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Remembering East Frisian Immigrants Who Settled near German Valley, Illinois: A Family History Scrapbook

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Remembering East Frisian Immigrants Who Settled near German Valley, Illinois: A Family History Scrapbook

Derek Heeren*
January 3, 2024

Summary

In June of 1848, Jelle Heeren (age 25) married Taalke Park (age 15) near Rhaderfhen, East Friesland (German: Ostfriesland). One year later, on September 10, along with their infant son, they left everything that was familiar to them in Germany. Based on glowing reports of good opportunities for farming and raising a family on the American frontier, they set sail for the United States. After what must have been a traumatic voyage (including the death of their son), they entered the United States at New York City. Continuing onward, they arrived at a new East Frisian settlement in Illinois (later known as German Valley) on November 23, 1849. Jelle and Taalke established a farm, raised a large family, welcomed new settlers, and helped start a local church.

Most of this paper is a Family History Scrapbook which was originally compiled by Sophia (Wagner) Heeren in 1992. It focuses on Jelle and Taalke Heeren and their family, although it also highlights their grandson, John J. Heeren, who spent his career as an educational missionary in China. The scrapbook includes records of genealogy, pictures, and excerpts from books. While many of the details are specific to Jelle and Taalke's family, the broader themes of this paper may be of interest to any reader who enjoys learning about German immigrants who settled in the American heartland. An extended introduction provides historical context and a glimpse into the experiences of this early-immigrant generation, the first generation of East Frisian immigrants in the American Midwest.

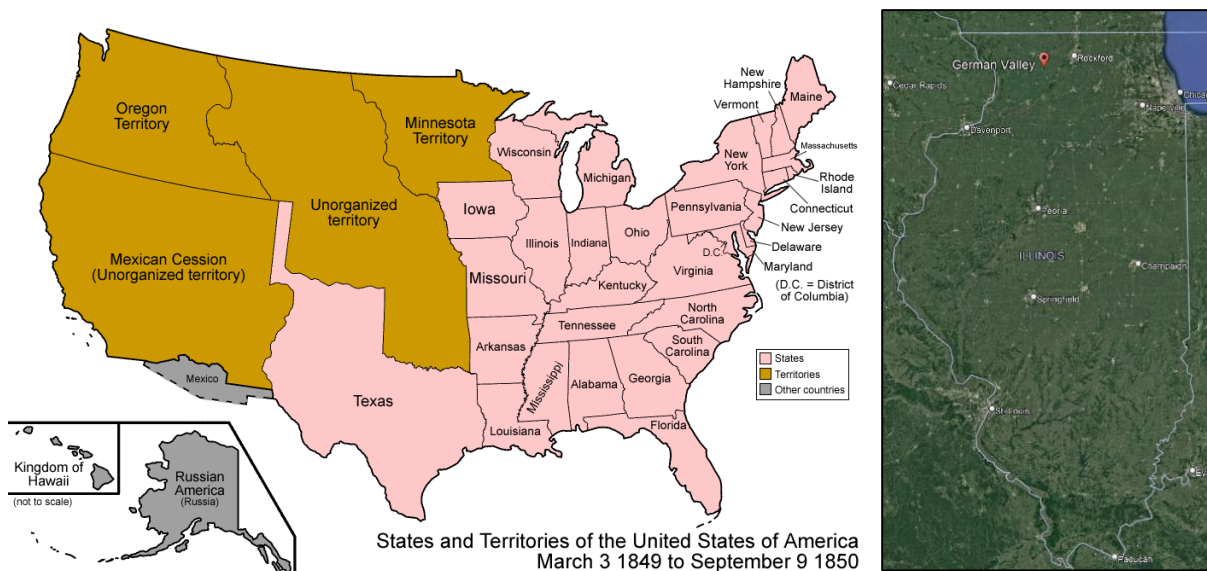
Introduction

Immigration

In 1849, Abraham Lincoln was wrapping up his two-year term representing **Illinois** in the U.S. House of Representatives. A local blacksmith, John Deere, had just moved from Grand Detour to Moline, IL where he would have access to the Mississippi River for shipping his increasingly popular steel plows. In 1849, Iowa and Minnesota were in the process of being settled. Further out on the westward-moving **American frontier**, the Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota Territories had not yet been formed. In the American Southwest, there was not even a map available for the Grand Canyon (John Wesley Powell would make his perilous expedition down the Colorado River in 1869).

*The author is a descendent of Jelle and Taalke Heeren and enjoys learning about family history. He grew up in rural South Dakota and currently lives in Lincoln, NE with his wife and their four children.

The year **1849** was also when **Jelle and Taalke Heeren** migrated to Illinois. Jelle (pronounced YEL-lə in German or JEL in English), the youngest of seven children, was from Holte and had become a member of the Lutheran church in Rhaude. Both Holte and Rhaude were about two miles north of Rhauderfhen, East Friesland. At that time, East Friesland was part of Kingdom of Hannover in the German Confederation, although it was previously part of the Dutch Republic (see the paper [“Ethnic heritage of the families from East Friesland \(Northwest Germany\) who migrated to the American Midwest”](#)). Taalke’s parents, **Jan and Gepke Park**, had six children (Taalke was the oldest) and owned a bakery and restaurant in Rhauderfhen. East Friesland suffered from crop failures in 1845 and 1846, causing a sharp rise in the cost of living. Also, the German conscription (draft) for military service was not popular.



Top left: Location of Illinois shown on a U.S. map with 1849 political subdivisions (image credit: Golbez, 2006, Wikipedia). Top right: Location of German Valley within Illinois (image credit: Google Earth). Bottom: Aerial view of Jelle and Taalke Heeren’s farmstead (image credit: Google Earth).

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In 1847, with a group of eight people, Arend J. Arends started the first East Frisian **settlement** in America at **German Valley**. (A few East Frisians had immigrated earlier to different places, but hadn't start an East Frisian settlement). This was the beginning of the **great East Frisian migration** to the American Midwest (1847-1900). Arend sent back reports of favorable living conditions, initiating a migration chain. In 1848, after Jelle and Taalke's wedding, Jan Park traveled to the settlement to assess the living conditions for himself and sent back his own positive report. Jelle and Taalke began their journey the following September. Their group also included Jan's wife Gepke with their children. Arriving at the settlement in November, the group joyfully reunited with Jan. In 1849, the population of the settlement had increased from 28 to 66 people. Jan and Gepke must have been people with **vision** to be willing to take the risk and move to a new land at the very beginning of the wave of migration (before it became a popular choice), and to partner with their daughter and son-in-law (Jelle and Taalke) to provide a new life for their families.

Life in the German Valley-Freeport Settlement

With limited opportunities for aspiring farmers to acquire land in Germany, the opportunity for East Frisians to settle on available land in the American Midwest, particularly as part of a settlement with other East Frisians, allowed them to preserve their **rural way of life** and their ethnic heritage. The sense of belonging with like-minded neighbors in the settlement reduced the loneliness which is so often experienced by those who move to a new country. In contrast to their old home in Germany, where the rural poor did hard labor but did not have opportunity to become landowners, class mobility was possible for immigrants in America, and **land ownership** would become a central part of the East Frisian-American identity. In addition, there was less of a class distinction; while East Friesland had a clear difference between landowners ("marsh farmers") and laborers (peasants), the social structure of the East Frisian settlements in America afforded respect to all in the community regardless of financial condition. There was a sense of unity and "give and take," with those who were more established standing by the side of those who had greater need.

Jelle and Taalke settled on a **farmstead** one mile south of German Valley (near Freeport, IL), adjacent to Jan and Gepke's farmstead. Both farmsteads were along Mud Creek which provided a water supply. Jelle had purchased his 120-acre plot of land for \$800 when he arrived, which is approximately \$33,000 in today's dollars. The land included a primitive, **one-room log cabin** where Jelle and Taalke lived for ten years. They also used their cabin to provide hospitality, often hosting one or two other families (e.g., new immigrants) for weeks at a time. Since the settlement did not yet have a church, Jelle,

Today, the population of **East Friesland** (an area approximately 40 miles long by 30 miles wide) is 469,000. Historical data on the population of East Friesland is not readily available, but it is available for the province of Friesland in the Netherlands. If the trend of population growth in these two regions was similar, then *the population of East Friesland in 1850 would have been between 150,000 and 200,000*. This would be a high population density for an area that is primarily rural, around 150 people per square mile (including both towns and countryside). To compare it to another rural area, Turner County, South Dakota (in the more populated part of the state) currently has a population density of 15 people per square mile. Although East Friesland is a small corner of Europe often forgotten in the annals of history, approximately 20,000 immigrants from East Friesland would help settle the American heartland.

Michael Van Osterloo (who had immigrated in 1849 through New Orleans and up the Mississippi River by steamboat), and others initiated a congregation which began meeting in Jelle and Taalke's cabin in 1850 (Silver Creek Reformed Church). Although most East Frisians immigrated for economic reasons more than religious or political reasons, East Frisian settlements would typically prioritize forming a church soon after farms were established. The **church** was the center of community life and provided a way to uphold their beliefs and ethnic heritage.

Jelle and his father-in-law shared equipment and worked together to "break the prairie" with a **plow** pulled by oxen. Breaking the sod of the **tall-grass prairie** was viewed as an important step in preparing land for food production which would support families and communities. (In the nineteenth century, people did not yet have the scientific understanding needed to appreciate the value of preserving a portion of the native prairie with its ecosystem.) Crops included corn, wheat, and oats. Grain was cut by hand with a cradle, which was a scythe with long fingers (tines) to catch the cut grain.

Jelle and Taalke's farm was profitable, and they eventually built a **stone house** to replace the original log cabin. They raised a family with eleven children. Besides their first child who died at sea, the rest of the children lived to adulthood and several lived past 70 years of age. They had come to America in part for the freedom to pursue a better life; in time they were indeed able to obtain a good **quality of life** for themselves and their children. Taalke lived to be 67 and Jelle passed away when he was 91.

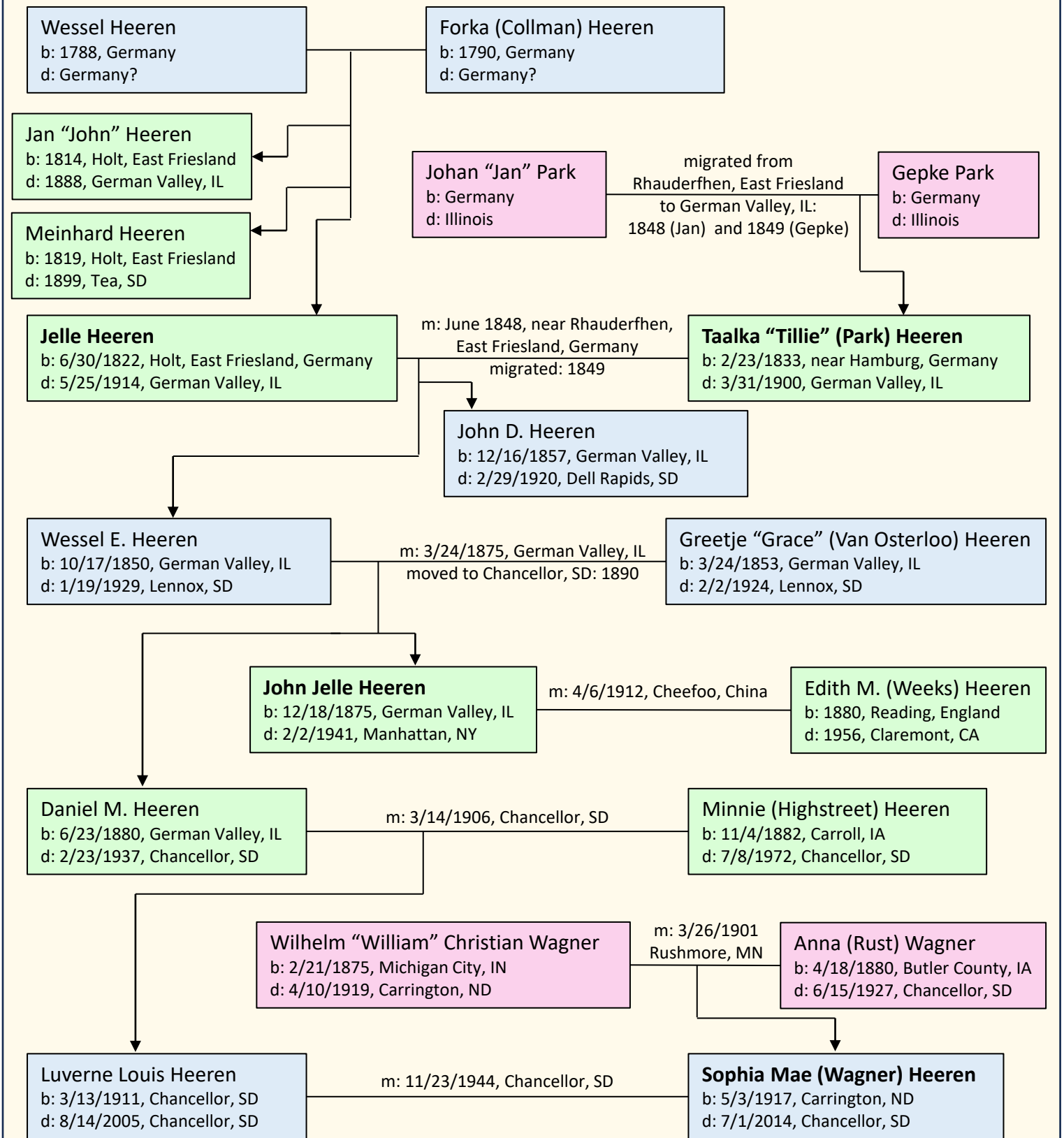
By 1917, the "mother" settlement around German Valley had grown to an area approximately 35 miles by 25 miles with about 4,000 people. From there, other daughter settlements had been formed, sometimes in marshy land such as eastern Illinois. East Frisian and Dutch immigrants constructed **drainage** systems to lower the water table and "reclaim" the land for crop production. They brought with them valuable experience with drainage since much of their homeland was near sea level. Even today the Netherlands is a leader in water management (e.g., the IHE Delft Institute for Water Education).

Over the decades, the East Frisian immigrants would remember their homeland fondly, but they also recognized the opportunities they had gained in America. In 1912, the editor of an **East Frisian-American newspaper** in Iowa summed it up with a fictional dialogue:

"Freerkohm, what were the conditions in East Friesland before you came to America?" He said, "you know well Kasper that I had to work hard like everybody else, digging ditches... The food? Sour black bread with rancid butter or cheese, buttermilk soup, beans with stale pork..." "How much did you have when you came to America?" "On my feet, two hard boots*. In my pocket I had a handkerchief... [with] a Prussian Taler (a silver coin used in Germany)." "Well, well, but you need not feel ashamed of that... But, if I may ask, what do you possess now?" Freerkohm answered, "I have 320 acres of land, twelve horses, sixty head of cattle..." "Well, I am glad to hear this, but would you have gotten along this well in East Friesland?" "Oh my, no! Why ask such a question?" "And would you have been able to ride to town and to church in a carriage?" "No." "And what would have become of your children?" "Ah! They would have been in the same condition of poverty [as I had been in]." (From *East Frisian News* as quoted in Lindaman, 2004.)

*Some of the East Frisian immigrants had wooden shoes, similar to Dutch wooden shoes.

Jelle & Taalke Heeren Family Tree



Family tree providing an overview of Sophia Heeren's Family History Scrapbook. The tree highlights Jelle and Taalke Heeren, illustrates the connection with Sophia, and shows other people who are mentioned in the scrapbook.

Descendants

Illinois was a good place for farming. It was known for having excellent soil, and most years it had adequate rain for crops. Many of Jelle and Taalke's children stayed in the area, and some continued farming. However, there was not enough land available for all of them. Two of their children went to **South Dakota**, which was open for settlement through the Homestead Act of 1862. While Abraham Lincoln is often remembered for ending slavery, he also supported westward expansion during his presidency with the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railway Act (supporting the first trans-continental railroad), and the Morrill Act (for land-grant colleges).

In 1882, Jelle and Taalke's son Johan "John" D. Heeren, after marrying Christina Akkerman, moved to a farm near Chancellor, SD as part of the new **Lennox-Chancellor East Frisian settlement** (including Tea, Lennox, Chancellor, Hurley, and Marion). Jelle and Taalke's son Wessel E. Heeren, his wife Grace, and their children moved to a farm near Chancellor in 1890. One of Wessel and Grace's children was **John J. Heeren**. Starting in 1911, he spent three decades as a history professor at Cheeloo University in Jinan (formerly Tsinan), the capital city of the province of Shandong (formerly Shantung) in eastern China. John and his wife Edith, knowing the undeserved love of Christ which they had received, sacrificed much to demonstrate this love to the people of Shantung. For example, during the "Jinan Incident" of 1928 in which several thousand people were killed, John and Edith risked their lives to evacuate 47 university students from the city, in a train where they laid on the floor to avoid gunfire which shattered the windows (see the Family History Scrapbook for more details about John and his work).

Jelle's brother and sister-in-law, Jan and Anna S. Heeren, and their children immigrated with Jelle in 1849 and settled on a farm one mile west of German Valley. Jelle's other brother and sister-in-law, Meinhard and Hilge Heeren, immigrated to German Valley in the 1850s. Abraham Lincoln, in 1858, came to the nearby city of Freeport, IL for a debate with Stephen Douglas and received enthusiastic support from the East Frisians. When the **Civil War** broke out in 1861, at least 20 of East Frisian immigrants, who had lived in the United States for only 13 years or less, quickly volunteered to "leave the plow" and serve their new country. This included Jan and Anna's son Wilhelm "William" Heeren (age 17) and Meinhard (age 42) who fought for the North in the 46th Infantry Regiment.

In 1884 Meinhard and Hilge moved by railroad to a small village in the Lennox-Chancellor settlement. Three of Jan and Anna's children also moved to that area. When local leaders were brainstorming names for the village, they decided to stop for tea. Someone suggested "Tea" as a name, reflecting their heritage since East Friesland is famous for its tea culture*. Meinhard's son and daughter-in-law Henry and Flora Heeren were the first mail carriers (beginning in 1903). When the village was formally organized as the **town of Tea** (1906), William Heeren was the first Justice of the Peace and Board Chairman.

*When the East Frisians first arrived in Illinois, genuine black tea was very expensive. Instead, they used leaves from the Penny Royal, a flowering plant that grew in marshes, to make "slough tea." They would also make tea with blackberry leaves.

Character Traits

While not wanting to romanticize the stories of immigration (the hardships were very real), it is helpful to reflect on the positive traits that shine through. The East Frisian immigrants brought with them both German and Dutch culture. They reflected many of the **German virtues**, such as reliability, diligence (consider the difficulty of farmwork in 1849!), order, and a high sense of duty. They possessed the courage to embark on a life-changing journey and the **orderliness** to provide structure for a new community. Their commitment to hard work (and the corresponding lack of recreation) made it possible to survive the early years; progress on a farm was evidenced by a growing number of cattle and upgrading from oxen to a team of sleek horses. East Frisian immigrants were not known for showing emotion (except an occasional tear for the old homeland); however, love was demonstrated through loyalty, acts of service, and providing for each other's physical needs. They were generally characterized as stable, quiet, inward-focused people; not interested in folk songs or dance; and more interested in farmwork than social organizations. With a centuries-old pattern of democratic self-governance, decision making prioritized seeking consensus. They had a straightforward **conservatism**, cherishing local independence and minimal government interference, which would continue as part of the East Frisian-American identity.

An example of Dutch influence can be seen in the Dutch Reformed congregations (East Friesland was approximately three-fourths Lutheran and one-fourth Reformed). **Dutch Reformed** is a branch of Christianity that focuses on Bible truth, forgiveness of sins by grace alone, and moral living as a way to honor Christ. While the East Frisian immigrants did not emphasize a personal relationship with God, they were highly devoted to church, did prayer and Bible reading at home, and found strength in singing the psalms from the Bible. An exemplary expression of **faith** occurred when Jelle and Taalke were crossing the Atlantic Ocean with a voyage marked by storms, frightening waves, over-crowded living conditions, illness, and the death of their infant son. With much lamentation, they 'buried' his body at sea; yet Jelle also looked forward to the resurrection described in the Book of Revelation and later stated that "...*the time will come when the sea must give back its dead, and the sea itself, with its peril, affliction, and separation, shall be no more.*"

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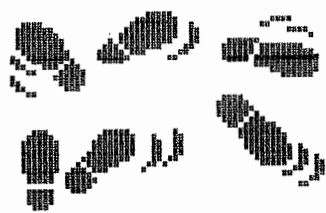
<https://en.wikipedia.org/>

Preface: A Tribute to the Original Author

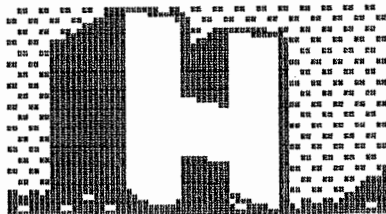
The rest of this paper is a Family History Scrapbook, which was originally compiled in 1992 by my grandmother, Sophia Heeren. I have many fond memories of her telling these stories with much love and warmth. Throughout my childhood, I would often visit her and grandpa (Luverne Heeren), which would usually include tea and snacks after looking at the garden. The stories of our heritage were recounted with faith and hope—a confidence that, despite the trials our ancestors had endured, God had been at work in the midst of those difficulties and had been providing faithfully for His people.

Grandma assembled the scrapbook to preserve this history for future generations. I made edits to fix minor errors and added annotations to improve clarity. For the sake of brevity, I omitted some of the pages from the original scrapbook. After beginning with a family tree of Sophia's parents—Wilhelm and Anna (Rust) Wagner—the scrapbook continues with a focus on Jelle and Taalka. I hope the scrapbook is an encouragement to you as it has been for me.

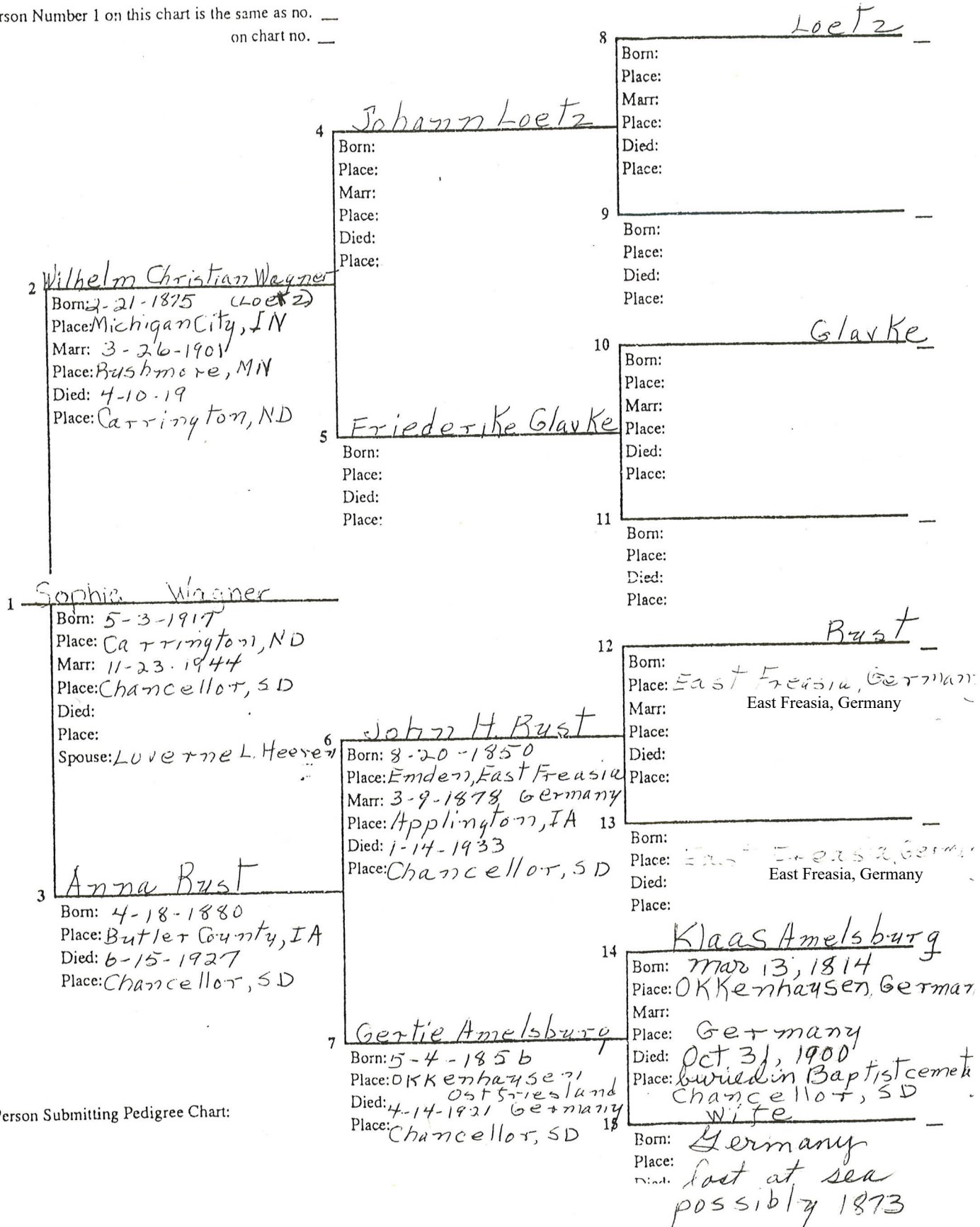
Derek Heeren
January 3, 2024
Lincoln, Nebraska



MY HERITAGE
BY SOPHIA HAE WAGNER HEEREN
COMPILED IN 1992
WITH LOVE



Person Number 1 on this chart is the same as no. ___
 on chart no. ___



Person Submitting Pedigree Chart:

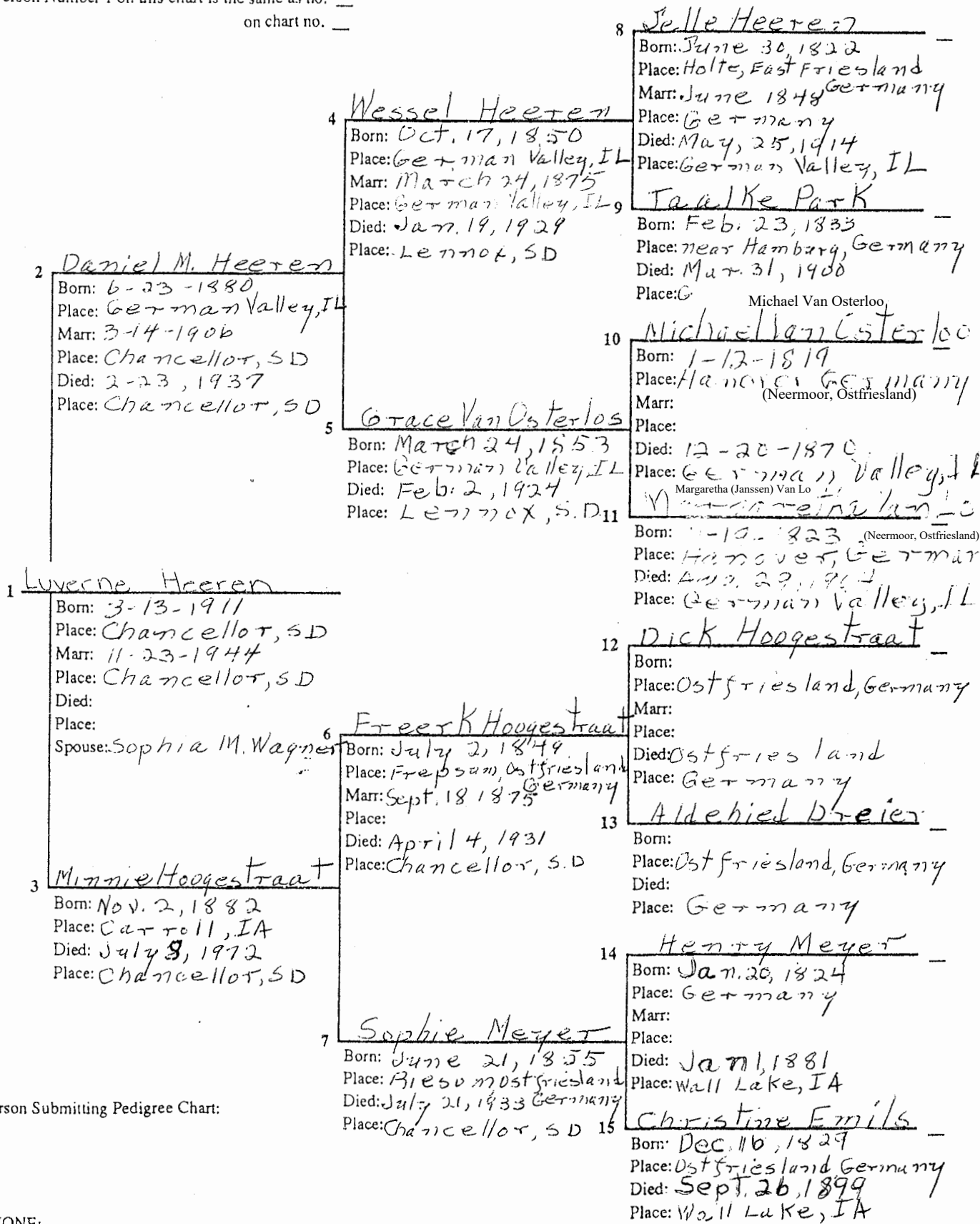
John and Gertie (Amelsberg) Rust (who were both born in East Friesland) along with their nine children
Anna (Rust) Wagner is second from the left in the back row
Picture taken around 1908, perhaps in Chancellor, SD



PEDIGREE CHART

Chart No. ___

Person Number 1 on this chart is the same as no. ___
on chart no. ___



Person Submitting Pedigree Chart:

PHONE:

WESSEL HEEREN
1788

MARRIED

FORKA COLLMAN
1790

CHILDREN

- * SERVINA
- * ANKE
- * JOHN "Jan"
- * ANTJE
- * LENA (TENA)
- * MEINHART
- * JELLE
- * ALL BORN IN EAST FRIESLAND,
GERMANY

MARRIED

HENRY SCHMACHER
_____ FREESE,
(BROTHER OF WEERT)
ANNA SOPHIA WEYMEIR
KLASS MEYER
WEERT FREESE
HILGE MUSTARD
TAALKA PARK

*JELLE HEEREN.
JUNE 30, 1822
MAY 25, 1914

MARRIED.
1848

TAALKA PARK
FEB. 23, 1833
MAR. 31, 1900

CHILDREN

MARRIED

WESSEL	APRIL 1849		DIED AT SEA OCT 15, 1849
WESSEL E.	OCT. 18, 1850	12-16-73	GRACE VAN OSTERLOS
GEPKE	JULY 9, 1853	3-24-74	DANIAL VAN OSTERLOS
FOSKEA	-- 1855	11-10-76	GEORGE HAYUNGA
JOHAN "John" D.	DEC. 16, 1857	2-23-82	CHRISTINA AKKERMAN
SERVINA	1860-1892	3-20-84	WILT MULLER
HEYE BRUNS	1862-1940	3-15-87	CHRISTINA EVERTS
EMMA	OCT. 16, 1864 - NOV. 28, 1950		
JETTA	1868 JUNE 1, 1906	3-29-93	MARTIN DENEKAS
ANGELINE	JAN. 29, 1870 - APRIL 12, 1951		
JELLE	MAY 4, 1876 JUNE 23, 1961	4-25-1901	BERTA WENGER
*CAME TO AMERICA IN 1849, ALL CHILDREN BORN IN ILLINOIS			

JOHAN PARK

MARRIED

GEPKA

CHILDREN

*TAALKA	1848	JELLE HEEREN
JOHAN	(DROWNED AT AGE 16)	
*JASPER		MARY TERRY
*JETTA OR JETTCHEN		WILLIAM WESSEL
*JOHNANN		WILLIAMS RALPHS
*HYE BURNS		
ALL BORN NEAR HAMBURG, GERMANY * MIGRATED TO AMERICA		

Farmstead where Jelle and Taalka Heeren settled near German Valley, IL.
(Pictures taken by Sophia Heeren)



The following pages from the book "The East Friesens in America" by Pastor Schnucker tell us some of the hardships suffered by your forefathers in coming to America. In our present lifestyle of today, it is hard to imagine how they endured all the suffering they went thru to make a life for themselves in America.

The Jan Park mentioned is Jelle Heeren's father-in-law. In reading the account of his coming to Illinois, you will realize you come from sturdy stock!

Later Jelle Heeren, his wife and child, his brother Jan and family, Mrs. Jan Park and children and several others made the crossing in 1849. Jelle and his family settled on a farm his father-in-law had picked out for him, for which he paid \$800. They lived in a one room log cabin, with one window, for ten years - often one and sometimes two families stayed with them for weeks. They built a stone house, which still stands today. Your dad and mother walked on this farm, and saw the house where your great grandfather was born. We saw the Silver Creek cemetery where Jelle Heeren and other relatives are buried, also the Silver Creek Church of which Jelle Heeren was one of the founders.

You have a strong christian heritage of which you can be proud, but more important, thankful that it is so. May you too carry the torch, and leave a christian heritage for your children and grandchildren.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sophia Heeren". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.



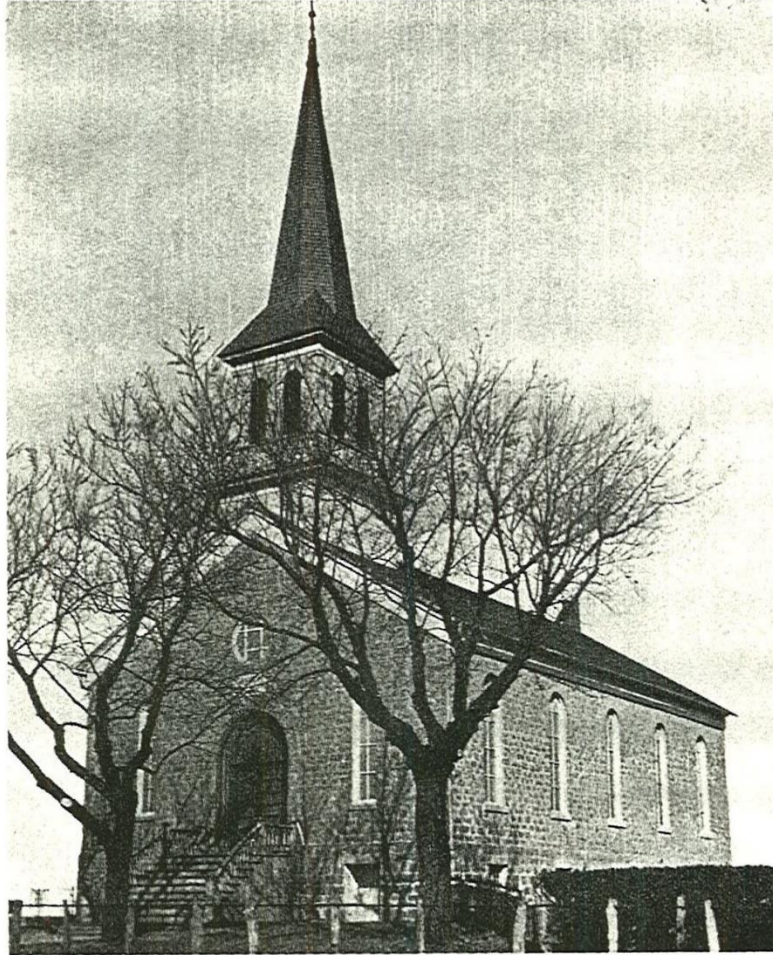
Four Generations

Jelle Heeren; his daughter, Mrs. Gerh. J. Hayunga, her son, Jelle Hayunga; his daughter Francis

Foskea (Heeren) Hayunga
(wife of Gerhard "George" J. Hayunga)



Diricus Dirksen



The Silver Creek Reformed Church at German Valley, IL (built in 1861)



The parsonage of the Silver Creek Reformed Church at

in their own log cabins on their own ground and soil. By the end of the summer of 1848 the Colony consisted of 26 persons.

In the fall of the same year another settler was added to the number of the colonists. Jan Park from Rhaudefehn, who came in the company of another East Friesen, whose name I was not able to learn. A son, Heye Park of Laporte City, Iowa, gave me the following interesting report: "My father owned a bakery and restaurant in Rhaudefehn. Influenced by the letters of the Arends family in America, he left his home village in the company of a friend, to see North Grove.* He came without his family to investigate with his own eyes the conditions which were so glowingly described. When they landed in New York, the snow already covered the ground.

Without funds to continue the trip by railroad or boat, they undertook to cover the distance to Illinois on foot. One must admire their spirit of enterprise! Just think, a trip of around 1200 miles through a sparsely settled region on foot! Without money, without provisions, without overshoes, without the slightest knowledge of the English language, and without being acquainted with the way, they set out! But fortune favors the brave.

They made their way along the Erie Canal. They had to beg their bread. Sometimes, whenever the stomach growled too badly, they went into the fruit orchard, scraped aside the snow and tried to satisfy themselves with the frozen apples they found there. At night they looked for a bed in the straw stacks and haymows; and whenever a farmer offered them a bed in his home, which happened rarely, they were delighted. Sometimes they were permitted to travel a distance on a canal boat in exchange for hard work. At last, after unspeakable suffering and nearly unbelievable privation, they set foot on the streets of Chicago. From there to Rockford, some 80 miles, the continuation of the journey was not so difficult. They found a more friendly reception among the scattered settlers. They had an

*German Valley was originally known as North Grove.

experience in the vicinity of Rockford that gave the two foreigners a good fright, but later was the occasion for a lot of fun. One evening they came to the door of a farmer, a Yankee. In some manner they made themselves understood and inquired about the way to North Grove. The farmer was friendly and polite. Through sign language he communicated to them, that one of his sons would take them there provided they would first help him husk corn. This was willingly promised, although cornhusking was an unknown art to these two "greenhorns". The upstairs of the log cabin was assigned to them as their sleeping room. When they climbed up, they noticed that the two half-grown sons of the house reached behind the door, took out two shotguns, and went outside. That seemed suspicious to the East Friesens. Had they, perhaps, fallen into a den of thieves, and now when they had almost reached their goal, would they lose their lives? If so, the scoundrels had better be ready to experience East Friesen fists. They made up their minds to stay awake and to give up their lives as dear as possible. Below, a large hearthfire, stoked by the farmer, threw its light through the many cracks in the floor boards and into the sleeping room of the anxious East Friesens. Around midnight the sons returned and threw something heavy on the floor of the cabin. The next morning the two Germans crept down the ladder with fear and trembling. How great was their joy when they saw that the sons had only gone hunting and the object which was thrown on the floor during the night was just a hunting bag full of raccoons. They helped to bring in the corn with more enthusiasm and willingness than skill and were brought to North Grove. Here they spent the winter splitting wood for the already-settled Pennsylvania-Dutch. My father was pleased with the area and living conditions and bought a piece of land, the present day farm of his son-in-law Jelle Heeren, a mile south of German Valley. Then he made arrangements for his yearning, waiting, family of Rhauderfehn to come also.

The news which arrived in the villages of East Friesland from the immigrants about the favorable living conditions in Illinois, and perhaps results of the Revolution of 1848,

I had the grain cut with a “cradle” and paid my thresher with grain, as cash money was very scarce. I had only to bring my grain to Rockford in those days.

As for father Heeren: It may be noted, that he had his dwelling until his life’s end on that first farm. But the log cabin* gave way to a roomy stone house, that not only stands today, but at the very least, could withstand the ravages of time for 100 years. Through hard work, thrift, honesty and God’s blessing it was permitted to him to add so much to his first possession, that he was generally considered as one of the wealthiest East Friesens in these parts. By the time of his death he increased his wealth to over \$200,000.

It was he also, who in 1851 in association with some others, founded the Silver Creek Reformed Church at German Valley, Illinois, the oldest and one of the warmest East Friesen Churches in America. Until his life’s end, he was a faithful member of the church and a regular attender of its services of worship. Preceded in death by his invalid wife, years before, he died on May 25, 1914, blessed in the Lord at the advanced age of 91 years, 10 months and 25 days. He was laid to rest in the family grave plot in the cemetery of the Silver Creek Congregation. The author had the privilege to preach the funeral sermon on Psalm 92:13-16. In him was laid down the pilgrim’s staff of one of those oak solid, energetic pioneers, who experienced, endured and achieved so much, and now has become fewer and fewer. Of his twelve children, nine are still living; namely, Wessel, Lennox S. Dakota; Jan, Dell Rapids, S. Dakota; Heye, German Valley, Illinois; Mrs. Daniel Van Osterloo, the Misses Emma and Angelina of German Valley and Mrs. Joseph Genannt, Freeport, Illinois; Jelle, Monroe, Wisc. and Mrs. Gerhard Hayunga of German Valley. In addition he also left behind 41 grandchildren and 9 great-grandchildren.

When the year 1850 came into the land, the Colony began to look like a small East Friesen village. In 1847 six adults and two children immigrated and settled here; in 1848 came

*Elsewhere in the book, Schnucker notes that one-room log cabins were common in those days and were known for having leaky roofs. An umbrella was kept by the bed to help stay dry on rainy nights.

ten adults and ten children; and then in 1849 came twenty-four adults and fourteen children, so that at the end of these years the entire number of souls came to forty adults and twenty-six children.

Around New Year's Day of 1850 in the midst of the severest winter cold a man arrived with his family who was appointed by God to play an important role in the organization of the Silver Creek Reformed Church. His name was Diricus Dirksen. He originated out of Emden, East Friesland and was a skilled blacksmith. Without having informed any of the settlers about his coming, he set out from Chicago, in the bitterest cold with family and goods packed on an ox cart on the 100 mile journey which led through the unfamiliar snow covered prairie. He arrived at night at the cabin of Jelle Heeren and asked for shelter. Unfortunately, it could not be granted to him, because the nearby log cabin already had renters as occupants. Yet soon a way out was found. The half-frozen travelers were brought to a warm fire, their lives put back into them with a warm meal, and then brought by the father of the family 1½ miles further to Jan Bagger's cabin, where room was available for them. Here they found a friendly welcome and a cordial reception for the winter.

In June of the same year, a new immigration appeared out of the old homeland under the leadership of Jelderk Poppen of Beenhusen. His daughter, the later Mrs. Wessel Wessels, told me: Our traveling party was made up of my parents, my two brothers, Ulfert and Poppe, myself and two sisters who later became the wives of Remmer Ludwig and Hermannus Janssen, also, Heye Reints and family (father of Heiko Reints, Reint Reints and Mrs. Jan Buttel, brother of Sweer Reints and Mrs. Arend J. Arends); also, Mrs. Berend Ackermann, whose husband had immigrated the year before; Ontje Collman and his wife and sons, Claas and Ontje (His sons Albertus and Jelle had already come with Jelle Heeren the past fall). These all came from Beenhusen. Also the widow Gw. Albertus joined the group with her daughter and son-in-law Menne Harms from Neermoor. Also included were Jan Everts of Lammersfehn and Ulfert

Wessels of Leer. We took the cheaper but warmer way through New Orleans and Savanna, Illinois. We arrived at our greatly desired destination in June and were received by the settlers and relatives with great joy.

East Friesen foresight and precaution for the future would not permit those who immigrated here since 1847 to be idle. The majority, especially those with families, endeavored immediately, to buy a piece of ground from forty to one hundred and sixty acres. The well to do stood truly by the side of the needy, because in those days, when everything was scarce and in its beginning stage, the monstrous gulf of jealousy, envy and greed had not yet come to the fore, as today. Everyone felt of one heart and mind. They also knew they could be in need of a helper in an unforeseen emergency. So it came to pass, that they mutually helped to acquire bread and possessions.

As far as I could ascertain, the following list of immigrants settled here up to 1850:

Arend J. Arends, as indicated at the beginning, on the present day Arend Heeren farm, two miles south of German Valley, on the left side of Mud Creek.

Jelle Heeren, two miles south of German Valley, on the left side of Mud Creek. It is the same place he occupied until his death.

Jan Park, on the west side of Mud Creek and bordering the land of his son-in-law Jelle Heeren. Now in the possession of Emma and Angelina Heeren.

Sweer Reints, a mile south of German Valley, west of Jan Park, now in the possession of Gerhard Denekas. The old house, which stands on the place, is the only log cabin, still remaining in this local region which originated out of the pioneer days.

On such visits the conversation often came around to the slowly creeping wildness taking place in the new settlement. A wildness brought about by two years with no worship services and no instruction for the children. The fathers and mothers believed this would ultimately develop into a rawness that would go against all noble traditions. They spoke then of the beautiful worship services in the village churches of the old homeland; often the wives showed their inner feelings through the tears that glistened in their eyes. Occasionally they sang an uplifting Dutch Psalm, but that was all that was done.

Yet God had not forgotten these men and women. Through them and their descendants He wanted to accomplish much good in the world. Therefore He embraced them in their time of need. In the winter of 1849, a man, Diricus Dirksen, arrived with his family in the Colony. He was destined to be a leader among the settlers. He and his family were hardly settled in their home when they also took note of the wildness of the Colony. As a serious follower of Christ he made the religious rehabilitation of the Colony his responsibility. One day he went with Michael Van Oosterloo to Jelle Heeren, to discuss the situation with them. They came to an agreement to organize a "read worship service" on Sunday afternoons with Dirksen as worship leader and reader and Hinderk Arends, the best singer in the settlement, as song leader. The first worship service was a joy for all who took part. They came, more and more, until Heeren's log cabin was fully packed. Yet not all East Friesens took part in these gatherings. There were also some men, to whom the worship service was a thorn in the side, who tried to hinder it. There were two whom I will designate as O and H in the following event.+

+This event was told to the author by Jelle Heeren. On New Year's Eve of 1850, a large number of people had arrived at the Jelle Heeren cabin for a worship service. During the singing a wild and disorderly spectacle took place in front of the house. O and H had arrived with five or six other fellows, armed with guns, to disturb the worship service. The lead

singer, Hinderk Arends stood in front of the door, to quiet those disturbing the peace. But noise and clamor increased more and more. They rushed to Hinderk Arends and threatened him with physical violence. One held out two bullets with the remark: "One for the wild animal and the other for the man!" When the situation assumed such an ominous character, those assembled in the house hurried to the aid of Hinderk Arends. Had not Jelle Herren stepped between them, the uproar would have, no doubt, degenerated into a nasty brawl between members of the same Colony. Heeren, as owner of the property, asked the disturbers of the peace to quiet down, and offered them the choice, to either behave themselves properly or leave his place. They chose the latter, but gave the worshippers an awful fright by firing some shots over their heads. After the assembly they wanted to take revenge against Dirksen. They lay in wait for him and made the attempt to give him an icy bath in the creek north of Herren's cabin. But when the men heard his call for help they rushed to his aid and freed him out of the hands of the evildoers.

2. The Founding of the First East Friesen Congregation

Events, as described above, and the religious situation in general in the settlement brought about an increasing desire for an ordered congregational life and a desire for church and pastor. But they were in a foreign land; they were unacquainted with the church situation in America, therefore, they did not know which course of action to take to found a congregation. They also did not want to get mixed up with any of the sects; they wanted to remain true to the old Reformed Church from which they had come. But the nearest Reformed Congregation was at Pekin, Illinois more than 100 miles away; and the East Friesens of the Mother Colony did not know of its existence.

Around this time the Bible colporteur Jan Van der Las, a Dutch Reformed, appeared on the scene. On one of his blessed tours he came to Freeport, Illinois. It was his

Silver Creek
Reformed Church,
German Valley, IL.
(Pictures taken by
Sophia Heeren)



Left to right:
Luverne Heeren
Faye Dubbelde
Lucille Heeren
Margaret Heeren



WESSEL HEEREN
OCT. 17, 1850
JAN. 19, 1929

MARRIED
12-16-73

GRACE VAN OSTERLOS
MARCH 42, 1853
FEB. 2, 1924

CHILDREN

MARRIED

JOHN JELLE DEC. 1875

EDITH WEEKS

MICHAEL G. MAY 14, 1877 - MARCH 12, 1898

JOHANN F. OCT. 17, 1878 - MARCH 4, 1898

DANIEL JUNE 23, 1880 3-14-06
FEB. 23, 1937

MINNIE HIGHSTREET
NOV. 4, 1882-JUL. 8, 1972

HERMAN JUNE 6, 1882

WINIFRED HAUSER

MARGARETHA L. FEB. 21, 1885 - JAN. 22, 1907

TILLIE NOV 18, 1886
AUG. 21, 1945

OCCO HARMS

WILLIAM OCT 31, 1896 3-17-16
JUL 4, 1963

MATTIE LUTTERMAN

WESSEL AND GRACE (VAN OSTERLOS) HEEREN.

JOHN JELLE AND EDITH (WEEKS) HEEREN

ROBERT HEEREN

MARY HEEREN

MICHAEL HEEREN

JOHANN "JOHN" HEEREN

DANIEL AND MINNIE (HIGHSTREET) HEEREN

WESLEY AND HELEN (WEELDRYER) HEEREN

ALFRED HEEREN

LUVERNE AND SOPHIA (WAGNER) HEEREN

MARGARET HEEREN

MARVIN HEEREN

LOUIS AND KATE (SYMENS) HEEREN

LUCILLE HEEREN

HERMAN AND WINIFRED (HAUSER) HEEREN

DUANE HEEREN

JOYCE AND JOSEPH DALE

ROBERT HEEREN

MAGGIE HEEREN

TILLIE AND OCCO HARMS

JOE AND KATE HARMS

WESLEY AND IRENE (RADLAFF) HARMS

MARGARET AND ROBERT YEAGER

CORNELIOUS AND IRENE (HAMMERSTROM) HARMS

WILLIAM AND MATTIE (LUTTERMAN) HEEREN

MYRA AND PHILL WACKENDORF

IDA AND GENE WILKENSON

John Jelle Heeren (1875-1941)

Wife: Edith Mary (Weeks) Heeren (1880-1956)

Son: Robert Heeren (died in infancy)

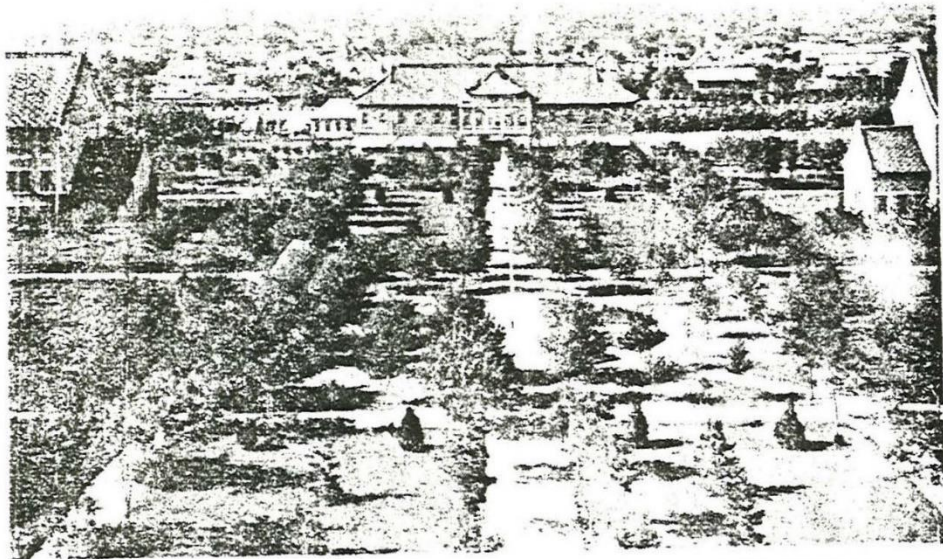
Daughter: Mary Grace Heeren (1914-1926)



The following pages are from the book "On the Shantung Front" written by John J. (Jelle) Heeren, a missionary to China. Dr. J. J. Heeren served in Tsinan, Province of Shantung, North China for 28 years. He received his training at Northwestern Academy at Orange City, Iowa and Grinnell College, Iowa and advanced work in Chicago. He also studied in Europe having received a Blackstone Fellowship. He wrote this book while on furlough in 1939. A year later he became ill and died Feb. 2, 1941. He was buried in his beloved China, where his infant son and daughter age 12 were also buried. John Heeren (better known here as Jelle) was your father's uncle - Dan Heeren's brother. He grew to manhood on the same farm your father did.



MAIN GATEWAY, CHEELOO UNIVERSITY



PANORAMA OF CHEELOO UNIVERSITY, TSINAN, CHINA

ON THE SHANTUNG FRONT

*A HISTORY of the SHANTUNG MISSION
of the*

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.
1861-1940

*in its Historical, Economic,
and Political Setting*

by

JOHN J. HEEREN

Professor of History

Cheeloo University

Tsinan, China

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of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the*
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of them.¹⁴ We need only refer to the Kiangsu-Chekiang war, the Chihli-Mukden war, the second Kiangsu war, and Sun Yat-sen's Northern Punitive Expedition.¹⁵

One of the results of this internecine strife was the alarming increase all over the country of banditry. The high water mark of this banditry was reached on May 6, 1923, when some bandits wrecked the Blue Express, the crack train of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, at Lincheng in southern Shantung, killed a male British subject, captured about 200 Chinese and twenty-six foreigners, both men and women.¹⁶ Although the foreign ladies were released in a day or two, fourteen men were taken to Pao Tzu-ku, a bandit stronghold in the surrounding hills. These men, of whom seven were American civilians and two American army officers, were not released until June 12.¹⁷ This "outrage" aroused intense indignation in foreign circles and the Diplomatic Body at Peking demanded among other things that T'ien Chung-yü, Governor of Shantung, be summarily dismissed. The Governor was first dismissed and then promoted.¹⁸

Another result of this banditry and recurring civil wars was the coming to Shantung in April, 1925, as governor, of Chang Tsung-ch'ang,¹⁹ an erstwhile bandit chieftain. For some three years he ruled the province with a heavy, ruthless, and despotic hand. The following is a picture, penned by the writer, in 1928, of the governor's regime. "In order to get an adequate background we must begin with Chang Tsung-ch'ang. For the masses of Shantung the regime of Tupan Chang was a nightmare. The past winter gave us an opportunity to see the ex-bandit in all his brutal callousness. Outside of the city walls were hundreds of tiny mat tents housing shivering and starving men, women, and children, the victims of famine and misgovernment. Nevertheless in his dance hall the Tupan gave banquets and held balls that suggested the times and scenes of Louis XIV at Versailles. Fine cut glass goblets and glasses for all kinds of liquors, \$40,000 worth of heavy silver Sheffield cutlery and expensive British made dinner sets adorned the little banquet tables.

¹⁴ It was estimated in 1923 that there were 1,404,000 men under arms. Cf. *China Year Book*, 1925, pp. 1191-1193.

¹⁵ *China Year Book*, 1925, pp. 1128-1134.

¹⁶ One of these women was Miss Lucy T. Aldrich, sister-in-law of J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. Cf. her fascinating article, describing her experiences, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1923, on "A Week-End with Chinese Bandits," pp. 672-686.

¹⁷ *The China Weekly Review*, June 2, 1923, p. 3.

¹⁸ *China Year Book*, 1924, pp. 818-829; also *The China Weekly Review*, June 2, 1923, pp. 2-4; *Ibid.*, June 9, 1923, pp. 35, 36, 37; *China Mission Year*, 1924, pp. 9, 23.

¹⁹ *China Year Book*, 1925, p. 1221. Cf. also Holcombe, *The Chinese Revolution*:

The finest foreign upholstered furniture, graceful bronze statuettes, well selected European pictures, life-size paintings of Chang Tsung-ch'ang and his ex-bandit chief, Chang Tso-lin, expensive wall paper and costly foreign draperies gave an air of grace and beauty. While thousands of his subjects froze and starved, the Tupan with his score and a half of concubines was kept comfortably warm by a foreign heating plant costing \$50,000. On March 3 the writer attended the last and the most elaborate of these feasts of Belshazzar. Then at the end of April the old regime collapsed, and the masses of Shantung began to sing in their own Chinese fashion a 'Te Deum'.²⁰

2—Missionary and Religious

As compared with the general, and especially the political confusion, the missionary and religious situation was a stabilizing influence and to some it seemed that the church alone enjoyed some measure of security.²¹ In fact this was the very period in which the work, the financial outlay, and the size of the foreign personnel of the Shantung Presbyterian Mission reached "an all time high."

1—THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION AND THE MISSION

On the whole the Japanese in Shantung, during this period, did not interfere with missionary work, but in a few cases the Japanese military showed its hand in mission-school affairs. On April 28, 1919, eight Japanese gendarmes raided the office of the Hugh O'Neill Presbyterian Middle School at Tsingtao, and arrested Wang Shou-ch'ing, the principal. After a hearing Mr. Wang, on the alleged ground of distributing literature urging a boycott of Japanese goods, was banished from Tsingtao for three years.²² In Tsinan, on July 1, 1919, Japanese consular police arrested Wang Chih-ch'ien, a Cheeloo University student, for persuading some Chinese barrow-men from hauling flour for Chinese merchants selling goods to the Japanese. After having been detained for twelve hours, Mr. Wang was released. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that there were Christian Japanese. In Tsingtao there were at this time two Protestant congre-

²⁰ *China Weekly Review*, June 23, 1928, pp. 129, 130.

²¹ *China Mission Year Book*, 1925, pp. 61, 62.

²² As a result of this affair the Mission's Executive Committee passed an action asking The Board of Foreign Missions, "through the China Council," to dispose of the Mission's Tsingtao property and to relocate the station at some point on the Shantung Railway "outside of Japanese territory." The "station force" in the meantime, to be accommodated at Weihsien. Cf. *Shantung Mission Minutes*, 1919, p. 74. The station, however, was never relocated.

gations, one a Presbyterian and the other a Congregational, with regular pastors.

2—1919: THE NORTH CHINA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The early years of this post-war period saw the beginning of what has developed into the North China Theological Seminary, now located at Tenghsien. Due to national, theological, personal, and administrative difficulties which arose after the three schools (Arts and Science, Theology, and Medicine) were all brought together on a common campus at Tsinan, eighteen Presbyterian theological students together with Dr. Watson M. Hayes left Shantung Christian University (now Cheeloo). Dr. Hayes and the Presbyterian students resumed their theological studies, in September, 1919, on the Presbyterian mission compound at Weihsien, where in January, 1920, eight of the men graduated.²³

In its December, 1919, meeting the Mission's Executive Committee authorized the continuation of this Theological Class at Weihsien until June, 1920, and left the future of his work to the decision of a special meeting of the Mission Council.²⁴ At a meeting at Weihsien on March 12, 1920, the Provisional Board of the Shantung Theological Seminary (the name was later changed) defined the purpose of the projected school as follows:

"First, To teach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church as found in the Word of God.

"Second, To emphasize the Bible as the only sufficient rule of faith and practice.

"Third, To preserve conservative teaching with regard to Theology, Biblical criticism, and Exegesis.

"Fourth, To lay emphasis on the spiritual phase of Christian life and service.

"Fifth, To give training in the various forms of Christian work.

"Sixth, The Seminary is to be mainly under the control of the Chinese Church."²⁵

As a member of a committee of five, appointed by the Mission, Dr. J. A. Fitch wrote to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, among other things: 1) "There is a widespread desire on the part of the Chinese, amounting to a demand, for an increasing participation in the direction and control of all matters connected with Christian work throughout China." 2) "Another big reason for wanting

²³ *Shantung Mission Minutes*, 1934, p. 72.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1920, p. V.

²⁵ *Unpublished Minutes of the Provisional Board of Directors of the Shantung Theological Seminary*, 1920, p. 1; *Shantung Mission Minutes*, 1920, p. XXV.

Alleging that the Chinese troops were out of hand and that the situation was dangerous for their nationals, the Japanese military authorities, on the morning of May 7, demanded that all Chinese troops within the city should leave within twelve hours and that none should come within a radius of twenty *li* from Tsinan.²⁶ When this ultimatum was not promptly and completely complied with, the Japanese on May 8,²⁷ started to clear out the remaining Chinese forces, and with that in view, on the ninth and the tenth they shelled the gates of the city. After severe fighting on the wall in the northwest part of the native city, early on the morning of the eleventh the Chinese troops still within the town evacuated.²⁸ The provincial government was now

²⁶ *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May 2, 1928, p. 9; May 10, p. 10.

²⁷ Upon the request of the foreign consuls in Tsinan the Japanese arranged to have an international train leave Tsinan for Tsingtao at 2 A. M. on the morning of the 8th. The train flew an American and a British flag crossed in front of the engine, and the locomotive was manned by a Japanese crew. There were on board in all 17 Americans, 4 British, 1 French, 1 Italian, and several Germans. Of the Presbyterians in Tsinan all the ladies and children were evacuated, although some had left before the sending of this train. Cf. *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May 10, 1928, p. 9.

On the morning of the 9th Edwin F. Stanton, American Consul, and a Japanese military officer, while Japanese artillery was hurling death and destruction at Tsinan's picturesque gates, took the writer in a car from the campus of Cheeloo University to the Kiao-Tsi Railway station to enable him to accompany his wife, Edith W. Heeren, who was escorting 47 Cheeloo University girl students to Tsingtao. These girls and their chaperon had been waiting at the station for 22 hours for their train to leave; when it did get off and passed along the city wall Nationalist soldiers on the wall fired at the train with the result that the glass was shot out of several doors and a bullet crashed through one of the compartments. On reaching the firing area we all promptly threw ourselves upon the floor of the car and thus escaped unscathed. With little to eat and drink, this University group reached Tsingtao shortly before midnight.

²⁸ As to the casualties suffered by both sides during this fighting at Tsinan, the reports are very conflicting and divergent. With reference to the losses of the Japanese, Amann's figures (pp. 62, 63) are probably fairly accurate; he gives, 60 soldiers killed and 143 wounded; 13 civilians killed, 9 injured (among them 4 women); 28 missing and ¥ 350,000 damage to Japanese property. Cf. also *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May 12, 1928, p. 9; May 14, p. 9; May 15, p. 10; May 25, p. 15.

The Chinese seem to have had anywhere from 1,000 to 1,500 killed. A Japanese report claimed that 1,045 Chinese were killed and that the "total killed and wounded must be about 4,000" (Cf. *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May 25, 1928, p. 15). On the other hand the *China Year Book* gives the following figures for the Chinese losses:

Casualties	Persons
Killed	17,000
Wounded	3,000
Captured	5,000
Missing	280
Damage to Property	
(a) Public	\$11,300,000
(b) Private	\$21,800,000

It is just possible that the "17,000" killed is a misprint for "1,700" killed; if not, the figure given represents a gross exaggeration. Cf. *China Year Book*, 1931-32, p. 600.

As already previously indicated the Northern Expedition of 1927 was halted in southern Shantung, but it was resumed the following spring. Although the Chinese generals did their best to protect foreigners and their property, they were not entirely successful.³ On April 16, 1928, Walter F. Seymour, M. D.,⁴ a member of the Tsining station, was killed on the mission's premises by Nationalist soldiers, and on April 29 Mrs. W. T. Hobart⁵ of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission at Taian was killed in her home by a shot fired by Chinese soldiers from the city wall. At this time the majority of the Presbyterian stations were again evacuated. Three days after the death of Dr. Seymour, Mrs. Seymour, Rev. C. M. Eames, and Miss Mary J. Stewart left Tsining by military train and came out to the coast by way of Shanghai. Tenghsien, Weihsien, and Tengchow were also entirely evacuated, and Tsinan partly so. Conditions in Shantung were disturbed and banditry was rife. In large areas of southern Shantung country work was impracticable, if not impossible. The Yih sien station was still in a ruined condition from the ravages of the previous year, when the compound had been "looted and re-looted" and one of the foreign residences burned to the ground with the result that it was not until 1931 that foreign missionaries again permanently occupied the station. In the Ichow field conditions were but little better.⁶ In 1929 general conditions were similar, and a Chinese writer put it thus, "That bandits are all over the country—in Hupeh, in Hunan, in Shantung, in Chihli—is a fact that cannot be denied."⁷ In Shantung the situation did not really improve until General Han Fu-ch'ü became Chairman of the Provincial Government.⁸ By means of a firm hand, a liberal use of the firing squad, hundreds of miles of new roads, and a province-wide network of telephone wires he finally eliminated in Shantung the bandit curse.⁹

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937, a new situation arose, especially when these warlike operations approached the borders of the province. *To go or to stay* became a pressing per-

³ Cheeloo University still has the board with the order of General Chiang Kai-shek forbidding his soldiers to occupy the premises of the University.

⁴ *China Year Book*, 1929-30, p. 1179; *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May, 19, 1928, p. 12.

⁵ *Peking & Tientsin Times*, May 19, 1928, p. 12; *North China Star*, May, 13, 1929, p. 1.

⁶ *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. LIX, p. 132.

⁷ *China Weekly Review*, April 6, 1929, p. 253.

⁸ In 1930 during the Feng-Yen rebellion, and in 1932 during Han-Liu civil war in Shantung, some of the stations were temporarily evacuated.

⁹ *China Weekly Review*, October 1, 1932, p. 187.

sonal problem for each missionary.¹⁰ In the early months with the mission authorities discouraging the going into the interior and the United States consular officials advising evacuation to the coast of those still at their posts and eventual withdrawal of possibly all to Manila or even to the United States, many found themselves in the maelstrom of conflicting loyalties with the result that the "sticking to your job" theory won the day. None of the Presbyterian personnel went to Manila, although several went to the United States on antedated furloughs. This meant that not one of the Shantung stations was left at any time without one or more foreign missionaries. For some months, however, parents with children in Shantung remained at the coast.

Some Presbyterian property was damaged or destroyed, mostly in the country districts of Yihsien and Ichow, but the total amount of damages was not large. In accordance with the requests of the Japanese military authorities the foreign residences and the mission compounds had been clearly marked by means of American flags flown from flag poles or painted on the tops of roofs or on boards displayed

¹⁰ Missionaries have often been criticized both when they listened to consular advice and evacuated as well as when they refused to do so. In the light of such criticisms the following information may serve a useful purpose:

On March 17, 1927, a representative of the State Department stated to the Secretary of the International Missionary Council that "orders to withdraw can be issued only by American military authorities if in any emergency they should deem it necessary under martial law to compel an American to move." In other words, consuls cannot order but only advise. On September 22, 1927, *Board Letters to China Council*, No. 121, p. 23, stated that on August 17, 1927, the State Department had written to the Board to the following effect, "The Department has just received a telegram from the American Legation stating that it has received information indicating that a number of missionaries now in the United States are making tentative plans to return to the interior of China in the early autumn. In the opinion of the Legation and of the consular officers the risks involved in a return of missionaries to the interior are much the same under present circumstances as they have been during the past months, and they believe that when missionaries return to China, the representatives of their organizations there should first consult with and follow the advice of the American diplomatic and consular officers on the spot before the missionaries are sent back to their posts in the interior, and missions should defer sending representatives to those posts in the interior at which they cannot be afforded protection or from which they cannot be evacuated in case of necessity with safety and expedition.

"The Department would like to avail itself of your good offices to bring the foregoing to the attention of those mission organizations with which you are in touch and to urge that their representatives in China consult with the American diplomatic and consular officers and follow their advice in so far as possible in the matter of the return of missionaries and their families to particular posts." On October 29, 1930, the State Department reiterated its position.

The Board of Foreign Missions in New York takes the position that the Executive Committee of the Mission has the responsibility of deciding whether or not a station is to be abandoned, or evacuated. Cf. *Board Letters to China Council*, No. 158, pp. 6, 7; also *General Board Letter*, No. 23, pp. 1, 2.

at conspicuous places.¹¹ It is a rather remarkable record that up to the time of writing (March 1, 1940), with one exception¹² no Presbyterian missionary has been either killed or wounded.

2—1928-1930: *The Revived Anti-Christian Movement*

From the missionary point of view one of the most distressing movements of this period was the revived anti-Christian movement (see text, pp. 165-166). The earlier movements of this sort differed from the one in question. In the early days, and even to some extent at the time of the Boxer Movement, the hostility on the part of the masses rested in part on religious as well as on superstitious beliefs. The foreign religion was something that was not wanted in China. Did the mosques and the temples in their midst since time immemorial not meet all their spiritual needs? This feeling of hostility was somewhat akin to the opposition shown in conservative American communities to the coming into their midst of religious sects like the Mormons. Then there were the rumors that the foreigners used the eyes of orphaned Chinese children for medical purposes and the superstition that their two-story buildings disturbed the locality's "feng shui."¹³ All this made the ordinary man entertain unkind, if not hostile, feelings towards these dispensers of strange, exotic doctrines and these harbingers of new, disturbing, and unwonted customs and innovations.

At this time, as well as during the previous decade, the movement was distinctly anti-religious, as well as antiforeign¹⁴ and meant to be

¹¹ At the time of writing (March 1, 1940) all the cities of the province in which the Presbyterian mission stations are situated are occupied by the Japanese.

¹² This exception is Dr. Frederick G. Scovel, Superintendent of the Bachman-Hunter Hospital, at Tsining, who was shot on June 2, 1938, by a drunken Japanese soldier on the hospital grounds. Fortunately, the wound on the right side of the abdomen did not involve any "internal organs," and Dr. Scovel fully recovered in the course of some weeks. Cf. *Confidential Report*.

¹³ This is the theory that the outward and visible signs of the celestial Yang and Yin affect both the living and the dead, and it behooves the living to be guided by the dictates of Yang and Yin. Any disturbance of the harmonious relationship of Yang and Yin will have disastrous consequences. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, article "Feng Shui," p. 175.

¹⁴ Most fiction published in China at that time had an antiforeign or an anti-Christian bias, sometimes both. In the early thirties one of the most popular books of fiction in the Cheeloo University Library was *Er Ma*, or *The Two Mas*. The book was evidently written to sell, but it gives one a good picture of what the students of that day were thinking and what sort of fiction they enjoyed. This novel's appeal lies largely in its veiled humor, wit, and sarcasm at the expense of the English. The two Mas, father and son, go to England with the approval of their retired missionary pastor, an Englishman, Rev. I.

"Rev. I was a missionary in China for more than 20 years. He knows everything about China, from ancient times until the present day. Although he does not speak

strictly scientific.¹⁵ Had not John Dewey and Bertrand Russell turned their intellectual gaze to Science! Since the students had listened with rapt attention to the American and British savants in the early twenties they had received an added stimulus from the Communists, led by Borodin. There is no doubt that the Russian Communists and their Chinese-Communist colleagues had great influence for a few years and their materialistic conception of life was avidly accepted by those who had come to believe, or professed to believe that science was the *summum bonum*.¹⁶ Thanks to the Russian Communists the Party now possessed an up-to-date and efficient method and technique of propaganda. In the wake of the Nationalist armies came the Propaganda Corps, composed mostly of young men and women, many of them students from missionary institutions. This Corps preached the doctrines of *nationalism*.

Although after the Nanking Incident the conservatives under the leadership of Chiang K'ai-shek had definitely broken off with the Hankow Government and had sent the Russian advisers back to Russia, the Russian-devised machinery with its methods and tech-

¹⁵ When Communism was at its height a foreign trained Chinese colleague of the writer contended that 80% of the current Chinese fiction either openly or covertly favored Communistic theories.

¹⁶ *China Weekly Review*, October 13, 1928, p. 217.

Chinese well, he is a walking encyclopaedia of things Chinese. When he cannot sleep at night, he always prays God that China may speedily become an English protectorate. He tells God with hot tears that if the Chinese are not governed by the English this crowd of yellow-skinned, black-haired people can never go to Heaven."

In London the Mas find several Chinese restaurants, the most popular and prosperous of which is the "Chuang Yuan Lou." The place was large and the food cheap; many gathered there day and night, not only Siamese, Japanese, and Indians to "fill up," but even poor English artists, red neck-tied Socialists, old, fat, curious ladies went there to sip tea and eat a bowl of rice and eggs. The artists and the Socialists went there because the restaurant recognized no national barriers and the old ladies went to get material for their talks. The manager was liked by the Socialists because he always said, "Me no like capitalism," and he was popular with the old ladies because in talking he always used "Me" instead of "I."

One day Paul, the son of Rev. I, and young Ma have a fight from which Ma emerges as victor. This makes Mrs. I very angry for "she thinks that the world is under England's foot—Hongkong, India, Egypt, and Africa are all her colonies or protectorates. Not only are the English proud themselves but they also want other races to recognize that they are vastly inferior. Mrs. I cannot bear the disgrace of having her son beaten by a Chinese."

Although in general the English despise the Chinese Rev. I approved of the Mas coming to London because the presence in England of two of his converts would prove to the people at home that "the missionaries in China do not only eat and loaf and draw a salary."

While *Er Ma* is essentially antiforeign, *Shang Ti ti Er Tze*, another popular novel of that day, is aggressively anti-Christian.

niques remained. Accordingly, when the Nationalist armies overran Shantung, or large parts of it, the Propaganda Corps came in their wake. Although their activities, if compared with the days when the propaganda was inspired by Hankow, had moderated, for the Shantungese—freed from the oppression of the ex-bandit, Chang Tsung-ch'ang—the coming of these apostles of nationalism, spreading their doctrines with ability and enthusiasm, seemed like the dawn of a new day. In Tsinan, due to the Japanese occupation, these doctrines could not be effectively disseminated until the middle of 1929. By the end of that year the anti-Christian propaganda was in full swing. On December 23, 1929, Order No. 9¹⁷ of the Tsinan Tangpu¹⁸ ordered that the coming Christmas Day should be spent in anti-Christian activities, since "Christianity is primarily the vanguard of cultural invasion of the imperialists; therefore it should be stamped out." This order was accompanied by enclosures I and II. Enclosure I¹⁹ consisted of sixteen anti-Christian slogans, such as:

- "3. Down with the Christian educational policy which turns the heads of our young people."
- "4. Take away the educational privileges of Christian schools."
- "5. Down with the Christians, a class of parasites!"
- "7. Down with the deceptive Christian morality!"
- "9. Those who sympathize with Christianity are undesirable members of the Chinese race and traitors to their country!"

Enclosure II contains nine "Principal Themes for the Anti-Christian Movement," the following of which are typical:

"5. Anti-Christian work should be looked at as a phase of Nationalism. Therefore, the anti-Christian movement is a part of the National Revolution. If our anti-Christian movement succeeds, the first defence line of Imperialism is broken down."

"7. The teachings of Christian morality are contradictory to the modern principle of progress."

¹⁷ The writer has in his private possession copies of this order and of the enclosures. Moreover, these are all stamped with the official Tangpu seal so that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to their authenticity. Cf. Eyewitness, *The Tang Pu's Attack on Shantung Christian University*, p. 7; also copies of *The Tsingtao Times* (Tsingtao, China) for March 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 (1930).

¹⁸ The "Tangpu" is the local party organization of the Kuomintang and corresponds to the political party committees in the United States: i.e., the provincial "Tangpu" is the equivalent of the State Committee of the Republican or the Democratic party at home.

¹⁹ Eyewitness, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

"December 12, 1929."

CHINESE KUOMINTANG,
SHANTUNG PROVINCE,
TSINAN CITY.
PARTY AFFAIRS RE-OR-
GANIZATION COMMITTEE,
PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

*Official Seal.*²⁰

At this same time the labor unions in the industrial centers of Shantung, like Tsingtao and Tsinan, began to "feel their oats" and injected an additional disturbing element into the situation. Not only did the radical elements intimidate those willing to work, but they even defied the orders of the governor of the province.²¹ In Tsinan these unruly elements induced the whole staff of manual workers in the Cheeloo University Hospital to strike,²² with the result that "For some days the foreign and Chinese nurses, foreign men and women of the University community, and the University medical students served as nurses, cooks, waiters, scrub women, messenger boys, firemen, and coolies. The brutal pickets interfered with everything."²³ Although the Kuomintang locals, the "tangpus," sought to utilize labor as a political weapon, the provincial authorities finally "cracked down" on the strikers and the situation slowly returned to something approaching normal.²⁴ After Han Fu-ch'ü became Chairman of the Provincial Government, or Governor, in the autumn of 1930, conditions became more and more stabilized. General Han never took kindly to the "Tangpu," and by a slow process of attrition he reduced its importance and influence until on September 1, 1935, he had all the locals in 107 counties of Shantung closed. This order left the Provincial "Tangpu" in Tsinan which, he intimated, could make itself useful

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

²¹ Provincial Government Order No. 43; Eyewitness, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²² "Trials of a Christian University," a series of four editorials which appeared in the *Peking & Tientsin Times* on January (1930) 23, p. 7; 24, p. 7; 25, p. 7 and 27, p. 5.

²³ Eyewitness, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁴ For 2 or 3 years labor strikes were a veritable plague. In 1926 in Shanghai alone there were 120 strikes involving 5,432 establishments and 213,966 men; in 1929, 111 strikes involving 1,512 establishments and 68,817 men. Cf. *China Year Book*, 1929-30, pp. 561, 562. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 514.

Consult files of *The Tsingtao Times* and the *Ta Kung Pao* from July, 1929, to April, 1930, for strikes in the Tsinan Post Office, the 4 match factories, the 6 Japanese cotton mills and the British Cigarette Company's factories in Tsingtao and the silk filatures in Ch'ang Shan.

Brother: Daniel M. Heeren
Sister: Matilda "Tillie" Heeren

247 Pingtonstr.
Tsingtau, Shantung, China
July 5, 1911.

Dear Brother and Sister:- I hope you are all well. I have been sick for about two weeks, but am getting better, although I have not been out of doors.

Crops around here seem to be good where they were not destroyed by hail. I think I left a book in your house when I packed my books. It is a History of various countries written in French; it is about an inch thick, and it is poorly bound - the cover is about ready to come off. Will you kindly see whether it is up stairs in Willie's old room or in his clothes' closet; or ask mother whether they have it in Lemox? If you should find it, please, send it to me by mail, for I wish to use it.

"Willie" is younger brother William F. Heeren
Mother is Grace (Van Osterloo) Heeren

Some day when you have time, write me a letter. How Herman Miller's arm; will it be alright again?

Love

Yours loving brother
J. J. Heeren.

John J. Heeren

Heeren family reunion, 1922, German Valley, IL
At the home of Emma Heeren and Angelina Heeren (probably Jan & Gepke Park's farmstead)



Row 1 (L to R)
Everette Laughlin
Emerson Cordes
Donald Cordes
George P Hayunga
Walter Genaut
(Mary Grace Heeren) Missionary daughter
Betty Laughlin
(daughter of Jelle & Ella Hayunga) Margaret Hayunga
Lauretta Van Oosterloo
Evelyn Wilhelms

Row 2 (L to R)
Many Miller
Wm Miller & Wallace Miller
Martin Benekas
Heye Heeren (son of Jelle & Taalke)
- Missionary + wife (Edith Heeren)
- from China (John J. Heeren)
Lawrence Van Oosterloo
- Fromson
- Meyer
Geo Hayunga Sr. (married Foskea Heeren)
Joseph Genaut
Maggie Callman
Ella Hayunga (married Jelle R. Hayunga)
Martha Benekas

Row 3 (L to R)
Edna Laughlin (daughter of Heye Heeren)
Frances Hayunga (daughter of Jelle & Ella Hayunga)
Angeline Heeren (daughter of Jell & Taalka)
Christina Heeren
Baby
Matilda Benekas
Louella Alberts (daughter of Heye Heeren)
- (baby Erma)
Amelia Van Oosterloo
Foskea Hayunga (daughter of Jelle & Taalka)
Johanna Genaut
Mrs Fromson
Mrs Meyer
Emma Heeren (daughter of Jelle & Taalka)
Laura Benekas
Ellie Ostendorf
Alta Wilhelms (daughter of Heye Heeren)
Fannie Cordes
Sophia ~~Benekas~~ Benekas
Crystal Heeren (daughter of Heye Heeren)

Row 4 (L to R)
Wilhelms + son
Attorney Laughlin
Alvin Heeren (son of Heye Heeren)
Clarence Benekas
Howard Alberts
Oliver Wilhelms
Ted Cordes - Lucille
Alvin Meyer
Marvin Benekas + son - Warren
Heye Ostendorf
Jelle R Hayunga (son of George & Foskea Hayunga)

Reunion at Heeren sisters farm home when
Missionary - his wife and small daughter
were home on furlough.
Probably around 1921
The daughter passed away a short time later.

DANIEL M. HEEREN
JUNE 23, 1880

MARRIED
3-14-08

MINNIE HIGHSTREET
11-04-82
07-08-72

CHILDREN

MARRIED

WESLEY F. AUG. 10, 1907
JAN. 3, 1987

3-20-31

HELEN WEELDRYER
MAR 31, 1904

ALFRED A. FEB 23, 1909 - DEC. 30, 1918

LUVERNE L. MAR 13, 1911

11-23-44

SOPHIA M WAGNER
5-3-17

MARVIN E MAR. 16, 1914 - MAY 14, 1914

MARGARET SEP. 7, 1915

LOUIS A. MAR. 19, 1917

3-21-45

KATE V SYMENS
9-1-22

LUCILLE OCT. 2, 1925

FREDRICK AND SOPHIE HIGHSTREET ("Hoogestraat")

DICK AND DOROTHY HOOGESTRAAT

FRED AND LORNA (CUNNINGHAM) HOOGESTRAAT

SILVIA AND GEORGE HENDRICKS

BEN AND MABLE (GADE) HOOGESTRAAT

SIEFRIED AND WINEFRED (HAMMILL) HOOGESTRAAT

STENA AND WILL MC COY

MARVIN MC COY

ALICE AND JOHN ELKER

ELINOR AND RUBIN HAAR

MINNIE AND DANIEL HEEREN

WESLEY AND HELEN (WEELDRYER) HEEREN

ALFRED HEEREN

LIVERNE AND SOPHIA (WAGNER) HEEREN

MARVIN HEEREN

MARGARET HEEREN

LOUIS AND KATE (SYMENS) HEEREN

LUCILLE HEEREN

PAULINE AND WILLIAM JACOBS MARRIED 2-28-1906
12-29-84 1883
12-16-41 1946

CLARENCE AND ELTA (STRUCK) JACOBS

ART AND FLORENCE (DAVIS) JACOBS
4-18-09
8-78

HAROLD AND LILLIAN (DE NEUI) JACOBS

VERNON AND MARGARET (LARSON) JACOBS

LAWRENCE AND CARRIE (MURRA) JACOBS

WILFRED AND LANORE (MURRA) JACOBS

CRISTINE AND ART NELSON

WESLEY F. HEEREN
AUG 8, 1907

MARRIED
3-20-31

HELEN WEELDRYER
MAR 31, 1904

CHILDREN

DONA L. 1933

4-5-60

ROBERT E. JOHNSON

DUANE D. 1935

2-16-57

VERLA L OTTEN

NORMA J. 1936

6-6-61

RUSSELL PETERS

KENNETH L. 1941

HARRIET MEYER
1940

LUVERNE L HEEREN
MAR 13, 1911

MARRIED
11-3-44

SOPHIA M WAGNER
MAY 3, 1917

CHILDREN

GENE F 1946

6-3-67

LINDA B JOHNSON
1946

FAYE L 1954

6-9-73

JACK P DUBBELDE
1948

DON M 1955

10-10-80

CAROL A MILLER
1959

LOUIS A HEEREN
MAR 19, 1917

MARRIED
4-21-45

KATIE V SYMENS
SEP 01, 1922

CHILDREN

MARJEAN K 1949

WAYNE L 1954

LYNN A 1956

VERA M 1959