

Decentering the Status Quo

The Rhetorically Sanctioned Political Engagement of Groen van Prinsterer

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Abstract

In his strategic political positioning and engagement in the nineteenth century, Groen van Prinsterer looked towards both the past and the future. Rhetorically, he appealed to the past as a vindication of the truth and practicality of his anti-revolutionary position. He also expressed optimism for the success of his convictions and political goals in the future. This optimism was reflected in the confidence with which he engaged politically, despite experiencing numerous setbacks in his career. Relying on the phenomenological-narrative approach of David Carr, I highlight the motives and strategies behind Groen's political activity, and reveal that the past and the future in Groen's narrative provide the strategic framework for his rhetoric, and the basis for his activism. I accentuate how the emphasis of his narrative shifts away from the status quo and thus enables a type of political engagement that proved historically significant for the early consolidation of the Dutch constitutional democracy.

Keywords: anti-revolutionary, constitutional democracy, David Carr, Groen van Prinsterer, narrative

Introduction

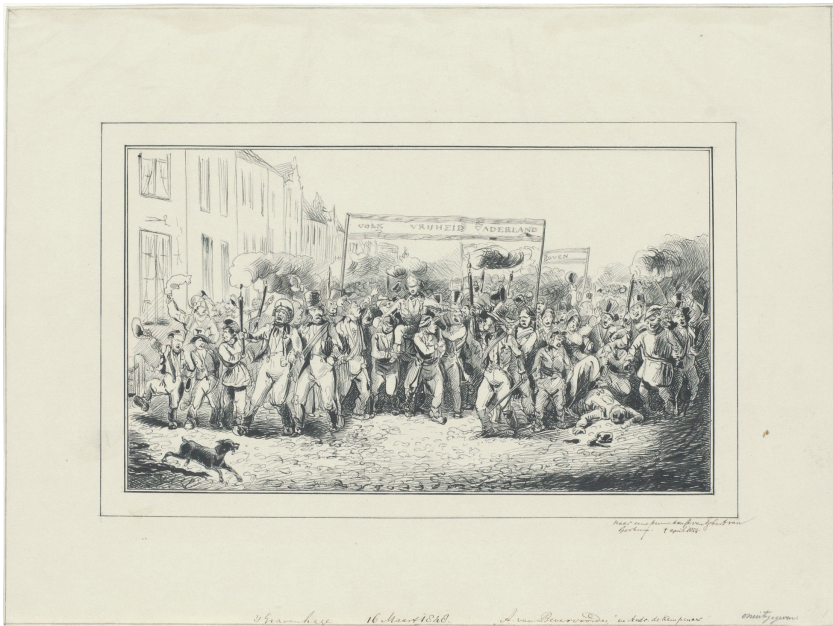
In the context of an increasingly liberal Dutch society, Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876), the anti-revolutionary statesman and historian, became famous as a socio-political activist for his dedication to conservative principles. Going against the tide, he polemicized against

the Enlightenment from an orthodox Protestant point of view. He argued that enlightenment ideas, as manifested in Dutch society, had a negative impact on the nation. Groen maintained that theories like the Social Contract and rationalistic notions of liberty, fraternity and equality were distortions of reality, and furthermore, were rooted in an epistemological rebellion against the authority of God as sovereign Creator and Lawgiver.¹ For Groen, the French Revolution was merely a political manifestation of an epistemological revolution – one that flew in the face of a divinely-ordained social order.² Groen's core socio-political message was that forsaking the supremacy of God's transcendent moral order, in favor of the supremacy of man's ability to determine the standards for societal and political norms, not only conflicted with divine law, but also led to anarchy from which government tyranny alone offered liberation.

Groen's worldview was largely shaped by his contact with the Réveil movement, led by the Swiss chaplain at the court of King Willem I (1772-1843) in Brussels, Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigne (1794-1872).³ In the early 1830s, Groen rose to prominence within the Dutch Réveil.⁴ The Réveil was a Calvinist and Methodist-inspired revivalist movement that emphasized believers' personal experiences of God, as well as the public, socio-political impact of the Christian religion.⁵

Groen's idea of a Christian state based on the Bible – indeed, his view of the historic development of the Dutch nation in particular – was rooted in a distinct historical perspective.⁶ Much of the literature that discusses Groen, interprets him as an ideological forebear of a Christian philosophy of history. However, these studies are marked by separating Groen's contribution as a historian from his exemplary work as a statesman. Even as they are separated, both aspects are presented as relevant to Dutch Christians. As appreciation for Groen's history-writing has declined in the late twentieth century, it is the disconnection of Groen-the-historian from Groen-the-statesman that has made this decline possible. In the exceptional cases where appreciation still exists, it is limited to his contributions to a distinctly Christian philosophy of history.⁷

This article proposes an integrated view of Groen's political and historical contributions. We emphasize that history-writing is a political act itself. This has implications for understanding the significance of Groen's political activity, particularly in light of the constitutional changes in the Netherlands after 1848. Using the phenomenological-narrative approach of the American philosopher of history, David Carr, we amplify the political



Political demonstration in The Hague, 1848, by J.C. Wendel, 1848.

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importance of the rhetorical strategies behind Groen's history writing, and highlight the historical significance of his political positioning and action.

In his 2014 work, *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World*, Carr emphasizes the rhetorical-narrative nature of nineteenth-century history writing as well as the implicit socio-political motives that underpin it. Carr accepts the postmodern emphasis on narrative, but rejects what he considers the postmodern reduction of narrative to fiction.⁸ For Carr, narrative is integral to all human experience.⁹ In spite of the distinctly Christian character of Groen's history writing, much like other prominent figures such as Hegel, he wrote in a way typical of the time. Carr describes it as,

a kind of discourse more appropriately compared with the political-rhetorical kind of story-telling (...) to [be] read (...) as [a] narrative whose role is neither cognitive nor aesthetic, but practical (...) not [merely] describing the history of mankind, but urging that it move in a certain direction.¹⁰

Carr does not argue that history writing is prescriptive rather than descriptive. Rather, he argues that history writing is a narrative re-description of

the past with a political-rhetorical purpose.¹¹ He emphasizes that the rhetorical-narrative nature of history writing is motivated by socio-political objectives, and goes on to describe the purpose behind philosophies of history as ‘mount[ing] a rhetorical and persuasive account that would help move [world history] toward a certain goal.’¹²

Carr proposes a retentional view of history, where the narrative – either consciously or unconsciously – provides meaning to the present and the future in light of the past.¹³ According to Carr’s narrative realist position, human experience only becomes meaningful when viewed as a narrative.¹⁴ Carr’s retentional view of history writing is analogous to a rally in tennis. A player’s position on court at any given moment is determined by all the preceding shots of the player and the opponent – and this ‘history’ is maintained in the mind as the framework for the immediate strategy, which is the upcoming shot in the present. The goal of course, is to win the point.

Citing Carr, the Dutch historian Herman Paul points out that many nineteenth-century Protestants in the Netherlands showed an interest in the philosophy of history. Paul explains that this was actually driven by their concerns regarding the future of Christianity in Europe.¹⁵ While Paul’s study focuses specifically on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the current article shows how, by using Carr’s emphasis on narrative, one can view Groen’s career as a practical mode of narrative existence. The central question for this article is then: What rhetorical-strategic role does the past and the future play in Groen van Prinsterer’s historical narrative and how do they shape his political position and engagement? Narrative has a practical function in history writing. Writing a narrative about the past lends itself to political engagement in the present, which in turn aims to shape the future. Looking at it in this way casts a new light on the historical significance of Groen’s political engagement.

Groen and the past

Groen’s historiography was teleologically rooted in his understanding of Genesis 3:15 as a prophecy of the Messianic victory of the seed of the woman (Christ) over the seed of the snake (the devil). For Groen, Christ’s redemptive work formed the focal point of history¹⁶ and the religious and epistemic battle between faith and unbelief formed the foundation.¹⁷ In

this sense Groen stood in the tradition of the church father Augustine and the medieval bishop Otto von Freising (1114-1158). Both viewed history as the battle between Christ and his church on the one side and the devil and evil on the other – a battle that would eventually lead to the glorification of Christ and his victory over evil.¹⁸ At the heart of Groen's anthropology and creation teleology was the paradigm of sin and redemption, human depravity and sinfulness.¹⁹ This paradigm underlies his historiography.

Groen's historiography was also shaped within the context of German Romanticism and nineteenth-century historians' appreciation for historically-developed common law.²⁰ Historians in this school of thought were essentially reacting to what they saw as the Enlightenment's disregard for the pedagogical value of history and here Groen found allies against a rationalist understanding of natural law. He valued the respect given to the wisdom of the ages as reflected in historically developed political relationships and structures.²¹

Van Vliet rightly notes that Groen's historiography was also shaped by a religious interpretation of history.²² This religious interpretation, however, must be understood not only in terms of the mere presence of doctrines concerning creation and providence in his historiography, but also in terms of how religion functioned as a rhetorical strategy in his historical narrative itself.

Groen's historical narrative polemicized against the epistemic and political 'revolution', which he said was 'opposed to history'. He explained that he did not mean that the revolution was not a historic reality, only that it was 'opposed to the essence of things and therefore opposed to (...) the historic development of humanity (...) as a fatal seed of confusion and dissolution'.²³ Groen used his historical narrative to prove the necessity and supremacy of his anti-revolutionary position, and to demonstrate the incompatibility between revolutionary ideas and the created and providentially governed social order.

Groen and the future

Groen's historical narrative proposed a covenantal understanding of Dutch history, a framework from which to view society, engage politically, and also to envision the future. His political position was grounded in his understanding of his present, awash in the light of the past, and standing in sight of the future. In his epistemological work, *Proeve over de*

middelen waardoor de waarheid wordt gekend en gestaafd (1834), Groen explained that he saw world history as ‘the wrapping of the development of the gospel It is, from a higher than earthly point of view, in reality, the straw in which the seed [of the gospel] is stewed to ripeness.’²⁴ To him world history formed a plot narrative that built to an eventual climax where the gospel conquered the earth. This narrative rhetorically sanctioned the centrality of the metaphysical battle between good and evil, and affirmed his call for political activism. At its root, Groen’s conviction was that an omnipotent God actively exercised his sovereignty over the flow of history.

Groen’s rhetorical appeals for political engagement reflected his emphasis on the future. Since God’s future victory was certain, Groen encouraged his anti-revolutionary followers to fight in spite of setbacks, which, in his narrative, were only temporary. The rhetorical value of Groen’s optimism about the future is evident in the concluding historical lecture from his magnum opus, *Ongeloof en revolutie*:

The Christian-historic principle also (...) directly leads to political triumph. The truth of a principle is also evidenced in application (...) taught and guided by experience and the eternally constant Word of Revelation, I proclaim the inalterability of truth, the forsaking of which leads to distortive ideas. In this regard the inability and depravity [of it] become clearer every day (...) Submission to truth is the only true practicality (...) Even now there lies in the free confession of your conviction the ability of which the outworking is known to Him alone who works all growth (...) Let us, in the midst of very small sacrifices to which we are called with dutifulness and self-denial, keep an eye on the progress made by the dominion of truth through witness (...) Faith conquers the world. To conquer the world it is necessary that we in our own conscience dethrone the concerns and take down every height which elevates itself against the knowledge of God and take every thought captive in obedience to Christ.²⁵

Groen described ‘the battle between [the kingdom of the Antichrist] and the kingdom of Christ [as the] struggle and contrast of our time.’²⁶ He urged his followers to engage politically. It was typical for nineteenth-century historians to use Biblical paradigms to position themselves in terms of an eschatological expectation.²⁷ Groen’s historical narrative was marked not only by romantic notions of the past, he envisioned the future as well, and it also played a vital rhetorical function. Groen was engaged in a battle with future eschatological implications

and he envisioned triumph for his side. The proclamation of a future victory with which he concluded the final lecture of *Ongeloof en revolutie* emphasized that anti-revolutionary principles were key to winning the battle. He stressed that this battle transcended the historical and political context of his audience, and declared that the future victory of the gospel would take place not only on Dutch soil, but around the world. He encouraged his audience to be instruments in the establishment of God's kingdom. His eschatological optimism was extraordinary for a member of the Dutch Réveil at the time.

In Christian theology there are three different eschatological paradigms, differing from one another mainly in terms of the way they view the millennium described in Revelation 20:1-6.²⁸ To understand the significance of the future in Groen's narrative, we briefly explain these three paradigms, known as amillennialism, premillennialism and postmillennialism. Amillennialism is the conviction that the resurrection of Christ initiated a thousand-year reign of peace (millennium). The 1000 years are symbolic in nature and refer to the period between Christ's resurrection and Second Coming. Some amillennialists also believe in a brief period of tribulation and persecution immediately preceding Christ's return. Premillennialists believe that a future era of peace will begin when Christ returns, and that Christ will reign for a literal 1000 years. Postmillennialists, on the one hand, are like premillennialists in that they believe in a future millennium. On the other hand, they resemble amillennialists, because they believe that the millennium occurs prior to the Second Coming of Christ and will not necessarily be a full one thousand years in length.²⁹ Amillennialism and premillennialism generally have a pessimistic view of the future of the church, and forecast persecution in the eschaton. Postmillennialists actually see the period preceding Christ's return as a golden age in world history, and regard it as a time in which Christendom prospers.

Amillennialism	+	Resurrection	Millennium	Second Coming		
Premillennialism	+	Resurrection	Time preceding Tribulation	Tribulation	Second Coming	Millennium
Postmillennialism	+	Resurrection	Time preceding Millennium	Millennium	Second Coming	

A comparison of the chronologies of the three main Christian eschatological views.

Image author

Within the Réveil in the Netherlands, the premillennialist view initially dominated.³⁰ Both Willem Bilderdijk, Groen's predecessor in the Réveil, and Isaac Da Costa, a Jewish convert to Christianity and leading figure of the Dutch Réveil during the 1820s, were premillennialists.³¹

Groen never set out his own systematic eschatological position, and it is difficult to place him firmly within one of the three schools of Christian eschatological thought.³² Literature on Groen is not much help either as this aspect of his thinking is rarely mentioned.³³ Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Groen dissented from the premillennialist position of Bilderdijk and Da Costa in two notable ways. First, he differed from their view that Christ's Second Coming would initiate the millennium. Instead, he maintained that the expansion of the church among all nations would occur prior to Christ's return.³⁴ Second, he did not share their pessimistic expectation of great tribulation or a rise of the antichrist in the future.³⁵ Groen advocated a classical preterist understanding of the prophecies. He held that with regard to the antichrist and great tribulation, most of these prophecies had already been fulfilled in the first century A.D.³⁶

Da Costa urged Groen to turn towards Jerusalem in expectation of the conversion of the Jewish nation as a prelude to the Second Coming of Christ and the millennium. Groen, however, sustained the belief that Israel's redemption would be postponed until the gospel had sanctified all the nations of the earth.³⁷

The interplay between past, present and future in Groen's narrative

Groen was introduced to the works of the German Lutheran historian August Neander (1789-1850) by Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigne, a prominent church historian in his own right. Neander and d'Aubigne would have a decisive impact on Groen's work as a historian. For example, Groen's central theme of intrinsic connection between Europe's historic blessings and European Christendom was largely inherited from d'Aubigne.³⁸ D'Aubigne's characteristic polemical stance against the Enlightenment can be traced back to Neander. Neander purposefully attempted to redeem history from what he viewed as the bonds of the Enlightenment.³⁹ Neander introduced his monumental work, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christliche Religion und Kirche* (1826), with the following words:

It shall be our purpose to trace, from the small mustard grain, through the course of past centuries, lying open for our inspection, the growth of that mighty tree [i.e. Christianity], which is destined to overshadow the earth, and under the branches of which all its nations are to find a safe habitation.⁴⁰

This introduction includes an optimistic expectation of Christianity flourishing on a global scale in the future. Implicit also is the political sentiment that all nations would be sanctified by Christianity. This recalls the Old Testamentic Zion-eschatology where all the nations are brought to the holy mountain under the Lordship of the Messiah.⁴¹ Prominent Postmillennialists of the nineteenth century, like the American Baptist theologian Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), picked up on this sentiment and expressly referred to Neander as the authority on whom he based his eschatological position.⁴²

The eschatological expectation expressed by Neander was connected to Anti-Enlightenment polemics. The Enlightenment philosophers of the eighteenth century advocated a more optimistic view of the human condition than was characteristic in Christian doctrine. This optimism found expression in the idea that an ideal society could be established here on earth through a radical revolution against the traditional social order. The goal was a utopia on the basis of the principles of liberty and equality. Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) vision, for example, was that of a kingdom of God established through ethical and socio-economic improvement of humanity. For Kant, however, it was not a Christocentric or messianic kingdom based on faith in redemption, but an anthropocentric kingdom based on the juridical and moral development of human reason.⁴³ Likewise, Rousseau's (1712-1778) social contract was to be the basis for true liberty and the redemption from all constraints on humanity.⁴⁴

Anti-Enlightenment historians like Neander countered the Enlightenment's anthropocentric optimism with a Christocentric optimism. They considered the Enlightenment to be radically at odds with Christianity's historical position on humanity's fallen nature.⁴⁵

In a 1834 letter to his former supervisor at Leiden University, Groen wrote of his appreciation for the work of Neander, saying he admired it much more than the ideas of his Réveil predecessor, Willem Bilderdijk.⁴⁶ In the second edition of *Ongeloof en revolutie*, Groen also positively references Neander's appeal for Christian societal and political engagement in the battle destined to shape the future.⁴⁷ The covenantal theme of Groen's historical narrative resembled that of Neander. For both, world history formed a plot building

up to the eventual climax: the gospel conquering the earth. Groen's narrative employed this rhetoric in his appeal for active socio-political engagement aimed at societal transformation. Given its historical context, Groen's optimism in the final lecture of his *Ongeloof en revolutie* is a surprising strategy choice. The anti-revolutionaries formed only a small minority at the time, and were strongly opposed by the majority of the population.

By the time Groen delivered his lectures on unbelief and revolution in 1846-7, his movement had not yet achieved any noteworthy political success. During the 1830s, after Belgium's secession during its revolution, Groen advocated the re-unification of the Netherlands and Flanders to no avail. In 1840, he opposed the constitutional revision accepted in the Netherlands, even while realizing the need for reform.⁴⁸ And in 1842, after a royal decree allowed for religious instruction in schools if it were acceptable to the majority of pupils and parents, Groen opposed the measure, knowing that in practice a very few objections would be enough to have religious classes cancelled altogether.⁴⁹

On ecclesiastical terrain there were also disappointments. In 1842 Groen authored a letter of objection to the general synod of the Dutch Reformed Church calling on the synod to take a more critical stance toward the liberal theology of the Groningen School and again his entreaty met with no success.⁵⁰

These setbacks give weight to Groen's emphasis on perseverance in the conclusion of his final lecture of *Ongeloof en revolutie*. It was, after all, in the immediate aftermath of repeated disappointments and his clearly limited impact on the country's politics that Groen launched this appeal. Nevertheless, he remained confident in the strength and inevitable victory of his political position.

Groen's optimism about the future is not at odds with what Smitskamp describes as Groen's theory of decline.⁵¹ Groen's pessimism about societal progress can only be understood in light of his rejection of Enlightenment liberalism. He did not absolutely reject a belief in human progress. He simply rejected the notion that Enlightenment principles were the basis of such progress.⁵²

The rhetorical appeal in the final lecture of *Ongeloof en revolutie* is tied to Groen's emphasis on the past and future as the framework within which one views the present. To him, the core battle raged not primarily in terms of the political discussion and agenda of his own day. He encouraged his audience to look beyond the status quo, to look both to the past and to the future. According to Groen, the Church of Christ, set within the context of world history itself, would eventually achieve victory and take Christendom



Portrait of Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, by Carel Christiaan Antony Last.
Image Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

to new heights. Furthermore, the believer did not have to passively endure defeat while awaiting the Second Coming of Christ. Groen conveyed the idea that any disappointment in the present was merely temporary and, though a battle may be lost, the war would eventually be won. This expectation of victory was not only transcendent, it was history itself, and provided the motive for anti-revolutionaries to be active in socio-political struggles in their own time and context. His call invited anti-revolutionaries to see themselves as fighters in a continuing battle – one where victory was

certain – and one that encompassed the history of the world. Their battle was no less than a way to fulfill their divine calling.

Highlighting the narrative and rhetorical character of Groen's historical and political engagement reveals that Groen made no hard distinction between past, present and future. His narrative orientation toward the future was shaped by his theological understanding of divine ordinance, by the way God the Creator shaped both reality and divine sovereignty, and by the way God the Ruler directed history. For Groen, this system guaranteed the failure of 'revolutionary' human projects, characterized as elevating the authority of humanity over that of God.⁵³

In this regard, Groen's narrative demonstrates a vital connection between the Old Testamentic covenantal curse-and-blessing paradigm and the manifestation of divine ordinances in history. To Groen, history provided numerous examples of the inescapability of this paradigm. Rebellion against the ordained social and natural order had inherent negative implications, while positive societal developments generally reflected their harmony with divine ordinance.⁵⁴ Groen rooted his appeal for a renewed application of Christian-historic principles in this covenantal paradigm, and it, in turn, gave him the confidence to call others to battle with the certainty of victory.⁵⁵ He was confident that revolutionary theories would be successfully resisted, and he was void of pessimism regarding his principles. His rhetoric at the end of *Ongeloof en revolutie* sanctioned optimism about the future, and also enabled him to constructively participate in political processes in a way that Da Costa and Bilderdijk could not.

Groen's constructive political engagement as sanctioned by his narrative rhetoric

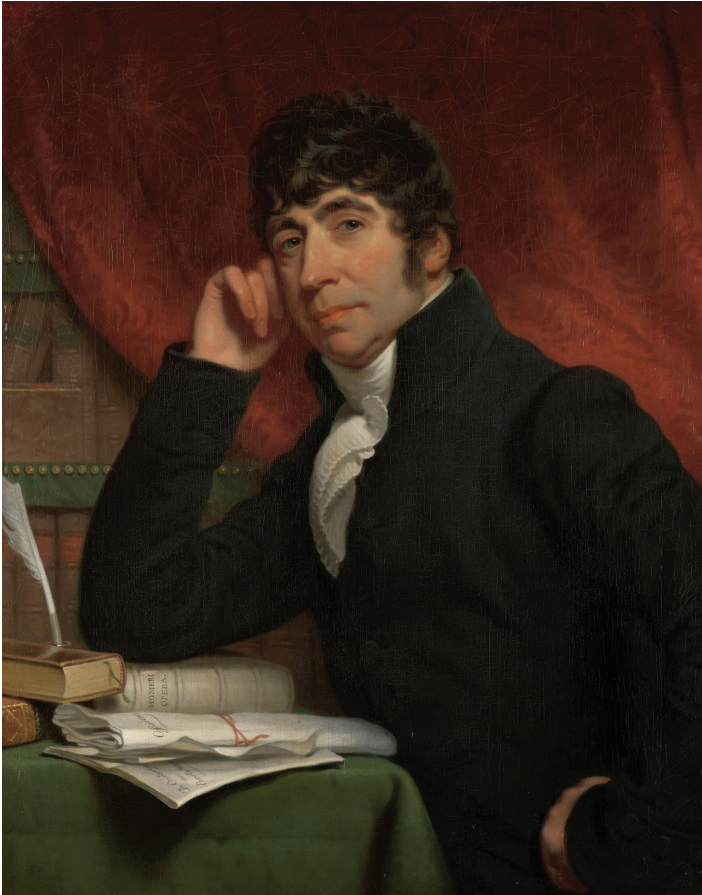
Groen, by virtue of his distinct narrative orientation toward the past and the future, moved the Réveil to a more eclectic and pragmatic anti-revolutionary position. In effect, he reformed the formerly counter-revolutionary tendencies of figures such as Bilderdijk and Da Costa. While his predecessors had rejected the idea of a constitutional state altogether, Groen saw room to actively engage in the fight for his principles within the context of the newly established Dutch Constitutional Democracy established in 1848.⁵⁶ This was, notably, not due to a liberalization of his own political ideas as many authors have claimed.⁵⁷ On the contrary, behind his constructive political engagement within the newly established political system, one finds

the distinct narrativized rhetorical strategies that sanctioned engagement. These strategies were particularly evident in his historically significant choice of non-intervention in 1856 when the king gave him the opportunity to call for radical political reforms.

Groen saw no value in embracing the Dutch King Willem III's (1817-1890) reactionary political suggestions. The king, displeased with the various cabinets put in place under the new constitutional democratic system, considered restructuring the entire political system yet again.⁵⁸ In a May 1856 letter, strategically sent to both Groen and the former minister of colonies, J.C. Baud (1789-1859), the King affirmed his agenda.⁵⁹ In Baud and Groen, the King thought he had the two most likely and influential allies to support his proposal to recast the political system.⁶⁰ For Groen, however, another constitutional revision would have made little difference in achieving his objectives; a change in the political system without a change of principles would merely pave the way for another (perhaps different) kind of revolution.⁶¹ Groen, even while expressing his opposition to some of the reforms that had been brought about by the 1848 constitutional revision, nevertheless acknowledged the reality of the new system.⁶² This, however, did not amount to a principled acceptance of the new system. Rather, it reflected Groen's conviction that structural political reforms did not address the heart of the problem and were ultimately irrelevant to his cause of the re-confessionalization of the Dutch nation.

Groen and Baud's rejection of the King's proposal brought an end to reactionary sentiments in the Netherlands. Still, the King continued to enjoy immense political influence, and political revolutions across Europe were by no means uncommon.⁶³ Groen's strategic, yet principled choice for non-intervention in 1856, played a significant historical role in solidifying the young and vulnerable Dutch constitutional democracy against reactionary political tendencies. As well, Groen's stand shaped the framework of the Dutch constitutional democracy so that it became one in which various contradictory political positions and principles could constructively engage. This laid the foundation for the Dutch political party system at a time when mainstream liberals were preoccupied with maintaining a 'homogeneous cabinet' without political parties. And finally, Groen's position pioneered a new path for the fruitful and constructive inclusion of orthodox Christian politics within the framework of a modern constitutional democracy – a framework that Groen himself would not have invented nor desired.⁶⁴

In contrast to many prominent figures within the Dutch Réveil whose romanticism and pessimism about both the present and the future drew



Portrait of Willem Bilderdijk, by Charles Howard Hodges, 1810.
Image Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

them to hold on to the *status quo ante*, Groen's confident and constructive political engagement, rooted in his historical narrative, led the formerly counter-revolutionary movement into a more eclectic anti-revolutionary position. The proof of Groen's legacy came shortly after his death with the founding of the Anti-Revolutionary Party in 1879. This was the world's first Christian democratic party and the first political party to be established in the Netherlands.⁶⁵ Groen's constructive political engagement had laid the foundation for Christian democratic politics in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

Groen's political engagement in the nineteenth century was narratively sanctioned by his rhetorical appeals to the past and to an envisioned future. Using Carr's narrative approach, we amplify the strategic interplay of past, present and future and its vital rhetorical function in sanctioning political engagement. Groen strategically decentered the status quo, moving his political position from the margins and overcoming significant disappointments. By looking to the past as vindication of the truth and practicality of his position, Groen could express optimism about the victorious battle he and his allies would fight in the future. This in turn sanctioned constructive engagement in the newly established constitutional democracy in the Netherlands – a system in fact, alien to his own designs. In contradistinction to his predecessors in the Réveil, like Da Costa and Bilderdijk, who desired a return to a romanticized past, Groen's engagement was characterized by a confidence in his narrative plot that spanned past, present and future. He rhetorically sanctioned his political position and constructive engagement with an appeal that included inevitable victory. By means of this narrativized political engagement, Groen played an important historical role in consolidating and shaping the Dutch constitutional democracy at a critical juncture in its early history.

Notes

- 1 Groen van Prinsterer, *Ongeloof en revolutie*, 77, 80, 213.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 28, 118.
- 3 Kuiper, 'Kerngroepvorming', 13.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 5 Buschart, *Exploring Protestant Traditions*, 92; Gäbler, 'Europese en Amerikaanse Réveil', 10-11; Janse, 'Réveil en Civil Society', 169.
- 6 Bijl, *Een Europese antirevolutionair*, 127.
- 7 Kuiper, *Uitzien na de zin*, 19.
- 8 Carr, *Experience and History*, xxi-xxii.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 112-113.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 129-130.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 121, 133.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 73-75.
- 15 Paul, 'Plaatsbepaling in de tijd', 11.
- 16 Groen, *Handboek*, 125.
- 17 Zwaan, *Theorie en Praktijk*, 85, 89.

- 18 Paul, 'A critical reappraisal', 72.
- 19 Van Dyke, 'Godfather', 74.
- 20 Van Vliet, *Groen van Prinsterers historische benadering*, 32.
- 21 Ibid., 32-33.
- 22 Ibid., 82.
- 23 Groen, *Grondwetsherziening*, 483: 'de Revolutie', 'tegen de Geschiedenis', 'tegen het wezen der dingen en dus (...) tegen de historische ontwikkeling der Menschheid (...) al seen noodlottige kiem van verwarring en ontbinding, gekant is.'
- 24 Ibid., *Beschouwingen over staats- en volkenrecht*, 144.
- 25 Ibid., *Ongeloof en Revolutie*, 385-387, 389. '[H]et christelijk-historische beginsel leidt ook (...) rechtstreeks naar politieke winst. De waarheid van een beginsel blijkt ook in een brede toepassing (...) door de ervaring en het eeuwig blijvende woord van de openbaring geleerd en geleid, beweer ik de onveranderlijkheid van waarheden. De verzaking daarvan leidt tot dwaalbegrippen. Hiervan valt het onvermogen en de verderfelijkheid dagelijks meer in het oog (...) Onderwerping aan de waarheid is de enige ware praktijk (...) Er ligt ook nu in de vrijmoedige belijdenis van uw overtuiging een vermogen waarvan de werking alleen bekend is aan Hem die de groei geeft (...) Laat ons bij de zeer geringe opofferingen waartoe wij vooralsnog geroepen worden tot plichtsbetrachting en zelfverloochening in het oog houden dat de heerschappij van de waarheid veld wint door getuigen (...) Het geloof overwint de wereld. Om de wereld te overwinnen is het nodig vooraf in ons eigen geweten de overwegingen te ontronen en elke hoogte die zich verheft tegen de kennis van God neer te halen en alle gedachten als gevangenen te leiden tot de gehoorzaamheid aan Christus.'
- 26 Groen, *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: bescheiden deel I en II*, 414: 'de strijd tusschen deze magt [het rijk van den antichrist] en het rijk van Christus is de worsteling en de tegenstelling van onzen tijd.'
- 27 Boersma, *Verhalen van moraal*, 35.
- 28 Ames, *The Realizationist View of Eschatology*, 33.
- 29 Saunders, 'Amillennialism', 4-5.
- 30 Kielman, *In het laatste der dagen*, 316.
- 31 Ibid., 317-319; Swierenga & Bruins, *Family Quarrels*, 33.
- 32 Kielman, *In het laatste der dagen*, 429-430.
- 33 When it is addressed, it is only done so very briefly. Cf. Mulder, *Staatsman en profeet*, 76-77; Dennison, 'Dutch Neo-Calvinism', 275; Van Vliet, *Groen van Prinsterers historische benadering*, 67; Van Dyke, 'Godfather', 95.
- 34 Da Costa, *Bijbellezingen*, 523; Groen van Prinsterer, *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: bescheiden deel I en II*, 46.
- 35 Groen van Prinsterer, *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: bescheiden deel I en II*, 49.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Groen van Prinsterer, *Brieven van mr. Isaac da Costa*, 25; Ibid., *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: bescheiden deel I en II*, 49.
- 38 Bijl, *Een Europese Antirevolutionair*, 195.
- 39 Van Schelven, 'Groen's denkbeelden over de reformatie', 78-79.
- 40 Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, 1: 'Es soll unsere Aufgabe sein, zu betrachten, wie aus dem kleinen Senfkorne im Laufe der geslossen von unsere Augen liegenden Jahrhunderte jener grosse Baum wurde, der die Erde zu überschatten bestimmt ist und unter dessen Zweigen aller Völker derselben eine sichere Wohnung finden sollen.'
- 41 Cf. e.g. Psalm 67 and Isaiah 60-63.
- 42 Dorrien, *Social Ethics*, 86.

- 43 Kant, *Die Religion*, 88-89, 92.
 44 Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 178.
 45 Dennison, 'Dutch Neo-Calvinism', 271.
 46 Groen, *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: briefwisseling 1808-1876*, 42.
 47 Groen, *Ongeloof en Revolutie* (2nd print), 401.
 48 Drentje, *Thorbecke*, 194.
 49 Van Vliet, *Groen van Prinsterers historische benadering*, 214-215.
 50 Kuiper, 'Tot een voorbeeld', 119. The Groningen School was a liberal theological position developed by theologians at the University of Groningen who rejected the historic Reformed confessions known as the Three Forms of Unity (Van Dyke, *Lectures*, 18-19).
 51 Smitskamp, *Groen van Prinsterer als historicus*, 38: 'vervalstheorie'.
 52 Groen van Prinsterer, *Ongeloof en Revolutie*, 227; Ibidem, *Grondwetsherziening*, 483.
 53 Schlebusch, *Strategic Narratives*, 136.
 54 Groen, *Ongeloof en Revolutie* (2nd print), xv.
 55 Groen, *Ongeloof en Revolutie*, 386-388.
 56 Van den Berg, 'Groen van Prinsterer en de Grondwet', 63-64; Te Velde and Willink, *De grondwet*, 27.
 57 Diepenhorst, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 319-322; Brants, *Groen's Geestelijke groei*, 140; Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing en bezinning*, 50; Zwaan, *Klassieke Oudheid*, 291-292; Kuiper, 'Tot een voorbeeld', 178; Sap, 'De angst voor revolutie', 29; Drentje, *Thorbecke*, 429; Bijl, *Een Europese antirevolutionair*, 364.
 58 Van der Meulen, *Koning Willem III*, 336-337.
 59 Den Haag, Nationaal Archief, *Archive of J.C. Baron Baud and relatives, (1585) 1804-1985*, inv. nr. 821, Papieren betrekkelijk het aanbod door den Koning aan Baud gedaan van het ministerie van koloniën in November 1855, en van het ministerie van buitenlandsche zaken en het voorzitterschap van den Raad van ministers in Junij 1856. 1855 November 12-1856, Juni 12, brief De Cock, 18 Mei 1856.
 60 Van der Meulen, *Koning Willem III*, 338.
 61 Groen van Prinsterer, *Onderwijswet*, 22.
 62 Ibid., 19-20.
 63 Van der Meulen, *Koning Willem III*, 338-340.
 64 Schlebusch, *Strategic Narratives*, 204.
 65 De Jong-Slagman, *Hofpredikers*, 247.

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