessionist movement.<sup>11</sup> This competition of views led to numerous conflicts both at the synodical level as well as at the local church level. At the Synod of 1840 held in Amsterdam, Rev. Scholte, leader of one strand, was deposed over differences with Rev. Simon Van Velzen, a leader of a different strand within the secessionist movement.<sup>12</sup> At the local level, divisions also developed over issues of orthodoxy, which caused groups within some congregations to consult different ministers in an attempt to mediate disagreements between factions. Tensions

between the different strands were later characterized as a "crisis of youth" that occurred within the secessionist movement.<sup>13</sup>

For Rev. Zonne, this period led to involvement in several acrimonious disputes within secessionist congregations located in Dordrecht and Zuid-Biejerland. Zonne's strong and independent leadership style, which facilitated the organization of the congregation in Delft, did not, however, help to bring unity between the competing factions of established congregations.<sup>14</sup> In January of 1845, Rev. Zonne's style of leadership fueled a dispute in his own congregation. The conflict involved Johannes Branderhorst, a prominent and long standing elder in the Genderen Church. At the time the Genderen congregation joined the secession in 1834, Rev. C.W. Pape, a Reformed Church minister from Heusden, had described Branderhorst as the "greatest among the fanatics" and one "who was willing to give up possession and life itself for the old teachings, but in reality, was ready to sacrifice all he had except his money."<sup>15</sup> Whether Zonne made statements concerning the miserliness of his congregation, or other pointed remarks, the initial complaint of Branderhorst was deemed to be unfounded. However, by the fall of 1845, the division between Zonne and his congregation had grown so untenable, Rev. Zonne was suspended. The suspension was judged appropriate by Revs. Meerbrug, Van Raalte and Brummelkamp, as Zonne refused to moderate his position.<sup>16</sup>

After suspension, his, much as Rev. Scholte had done following his own deposition, Zonne continued to preach. Initially, Zonne preached in the villages of Zuid-Beijerland and Numansdorp, until he moved to the Postwijk estate in the province of Utrecht.<sup>17</sup> The Postwijk estate was owned by a well known benefactor of the secession movement, Mrs. Judith J. Zeelt.<sup>18</sup> Although no formal congregation existed at Postwijk, secessionists and reformed members joined together at the estate for worship services. After Zonne's arrival, attendance at services increased dramatically until legal action was taken against Zonne and the estate's owner, Mrs. Zeelt, for exceeding the number of people allowed to gather for an unauthorized worship service. The legal prosecution against Zonne was the last against a secessionist minister.<sup>19</sup> The proceedings were highly contentious but ultimately, stiff fines were imposed against Zonne and Mrs. Zeelt. Although the decision was appealed and Mrs. Zeelt wrote directly to the king for relief, the decision was not reversed. The legal proceedings convinced Zonne immigration to America would be the only way to obtain freedom of worship. In a pamphlet Zonne published in protest of the prosecution, he wrote: "we sooner leave the soil of our fatherland, however precious it may be to us, than that we would submit to the demands of the government."<sup>20</sup> True to his word, in May, 1847, Zonne departed Amsterdam in search of the religious freedom he sought throughout his ministry in the Netherlands.

## 2. Piecemeal Immigration to Wisconsin

Another important development that led to Rev. Zonne's affiliation with Presbyterianism, was the manner Dutch immigrants settlement in Wisconsin. In contrast with Dutch immigration to Michigan and Iowa, no large immigration societies settled in Wisconsin. Rather, Dutch immigrants who arrived in Wisconsin came in smaller private groups and relied on individual effort to make the trip. This piecemeal pattern of immigration left unresolved the question of how churches would be organized churches once settlers arrived at their final destination. It also provided greater latitude to ministers on the issue of church affiliation. However, it was necessary first to organize the patchwork of different groups in order to create a large enough settlement which could support a church.

Zonne's own migration reflected the pattern of smaller, unorganized groups that settled in the Wisconsin territory. Due to the circumstances surrounding his ministry in the Netherlands, Zonne had not developed close ties with other secessionists interested in immigrating to America. The municipalities of Abcoude and Genderen were wealthy areas and never supplied a large number of immigrants to America.<sup>21</sup> Also, Zonne's suspension from Genderen and the lack of a formal congregation at Postwijk limited his opportunity to organize his own group of immigrants. As a result, he and his family joined a diverse group of immigrants for the transatlantic voyage on the sailing ship "Snelheid." During the

journey, the secessionist passengers on the "Snelheid", appreciated Zonne's leadership, but most of the passengers had planned to join Van Raalte in Michigan.<sup>22</sup> Zonne and his family traveled to Wisconsin where they arrived in Milwaukee in July of 1847. Like most Dutch immigrants arriving in Milwaukee, Zonne searched out lodging near a makeshift settlement called *Hollandschen berg* ("Dutch hill") northwest of the city's center. This community of small wooden cabins had been built without roads as Dutch settlers gradually trickled into Milwaukee, the main port for what became the State of Wisconsin.<sup>23</sup>

After Zonne's arrival in Milwaukee, the danger of travel on the frontier was tragically demonstrated on November 21, 1847, when the lake steamer "Phoenix" carrying over 200 passengers, most from the Achterhoek region of the Netherlands, caught fire off the shore of Sheboygan County. The loss of the steamer left 179 passengers dead, including 151 Dutch immigrants. The terrible news of the Phoenix was reported in the Netherlands and temporarily stalled additional Dutch immigration to Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup> At public meetings in Milwaukee, a special committee was appointed to recommend measures to prevent future disasters and to collect funds for "the afflicted remnant of the large and respectable body of emigrants from Holland, who were suddenly cast upon a foreign shore."<sup>25</sup> Already recognized as a leader among the Dutch, Zonne was appointed to serve on the committee along with Rev. Aaron L. Chapin, a Presbyterian minister from



Milwaukee.<sup>26</sup> Of the 35 survivors from the Phoenix, 25 were Dutch immigrants. Those twenty-five received support from the offerings taken in the churches of Milwaukee.<sup>27</sup>

How the Dutch would organize their first church in Milwaukee however, was profoundly affected by the pattern of Dutch immigration to Wisconsin. In Michigan and Iowa, large immigration associations provided not only Dutch settlers, but an established leadership structure to guide immigrants. In 1847, the year Zonne immigrated, the Utrecht Immigration Society led by Rev. Scholte founded Pella, Iowa with the arrival of 700 immigrants. Likewise, the Zeeland Association with approximately 450 members settled Zeeland, Michigan, while, Holland, Michigan, founded earlier in the year was settled by members of the Arnhem Society led by Rev. Van Raalte.<sup>28</sup> Importantly, each of those societies expressly addressed in their respective charters or constitutions, the issue of religion. The Zeeland charter prescribed the most detailed plan, since the group actually organized as a congregation and formally called Rev. Cornelius Vander Meulen before departing the Netherlands.<sup>29</sup> The Arnhem group, led by Van Raalte, also declared in Article 7 of its constitution that the society was to establish a Christian community once in America.<sup>30</sup> Even the Utrecht Society's charter provided that church polity was to be reserved for each member to be decided upon

in America, which reflected the plans of the group's leader Rev. Scholte, to start an independent Christian Church once settled in Pella, Iowa.<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, without large immigration societies dictating church polity, a significant void existed concerning matters of church organization in Wisconsin. To fill this void, Rev. Zonne immediately organized an Independent Reformed congregation, not affiliated with any denomination for the Dutch settlers of Milwaukee.<sup>32</sup> One of the settlers who attended services was Arend Jan Brusse, who wrote of Rev. Zonne's efforts as follows:

“In the summer of 1847, the Rev. Pieter Zonne . . . came from The Netherlands to Milwaukee. We rented a hall, and . . . he preached to the Hollanders without pay. Zonne was certainly a talented preacher, whose ministry I greatly enjoyed.”<sup>33</sup>

Zonne, however, did not spend much time in Milwaukee, since he and most Dutch immigrants wanted to establish a settlement where good farm land was available. To that end, Zonne led a group of men to investigate property 40 miles north of Milwaukee located in southeast Sheboygan County. The group discovered the government and speculators were selling large tracts of land which made the area suitable for settlement.<sup>34</sup> By the spring of 1848, Zonne, much like Van Raalte in Michigan and Scholte in Iowa, bought and resold land to Dutch settlers interested in relocating to what would be initially called "the Zonne settlement" in Sheboygan County. Once the property was acquired, the settlers began building log cabins and clearing timber. As soon as Zonne's cabin was completed, he began

conducting worship services in his home. On September 6, 1848, a congregation was organized with the election of elders and a call was placed to Rev. Zonne to serve as minister of an Independent Reformed Church.<sup>35</sup> The settlement quickly flourished with productive farms and a Dutch church which attracted more Dutch settlers. With this growth, a post office was established which used the American name of Cedar Grove as suggested by Zonne.<sup>36</sup>

The prosperity of Cedar Grove also brought challenges to Zonne's leadership. Like Van Raalte and Scholte, choosing an area for settlement had required Zonne to purchase and resell property to arriving settlers. Without large immigration societies, Zonne often bought and sold property to unfamiliar groups of Dutch settlers. In this role as a land manager, Zonne quickly experienced the perils of real estate transactions on the frontier. One dispute arose when Rev. Zonne sold property to Gerald Kompels and two other immigrants from the province of Zeeland. Within a month of the sale, Kompels died before title was transferred. Thereafter, Zonne transferred the land to the remaining buyers. Convinced Zonne had acted improperly in the transaction, a cousin of Kompels, Gerald Brandt, filed a lawsuit against Zonne to assert a claim in the land.<sup>37</sup> A further complication was that Brandt belonged to a small group of settlers who had started their own congregation in an area south of Cedar Grove.<sup>38</sup> To assist in the suit, Brandt gave a Power of Attorney to his friend Jacob Quintus to pursue the

claim.<sup>39</sup> Quintus was the editor of the *Sheboygan Nieuwsbode* which at the time had the largest circulation of any Dutch newspaper in the country. Although the claim was dismissed in court, Quintus had already begun to run stories in the *Nieuwsbode* that were critical of Zonne.<sup>40</sup> One of the earliest articles was a letter written by Pieter Souffrouw, a brother-in-law to Quintus, questioning whether "Mr. P. Zonne, the one who calls himself a minister here" was in fact a minister authorized to marry couples.<sup>41</sup> The controversy raised by the article led to additional letters until Quintus himself weighed in, responding to a claim his paper had slandered Zonne, to which Quintus wrote:

However, was this article slander? In no way: it concerned a matter of *general concern*, and we assume that this may never be sacrificed for the interests of a single individual. Were the marriages solemnized by the Reverend legal? If yes, then why was a remarriage necessary? If not, was it not our duty, *in the interests* of everyone, to make public *that person's digression*? We had no other intention than this. We too wish to "give to Caesar what is Caesar's", and have for that reason inspected the credentials concerned, which fully entitle Mr. Zonne to solemnize marriages. During the inspection, however, these questions came to our minds: 1<sup>st</sup> Where is the true, original document, whereby Mr. Zonne was promoted to the position of reverend, or better said, is the document on which the translation based true? 2<sup>nd</sup> Had the church body, with their Graces, messrs. G.F. *Gezelle Meerburg*, president and *A. Brummelkamp*, secretary, having convened on June 2, 1842 in Nieuwen Dijk, the authority or the power to promote someone to the position of reverend? When we obtain a satisfactory answer to these questions, we will gladly make them public, so that others may also "give to Caesar what is Caesar's", and as such give Mr. Zonne the credit he deserves as reverend, which title he apparently is entitled to use.<sup>42</sup>

In fact, Quintus never gave Zonne "credit" as a minister, except to allow several articles Zonne wrote touting Sheboygan County for settlement to be published in his newspaper.<sup>43</sup> Otherwise, articles criticized Zonne for activities, such as his purported support of a Whig candidate during a Sunday service, and Zonne's failure to support legislation to prohibit the sale of alcohol.<sup>44</sup> Zonne's alleged support of a Whig Candidate was described as a "priestly action" of one who would be found in "Belgium or Italy."<sup>45</sup> While Zonne was one of the first Dutch ministers to support the fledgling Republican Party, which had a strong anti-slavery platform, the leadership role of Quintus in the Democratic Party, and not for any religious reason, was the basis for his criticism.<sup>46</sup> Regardless of the motivation for the articles, the issue of Zonne's authority to preach had been publicly called into question, making affiliation with a denomination a more pressing issue.

Yet another consequence of piecemeal immigration to Wisconsin was that Dutch immigrants were forced to interact with other Americans more frequently. In the case of Zonne, membership on the Executive Committee of the Sheboygan Educational Society, the Sheboygan County Agricultural Society and other committees brought frequent contact with Americans.<sup>47</sup> Even a committee organized to investigate the feasibility to build a harbor in Holland Township (the township with the greatest percentage of Dutch settlers) included three Americans

and four Hollanders.<sup>48</sup> In stark contrast to the Dutch ministers in Michigan who conducted their affairs almost exclusively in the Dutch language, Zonne routinely served with Americans and used the English language. Thus, in the absence of large, organized immigration societies, Zonne had to organize diverse groups of Dutch settlers, withstand the challenge of those settlers who did not recognize his leadership on matters of religion and frequently interacted with Americans to establish the Dutch settlement of Cedar Grove, Wisconsin.

### **3. Presbyterian Influences in Wisconsin**

A third reason for Rev. Zonne's affiliation choice was the strength of the Presbyterian movement within Wisconsin. Of the mainline Protestant churches, Presbyterians had always been the largest Calvinist denomination in America. In 1801, a "Plan of Union" was adopted, which united Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the mission field to build new churches on the frontiers of America. By 1837, many Presbyterians found the method of designating denomination affiliation for new churches between the two denominations problematic.<sup>49</sup> This development, along with other reasons, caused the Presbyterian Church to divide into two groups. The Presbyterians who wished to continue under the "Plan of Union" became known as the "New School" branch while those opposed to the Union formed the "Old School" branch.<sup>50</sup>

In Wisconsin, the New School branch through the American Home Missionary Society undertook an aggressive campaign to build new churches. This missionary spirit led to the organization of many Presbyterian churches, including churches in Milwaukee and in Sheboygan County.<sup>51</sup> As a result, in Milwaukee Zonne had contact with Presbyterian ministers when he served with Rev. A.L. Chapin on the committee to assist Phoenix survivors.<sup>52</sup> In Sheboygan County, Zonne's contact with Presbyterian ministers continued when he served with Rev. Lyman on the Sheboygan Educational Committee.<sup>53</sup> Through these contacts an opportunity existed for Zonne to assess the spirituality and doctrinal practices of the Presbyterian Church.

Further, Zonne had little contact with the Reformed Church of America (RCA), as the RCA had no active mission work in Wisconsin at the time of Zonne's arrival in Milwaukee.<sup>54</sup> In fact, prior to Van Raalte's affiliation with the RCA, the denomination was, for the most part, Americanized.<sup>55</sup> While the RCA viewed Dutch immigration as an opportunity to expand westward, the effort to recruit secessionist ministers was largely left to Rev. Isaac Wyckoff. However, due to the lack of time, Rev. Wyckoff had failed to visit Zonne or Sheboygan County during his visit of Dutch settlements in 1849 to make the journey.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the first serious effort to expand the RCA in Wisconsin was not undertaken until after Rev. Van Raalte joined the RCA in 1850. By the time Van

Raalte began the effort to organize a "Dutch" Wisconsin classis for the RCA, Zonne had already established his own church and had developed significant contacts with Presbyterian ministers. Also, much like Van Raalte's relationship with Scholte, Van Raalte and Zonne appear to have recognized their strong personalities and past experiences would not facilitate a close-working relationship in the same denomination.<sup>57</sup> As a result, convinced the Presbyterian Church held true to Reformed doctrines, on May 23, 1853 Zonne reorganized his Independent Reformed Church into a Presbyterian congregation.<sup>58</sup>

#### **4. Church Split and Jury Trial**

Although Rev. Zonne had several reasons for affiliating with the Presbyterian denomination and made no discernable changes in his ministry, within months of affiliation, a split occurred in his congregation over the decision.

<sup>59</sup> A group of members, including most of the leadership from the church, left to organize a separate Reformed Church. The split would become the greatest challenge of Rev. Zonne's ministry in America. The reason for the split was described by Rev. Klerk, the pastor for the Reformed church formed by the departing group in an historical account written approximately fifty years later, in 1905, as follows:

Rev. Zonne had by this time made a path through the woods and also provided for a place of worship for his people. The first minister was, in more ways than one, worthy of his name.

...



He gave, in measure, character to the public services of the word of God, and established the character of the services for many years. But there really was something missing that the people deemed necessary. The people felt they were so alone, so separated from any intercourse or communion with another part of God's kingdom...This state of affairs just could not, and must not continue, and although they dreaded the thought of separation, they had to make a change. So they decided, and carried out that decision, to become an organized church, and to join other church organizations.<sup>60</sup>

Rev. Klerk documented that the split was not based on disagreement with Rev. Zonne's teachings or even doctrinal matters, but was motivated by the concern that affiliation with a non-Dutch denomination would result in isolation. At first, the group met at different homes in the area and relied on assistance from Reverend Vander Schuur, minister of the Oostburg Reformed Church.<sup>61</sup> This inauspicious start led many Dutch settlers to continue to attend the Presbyterian Church, even though they were not convinced Presbyterian affiliation was preferred or proper. As a result, tensions between Rev. Zonne and his congregation began to increase throughout 1853. By the end of the year, the relationship between minister and congregation had deteriorated to such a low state that Rev. Zonne announced he was going to stop preaching "until the congregation stopped talking about him."<sup>62</sup> For several months in 1854, Rev. Zonne did stop preaching in the Cedar Grove Church, and preached instead in a school house in the town of Gibbsville.

Anxiety and uncertainty now surrounded the First Presbyterian Church of Holland Township. For those who had left to start the Reformed Church it was easy to conclude that Rev. Zonne's conduct amounted to resignation. For others, Rev. Zonne's leadership and preaching abilities were reasons to seek his continued ministry at the church. While an ambiguous state of affairs continued for several months, the group that started the Reformed Church became more organized with the assistance of Rev. Vander Schuur.<sup>63</sup> As the Holland Reformed Congregation solidified, a permanent meeting place became an even greater priority.

To address this need, on Sunday, July 30, 1854, Jacob Kiezel took a bold step and attempted to use the church built under Rev. Zonne's leadership for his new Reformed congregation. On that morning, Jacob Kiezel, a former elder in Rev. Zonne's church, and now a leader in the newly organized Reformed group, with two other men met and went to the church building. The three men "knew the door would be locked-up,"<sup>64</sup>so Kiezel requested one of the men, Reinold Kurvink, to bring an ax and tools which were used to open the door by force.<sup>65</sup> Once inside, Jacob Kiezel stood behind the pulpit and led the other two men in singing a psalm. Since the Zonne homestead was adjacent to the church, almost immediately, Rev. Zonne, his wife, daughter, son-in-law and a Mr. & Mrs. Jansen arrived at the church in response to the commotion caused by the men. Rev. Zonne entered, went to the front of the church, and pushed back the pulpit, throwing off the books lying

on it.<sup>66</sup> The three men stopped singing and agreed to resume their meeting at the church at 2:00 p.m. that afternoon. They returned as planned, but this time with a Township Constable. After they entered the church, Jacob Kiezel began to read a text from the Bible. As in the morning, Rev. Zonne, his family and the Jansens again joined the group inside the church with Rev. Zonne this time taking to the pulpit and leading his group in singing a psalm. Jacob Kiezel was not willing to leave the church a second time and ordered Rev. Zonne to “keep still and sit down.”<sup>67</sup> When the Rev. Zonne failed to stop singing, Kiezel declared that Rev. Zonne was disturbing the peace and ordered the Constable to remove him from the church. Rev. Zonne left the church without incident, but the disputed of the use of the church was not resolved.<sup>68</sup>

On Tuesday, August 1, 1854, Jacob Kiezel swore out a complaint and a warrant was issued against Rev. Zonne for disturbing a religious worship service. Both the State Constitution and State statutes protected the right of peaceable assembly. The statute which protected worship services made it a penal offense for anyone on the Lord’s Day “to willfully interrupt or disturb the worship of God.”<sup>69</sup> To enforce the law, justices of the peace or police judges, had the authority to decide most matters, subject to review by county circuit courts, which maintained concurrent jurisdiction. The warrant was served on Rev. Zonne and he was taken to Sheboygan to appear in front of Joseph Wedig. Following the practices of the

time, the Justice of the Peace ordered Rev. Zonne's hearing to begin the next day on August 3, 1854.<sup>70</sup> For his readers, Publisher Quintus provided in the *Nieuwsbode* an account of the purported arguments made before the Justice of the Peace as follows:

At 2 o'clock "Mr. Cook, as [Zonne's] defense counsel, did his utmost best to establish what he himself regarded as unjust, so that his entire argument, at best, did not rest on the statements given by the witnesses, given that they were of no help to him at all, but rather was completely unfounded.

After Mr. Cook had finished, it was Mr. SHAFTER's turn to speak, alleging in forceful language the guilt of P.Z. (who likely out of shame had removed himself from the courtroom to avoid the piercing words of the well-spoken attorney!) given that he had resigned as teacher of that congregation...he had no *right* to mount the pulpit, much less the manner in which he had done [so] on the aforementioned day of the Lord – in a manner that characterized the heart of the criminal set on revenge, because it no longer wished to recognize him as its *reverend*... if hurling God's holy word and contemptuously throwing a book with sermons through the church building. [if] striking up a Psalm with the *congregation* on his heels, which (all counted) consisted of his own family and *Hendrick Jansen and his wife* (!), while the service was in full swing, if all this was neither deemed disrupting the service nor regarded as a crime, [the attorney] was not aware that a teacher in the State could regard himself safe in the house of prayer from devilish attacks from the outside, from a false teacher, from a proud and conceited troublemaker.

...

It is unnecessary to repeat more of Mr. SHAFTER's comments; many have heard the same, and we have yet to see the first person who does not call them excellent – even his opposite party, Mr. COOK. It was unfortunate that *P. Zonne* and all of his former colleagues in this city also did not hear them; it makes us wonder what *he* would have said about them.<sup>71</sup>

Although, the *Nieuwsbode* account followed its pattern of having a strong bias against Rev. Zonne, the references to Zonne as having a “heart of the criminal set on revenge” a “false teacher” and “a proud and conceited troublemaker” was not accepted as fair reporting by most of its readers in the County. This greatly exaggerated and misleading article was however, correct in reporting that Justice of the Peace, Joseph Wedig found Rev. Zonne in violation of state statute and ordered him to pay a fine of \$5 and court costs.<sup>72</sup>

This outcome was appealed at once by Reverend Zonne who also filed a false imprisonment claim against Jacob Kiezel in the Sheboygan County Circuit Court. The matters were placed on the September court call of Circuit Judge Howe. On September 18, 1854, the Circuit Court started proceedings by hearing the civil claim against Jacob Kiezel for false imprisonment. The court heard only limited testimony concerning the procedures of Rev. Zonne’s arrest and summarily dismissed Rev. Zonne’s case, finding no involvement by Kiezel in the actual arrest.

73

Circuit Court Judge Howe next impaneled a jury of twelve Americans and Germans to hear the criminal charge against Rev. Zonne.<sup>74</sup> The State’s case in chief consisted of two witnesses, Jacob Kiezel and Reinold Kurvink. Their testimony revealed that the worship service Rev. Zonne allegedly disturbed “in full swing” consisted of Kiezel, Kurvink and a third man singing a psalm.<sup>75</sup> The defense would later maintain this was not started until Jacob Kiezel actually saw

Rev. Zonne approaching the Church. With regard to the issue of authority to use the church, both Kiezel and Kurvink admitted they knew the church would be locked and that they had used force to gain entry to the building.<sup>76</sup> Also, no advance arrangements with Rev. Zonne, or anyone else had been made to use the church, since Kurvink testified, he was first approached to go to the church on the morning of the incident.<sup>77</sup>

For the defense, six witnesses were called which included Henrich Jansen, Zonne's son-in-law, Arend Lubbers and even Joseph Wedig, the Justice of the Peace who originally found Rev. Zonne guilty.<sup>78</sup> Although Jansen and Lubbers stated Rev. Zonne had pushed the pulpit and threw the books that had been lying on the pulpit, they also testified Rev. Zonne was the pastor of the church. A further setback for the State's case was the testimony of Joseph Wedig, who stated that during the hearing he conducted, Jacob Kiezel testified he first requested the other men to start singing after he saw Rev. Zonne approach the church.<sup>79</sup>

In rebuttal, the State recalled Kiezel and three new witnesses to testify that the church had been deeded to members of the First Presbyterian Church of Holland and that Rev. Zonne had not preached in the church for months, having both expressly and effectively resigned.<sup>80</sup> After two days of trial, the case ended without Rev. Zonne ever taking the stand. It was for the jury to decide if Rev. Zonne's conduct interfered with a legitimate worship service or an impromptu

gathering of trespassers. After deliberations, the jury advised the court it was deadlocked and could not decide on a verdict. The Judge then dismissed the jury.<sup>81</sup> Apparently, while Rev. Zonne's conduct was of a provoking nature, some jurors must have found the actions of the three men breaking into the church and then returning with a Constable sufficiently calculating to preclude a guilty verdict. The case was set over to the next session of court, which was not until March of 1855, at which time the State dismissed its case.<sup>82</sup>

As a result, while the outcome of the trial did not adjudicate any rights involving the church, or Rev. Zonne's authority with respect to the church, the failure of the jury to find Rev. Zonne guilty effectively ended attempts of some in the Reformed group to claim the church for their own use. More importantly, even the *Nieuwsbode* wrote the trial had the effect of strengthening Rev. Zonne's support within the Dutch community.<sup>83</sup> The paper reported Rev. Zonne "had climbed considerably in the esteem of his countrymen since and because of this lawsuit."<sup>84</sup> The *Nieuwsbode* otherwise failed to provide any details from the trial, except to report briefly that the jury was "unable to reach a consensus."<sup>85</sup> Publisher Quintus' failure accurately to report these events was but one of many unfair news reports that Rev. Zonne faced.<sup>86</sup>

The challenges that arose from Rev. Zonne's decision to affiliate with a Presbyterian denomination included loss of congregational support, confrontation

by a former elder, an arrest, a criminal trial and retrial. However, Rev. Zonne's commitment, perseverance and leadership in response to these challenges ensured the continued existence of Dutch-American Presbyterianism.

## **5. Firm Foundation**

After Zonne's criminal case, he began to rebuild the membership of his church. Throughout his ministry, his charismatic style of preaching made him an effective preacher and his congregation again grew in size. In 1860, additional land was purchased to expand the church building to accommodate the growth.<sup>87</sup> An example of his ability to preach a powerful message can be seen in an article he wrote explaining his opposition to legislation to prohibit the sale of alcohol and his opposition to "rationalism."

Shall I help write a law that will make impossible the use of liquor which to date has been used for some 4300 years, without then admitting at the same time that something else is needed besides God's Word which is preached in the world, to make people who believe give up liquor and thereby acknowledge that God's Word is imperfect, while it is written " the Law of the Lord is perfect," while one can not find a word in it that speaks of such a law or ordinance?

...

But what is the reason that this law only now becomes necessary? For this we don't have to go back into history far, we only have to go back to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Until that time, with few exceptions, the entire Bible was considered to be God's Word and was respected as such, and it exerted power in society. With the 18<sup>th</sup> century the age of reason begins. Dogmatism, scholasticism and sophistry all dried up and had to make room for rationalism (the rule of reason); it is the century that casts everything to the ground which does not respect anything as holy, and for which nothing is out of reach; everything is submitted to reason.<sup>88</sup>



Equally important, Zonne actively participated within the larger assemblies of the Presbyterian Church and was involved in Presbyterian sponsored initiatives including antislavery efforts.<sup>89</sup> This leadership demonstrated Dutch Americans could belong to a Presbyterian denomination without sacrificing either reformed doctrines, or their Dutch identity. As a result, several other Dutch congregations independently formed or affiliated with Presbyterians.<sup>90</sup>

Consequently, by the time of Zonne's death at the age of 58 on August 8, 1865, his leadership had brought both Dutch settlers and a Dutch Presbyterian Church to Wisconsin.<sup>91</sup> In fact, the success of Cedar Grove allowed Zonne to describe the prosperity of the settlement as follows:

The soil cleared of the trees richly rewards the farmer's industry. Already we have two hundred cleared farms, estimated at a total of from 4,000 to 6,000 acres of land. Five years ago we had about 50 head of cattle, certainly at the present moment this has increased to 1,000 milch cows and young stock, 200 yoke oxen, 500 sheep, 1,000 hogs, 50 hives of bees, and 25 horses. The fish our settlers this year caught in Lake Michigan amount to much more than 200 barrels (each containing 200 American pounds) which are being sold at \$7 a barrel... Among my people are some who five years ago owned nothing, others who had only \$100. Today they would not sell their possessions for 2,000 Dutch guilders (\$800), and some there who would not dispose of them for 4,000 guilders (\$1,600). Five years ago these people had less than nothing, in fact were heavily loaded with debt. We have, as I am informed, only one pauper, an unfortunate supported by public charity, and this person is blind. We have more than enough of everything; this year we have sold more than 1,000 head of fattened cattle.<sup>92</sup>

In a fitting tribute, Zonne was buried at the location where his first pulpit stood.<sup>93</sup>

## **6. Conclusion**

Although, Zonne's ministerial career was relatively short, he accomplished more than any other Dutch minister to establish and encourage Dutch settlement in Wisconsin. A fact recognized by Rev. Van Raalte when he wrote to the United States Commissioner of Immigration on August 13, 1864 about his own leadership and the leadership of others concerning Dutch settlement as follows:

"I was pressed into the service to direct and guide the flood [immigration]. Some other combinations like under Mr. Scholte in Pella, Iowa, Mr. Zonne in Wisconsin sprung out of it."<sup>94</sup>

Even today, the leadership of Zonne is evident with the existence of several Presbyterian congregations with mostly Dutch descendants. While Zonne's choice for church affiliation was different than most secessionist ministers, the path he chose made him the founder of Dutch American Presbyterianism and established a small, but very distinct group of Calvinists that continue today in American society.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the most comprehensive coverage of secessionist immigration, see Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlands in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955; reprint, Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Cerdmans, 1489); Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlands in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America* (1928), ed. Robert P. Swierenga, trans. Adriaan de Wit (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1885) and Gerald F. DeJong, *The Dutch in America 1609-1974* (Boston: Twayne, 1975). DeJong mentioned Zonne only once at page 143, Lucas made numerous references to Zonne, but never offered an explanation for his Presbyterian affiliation. Van Hinte at page 296, speculated that since most emigrants to Wisconsin were from the "so-called Gelderland branch" they "felt at home in the Presbyterian Church".

<sup>2</sup> Joep G. Zonne, "Brief Biographical sketch of the Rev. Pieter Zonne "(a manuscript translated and preserved in the A.C. Van Raalte Institute for Historical Studies, Hope College, Holland, Michigan):1

<sup>3</sup> Zonne, 1 and 8. The property purchased by Zonne was located on Achterom Street, Parish I, number 389 and was commonly referred to as "Sint Joris", after purchase by Zonne the property became known as the "Guilded Cable."

<sup>4</sup> Zonne, 4. The couple was married on April 18, 1830.

<sup>5</sup> Zonne, 1-3. The group met at the store owned by tobacco merchant Jan van der Feijst, located at no.16 Binnenwatersloot.

<sup>6</sup> Zonne, 2-3. The lawyer hired was Mr. W.T. Gevers Deijnoot.

<sup>7</sup> Zonne, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Zonne, 5. Zonne was installed as an elder and the 69 year old Jan van der Feijst was installed as deacon.

<sup>9</sup> Zonne, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Hendrik Bouma, *Secession, Doleantic, and Unim: 1834-1892* (Pella, Iowa and neerlandia, Alberta Canada: Inheritance Publications 1995): 246. "The full name of Scholte's congregation was "the Reformed Church of Doeveren, Genderen, en Gansoijen", after the secession Scholte's followers erected their church building in Genderen as the most convenient location".

<sup>11</sup> For a description of each strand, see Elton J. Bruins and Robert P. Swierenga, *Family Quarrels in the Dutch Reformed Churches in the Nineteenth Century* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdemans, 1999): 33-34, wherein the three strands are identified as follows: the northern/"right" (Rev. Van Velzen); southern/"center" (Revs. Brummelkamp, Van Raalte and Vander Meulen) and Scholte/"left" (Rev. Scholte). See also Melis Te Velde, "The Dutch background of the American

---

Secession from the RCA in 1857", in George Harinck and Hans Krabbendam, eds. *Beaches and Bridges: Reformed Subcultures in the Netherlands, Germany, and the United States* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 85-87.

<sup>12</sup> Bruins and Swierenga, *Family Quarrels*, 30.

<sup>13</sup> See George Harinck, "The Secession of 1834 as Frame of Reference: H. Bowman and the Historiography of the Reformed Churches in the Nineteenth Century" in George Harinck and Hans Krabbendam, eds. *Beaches and Bridges: Reformed Subcultures in the Netherlands, Germany, and the United States* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 141-147. Bouwman characterized the early period as a "crisis of youth" in his publication "De crisis der jeugd. Eenige bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de kerken der Afscheiding" (The Crisis of Youth: Some Pages in the History of the Seceded Churches) 1914.

<sup>14</sup> Johannes Boer, *De Gereformeerde kerk van Zuid Beijerland, 1836-1936*, 18-20.

<sup>15</sup> F.L. Bos, *Kruisdragers Nieuwe Verhalen vit Afscheiden, (Crossbearers, New Stories from Secessionist Circles)* ( ): 40. See also C. de Gast, *Afscheidein en Doleantie in het Landvan Heusden en Altena* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1989): 247-250.

<sup>16</sup> C. de Gast, *Afscheidein en Doleantie in het Landvan Heusden en Altena* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1989): 247-250.

<sup>17</sup> F.L. Bos, 40.

<sup>18</sup> Johan Stellingwerff, *Iowa Letters Dutch Immigrants on the American Frontier* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2004): 222-223 for a short biography of Judith J. Zeelt.

<sup>19</sup> Bouma, 251.

<sup>20</sup> Bos, 40.

<sup>21</sup> Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family, Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920*. New York, Holmes and Meier, 2000); 90 and 108. The provinces of Utrecht and North Brabant had the lowest overseas emigration rates in the Netherlands between 1835-80.

<sup>22</sup> See "Life During the Early Days of the Dutch Settlement by Mrs. Cornelia Schaddelee, daughter of Jan Slag" in Henry S. Lucas, *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings*, Zvols, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955, revised edition, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), I:407-408:

<sup>23</sup> "Arend Jan Brusse's Reminiscences", Lucas, *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs*, I:48.

<sup>24</sup> Wabeke, 110-111. B.H. Wabeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860. A Short History*, (New York, 1944), 110-111. Most of the Dutch immigrants were from Winterswijk and

---

Varseveld, Gelderland, "who were on their way to join relatives in Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa".

<sup>25</sup> William O. Van Eyck, "The Story of the Propeller Phoenix", *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. VII, Number 3 (1924): 297-298.

<sup>26</sup> Van Eyck, 298.

<sup>27</sup> *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "Public meeting and destitute Hollanders" December 7, 1847 and *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "Aid to the Sufferers", December 13, 1847. Wherein it was reported "It is probable" from \$250 to \$300 will be realized from church offerings.

<sup>28</sup> Cornelis Smits, "Secession, Quarrels, Emigration and Personalities" in Herman Gunzevoort and Mark Bockelman, eds. *Dutch Immigration to North America* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983);100.

<sup>29</sup> Wabeke, 116.

<sup>30</sup> A. Hyma, *Albertus C. Van Raalte and His Dutch Settlement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1947); 44.

<sup>31</sup> Wabeke, 116.

<sup>32</sup> \_\_\_\_\_; History of the First Reformed Church of Milwaukee, LDS #1392649. Messrs. L. Rademaker and J.W. Dunnewold were selected as elders and Messrs. Rodolf Doornink and Gerrit Veldhorst were selected as deacons.

<sup>33</sup> "Arend Jan Brusse's Reminiscences", Lucas *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs*, I:48.

<sup>34</sup> Pieter Daane's "Sketch of Cedar Grove and Oostburg", Lucas, *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs*, II:120

<sup>35</sup> Richard Dykstra and Patricia Premo, eds. *Cedar Grove, Wisconsin 150 Years of Dutch-American Tradition* (Cedar Grove, WI, Standard Printing Inc., 1997); 30.

<sup>36</sup> Dykstra and Premo, 17-18.

<sup>37</sup> Gerard Brandt, "Papers, 1850-1860 "are preserved in the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Golda Meir Library, Area Research Center, Milwaukee small collections.

<sup>38</sup> Gerard Brandt, "Papers, 1850-1860 "are preserved in the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Golda Meir Library, Area Research Center, Milwaukee small collections and consists of 10 letters written by Brandt and his daughter. His letter dated January 8, 1851 discussed his encounter with Zonne and Brandt's election as an elder in a congregation organized by Rev. Huibertus Jacobs Budding in July of 1849. See Lucas, *Netherlands in America*, 501, wherein

---

Budding is described as a "wanderer" who visited Town Eight, near Milwaukee, for a short time before moving on and finally deciding to return to the Netherlands.

<sup>39</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 21, 1852.

<sup>40</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 28, 1852. See also Court of Proceedings.

<sup>41</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, March 19, 1850.

<sup>42</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 29, 1850.

<sup>43</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, February 22, 1853 and *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, July 26, 1853.

<sup>44</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, November 14, 1851.

<sup>45</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, November 14, 1851.

<sup>46</sup> Quintus openly supported the democratic party, except for a short period in 1856-57 when he banned all political party news from his newspaper. See J. Breur "De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode", an unpublished manuscript written in 1991 which is available at Calvin College, Grand Rapid, Michigan. However in 1852, Quintus ran as an independent candidate for Sheboygan Village Clerk and lost to the Democratic Candidate, Flavius J. Mills, who was the editor of Lake Journal, another Sheboygan Newspaper. After the election offended by remarks printed in the *Nieuwsbode* by Quintus, Mills wrote in his newspaper that the "visage" of Quintus "is the very index of meanness and hypocrisy". See *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode* April 27, 1852 for a reprint of the Lake Journal article and the response from Quintus.

<sup>47</sup> *Sheboygan Mercury*, July 19, 1851. (Sheboygan Educational Society); *Sheboygan Mercury*, April 4, 1851. (Sheboygan County Agricultural Society). See also, *Sheboygan Mercury*, October 4, 1851 which reported at the first county fair, "Rev. Peter Zonnie, [sic] of Holland, seems inclined to lead off in the matter of wool-growing in this county. He had on the ground a flock of 212 sheep, said to be the longest flock in the county."

<sup>48</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, February 3, 1852.

<sup>49</sup> George P. Hays, *Presbyterians A Popular Narrative of Their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Achievements* (New York, J.A. Hill, 1892): 204-206.

<sup>50</sup> Hays, 206.

<sup>51</sup> Stephen Peet, *History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches and Ministers in Wisconsin*, Milwaukee, Silas Chapman, 1851): 134, 150.

<sup>52</sup> Van Eyck, 298.

---

<sup>53</sup> *Sheboygan Mercury*, July 19, 1851.

<sup>54</sup> Gerald F. DeJong, *Non-Immigrant Reformed Churches in the Middle West Before the Civil War*. (Chicago, The Particular Synod of Chicago, 1978): 12-14 In 1840 the RCA commissioned Rev. Elbert Slingerland to establish ministries in the Wisconsin Territory, however, the effort was unsuccessful and Rev. Slingerland left the Wisconsin territory to return to New York state in early 1846.

<sup>55</sup> Donald A. Luidens and Roger J. Nemeth "Dutch Immigration and Membership Growth in the Reformed Church in America: 1830-1920", in Hans Krabbendam and Larry J. Wagenaar, eds. *The Dutch-American Experience: Essays in Honor of Robert P. Swierenga* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000); 173-177.

<sup>56</sup> Isaac N. Wyckoff, "Report of a visit to the Holland Colonies, in Lucas, *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs*, Vol. I, 456.

<sup>57</sup> Zonne and Van Raalte at times made unflattering references of each other, Zonne wrote to J.A. Wormser, that Van Raalte's description of early Holland Michigan was "exaggeration". See Stellingwierff, 79-80. Van Raalte wrote that Zonne was "bitter against" him, because of his role in Zonne's suspension in the Netherlands. See Hyma, 208.

<sup>58</sup> Dykstra and Premo, 31.

<sup>59</sup> William C. Walvoord, *Windmill Memories. A Remembrance of Life in a Holland-American Community before the Turn of the Century*. (Cedar Grove, Wisconsin, Villager Publications, 1979); 47-48.

<sup>60</sup> Abram Klerk "A Historical Sketch of the First Reformed Church of Cedar Grove" (a manuscript is preserved in the Cedar Grove Public Library, Cedar Grove, Wisconsin, 1905); 3-4.

<sup>61</sup> Klerk, 4.

<sup>62</sup> Sheboygan County (Wisconsin) Court Minutes, Sheboygan Series 10 (preserved in the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Golda Meir Library, Area Research Center) Vol. 3, September, 1854.

<sup>63</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, June 13, 1854

<sup>64</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>65</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>66</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>67</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

---

<sup>68</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>69</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>71</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, June 13, 1854

<sup>72</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, June 13, 1854

<sup>73</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>74</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 26, 1854

<sup>75</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>76</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>77</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>78</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>79</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>80</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>81</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, September, 1854

<sup>82</sup> Sheboygan Court Minutes, Vol. 3, March 13, 1855

<sup>83</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 26, 1854

<sup>84</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 26, 1854

<sup>85</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 26, 1854 In a separate article in the same issue of the paper, it was reported the deadlock was 9 to 3 in favor of conviction.

<sup>86</sup> Van Hinte, 295. Van Hinte wrote in reference to a critical article of Zonne, "It appears that most likely this writing flowed from the pen of one of Zonne's opponents, and should thus be accepted with reservation." Criticism from Quintus ended when he sold the *Nieuwsbode* in 1858 and moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan. See also, Herbert J. Brink, *Write Back Soon, Letters from Immigrants in America*, (Grand Rapids, CRC Publications, 1986): 76, which described how Zonne's other major critic, Brandt, lost respect within the Dutch community of Town Eight



---

(south of Cedar Grove), when in 1856, he remarried a wealthy widow seventeen years his junior, which was viewed as opportunistic. Brandt died in 1859.

<sup>87</sup> Dykstra and Premo, 31.

<sup>88</sup> *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 20, 1853.

<sup>89</sup> William Finke Brown, *The First Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church and Congregation of Beloit, Wisconsin and A History of Presbyterianism in Orr State Up to the Year 1900*, (\_\_\_\_\_ 1900) 149-150. On October 15-16, 1857, Zonne attended on behalf of the Presbytery of Milwaukee the first meeting of the Synod of Wisconsin, held in Columbus, Wisconsin.

<sup>90</sup> First Holland Presbyterian Church of Milwaukee (New School) (1857); Holland Presbyterian Church of Milwaukee (Old School) (1863); First Presbyterian Church of Oostburg (1867) and New Amsterdam Presbyterian Church (1870).

<sup>91</sup> Dykstra and Premo, 30-32

<sup>92</sup> Lucas, *Netherlanders in America*, 210.

<sup>94</sup> Hyma, 269