

# The Anti-Revolutionary Vanguard

The party cadre of the Anti-Revolutionary Party in the Netherlands, 1869-1888.



Remco Boer  
MPhil History: Political Culture and National Identities  
Leiden University  
July 2008

Supervisors:  
Prof. dr. H. te Velde (Leiden University)  
Prof. dr. G. Harinck (VU University Amsterdam)

Cover image title: The Anti-revolutionary distribution of parliamentary seats.

The caption below reads: Officer Kuyper (to the worker): "Be happy that you are allowed to stand in line with the gentlemen, now just be satisfied with your place."

Source: by socialist cartoonist Albert Hahn from *De Notenkraker* 1 June 1918, in Ben van Kaam, *Parade der Mannenbroeders. Flitsen uit het protestantse leven in Nederland in de jaren 1918-1938*. (Wageningen: Gebr. Zomer & Keuning 1964) 15.

<[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kaam001para01\\_01/index.htm](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kaam001para01_01/index.htm)> (4 July 2008).

LIST OF GRAPHS, FIGURES AND TABLES .....	4
<b>PREFACE.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>I - INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<i>Prior research</i> .....	8
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD.....	9
<i>Historical sociology</i> .....	9
<i>Units of Analysis</i> .....	10
<i>Questionnaires</i> .....	11
<i>Note on terminology</i> .....	12
<b>II - THE ARP: HISTORY AND ORGANISATION.....</b>	<b>13</b>
HISTORY OF THE ARP .....	13
<i>Prelude under Groen van Prinsterer</i> .....	13
<i>Kuyper towards the ARP</i> .....	15
<i>The ARP</i> .....	16
IDEOLOGY AND MISSION.....	18
<i>The ARP ideology</i> .....	18
<i>The cadre mission</i> .....	21
THE ORGANISATION OF THE ARP IN THE 1880's .....	24
<i>The Central Committee</i> .....	25
<i>Parliamentarian's Club</i> .....	26
<i>De Standaard</i> .....	26
<i>Meeting of Delegates</i> .....	28
<i>Electoral committees</i> .....	28
<i>Overview and interaction</i> .....	29
<b>III - THE ARP CADRE.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<i>Method</i> .....	32
A - SEX AND AGE.....	35
<i>Sex</i> .....	35
<i>Age</i> .....	36
B - GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN, RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION .....	37
<i>Geographic origin</i> .....	37
<i>Residence</i> .....	41
<i>Migration</i> .....	44
C - EDUCATION, PROFESSION AND SOCIAL CLASS .....	47
<i>Education</i> .....	47
<i>Profession</i> .....	51
<i>Class</i> .....	54
D - SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM .....	58
<i>Church membership</i> .....	58
<i>Moral, church and educational organisations</i> .....	61
<i>Political activities</i> .....	63
<i>ARP Activities</i> .....	66
CONCLUSION.....	69
<i>Ideal types</i> .....	69
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	71
<b>IV - THE ARP ELITE CADRE.....</b>	<b>73</b>
<i>Selection</i> .....	73
<i>Brief biographies</i> .....	74
SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND.....	76
<i>Age</i> .....	76
<i>Geographic origins and migration</i> .....	76
<i>Education, profession and class</i> .....	78
<i>Religion</i> .....	80
<i>Social and political activism</i> .....	81
CONCLUSION.....	83

<b>V - CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>LITERATURE .....</b>	<b>86</b>
<i>Archives</i> .....	86
<i>References</i> .....	86
<i>Published materials</i> .....	86
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>91</b>
APPENDIX A - ENGLISH-DUTCH DICTIONARY OF TERMS .....	91
APPENDIX B - THE QUESTIONNAIRE .....	92
APPENDIX C - ARP CADRE MEMBERS .....	94
APPENDIX D - DATA TABLES .....	95

## List of graphs, figures and tables

GRAPH 1 MEAN AGE OF ARP CADRE GROUPS IN 1879 .....	36
GRAPH 2 PLACE OF BIRTH ARP CADRE.....	38
GRAPH 3 PLACE OF BIRTH ARP CADRE AND POPULATION 1839. ....	39
GRAPH 4 PLACE OF BIRTH ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	41
GRAPH 5 PLACE OF RESIDENCE ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	42
GRAPH 6 LEVEL OF EDUCATION ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	48
GRAPH 7 TYPE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	49
GRAPH 8 UNIVERSITY LOCATION FOR ARP CADRE.....	50
GRAPH 9 PROFESSION OF ARP CADRE.....	52
GRAPH 10 TOP 5 PROFESSIONS OF THE ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	54
GRAPH 11 SOCIAL CLASS OF ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	56
GRAPH 12 CHURCH AFFILIATION ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	59
GRAPH 13 SUPPORT FOR DOLEANTIE AND GEREFORMEERDE KERKEN AMONG ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	60
GRAPH 14 MEMBERSHIP OF MORAL ORGANISATIONS, AND CHURCH AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS BEFORE 1878 FOR ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	62
GRAPH 15 MEMBERSHIP OF MORAL ORGANISATIONS, AND CHURCH AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS 1879-1888 FOR ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	63
GRAPH 16 POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF ARP CADRE GROUPS BEFORE 1879.....	65
GRAPH 17 POLITICAL FUNCTION OF ARP CADRE GROUPS 1879-1888.....	66
GRAPH 18 NUMBER OF POSITIONS IN ARP OCCUPIED BY ARP CADRE.....	67
GRAPH 19 PERCENTAGE OF ARP POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY CADRE GROUPS.....	68
GRAPH 20 PARTICIPATION IN MEETING OF DELEGATES BY ARP CADRE GROUPS.....	69
FIGURE 1 ORGANISATION OF THE ANTIREVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE 1880's.....	30
TABLE 1 NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN ARP CADRE GROUPS .....	34
TABLE 2 CROSSTABULATION OF PLACE OF BIRTH AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE.....	46
TABLE 3 CROSSTABULATION OF UNIVERSITY LOCATION AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.....	51
TABLE 4 ARP ELITE CADRE MEMBERS ACCORDING TO SELECTION CRITERIA.....	74

## **Preface**

It may be relevant to explain to the reader how this project came about and how it acquired its current form. Having previously been interested in political theories pertaining especially to liberalism and the critique thereof I was, while searching for a thesis subject, immediately intrigued by the political thought of Abraham Kuyper and the movement he led. At the time, my ambitions were still to pursue a career in academia and I envisioned my Masters thesis as a first step in that greater project. This thesis was thus meant as a means for me to explore the subject matter. Answering the question who the cadre members were thus seemed like a good starting point. Initially, the time period under consideration in this thesis was from 1869 to 1901 when Kuyper became Prime Minister and the ARP was firmly established in Dutch politics. In that time the ARP had grown significantly and had dealt with a major schism and the incorporation of the social-economic questions. Both of these may have been explained by the background of the cadre members and how the cadre changed over time. Quickly, however, it became evident that the sheer number of individuals involved and the overlapping time-periods greatly complicated matters and exceeded the scope of a thesis. I therefore decided to limit the time-period to only the first decade. This paper is thus doubly truncated; firstly because it was envisioned as the first step in a larger project and secondly due to practical considerations.

This is also an opportunity to thank those involved in the project. Firstly, thanks goes to Henk te Velde of Leiden University whose detailed commentary greatly improved the quality of the paper. Special thanks goes to George Harinck of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam who was enthusiastic about the project from the start and whose assistance went beyond what could have been expected.

## I - Introduction

---

It is amazing what elites can do, especially a well organised and cohesive minority that somehow manages to exert influence far beyond its numbers. This paper deals with such a minority: the early cadre of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) which in a relatively short period of time, from roughly 1869 until 1888, managed to successfully build-up the first Dutch political party and subsequently managed to stunt and divert Dutch political development.

The Netherlands was on the path to becoming a unified and centralised liberal nation-state but the coordinated assault on the liberal regime by the militant anti-revolutionaries halted this development. One historian wrote that the “Dutch Protestants have built up ... one of the most successful, and in many ways the most instructive political, economic, and social movements to be found anywhere in the Christian World.”<sup>1</sup> In order to gain some insight into these developments we can focus on the party cadre who built the party and orchestrated the assault on the liberal regime, and ask specifically *Who comprised the ARP cadre?* and subsequently, *Why was this so, and how does this aid our understanding of the ARP’s origin?*

Political developments are always the work of a handful of active individuals that take the initiative to organise and lead the masses. This elitist perspective on social change is as old as political writing and is affirmed in the work of Italian political scientist Gaetano Mosca. As Mosca writes, “In reality the dominion of an organized minority, obeying a single impulse, over the unorganised majority is inevitable. ... (In) addition to the great advantage accruing to them from the fact of being organised, ruling minorities are usually so constituted that the individuals who make them up are distinguished...by qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority...”<sup>2</sup> For Mosca, then, it is about distinctive individuals who get organised.

A vanguard of men fighting for a world of order and tradition existed in all ages and was reaffirmed by the counter-revolutionaries during the French Revolution. According to Joseph de Maistre, the restoration of the French monarchy would be the work of perhaps four

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael Fogarty, in Peters S. Heslam, *Creating a Christian Worldview: Abraham Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge and Carlisle: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and The Paternoster Press 1998) 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gaetano Mosca and Hannah D. Kahn (trans.) and Arthur Livingston (ed.) *The Ruling Class*. (McGraw-Hill 1939) 53.

or five men, relegating the population to the role of passive bystanders.<sup>3</sup> However, the models developed by the radical left in the twentieth century more coherently articulate what was happening in the ARP in the 1880's.

Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, especially, developed a notion of a hegemony confronted by an organised revolutionary vanguard. According to Gramsci, it was the task of a vanguard of men, organised in a political party, to “give coherence to the diffuse, often latent anger and despair of the toiling masses” and challenge the existing hegemony with a competing worldview.<sup>4</sup> The fundamental principles upheld by the party had to be cultivated, enabling it to function not so much as a means to an end but rather as the germ of a new society with a new consciousness.<sup>5</sup> The party, thus, had to create new ideas for a newly conscious segment of the population. The political party consisted of a large group of rank-and-file members and a small group of (intellectual) leaders who were bound together by the adherence to fundamental principles.<sup>6</sup>

Both Mosca and Gramsci stress the need for a minority to organise in order to gain influence and for Gramsci the political party is a crucial organisation in this process. French political scientist Maurice Duverger studied Western political parties in great detail and observed that in all political parties, power is oligarchic despite a democratic façade.<sup>7</sup> Duverger further emphasised that the origins of the party greatly influence the structure of the party and its subsequent development which makes the first years of particular interest.

By pulling these theories together we get a perspective of an aggrieved minority organising themselves into a political party in order to challenge the ruling hegemony. The party leads the masses, and the party itself is led by a small group of active men. It is this group that is the focus of this study and it is the sociological background of this group that can tell us more about the development of the ARP.

The analyses of both Duverger and Dutch political scientist Ruud Koole indicate that the ARP came from outside the establishment and the recalcitrant tone of the anti-revolutionaries support this notion.<sup>8</sup> In addition, seeing that the effects of political and

---

<sup>3</sup> Joseph de Maistre and Roeland Audenaerde (trans.) *De Satanische Revolutie*. (Soesterberg: Aspect 2003 (1796)) 141.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987) 137.

<sup>5</sup> Femia, *Gramsci's*, 155-156.

<sup>6</sup> Femia, *Gramsci's*, 152-153.

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Duverger and Barbara North and Robert North (trans.), *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. (London and New York: Methuen & Co and John Wiley & Sons 1954 (1951)) 133.

<sup>8</sup> Duverger, *Political Parties*, xxxiv, xxxi; Ruud Koole, *De opkomst van de moderne kaderpartij: Veranderende partijorganisatie in Nederland 1960-1990* (Utrecht: Aula 1992) 38.

economic modernisation coincided with the development of the anti-revolutionary movement appear to suggest that these are related. By studying their sociological background, I will test the hypothesis that the ARP cadre members came from outside the existing political structure and were negatively influenced by the political and economic modernisation.

### **Prior research**

Previous research on the ARP has been extensive. Numerous books, dissertations and articles have been written, both in Dutch and in English, on the ARP and its leader Abraham Kuyper. Recently, research into this field seems to have been reinvigorated, with a new biography of Kuyper published in 2006 and an up-to-date synthesis on the ARP published in 2001.<sup>9</sup> However, there are only three studies that focus specifically on the cadre of the ARP and all three are limited in scope.

Most recently Rienk Janssens' *De opbouw van de Antirevolutionaire Partij 1850-1888* tries to answer, among other questions, if the formation of the ARP in 1879 was the coalescence of a pre-existing cadre. He concludes that this was indeed the case but that after 1879 the party became increasingly centralised and top-down.<sup>10</sup> In the study Janssens claims that before 1870 the ARP cadre was predominantly aristocratic and he explicitly rejects the claim that they were the *kleine luyden*, or the common people, as the ARP itself had claimed.<sup>11</sup> How he came to this conclusion is, however, unclear. It is also unclear whether Janssens thinks that after 1870 this situation changed. Janssens made an in-depth analysis of the growth of the party in a number of electoral districts and presumably derived his conclusions based on his observations. Quantitative data is, however, lacking.

A second study that has attempted to answer questions on the ARP cadre is D. Th. Kuiper's *De Voormannen*. His research focused on tension among the elites within the 'reformed world' at the start of the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> The research question required him to analyse the reformed elites from 1820 onwards and he provides a great deal of quantitative data. Kuiper's focus is, however, on the reformed world as a whole, of which the political is only one segment. Kuiper treats this political segment as a single entity which is not subdivided into different positions, roles or organisations. Furthermore, upon examination of

---

<sup>9</sup> Jeroen Koch, *Abraham Kuyper: een biografie* (Amsterdam: Boom 2006); George Harinck, Roel Kuiper and Peter Bak (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Rienk Janssens, *De opbouw van de Antirevolutionaire Partij 1850-1888* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 323-324, 328.

<sup>11</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 328-329.

<sup>12</sup> D. Th. Kuiper, *De Voormannen: Een social-wetenschappelijke studie over ideologie, konflikt en kerngroepvorming binnen de gereformeerde wereld in Nederland tussen 1820 en 1930* (Meppel en Kampen: Boom en J.H. Kok 1972) 1.

the questionnaire in the appendix it becomes evident that Kuiper only considered members of parliament and cabinet members as relevant political actors, thereby ignoring the extra-parliamentary cadre.<sup>13</sup> Kuiper found the majority of the ARP elite to be aristocrats or members of the upper class and belonging to the *Hervormde Kerk*.<sup>14</sup>

The third study, *Herenmijterij* by Roel Kuiper, also concluded that the ARP cadre was predominantly aristocratic. The aim of the study was to describe the split of 1894 which Kuiper explains by means of the social conflict between the members of parliament and party leader Abraham Kuyper.<sup>15</sup> Again, however, the study only provides information on the ARP members of parliament and neglects the extra-parliamentary party cadre.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the limited quantitative data provided on the class and professions of the MPs included in the appendix is not used or even referred to in the argumentation.

In these three previous studies on the subject of the ARP cadre the focus is thus on either the local cadre or on the Members of Parliament with all three studies neglecting the extra-parliamentary national party cadre. Furthermore, none of the three studies provide adequate quantitative data on the party cadre basing conclusions on limited data or qualitative research. It is the intention of this study to rectify both gaps by providing quantitative data on the ARP party cadre.

## **Research Design and Method**

### **Historical sociology**

This study will take a sociological approach modelled on Max Weber's historical sociology that links empirical research on the individual with larger social structures. As Stephen Kalberg recounts, Weber perceived man's social existence as being complex in the extreme.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, Weber realised that groups of individuals act very similar in similar circumstances. Although all these individuals were making decisions of their own free will and were motivated by a host of different reasons, many of them were nonetheless making the same decisions and doing the same thing. When all those individual actions are taken together, one can discern certain patterns in their collective action.

---

<sup>13</sup> Kuiper, *De Voormannen*, 575.

<sup>14</sup> Kuiper, *De Voormannen*, 441.

<sup>15</sup> R. Kuiper, *Herenmijterij: Vernieuwing en sociaal conflict in de antirevolutionaire beweging, 1871-1894* (Leiden: J.J. Groen en Zoon 1994) 7-8.

<sup>16</sup> Kuiper, *Herenmijterij*, 97-98.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers 1994).

From these empirically observed patterns in the behaviour of groups of people, one can construct ideal types. Ideal types are a simplification and a conscious exaggeration of essential features of empirical reality into a unified concept. In other words, a group of people that behave in similar fashion can be grouped together under a common name. When these ideal types are linked to the social surroundings, one can use the ideal type as a tool for research and explain or make predictions about the behaviour or actions of these groups and the individuals that comprise these groups. It simplifies the study of an otherwise complex society. Weber's approach allows us to deal with the complex reality by utilising concepts such as 'the Calvinist' and 'the working class' for historical sociological research while upholding the link between observed empirical reality of individual actions with larger social structures. The construction of such an ideal type, or types, for the ARP cadre is one of the objectives of this study.

It is important to stress that an ideal type is a heuristic device, or a tool for study. Although it is derived from empirical reality, it is still a short-cut, a simplification and an exaggeration and must be treated as such. Furthermore, the ideal type is not static. If the empirical reality changes, due for example to the discovery of new evidence, then the ideal type must change. The ideal type is similarly dependent on the research question and the unit of analyses: in one study 'the Protestant' may be used while in another that group may be subdivided into 'the Calvinist and 'the Lutheran' or grouped together with 'the Roman Catholic' and called 'the Christian'. Furthermore, it should be realised that individuals may belong to many ideal types simultaneously, such as 'the Protestants', 'the reformed', 'the aristocrats', 'the Dutch'. Finally, although an individual is assigned to an ideal type based on empirical observations and following this we can make predications about his thought or behaviour, this does not always necessitate certain thought or behaviour. Cultural and social context create a predisposition but not a predetermination for certain thought and behaviour. Individuals remain capable of free thought.

### **Units of Analysis**

The focus of this study is the Anti-Revolutionary Party from the first signs of national organisation in 1869 until before the elections of 1888 after which the party headed their first coalition government. The time under investigation is thus the formation and beginning of the ARP. Within the ARP, the subject under investigation will be the party cadre that was active during the formal existence of the party from 1879 until 1888. The cadre is defined as those

members that occupy formal positions within party organisations. Determining which organisations belong to the party is explained in Part II.

The assumption is made that those that hold formal positions within the party are also the most influential and most active members. It is the intent of this study to investigate the cadre as a whole which includes elected representatives as well as those outside the electoral bodies, those at the national level as well as the local activists. The local activists posed significant problems, due foremost to their sheer number and the lack of sources. A sample of the local cadre was taken from Rienk Janssens' study.<sup>18</sup> The selection criteria for the cadre are further explained in Part III.

The cadre thus defined resulted in a list of 88 individuals. What quickly became evident was that most of these individuals fulfilled only a single role in the party and did not otherwise crop up in the sources. By contrast, a small sub-group in the party cadre occupied numerous positions and seemed to dominate the sources. Assuming more positions implied more influence, the initial list of cadre members could thus be shortened to a list of a handful of elite cadre members that truly drove the development of the party. Part IV explains this further.

## **Questionnaires**

The question of who this ARP cadre was asks not only to identify the individuals by name, but also to gather significant biographical information on these individuals. A questionnaire was composed seeking, for each individual, sociological information (gender, age, place of birth and residence, education, profession, social class, social class of father and church membership) as well as their role in society and politics (membership of moral, religious or educative organisation; First or Second Chamber of Parliament; Provincial Council; Municipal Council; Cabinet of Ministers; Provincial Legislature; and the Municipal Legislature) and within the ARP (period of membership, membership of Electoral Committee, Central Committee, *De Standaard*, participation in the Meeting of Delegates). The political activities were subdivided into two time periods: until 1878 or prior to the party's formation, and from 1879 until 1888 or the first nine years of the party's existence. See Appendix B for the questionnaire.

Answering this first research question on the identity of the cadre members required the selection of the individuals that comprised the ARP cadre and to fill in a questionnaire for

---

<sup>18</sup> Rienk Janssens, *De opbouw van de Antirevolutionaire Partij 1850-1888* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001).

each individual. A total of 88 individuals were selected and for each a questionnaire was filled in. See Appendix C for the full list of names. The analysis of the results is undertaken in Part III.

### **Note on terminology**

Writing in English on a Dutch subject adds the complication of translating terms. For political terminology I have relied on Andeweg and Irwin's *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*.<sup>19</sup> For Protestant terminology I have relied on the *Thesaurus of Protestant Terms* edited by Dagmare Houniet meant specifically for those writing on Dutch Protestantism of the nineteenth and twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> An extract of the thesaurus consisting of the terms used in this paper is included in Appendix A. Two terms that cause a great deal of confusion are 'Hervormd' and 'Gereformeerd' which both translate into English as 'reformed'. To avoid unnecessary confusion both terms have been used in the Dutch form, denoting the churches as 'Hervormde Kerk' and the 'Gereformeerde Kerken', with 'Kerk' meaning 'Church'.

---

<sup>19</sup> Rudy B Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin, *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Dagmare Houniet (ed.) "Thesaurus of Protestant Terms" <<http://www.hdc.vu.nl/hdc/Thesaurus.pdf>> (12 October 2007).

## II - The ARP: History and Organisation

---

In this part the development of the anti-revolutionary movement and the formation of the ARP will be discussed. Subsequently, the ARP's ideology and the mission of the cadre will be briefly examined. Finally, the organisational structure of the ARP in the first decade is outlined.

### History of the ARP

The nineteenth century was a time of great change for the Netherlands. The ideals of the French Revolution challenged existing conceptions of state and society and the Netherlands embarked on a process of centralisation that would span almost a century. Gradually, political power was centralised and secularised in an attempt to create a modern uniform nation-state. Halfway the century, industrialisation came to the Netherlands which impacted existing society structures immensely. Groups became increasingly mobile with the rigid class structure opening up allowing for more upward social mobility and changes in the labour market drove domestic migration and urbanisation.<sup>21</sup>

The nineteenth century was a time of great change which affected the Dutch population and one of the questions this paper hopes to answer is whether the ARP cadre members were affected by these changes.

### Prelude under Groen van Prinsterer

The anti-revolutionaries find their origin in the thought of poet Willem Bilderdijk who was an opponent of constitutions and popular sovereignty. For him, sovereignty lay with the king who answered only to God. One of his students was neophyte Isaäc da Costa, orthodox Jew turned orthodox Calvinist, who in 1823 published *Bezwaren tegen den geest der eeuw*, or *Objections Against the Spirit of the Age*. In the essay, Da Costa fulminated against the ideals of the Enlightenment. Da Costa and the other anti-revolutionaries strived against the ideals of the Enlightenment that were being put into practice in the Netherlands in the nineteenth

---

<sup>21</sup> Michael Wintle, *Pillars of Piety: Religion in the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century 1813-1901* (Hull University Press 1987); Zanden, Jan Luiten van and Riel, Arthur van, *Nederland 1780-1914: Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling*. (Uitgeverij Balans 2000); Rooy, Piet de, *Republiek van rivaliteiten: Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt 2005 (2002)).

century, but they did not reject all aspects of modernisation and would be some of the first to take full advantage of the advances of the modern world.

Both Bilderdijk and Da Costa set the stage for Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer who would become the long time leader of the anti-revolutionaries. The increased liberalisation of Dutch state and society, and specifically the acquiescence of the church to state power, bothered Groen as it did many others. In 1834 the Secession took place, where a group of orthodox Calvinists seceded from the state sponsored *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*. While those that seceded refrained from political activity, another group consisting mainly of aristocrats and other high-standing individuals remained within the church. The *Reveil* organised themselves in an intellectual movement and began publishing books and periodicals. Groen was among them.

In the late 1840's the anti-revolutionaries began to participate directly in politics. In 1847 Groen published his most well-known work, *Ongeloof en Revolutie, or Disbelief and Revolution*. In the book, Groen argues that the revolution in thought which rejected religious faith and divine authority could only end in tyranny. Only the Christian faith could lead to true liberty. Some interpreted the book as a call for political organisation, which indeed soon came underway.<sup>22</sup>

Groen saw the potential and necessity of organisations in coordinating the dispersed anti-revolutionary minority. He stood for election and in 1849 he became the first anti-revolutionary Member of Parliament, followed shortly after by Æneas Mackay. In 1850 Groen and Mackay began publishing their own newspaper, *De Nederlander*, and in 1851 the first local Electoral Committees were formed. However, the anti-revolutionary movement was soon met with conflict and apathy, and in 1855 the newspaper stopped publication. The movement stagnated.

It was only in 1869 that the anti-revolutionaries began organising in earnest. That year De Geer van Jutphaas united the anti-revolutionaries in a national electoral committee of which Groen became the honorary chairman.<sup>23</sup> It became an advisory committee offering advice to local Electoral Committees and to candidates. With only two representatives elected to parliament, the results were meagre. Then Abraham Kuyper took centre-stage.

---

<sup>22</sup> Arie van Deursen, 'Van antirevolutionaire richting naar antirevolutionaire partij 1829-1871' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001)11-52, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Deursen, 'Van antirevolutionaire', 44.

## **Kuyper towards the ARP**

Abraham Kuyper was a protestant minister who had studied theology at Leiden University and had led a congregation in the small rural town of Beesd. In that village, surrounded by the pious common folk, Kuyper had had a revelation and became an orthodox Calvinist. In conjunction with his personal conversion came a realisation of a Calvinist social theory. This would become his personal calling. In 1870, Kuyper transferred to Amsterdam and soon became politically active and began building up what would become the ARP.

Kuyper tried to organise for the elections of 1871. He had recently become the editor of the church weekly *De Heraut* and called a conference with the editors of similar publications in order to coordinate the electoral campaign. Kuyper had drafted a short party program that the other editors subscribed to. Although they were willing, they had difficulty coming to a consensus on which candidates to support. Of the three candidates supported by Groen neither Kuyper, Van Otterloo nor Keuchenius stood a serious chance of getting elected. Two candidates that had later also been endorsed were elected, but for Kuyper it was hardly a success. They had to organise. Responding to calls from the voters, and following his own conclusions, Kuyper drew up plans for a voter's league. Meanwhile, plans had also been made for a national daily newspaper and from April 1872 *De Standaard*, edited by Kuyper, commenced publication.

In May 1872 Rotterdam insurance salesman Jacob Voorhoeve Hzn. took the initiative for the Anti-School Law League which was aimed against attempts to secularise public education. The League was a great success, gathering support rapidly with 10,000 members and 95 local sections by the end of the year.<sup>24</sup> The League was a single-issue movement open to everyone, but Kuyper immediately saw the potential it had for organising the opposition and the anti-revolutionaries already dominated the League's executive council. For the parliamentary elections of 1873 the relationship was formalised when the executive council asked all local sections to cooperate with the anti-revolutionary Electoral Committees in supporting anti-revolutionary candidates. The campaign was a success. The number of votes doubled compared to two years earlier and new anti-revolutionaries were elected to Parliament, with Kuyper himself elected to Parliament a year later. The value of organisation had been amply demonstrated.

---

<sup>24</sup> Kuyper, *Herenmuiterij*, 28; Rienk Janssens, 'Antirevolutionaire organisatievorming 1871-1879' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 53-72, 56.

Kuyper continued his efforts to turn the League into a broad political organisation but was met with apathy and by the next elections in 1875 the League undertook little initiative to take part in the electoral process. Instead, for the 1875 elections, the Amsterdam Central Committee started placing ads in support of anti-revolutionary candidates nation wide. The Central Committee, of which Kuyper was also a member, had existed for a number of years but had previously undertaken very little. It now started collecting information on the electoral districts including lists of potential voters, what periodicals and organisations existed, who was represented in the municipal council and even topographical maps.<sup>25</sup> These were hopeful signs of serious organisation, but the death of Groen and a number of other prominent anti-revolutionaries caused the progress to stagnate. Successive elections were met with failure and once again the organisation had fizzled-out before it had gotten well under way.

Kuyper was persistent and late in 1877, after yet another unsuccessful election that had brought gains to the liberals, Kuyper drew up his party program. The program was not immediately accepted, the discussions dragged out and again it seemed that it would lead to nothing. Meanwhile, however, liberal Minister of Home Affairs Kappeyne van de Coppello drew up a piece of legislation on public education that proposed striking all funding for 'special', i.e. religious, education. The anti-revolutionaries quickly responded and decided to petition the King. They activated a national network of individuals and organisations, varying from church groups to protestant schools, press and electoral committees. In one week in July 1878 the network collected 305,000 signatures from Protestants and another 164,000 from Roman Catholics. This is an impressive amount when it is taken into account that there were only 100,000 voters at the time.<sup>26</sup> In August the petition was presented to the King, but was rejected. Despite failing to convince the King, the organisation had proven what a little organisation could achieve. Soon the anti-revolutionaries would establish their own political party.

### **The ARP**

In February of 1879 Kuyper published the last article in his series on the anti-revolutionary political program. On April 24<sup>th</sup> the first national meeting for the Electoral Committees was convened in Utrecht. At the Meeting of Delegates the Anti-Revolutionary Party was formally established. Kuyper was unanimously elected as chairman.

---

<sup>25</sup> Janssens, 'Antirevolutionarire', 66

<sup>26</sup> Hans Knippenberg and Ben de Pater, *De Eenwording van Nederland* (Nijmegen: Sun 1988) 154.

In June 1879 elections were held. Prior to the elections the newly formed party quickly set up local electoral committees to campaign in the elections. With twelve new Members of Parliament, the elections were a success.<sup>27</sup> However, conflicts quickly arose.

One serious source of conflict was between Kuyper and the Central Committee on the one hand and the Members of Parliament on the other. Kuyper wanted a centralised party structure where the Central Committee directed developments and enforced allegiance to the program of 1878. For Kuyper, the Members of Parliament were part of the party and they had to abide by party regulations. The Members of Parliament, in contrast, valued their independent position which the voter-mandate provided them and they wanted to conduct the business of politics through quiet debate with their peers.<sup>28</sup> A second point of conflict was between the left and the right, or the *gauche* and the *droite* as they were called. The *gauche*, to which Kuyper belonged, wanted to include the electorate as much as possible while those of the *droite* considered politics to be a matter for the upper classes, to which they themselves mostly belonged.<sup>29</sup> These two points of conflict would smoulder on, reinforce one another, and would finally lead to a schism in 1894.

The smouldering conflicts within the newly established party put a strain on Kuyper's leadership position as he increasingly became the object of criticism. At the Meeting of Delegates of 1885 where the representatives of the Electoral Committees gathered, Kuyper put the question to a vote. Unanimously but for one vote, Kuyper's vote, he was re-elected as chairman of the ARP. This sign of support solidified his position within the party and legitimised his methods and his course for the party.

The next year brought a schism in the church, the *Doleantie*, of which Kuyper was a direct cause. Since the last big church schism in 1830, the modernisation of the Hervormde Kerk had continued and discontent existed over the hierarchical church structure. In 1886 this simmering conflict came to the front when the Hervormde Kerk did not recognise the qualifications of the ministers trained at the orthodox Free University that had been established by Kuyper in 1880. A group of orthodox Calvinists, led by Kuyper, split off from the church. Kuyper wanted to keep church developments separate from party developments and continued to insist that the ARP was open to all denominations. In the short term at least the schism did not seem to affect the ARP.

---

<sup>27</sup> Rienk Janssens, 'Eenheid en verdeeldheid 1879-1894' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 73-92, 76.

<sup>28</sup> Janssens, 'Eenheid', 79-80

<sup>29</sup> Janssens, 'Eenheid', 80-81; Kuiper, *Herenmijterij*.

By 1888, the ARP had solidified. Kuyper was in control of the party and various minor altercations had purged the party of dissenters. The party organisation was expanded and the electoral campaigns were improved. The elections of 1888 brought success and the ARP was able to join its first coalition cabinet.

## **Ideology and Mission**

When trying to understand the ARP cadre, it is important to grasp the ideology that bound them together and the mission they were on. Party leader Abraham Kuyper was instrumental in the formation of both the ideology and the goals of the anti-revolutionaries as well as designating the strategy to achieve the goals.

### **The ARP ideology**

The anti-revolutionaries were, as the name suggests, against the political and social thought of the Enlightenment and the practices of the French Revolution. However, the ARP cannot be conceived as merely a protest movement, nor was it concerned with a return to the *ancien-régime* or to conserve the status quo. Instead, the anti-revolutionaries militantly strived for their own ideal: a Calvinist country where God ruled in all aspects of life, in society and in the state.

In this sense the name anti-revolutionary is somewhat of a misnomer, and counter-revolutionary would perhaps be more in place. While both the Greek ‘anti’ and the Latin ‘contra’ mean ‘against’, contra or counter-revolution has the added connotation of being a revolution in its own right over and above the previous one. The reason why the ARP adopted the label ‘anti-revolutionary’ instead of the more fitting ‘counter-revolutionary’ has to do with the historic association of the latter term with men like Bilderdijk who wished to return to an absolute monarchy and attempts by subsequent anti-revolutionaries Da Costa and Groen van Prinsterer to distinguish themselves from him. In Dutch thought, anti-revolutionary came to mean those that strived for an ideal that lay not behind them in an age before the French Revolution, but before them in a future yet to be made.<sup>30</sup> As Kuyper wrote, the ARP was a militant party that did not accept the existing order of things, criticised it, fought it and strived to change it.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Staaij, C.G. van der, ‘Contra-revolutionair en anti-revolutionair in de negentiende eeuw: hetzelfde en toch verschillend’, *Zicht* (1992-4) 165-173.

<sup>31</sup> Abraham Kuyper, *Ons Program, Derde druk*. (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser: 1892) 18.

The program of 1878 sets out the thought of the ARP. It was written by Kuyper and was publicly accepted by other prominent anti-revolutionaries. The program was sent to all the local electoral committees and in January 1878 was published in *De Standaard*. Between April 1878 and February 1879 *De Standaard* published Kuyper's explanation and clarification of the program that would later be published as a separate volume.<sup>32</sup>

The program opens with the assertion that the character of the Dutch people is Christian-historical with its roots in the Reformation and the Revolt against the Spanish in the sixteenth century and follows with the proposal to develop and adapt this identity to suit the new age. Kuyper recognised a multiplicity of strands, including the Roman Catholic and liberal, which together made up the Dutch national identity but argued that the Christian-historical was the most prevalent and enduring.<sup>33</sup>

For the ARP, sovereignty lay not with the will of the people or with the law, but sovereignty could only be found with God. This was true for all aspects of life including politics, and as Kuyper is quoted as saying "There is not a single inch of the whole terrain of our human existence over which Christ ... does not proclaim, 'Mine!'"<sup>34</sup> This does not mean that the clergy should become lawmakers or that the Bible should become law, but that the law be formulated by statesmen in accordance with their conscience after thorough study of the scripture. Religion thereby functions as a guide. A theocracy was thus not the objective and it is explicitly rejected by Kuyper.<sup>35</sup> For the ARP the state is neither a theocracy nor a neutral state but is rather a state with an explicitly Christian character.

The ARP supported the constitutional monarchy as established in 1848. This paradox is firstly clarified by Kuyper when he explains that as God is omnipotent and as history has shown, God rules through different means in different times, be it a Republic a Monarchy or a Democracy. Further, Kuyper notes, it is not so much the governing form that determines the wellbeing of a nation, but rather the character of the nation and the character of the men that lead it.<sup>36</sup> It is men of character, following principles, who represent the nation in parliament.<sup>37</sup> Kuyper's second reason to adhere to the constitution is in order to change it. He wants a constitution, not as an abstraction imposed by a king, but in the form of an agreement between

---

<sup>32</sup> Klinken, Gert van, *Actieve burgers: Nederlanders en hun politieke partijen 1870-1918* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek 2003) 118.

<sup>33</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 22-23.

<sup>34</sup> Heslam, *Creating*, i.

<sup>35</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program* 51, 47, 53.

<sup>36</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 109-113.

<sup>37</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 131.

a nation and its leaders. This constitution is unique to the character of the nation and thereby differs from the universalist abstraction of the liberal constitutions.

The nation, as Kuyper proposed it, is an organic unity whose' parts existed even before they were recognised as such.<sup>38</sup> Kuyper's nation, unlike the liberal conception, is not a monolithic whole but rather a sum of parts.<sup>39</sup> The nation can therefore not be ruled centrally, nor subdivided irrespective of historically grown regional cultural differences. To do so would violate the natural order and destroy precisely that which has given the nation its strength.<sup>40</sup> Decisions, therefore, have to be taken and implemented at the appropriate level. Some decisions need to be taken locally by the locals while others need to be taken at the national level, such as matter of the military and foreign affairs. Kuyper argues that only God is omnipotent and there are thus limits to the power of the state, the church and all other man-made organisations.<sup>41</sup> Each organisation only has power in a demarcated sphere of influence and cannot encroach upon another's sphere.

The electoral system proposed by the ARP differs significantly from that of the liberals, and the anti-revolutionaries would adjust it as time progressed. For the ARP, the most basic unit in the organic nation was not the individual but rather the family and the ARP proposed giving the head of each family the right to vote.<sup>42</sup> For the times, when only a small group of relatively affluent men could vote, this implied an expansion of the franchise to include poorer and uneducated men and indirectly also included woman and children. The elections would then proceed in three phases: first each head of the household would vote for representatives in a corporation or organisation which takes seats in the municipal council, then the municipal council would elect a representative to sit in the provincial council, and finally the provincial council would elect members of parliament.<sup>43</sup> For Kuyper, this system would ensure that the right men are elected and that the rights of minorities are ensured.<sup>44</sup>

For Kuyper and the ARP the relevant entities in a society are thus God, the nation and the family and the state is there to ensure these spheres endure while respecting their freedom and boundaries. The state must maintain honourable behaviour, must ensure the freedoms of Christian religion and must ensure the continuation of the nation by both guaranteeing security and sustaining cohesion.

---

<sup>38</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 61.

<sup>39</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 164.

<sup>40</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 168.

<sup>41</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 90-94.

<sup>42</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 199.

<sup>43</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 195.

<sup>44</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 206

The ARP program served as a constant around which a diverse group of people could be organised. Anti-revolutionary ideology was not limited to this text or to Kuyper as its only protagonist. The writings of Da Costa and Groen continued to be influential and activists such as De Savornin Lohman and Esser wrote articles, pamphlets and books. Anti-revolutionary thought changed over time, as Kuyper would tell the American audience in his last Stone lecture in 1898, the purpose was “not to copy the past, as if Calvinism were a petrification, but to go back to the living root... and cause it to bud and to blossom once more, now fully in accordance with our actual life in these modern times, and with the demands of the times to come.”<sup>45</sup>

These principles of God, nation and family were the cornerstones of anti-revolutionary thought and differed greatly from the individual and the state that formed the basic units in the liberal thought they fought against. As Groen and later Kuyper repeatedly stressed, elected representatives and leaders of the people needed to be guided by the right fundamental principles, and it was for these principles that the men of the ARP mobilised.

### **The cadre mission**

The ARP appealed to the masses by holding mass rallies and attempting to include the non-voters in the political process. But, at the forefront, leading the masses was a militant cadre utilising the all the means of the modern world to ignite the counter revolution.

From the onset, it should be clear that despite the bellicose terminology continually used by the anti-revolutionaries, for instance denoting the school law as an act of war and threatening with anti-revolutionary guerrillas or comparing the Meeting of Delegates with a military mobilisation, they eschewed violence and made use of legal methods only.<sup>46</sup> Kuyper explicitly rejected the use of violence or the staging of a coup in the ARP party program.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, none of the activities organised or supported by the ARP were violent. When a rowdy crowd at a meeting of the anti-revolutionary labour union Patrimonium suggested recruiting Dutch men to fight in *vrijkorpsen* in support of the Boers in South Africa in their war against the British, ARP Member of Parliament Beelaerts van Blokland calmed them down and firmly rejected the idea.<sup>48</sup> The ARP was against the reigning order and did not

---

<sup>45</sup> Kuyper, Abraham, *Lectures on Calvinism*. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company ? (1898)) 171.

<sup>46</sup> Koch, *Abraham*, 178; Gert van Klinken, ‘Gereformeerden per trein’ in: Kuiper, Dick and Vree, Jasper, *Het liep op rolletjes: De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail 1839-1939* (Zoetermeer: Meinema 2007) 117-140.

<sup>47</sup> Kuyper, *Ons Program*, 121.

<sup>48</sup> Kuiper, *Herenmuiterij*, 50.

comply with conventional thought or tactics, but they remained upstanding citizens struggling within the confines of the law.

The cadre leading the masses was referred to by Kuyper as *mannenbroeders*, or translated literally, men-brethren. It was a term denoting camaraderie and is derived from the *Staten* translation of the Bible, Acts 2:37. The Acts in the New Testament is about the establishment of the early Church by the Apostles and the term *mannenbroeders*, “men and brethren” in the English King James version, is exclaimed by an anxious crowd and directed at Saint Peter and the other Apostles. The crowd subsequently repents and is baptised. This term of camaraderie refers directly to the establishment of the early church and to the masses who are led into the church and salvation by the *mannenbroeders*, the apostles.

The ARP further identified themselves with groups of religious men in Protestants and Dutch Calvinists history who actively fought for their cause. The right of the righteous to resist is upheld by both Luther and Calvin, and in history especially exemplary is the Dutch war of independence where free Calvinist men fought the Spanish oppressors. Groen van Prinsterer used the term ‘Christian national resistance’, *Christelijk-nationalen weerstand*, and Kuyper-biographer Koch denoted the anti-revolutionaries, albeit sceptically, as a reformed *militia christi*.<sup>49</sup>

The cadre’s strategy was to engage the liberal establishment on all fronts, both within the confines of electoral politics as well as beyond. The ARP fielded candidates in elections and tried to gain influence in the national parliament. But the anti-revolutionary movement, of which the ARP was an important component, also opted for other means. One method was to influence public opinion.<sup>50</sup> The newspaper *De Standaard* played a crucial part, but also the anti-school law petition helped to motivate the non-voter population, the local electoral committees actively tried to get the non-voters interested in politics, and the Meetings of Delegates became a rallying point for enthusiastic ARP supporters. In addition, there was an almost proto-Gramscian attempt at a ‘march through the institutions’ in order to capture crucial positions in government and civil society.<sup>51</sup> Amsterdam’s Free University, founded by Kuyper one year after the founding of the ARP, played an important role in this plan by shaping the next generation of anti-revolutionaries, instilling in them anti-revolutionary thought and values, and sending them off into society.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Koch, *Abraham*, 110.

<sup>50</sup> Koch, *Abraham*, 118.

<sup>51</sup> Koch, *Abraham*, 60-6.

<sup>52</sup> A. T. van Deursen, *Een hoeksteen in het verzuild bestel: de Vrije Universiteit 1880-2005*. (Amsterdam: Bakker 2005) 11, 19, 76.

The methods the anti-revolutionaries used were modern, more modern than many other political organisations of the time. Early on, Groen already explicitly said he wanted to make use of the constitutional freedoms of press, petition, association and speech for the purpose of agitation.<sup>53</sup> The founding of the ARP was a novel act in itself as it was the first political party in the Netherlands. Novel, if not revolutionary, were also the writing of a party program, the forging of the ARP's parliamentary group, connecting the once autonomous local Electoral Committees, mounting increasingly sophisticated electoral campaigns, staging mass gatherings in the form of the Meetings of Delegates, and starting one's own media.

Their tactics were modern and their objective was a society very different from the liberal society coming into being in the nineteenth century. The ARP played a crucial part in mobilising and organising the masses. The party was led by a number of key individuals, the ARP cadre, who are the subject of this paper.

---

<sup>53</sup> Klinken, *Actieve burgers*, 48.

## The organisation of the ARP in the 1880's

In the 1880's the ARP was still very much under development. The party had been formally established in 1879, but the various organisations that comprised the party had existed before and the party grew out of a pre-existing anti-revolutionary social movement.<sup>54</sup> This gradual emergence from a pre-existing social movement makes determining the precise demarcations between the party and other affiliated organisations difficult. The relevant distinction between organisations belonging to the party and those belonging to the movement is one of tactic.

The party organisations are here defined as those that contest elections or actively engage in the electoral process. This allows us to place a number of organisations beyond the boundaries of the political party. One such organisation is the labour union *Patrimonium*, which was established in 1876. Although many ARP members and politicians were associated with the labour union and spoke at its events, it was a separate organisation with different aims. Also the Free University, founded by ARP leader Abraham Kuyper in 1880, is a distinct organisation. The university's faculty was almost exclusively comprised of ARP cadre members, such as Kuyper, D.P.D. Fabius and Savornin Lohman, but the university did not concern itself with electoral politics. Also, the education organisations aimed against the School Law, from which many of the Electoral Committees sprang, or those that established and maintained Protestant schools did not engage in electoral politics. Finally, also various church organisations and the newspaper *De Heraut*, which was aimed at church and religious affairs, fall beyond the party organisation despite an overlapping membership.

The Anti-Revolutionary Party thus consisted of the following organisations: the Central Committee, the Parliamentarian's Club, the newspaper *De Standaard*, the Meeting of Delegates, and the Electoral Committees. All these organisations were aimed at contesting elections or, in the case of the Meeting of Delegates and *De Standaard*, as directly supporting those that did.

In respect to the ARP's gradual formation it should be noted that the relationship between the organisations of the ARP had not yet fully crystallised and would change over time. The newspaper *De Standaard* would gradually become incorporated within the party, with 1888 marking the culmination of this process when the offices of the newspaper and those of the Central Committee were moved into the same building. Also the relationship between the fiercely independent Parliamentarian's Club and the Central Committee

---

<sup>54</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 323.

developed over time, causing a great deal of friction and ultimately leading to the secession of a number of Members of Parliament in 1894.

### **The Central Committee**

The Central Committee was the central leadership council of the ARP that led, oversaw and organised the other sections of the party. Organising the elections through the Electoral Committees, and enforcing party unity and adherence to the party program were its main tasks. It consisted of thirteen members, three of whom formed the daily leadership, who were elected by the representatives in the Meeting of Delegates. Up until the 1888 election, elections had been organised by the secretary and the chairman of the Central Committee, D.P.D. Fabius and Abraham Kuyper respectively.

The Central Committee established in 1878, marking the founding of the ARP, was the continuation of an early Central Committee set up by De Geer van Jutphaas and the Central Committee of the Anti-School Law League. These early Committees had been established to either organise the pre-existing Electoral Committees to contest parliamentary elections or to organise the national Anti-School Law campaign.

As a result of a constitutional amendment in 1878 the number of seats in parliament was expanded to 100 and electoral districts had been redrawn. This meant that pre-existing electoral structures had to be reorganised for the 1878 elections. The ARP decided to institute a central office to coordinate the national electoral campaign. The office was located in the house of D.P.D. Fabius and in addition to Kuyper also J. Witmond and R.C. Verweyck were employed. Furthermore, the potential of real success brought in many volunteers, especially students from the Free University.

Attempts to install the Central Committee as the office of central leadership did meet with resistance, and would be the main cause of tension within the party and especially with the Members of Parliament. Kuyper, along with Groen and a number of others, were convinced that only through organisation the anti-revolutionaries would be able to advance their ideals. Most of the members of parliament, however, adhered to a more traditional perspective of politics in which individual politicians and members of parliament remained independent and free of binding programs or party discipline. Politics was the business of high standing and independent individuals.

Despite the resistance of the Members of Parliament, the power the Central Committee could wield grew thanks to a new power base: the Meeting of Delegates. The Meeting was charged with electing the members of the Central Committee and, crucially, with its

chairman. In 1879 Kuiper had been unanimously elected chairman, and in 1885 Kuiper again put his position to the vote. With 112 votes for Kuiper and 1 vote against, Kuiper's own vote, he was again elected chairman. This solidified his position in the party and proved that his position was founded on an alternative power base, that of the people.

### **Parliamentarian's Club**

The Parliamentarian's Club, or Parliamentary Party, consisted of the ARP representatives in the Second Chamber of Parliament. Groen van Prinsterer, who had been a Member of Parliament on and off for many years, had long wanted to unite the anti-revolutionaries in Parliament. Despite repeated attempts, it was only when Kuiper entered Parliament in 1874 that the first steps were taken. These attempts failed.

In 1879, shortly after the establishment of the party, Elout van Soeterwoude organised the first Parliamentarian's Club. Elout assured Kuiper that the Club supported the party program. This was, however, not the case and in 1883 Member of Parliament Van Wassenaer van Catwijck was still a member of the conservative electoral union in The Hague and Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Godin de Beaufort and Beelaerts van Blokland all would have wanted to join a viable conservative party, had there been one.<sup>55</sup> The Members of Parliament were very reluctant to conform to party precepts and they frequently asserted their independent position.

### **De Standaard**

The daily newspaper *De Standaard* started publication with its first issue on April 1, 1872. In 1869 the tax on printed paper, the so-called *Dagbladzegel*, had been abolished which substantially lowered the costs of printing and distributing a daily newspaper. The newspaper industry immediately began to flourish with dailies sprouting up in many cities, *De Standaard* among them.

Groen van Prinsterer and Kuiper had both long wanted to publish a daily newspaper and they used *De Heraut*, a church weekly paper, to seek the necessary funding. With a number of sizable donations and a few thousand subscribers Kuiper was able to put his plans into practice.

The purpose of the newspaper was both ideological and practical. Kuiper had wanted a daily paper to advance the collective cause of the anti-revolutionaries by influencing the

---

<sup>55</sup> Kuiper, *Herenmuiterij*, 61-62.

*volksziel*, or soul of the people, and by supporting the work of the electoral union by promoting candidates. For him and others at *De Standaard*, a wide readership was paramount and monetary profitability was relatively unimportant. In 1873 one of the principal financiers of the paper, F.H. Kol, wanted to tone down the anti-revolutionary ideology and polemical character to attract a broader readership and make the enterprise more profitable. Kuyper refused and Kol took his money elsewhere.<sup>56</sup> The first years *De Standaard* operated at a loss, narrowly avoiding bankruptcy, but after six years the paper began making a profit. But even when *De Standaard* was making an annual profit of 3000 guilders (comparable to the annual salary of a high-level civil servant), economic considerations came second. J.H. Kuyt, who had published and owned the newspaper for many years, was concerned with his deteriorating health and instead of risking a sudden crisis on the occasion of his death, he donated the newspaper to Kuyper.<sup>57</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, the newspaper business was still under development. Many of the older practices, dating from a time with limited readership, still existed. Most newspapers, including *De Standaard*, were run by a part-time editor of some standing who determined the ideological line of the paper and mainly wrote columns. Other news came to the paper through the editor's personal network of contacts or was copy-pasted or translated from other newspapers. Aside from the editor, few other journalists were known and they and their routine work largely remained in obscurity.

In *De Standaard* all articles were unsigned. The only name that appeared in the paper was that of the publisher. But Kuyper was the focal point of the paper. He was the prominent editor who wrote his widely acclaimed polemical editorials, the so-called 'three stars', and fully determined the ideological content of the paper. The general public and political adversaries equated *De Standaard* with Kuyper, a perception Kuyper himself actively cultivated. The majority of *De Standaard's* journalists and employees remained, then and now, unknown. What is more, most of those working at *De Standaard* may have been, for the most part, of little importance. They cut and pasted, translated, and filled the newspaper with mundane news but had little influence on the content or course of the paper. The journalists were subordinates, working for Kuyper rather than with Kuyper. The main quality a journalist at *De Standaard* had to have, even over and above education and journalistic experience, was the capability to cooperate with Kuyper in addition to loyalty, resignation and the ability to

---

<sup>56</sup> Koch, *Abraham*, 132-3.

<sup>57</sup> B. van Kaam, 'De Standaard en het kapitaal' *Vu Magazine*, vol. 1, num. 8 (April 1972), 17-32, 21

remain silent.<sup>58</sup> As one journalist recalled, they were grateful to be “allowed to serve as humble soldiers in the army of militant Calvinists for this great lord (i.e. Kuiper, RB)”.<sup>59</sup>

### **Meeting of Delegates**

The meeting of delegates was not so much an organisation as a large national meeting. Delegates from the associated electoral committees assembled to listen to speeches and vote in new members of the Central Committee. It was a democratic element in the party and provided legitimacy to those leading the ARP, Kuiper foremost among them.<sup>60</sup>

The first Meeting took place on Thursday April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1879 in Utrecht. The city of Utrecht is geographically located in the centre of the Netherlands which made it an ideal location for national meetings. Utrecht’s central location also allowed it to become a hub in the national railroad network. The construction of the railroads expedited communication which facilitated the formation of national organisations, and the anti-revolutionaries made avid use of the opportunity.

Twenty-six people attended the first meeting, among them the most prominent members of the ARP. The following meeting, on May 6<sup>th</sup> 1881, attracted around forty representatives from the Central Committee, the Electoral Committees, the Parliament, Provincial Parliaments and a number of people of the press. The number of participants grew rapidly and on July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1885 almost 180 people attended the Meeting. The Meetings quickly became mass spectacles and the list of names in the logbook grows with every meeting and increasingly includes common names such as Bos and De Boer.<sup>61</sup> The participants were not only representatives of the Electoral Committees with the right to vote for party leadership, but increasingly and quickly overwhelmingly local ARP members with no formal role in the Meeting. The Meetings thus became an instrument to rally the forces before an election and centrally coordinate the efforts.

### **Electoral committees**

The purpose of the electoral committees was to support candidates and organise the electoral campaigns for parliamentary elections.

---

<sup>58</sup> J.A.J. Prast, ‘Bliksemstralen uit Jeruzalem: Abraham Kuiper en de mannen achter De Standaard’, *Documentatieblad voor de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis na 1800*, vol. 31 (December 1989) 35-40, 38

<sup>59</sup> B. van der Ros, ‘De Standaard’, in: B. van der Ros (ed.) *Geschiedenis van de christelijke dagbladders in Nederland* (Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok 1993) 25-69, 36.

<sup>60</sup> Kuiper, *Herenmijterij*, 46.

<sup>61</sup> Minute book of Meetings of Delegates, Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme (1800-heden), Archief van het Centraal Comité van Anti-revolutionaire Kiesverenigingen (1878-1940), 52/1.

In the nineteenth century, Members of Parliament were elected in districts and with no electoral lists the voters could write any name on the ballot. The local Electoral Committees' main task was to recommend a candidate to the voters and, as time went on, to organise the electoral campaigns. The local Electoral Committees had existed for a long time but had lacked central coordination, frequently only gathered for a single meeting shortly before the elections and often lacked an ideology or program.

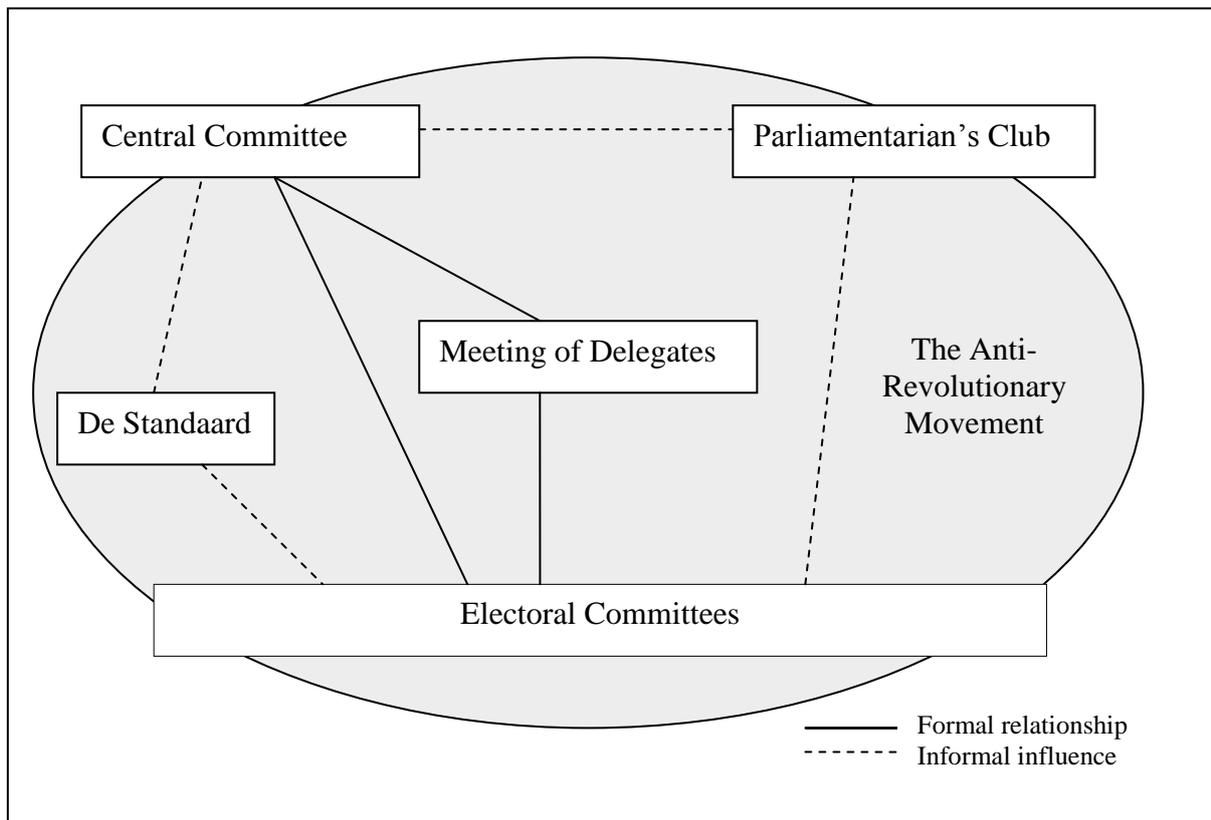
Initially, the campaigns were very simple and consisted of little more than placing advertisements in local newspapers in order to recommend a candidate. Over time, as the anti-revolutionaries became more organised, the campaigns became more complex with coordinators installed to oversee the activities and who reported back to both the local Electoral Committee as well as the Central Committee. Leaflets were distributed, political rallies and debates organised and agents sent out to canvass the area. This canvassing was an effective method to gather support but was extremely time consuming and frequently paid agents were used.<sup>62</sup>

### **Overview and interaction**

The ARP grew out of existing organisations, only the Meeting of Delegates had not existed before. Initially, the party was a loose federation operating under the common anti-revolutionary label, but increasingly efforts were made to bring all the components under central leadership. As Figure 1 shows, a number of the ARP organisations were linked through formal relationships while others were only associated through informal influence.

---

<sup>62</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 115-117.



**Figure 1 Organisation of the Antirevolutionary Party in the 1880's.**

The Electoral Committees formed the basis of the organisation. By campaigning for the Members of Parliament they had an informal relationship with the Parliamentarian's Club. Initially, who was endorsed was decided by the local Electoral Committee but increasingly the Central Committee provided funding and coordination and thereby began influencing the candidacy. They further influenced the candidacy by insisting that all candidates adhered to the party program. While the Electoral Committees initially maintained a great deal of independence, they were slowly brought under the influence of the Central Committee. In turn, the Electoral Committees determined the composition of the Central Committee by voting for candidates at the Meeting of Delegates. The Meetings were organised and orchestrated by the Central Committee and in practice the Delegates always voted in favour of party Chairman Kuyper.

The Parliamentarian's Club was only indirectly linked to the Central Committee via the local Electoral Committees, but this indirect relationship was increasingly formalised. While the Members of Parliament perceived themselves as representatives of districts supported by the voter's mandate and thus as independent of the Central Committee, Kuyper wanted the Parliamentarian's Club incorporated into the party and to adhere to the party

program. Throughout the 1880's this conflict caused a great deal of friction and eventually resulted in a schism.

*De Standaard* had no formal relationship with other ARP organisations, but was a crucial part of the party. The paper was used to communicate with the voters and thereby functioned to support the work of the local Electoral Committees as well as the Parliamentarian's Club. The paper was, however, led by Kuyper and formed a crucial link in his attempts to control and centralise the party by influencing the voters and the members of the local Electoral Committees.

The working of the party structure and the dynamics of Kuyper's power become apparent when in 1885 questions raised over Kuyper's leadership reached a climax. Kuyper, as Chairman of the Central Committee, decided to convene a special Meeting of Delegates where the representatives of the Electoral Committees would elect a new chairman. Prior to the meeting *De Standaard*, of which he was editor-in-chief, published numerous articles and editorials in support of Kuyper and only sporadically one against. In addition, Kuyper arranged for the Meeting to be held not in Utrecht but in The Hague. This was done officially because The Hague was the seat of the Central Committee, which was untrue, but was really done because Kuyper's Free University was to hold a rally in The Hague on the previous day which would ensure a sizable turnout of Kuyper supporters.<sup>63</sup> By occupying key positions in the party organisation, Kuyper was able to manipulate the Electoral Committees, which were the formal base of power, for centralising the party under his leadership.

---

<sup>63</sup> Janssens, 'Eenheid', 85-86.

### III - The ARP Cadre

---

In this part, the empirical data collected on the ARP cadre will be analysed and discussed in an attempt to prove the hypotheses and answer the first and second research questions: *Who comprised the ARP cadre?* and *Why was this so?* The discussion will be descriptive, reporting what was found and comparing the various groups comprising the cadre. A number of claims about the ARP cadre made in previous studies on the topic will be tested. Additional analysis and explanation is given in an attempt to find structural causes for certain results, although this should be considered tentative and all require further in-depth analysis. The data and analysis will subsequently be compiled into a number of Weberian ideal types.

#### Method

Who does and does not belong to the party cadre is an important question. The procedure followed here is as follows. First, the organisations belonging to the ARP were selected; there were five. Then, the members of those organisations were identified who were active in the period that the ARP formally existed, from 1879 until 1888. Subsequently questionnaires were filled in for each individual and the data was entered into the statistical package SPSS ready for analysis.

Unfortunately, the extensive use of other party cadres or the general population as a control group or as comparison went beyond the scope of this study. What, however, is an essential aspect of this research is to identify differences between the various groups comprising the ARP cadre. The ARP was not a homogenous party with a central authority, but was more like a federation of independents working together. It increasingly became centralised, and the conflict between various groups trying to exert influence over each other is an integral part of the story. Who comprised each group is of interest and the groups are therefore compared to each other.

This raised some methodological questions as the organisations comprising the ARP are very different in character. The Central Committee had a definite member list, as did the Parliamentarian's Club, and all those belonging to those organisations were included. The Meeting of Delegates was, however, not an organisation but an event led by the Central

Committee where representatives of the other organisations were present and the Meeting therefore had no members as such.<sup>64</sup>

*De Standaard* newspaper did not have member but employees. As was previously explained, most of the employees did menial tasks and were therefore of little relevance and most have remained in obscurity. From the sources it has been possible to identify a handful of people associated with *De Standaard* and this list of employees was shortened to include only editors and those with potential influence.

The Electoral Committees posed a problem because of their sheer number as well as the lack and dispersion of primary and secondary sources. This required a sample to be taken, as apposed to the other organisation where the population could be used. But, to include this sample in the cadre dataset would have required those individuals to be weighed in some manner in order to prevent distortion of the statistics. Each member of the Electoral Committee sample could, for example, carry the weight of five others. This, however, posed many additional problems and also had the potential of distorting the results. The resolution to this problem was to treat the sample of the Electoral Committees as an entirely separate dataset from the national ARP cadre members. Two datasets were thus used: the national cadre and the Electoral Committees.

The sample of the cadre of the Electoral Committees was taken from Rienk Janssens' dissertation on the growth of the ARP. Janssens undertook case studies of five electoral districts in the period from 1850 until 1888 making extensive use of local and national archives.<sup>65</sup> The electoral districts he selected were: Groningen, Gouda, Goes, Sneek and Amersfoort. In most cases the archives and sources were incomplete. His work, however, seems thorough and the names and biographies he managed to retrieve were used to fill in questionnaires for this study. The questionnaires remain largely incomplete, but rudimentary data such as date of birth, occupation and types of political activism were available for most individuals. In an attempt to supplement this meagre result a number of biographical reference books and databases aimed at politics, Protestantism, and specific regions and cities were consulted in search of information on all those included in the sample. However, no additional biographical information was found.

The ARP cadre consists of 59 individuals and the sample of the Electoral Committees consists of 32 individuals. A number of individuals were active in both bringing the total

---

<sup>64</sup> The Meeting of Delegates did have participants, and whether or not someone participated was one of the variables in the questionnaire.

<sup>65</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 29-31.

number of individuals included in this study to 88. The full list of names is include in Appendix C.

	Number of individuals
Central Committee	21
Members of Parliament	43
<i>De Standaard</i>	7
National Cadre total	59*
Electoral Committees	32
Total	88*

**Table 1 Number of individuals in ARP cadre groups**

\*the sum of the cadre groups exceeds the total because a number of individuals occupy positions in multiple cadre groups.

The statistical technique used most frequently is the frequency distribution. A frequency distribution is simply a table or graph that displays the number of cases in each category. A standard deviation is a measure of dispersion, or the variety in a distribution. In a normal curve, which is perfectly symmetrical, 68% of all cases fall within one standard deviation from the mean and 95% fall within two standard deviations from the mean. A third statistical technique used is the crosstabulation. A crosstabulation is a visual representation, in a table, of the frequency distribution of two variables and the relationship they may have.

All the statistical analysis was done in SPSS. Excel was used to combine data and create graphs. Some graphs and tables are displayed in the text with tables containing the precise figures included in Appendix D.

## A - Sex and Age

### Sex

On the variable of sex we can be brief; all ARP cadre members were male. This outcome was expected as women did not acquire the right to vote or stand for election until 1919 and 1917 respectively. There was therefore a legal barrier preventing their formal political participation. However, it was a variable that needed to be checked as women most certainly did participate in social movements and organisations and the ARP did strive to include non-voters as well. Additionally, the women's rights movement commenced in the 1870's and gained momentum in the 1880's which overlaps with the period that is the focus of this study.

So why were no women active in the ARP? Firstly, we should take note that the majority of political activists have always been, and still are, men.<sup>66</sup> In a recent study focusing specifically on gender and political activity, the researchers tested a number of hypotheses related to this question.<sup>67</sup> Two factors that did account for women's abstention from political activity were the lack of socioeconomic resources such as education, income, occupation and status, and a lack of political interest. Women in the nineteenth century indeed lacked some socioeconomic factors.

In the nineteenth century, men and women, especially the orthodox protestants, participated in society in different ways. The men concerned themselves with matters of the state and politics, while women concerned themselves with the family and with charity. Part of this division may be due to discrimination, but the persistence of this phenomenon into modern times seems to suggest that a difference of interest plays a part.

Orthodox protestant women of the *Reveil* had undertaken charitable activities since the start of the century and were very socially active. Betsy Groen van Prinsterer-Van der Hoop, wife of anti-revolutionary leader Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, had a leading role in the *Reveil* and set up many projects in support of the poor and for orphans, but also a library for women. She was not a woman cloistered in the kitchen as some stereotypes might have.<sup>68</sup> But direct political activity was a step too far and it was a step she and others never took. Where charity was a woman's domain, politics was a man's. This was especially the case among the

---

<sup>66</sup> Alan Marsh, *Political Action in Europe and the USA* (London: Macmillan 1990) 41.

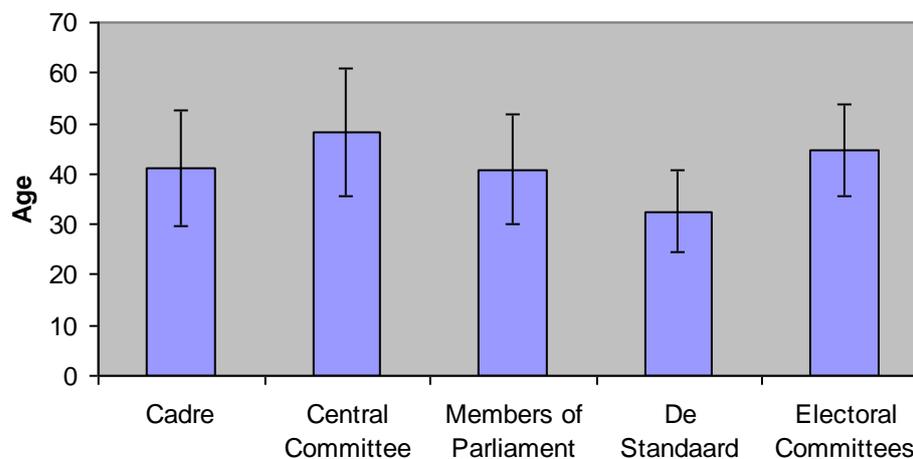
<sup>67</sup> Nancy Burns, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality and Political Participation*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press 2001) 358-361.

<sup>68</sup> Dieteren Fia, *Hoop, Elisabeth van der*, in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*.  
<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/Hoop> [21/11/2007]

anti-revolutionary cadre who referred to themselves as *mannenbroeders*, *men* and *brethren*. Politics was thus a fraternity with no place for women. Women were socially active, and would eventually become somewhat politically active, but not in the period under investigation here.<sup>69</sup>

## Age

Age is a factor that influences the nature of the political activism, with the young more often participating in radical politics. To determine the age distribution of the population frequency distributions were run for the cadre as a whole and each of the cadre groups. The results, including the standard deviations, are shown in Graph 1. For the cadre as a whole, the mean year of birth was 1837 and the standard deviation 11.5. This means that most cadre members were born between 1825 and 1849 and were therefore on average 42 years old, or between 30 and 54 years of age, when the ARP was established in 1879. For the whole period under investigation, they were in their 30's, 40's and 50's and thus in the prime of their lives.



**Graph 1 Mean Age of ARP Cadre Groups in 1879**

The mean age with standard deviations of all cadre groups can be compared to each other and is visually displayed in the graph. The members of the Central Committee are on

<sup>69</sup> Henk te Velde, 'Van grondwet tot grondwet. Oefenen met parlement, partij en schaalvergroting, 1848-1917' in: Aerts, Remieg, Liagre Bohll, Hermand de, Rooy, Piet de and Velde, Henk te *Land van kleine gebaren: Een politieke geschiedenis van Nederland 1780-1990* (Nijmegen and Amsterdam: SUN 2001) 99-178, 161-164; H.J. van de Streek. van de. 'De christenvrouwen 1880-1940: liefdadigheid, vrouwenbeweging en politiek' in: Bruijn, J. de (ed.) *Een land nog niet in kaart gebracht: Aspecten van het protestants-christelijk leven in Nederland in de jaren 1880-1940* (Passage1987) 217-240.

average older than the other cadre members but also have the greatest variance in their age. The employees of *De Standaard* are the youngest and show the smallest variance in their age. The Members of Parliament and those in the local Electoral Committees are roughly equal to the cadre in general.

The mean age of the ARP cadre, 42, and Members of Parliament, 41, is distinctly lower than that of the mean age of all Members of Parliament, 50, at that time.<sup>70</sup> The ARP cadre is thus younger than others in politics and may be associated with the more radical political course of the ARP. The fact that those in the Central Committee are slightly older than others in the cadre is most likely associated with their leadership role which requires a degree of natural authority over others in the party and movement and the fact that they had to be elected by their peers.

## **B - Geographic origin, residence and migration**

### **Geographic origin**

Geographic origin is an important factor in determining an individual's social identity, socialisation, and political participation. In the nineteenth century, with little national mass media and an infrastructure not suited for widespread or speedy travel, local and regional identities were of great significance.

There were nine responses to these variables which reflect the significant geographic distinctions. The first possible response was 'Four large cities'. Unlike other countries, the Netherlands lacked a clear core city comparable to London or Paris that attracted large groups of migrants. Instead, in the Netherlands there were four large cities, Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht that were urban centres of economic and political importance.<sup>71</sup> The other responses to the variable were the provinces of the Netherlands. Holland and Utrecht combined signify the all-important West of the country where the four large cities were located and that would develop into the urban conglomerate of the *Randstad*. In 1879 this region housed roughly 42% of the total population of the Netherlands and was the most

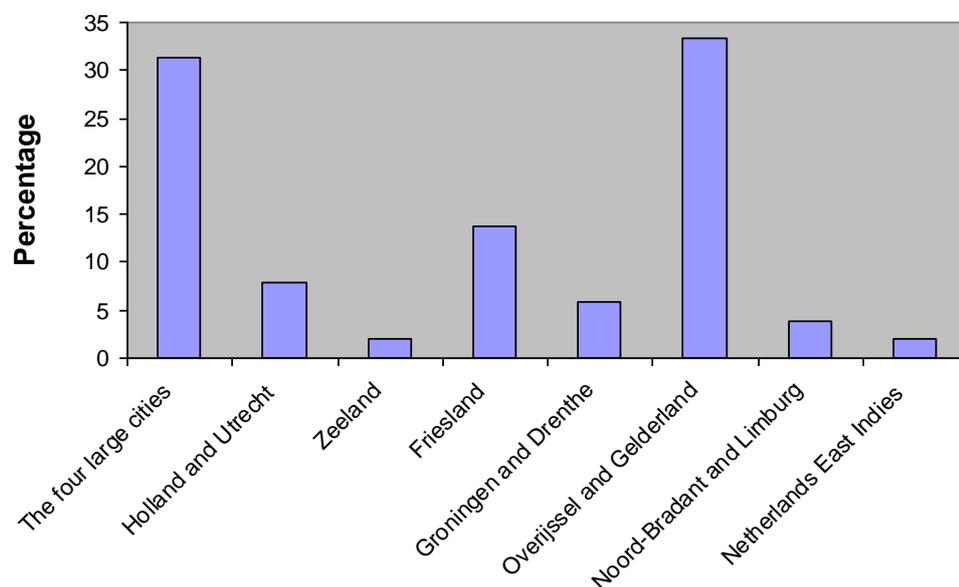
---

<sup>70</sup> J. Th. J. van den Berg, *De toegang tot het Binnenhof: De maatschappelijke herkomst van de Tweede-Kamerleden tussen 1849 en 1970* (Weesp: van Holkema en Warendorf 1983) Table 6.1, 206. Van den Berg gives six figures for the period under investigation: 1879 50.2, 1881 48.9, 1883 49.6, 1884 49.5, 1886 49.9 and 1887 50.3, the average of which is approximately 49.7.

<sup>71</sup> Rooy, *Republiek; Zanden, Nederland*

densely populated region.<sup>72</sup> Zeeland is one of the protestant provinces in the South-West of the country, Friesland a protestant province in the North with a distinctive cultural and linguistic identity, Groningen and Drenthe are two protestant provinces in the North, Overijssel and Gelderland two protestant provinces in the middle of the country, and Noord-Brabant and Limburg two Roman Catholic provinces in the South-East. For simplicity, the provinces have here been designated as either protestant or Roman Catholic. Although this geographic separation was real, many areas were religiously mixed, especially in Holland, Utrecht and Gelderland. In addition to these regions within the Netherlands, the Dutch colonies in the East Indies, what is now Indonesia, as well as the response ‘abroad’ were included.

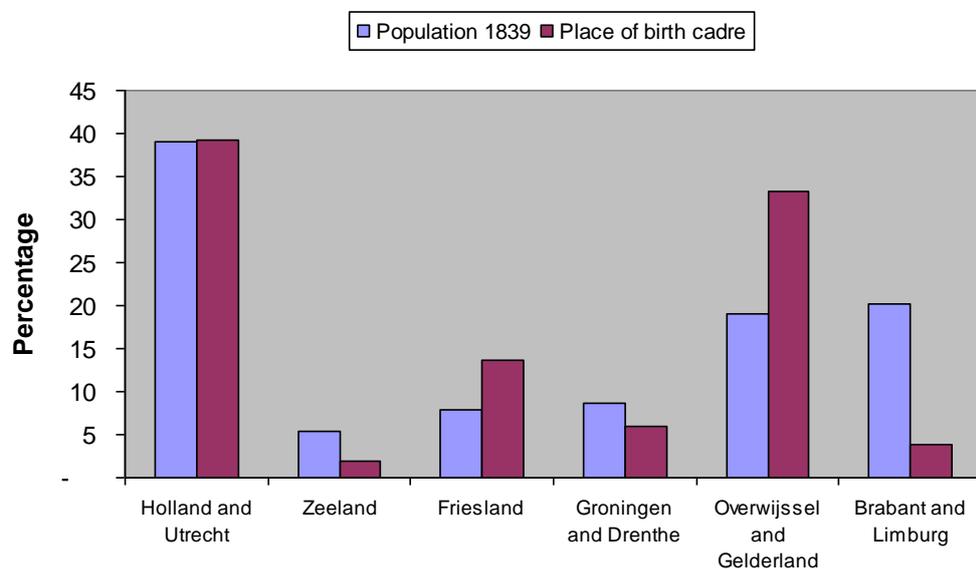
A frequency distribution was constructed to determine the place of birth of the ARP cadre members. As can be seen in Graph 2, 31% was born in one of the four large cities and 33% was born in Overijssel or Gelderland, with a sizable minority of 14% being born in Friesland. If those born in Holland or Utrecht are added to those born in one of the large cities, which are all located in Holland and Utrecht, a total of 39% of the ARP cadre was born there. Three regions can thus be labelled as ARP heartlands: Holland and Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelderland, and to some extent Friesland.



**Graph 2 Place of Birth ARP Cadre**

<sup>72</sup> Evert Willem Hofstee, *Korte demografische geschiedenis van Nederland van 1800-heden* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck 1981) 124-125.

This seems like a clear picture, but it takes no account of the population size of the respective regions. When the size of the population in 1839, the year data is available which is closest to the mean date of birth of the ARP cadre, is taken into account the perceived overrepresentation of those born in Holland and Utrecht disappears. As can be seen in Graph 3, representation from this region is roughly what would be expected if the ARP cadre came from all the Netherlands' regions in proportion to their population. The proportion of cadre members born in Overijssel or Gelderland and Friesland exceed expectation and call for an explanation, as do the relatively small proportions born in Zeeland, Groningen and Drenthe, and Brabant and Limburg.



**Graph 3 Place of Birth ARP Cadre and Population 1839.**

Population data source: Hofstee *Korte*.

What explains this predominance of certain areas and the under-representation of others? We can assume that those born in an area remained in that area during their entire youth, with migration being an option only after gaining maturity. What in these regions could have affected these men in their most formative years? What affected their socialisation?

One very obvious answer could be religion. The provinces of Brabant and Limburg were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and the small number of anti-revolutionaries from this area comes as no surprise. For the other regions it appears that the areas where the ARP cadre

was born were those areas where orthodox Protestants were in the majority.<sup>73</sup> These were also the regions where the highest number of people signed the Anti-School law petition in 1878 indicating a degree of political involvement.<sup>74</sup> A strip of land where the orthodox were in the majority runs across the Netherlands diagonally from the island of Zeeland in the South-West across rural South-Holland and Utrecht into Overijssel and Gelderland and then swings North along the Zuiderzee into Friesland. Unfortunately the data collected here was not detailed enough, by municipality for example, to trace this belt precisely.

The question remains why those in Zeeland were underrepresented while the province is largely protestant. Zeeland played an active part in bringing the Reformation to the Netherlands and the inhabitants of the islands were on the front line in the war against the Spanish. At the start of the nineteenth century Roman Catholics started to buy up land in Zeeland greatly affecting the religious configuration of the province with some becoming majority Catholic. Around 1.5% of the population of Zeeland took part in the *Secession* of 1834 where the more orthodox seceded from the state church, a figure which is roughly equal to the national average.<sup>75</sup> The region had previously been wealthy depending on shipping and trade, but in the nineteenth century while the Netherlands industrialised Zeeland suffered an economic downturn. Cities that had once been vibrant began to shrink, with some losing half their population.<sup>76</sup> Was this religious diversity and economic hardship reason not to get involved or would it, contrarily, be a good reason to get politically involved? Much further study, comparing the various provinces, is needed to provide an adequate answer to this question.

For each of the cadre groups, a frequency distribution of the place of birth was also run which is displayed in Graph 4. Those of the local Electoral Committees were not included in this analysis because for more than 80% the place of birth was unknown. The diversity in origins in the ARP cadre is replicated only with the Members of Parliament which contains cadre members born in all regions. For both the Central Committee and *De Standaard*, the diversity in geographical origin is much less with most being born in Holland and Utrecht or Overijssel and Gelderland; two of the core regions.

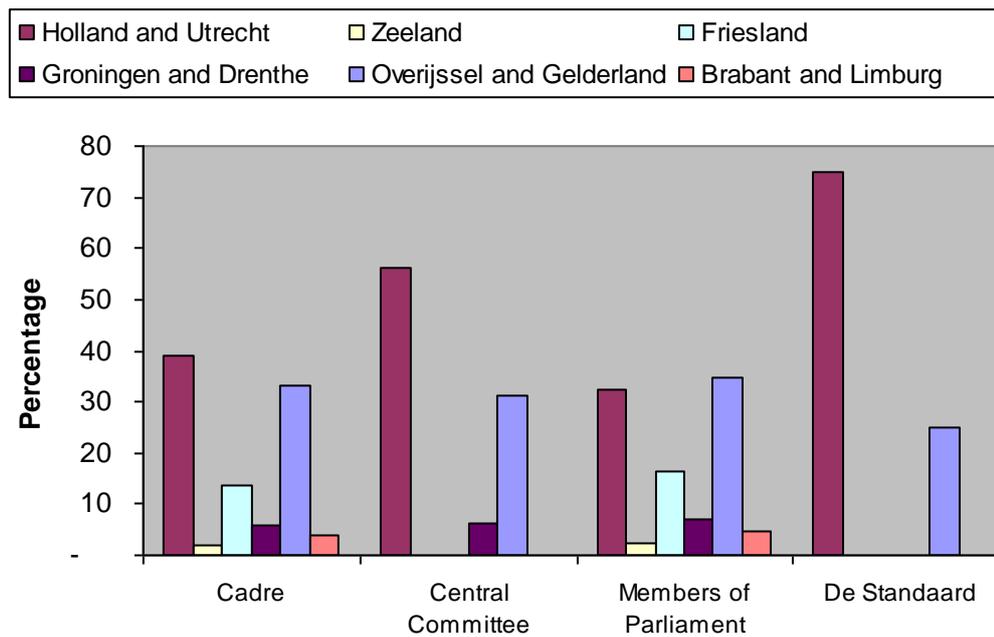
---

<sup>73</sup> Knippenberg and De Pater, *De Eenwording*, 189.

<sup>74</sup> Knippenberg and De Pater, *De Eenwording*, 155.

<sup>75</sup> Rooze-Stouthamer, Clasiën and Zwemer, Jan, 'Twintig eeuwen Zeeland, de Zeeuwen en hun ziel en zaligheid' in: Ham, Gijs van der *Ach lieve tijd: Zeeland Twintig eeuwen Zeeuwen en hun rijke verleden* (Wanders Uitgevers) 299-319.

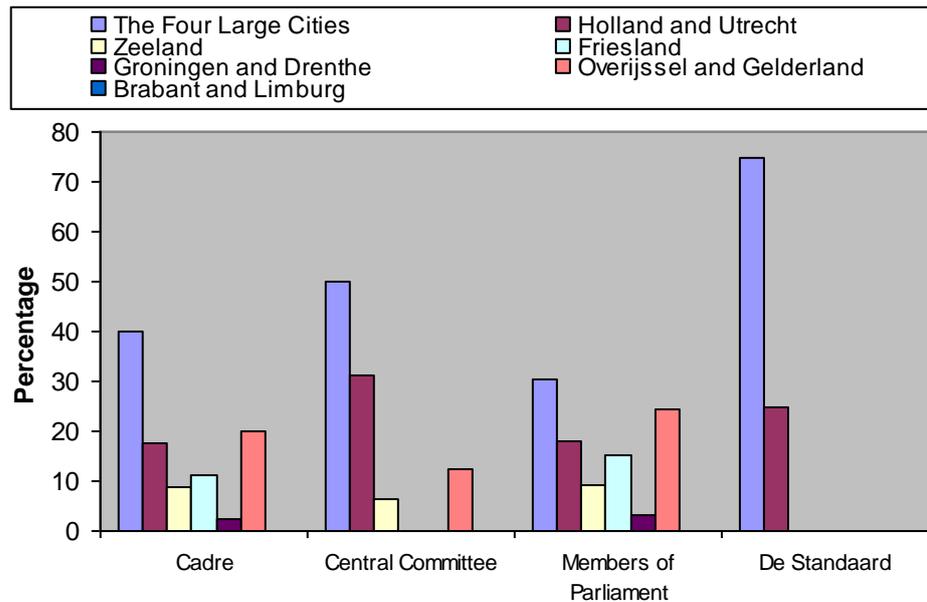
<sup>76</sup> Broeke, Willem van den and Ham, Gijs van der, 'Twintig eeuwen Zeeland, de Zeeuwen en hun verkeer' in: Gijs van der Ham e.a. *Ach lieve tijd: Zeeland Twintig eeuwen Zeeuwen en hun rijke verleden* (Wanders Uitgevers) 58-80.



**Graph 4 Place of Birth ARP Cadre Groups**

### Residence

A frequency distribution of the place of residence was run and displayed in Graph 5. In cases where the respondent had multiple places of residence, that place the individual inhabited longest during party activities was taken. The majority of cadre members, almost 60%, lived in one of the four large cities or in Holland and Utrecht. This immediately indicates the importance of the West for those active within the party. For Members of Parliament this number is much lower than for members of the Central Committee and *De Standaard* of who respectively 81% and 100% live in one of the four large cities or Holland and Utrecht.



**Graph 5 Place of Residence ARP Cadre Groups**

The lack of participation of those living outside of Holland and Utrecht probably has relatively simple explanations: religion and geographic distance. In the case of Brabant and Limburg the fact that the population was overwhelmingly Roman Catholics most likely explains their absence. For areas with a large protestant population most likely geographic distances play a part.

Political and economic power lay predominantly in The Hague and Amsterdam and those born in Holland and Utrecht were in relative proximity to these centres of power. When determining proximity it is not only the distance between two points that is relevant, but also the ease at which an individual could travel between those points. In the nineteenth century roads were underdeveloped and the construction of the railroads started in earnest only in the 1860's making lengthy journeys arduous and expensive. For example, travelling the 160 kilometres from Groningen in the North East to Utrecht, the location of the Meeting of Delegates, took more than 12 and a half hours in the 1850's but was reduced to 7.5-10 hours in the 1870's.<sup>77</sup> Even in the 1870's this was still a considerable journey. The construction of railroads facilitated the movement not only of people but also of goods such as newspapers

<sup>77</sup> Knippenberg and De Pater, *De Eenwording*, 57 figure 3.4.

allowing for a faster spread of information. Thanks to the railways *De Standaard* could be distributed in over 700 towns and villages, including some in the South of Limburg.<sup>78</sup>

The railroads connecting the South and North of the country to Holland and Utrecht were only built in the 1880's, while those connecting Holland with Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelderland had been constructed in the 1860's. Travelling between the core ARP regions had thus been easier for a longer period of time. This may explain the relatively sizable group from those core areas. When the ARP was forming in the 1870's the railroad allowed political activists of the core regions travel to the centres of power within a matter of hours.

Zeeland and Friesland, two protestant areas, are both located far from Holland and Utrecht. Geographically, Zeeland is attached by land to the Catholic South and Belgium and in an age before mass media and state nationalism their orientation was not necessarily directed towards the cities in Holland. The journey from Zeeland to Rotterdam could be undertaken by ferry, but travelling to the rest of the country was more difficult. The only rail connection from Zeeland was, and still is today, via the Catholic city of Roosendaal and was opened in 1868.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the economic problems in the province negatively influenced the frequency of the private ferry and mail services and caused a deterioration in the quality of the infrastructure. Travel from Zeeland was therefore difficult and most likely hampered the political involvement of the province's inhabitants.

Friesland was relatively far removed from Holland and Utrecht, and the people had a strong regional identity and may also not have been primarily oriented towards the cities in Holland. Although travelling to Holland by boat was possible across the Zuiderzee, it was still a lengthy and expensive journey and it comes as little surprise that the Frisians were not very active in the party. The exception is the Members of Parliament. As the frequency distribution of the place of birth of the ARP cadre groups shows, only Members of Parliament were born in Friesland. The Members of Parliament were elected to represent a specific electoral district. Friesland forms a distinct cultural and linguistic community with a strong regional identity and the Frisian voters almost always voted a fellow Frisian into parliament. In deciding their vote, cultural identity frequently weighed heavier than ideological considerations. When the prominent Utrecht anti-revolutionary leader De Geer van Jutphaas was nominated as candidate in the Frisian district of Sneek in 1865, it led to confusion and wild speculations

---

<sup>78</sup> Vree, Jasper and Kuiper, Dick, 'De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail' In: Kuiper, Dick and Vree, Jasper *Het liep op rolletjes: De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail 1839-1939* (Zoetermeer: Meinema 2007) 9-28.

<sup>79</sup> Van den Broeke and Van der Ham, 'Twintig eeuwen Zeeland'.

among the voters.<sup>80</sup> He did not get elected. The data show that the Frisians were important for electoral politics but in the rest of the party they were largely absent. This absence can be explained by the geographic and cultural distance between Friesland and the rest of the country.

Even more than Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe were very far removed and were relatively poor provinces. They mostly lacked the benefit of an easy connection by water such as Zeeland and Friesland and the construction of railroads commenced relatively late. These factors may have prevented active participation in party organisations.

## Migration

The disparities between place of birth and place of residence immediately signal that ARP cadre members migrated. Where people are born invariably affects their world view as those early years, which are so important for socialisation, are spent there. But when they reach maturity, some may decide to migrate to other regions and this can greatly affect the course of their lives. Migration was an important phenomenon in the nineteenth century especially for students going to universities, seasonal labourers in search of work, and the periodical migration of the clergy to new postings. Industrialisation encouraged urbanisation and large groups left rural areas to settle in the West and may have additionally influenced the migration of ARP cadre members.

In order to see if the ARP cadre migrated and if so between which locations, a crosstabulation of frequency distributions was constructed between the place of birth and the place of residence, Table 2. The crosstabulation is a simple device that can reveal a great deal of information, but the table needs to be read properly. The second cell on the top left indicates that 42.9% of those *living* in Holland and Utrecht were *born* in one of the four large cities. The next cell to right shows that 0% of those living in Zeeland were born in one of the four large cities, etc.

The crosstabulation reveals that there indeed was migration into the large cities from other regions. Although most, 56%, living in the cities were born there, a small group of 12.5% moved into the cities from the surrounding countryside of Holland and Utrecht, and 31% moved in from Overijssel and Gelderland. This last migration may have been related to improved infrastructure between those areas as was discussed above. This pattern is repeated for those living in Holland and Utrecht. Those living in Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe

---

<sup>80</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 61-2.

were all born there meaning that no one migrated to those areas. In light of their relative isolation and poverty, this is not surprising. Most living in Overijssel and Gelderland, 62.5%, were born there with a number of individuals coming from other areas. It is interesting to note that the ARP cadre living in Zeeland mostly came from other areas, which adds to the anomalous state of the province. Those living in Zeeland came in equal measure from Holland and Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelderland, and Noord-Brabant and Limburg.

The most sizable migration was from those born in Overijssel and Gelderland to the cities and towns of Holland and Utrecht to the West. At this point we can only speculate on why this migration took place and if it caused, resulted from or was entirely independent from anti-revolutionary activities.

			RESIDE Place of residence						Total
			1 The four large cities	2 Holland and Utrecht	3 Zeeland	4 Friesland	5 Groningen and Drenthe	6 Overijssel and Gelderland	
POBIRTH Place of birth	1 The four large cities	Count	9	3	0	0	0	0	12
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	56,3%	42,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	29,3%
	2 Holland and Utrecht	Count	2	1	1	0	0	0	4
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	12,5%	14,3%	25,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	9,8%
	3 Zeeland	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	,0%	,0%	25,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,4%
	4 Friesland	Count	0	1	0	5	0	1	7
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	,0%	14,3%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	12,5%	17,1%
	5 Groningen and Drenthe	Count	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%	12,5%	4,9%
	6 Overijssel and Gelderland	Count	5	2	1	0	0	5	13
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	31,3%	28,6%	25,0%	,0%	,0%	62,5%	31,7%
	7 Noord-Bradant and Limburg	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
		% within RESIDE Place of residence	,0%	,0%	25,0%	,0%	,0%	12,5%	4,9%
Total	Count	16	7	4	5	1	8	41	
	% within RESIDE Place of residence	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

**Table 2 Crosstabulation of place of birth and place of residence**

## **C - Education, Profession and Social Class**

Education, profession and social class are three factors well-known to indirectly influence the individual's political participation by providing resources, cognitive skills, motivation and social networks. The factors are also mutually reinforcing, with, for example, those from higher classes being more likely to receive high levels of education which enables them to attain respected professions and personal wealth all of which provide valuable social networks giving them a position in the higher classes.

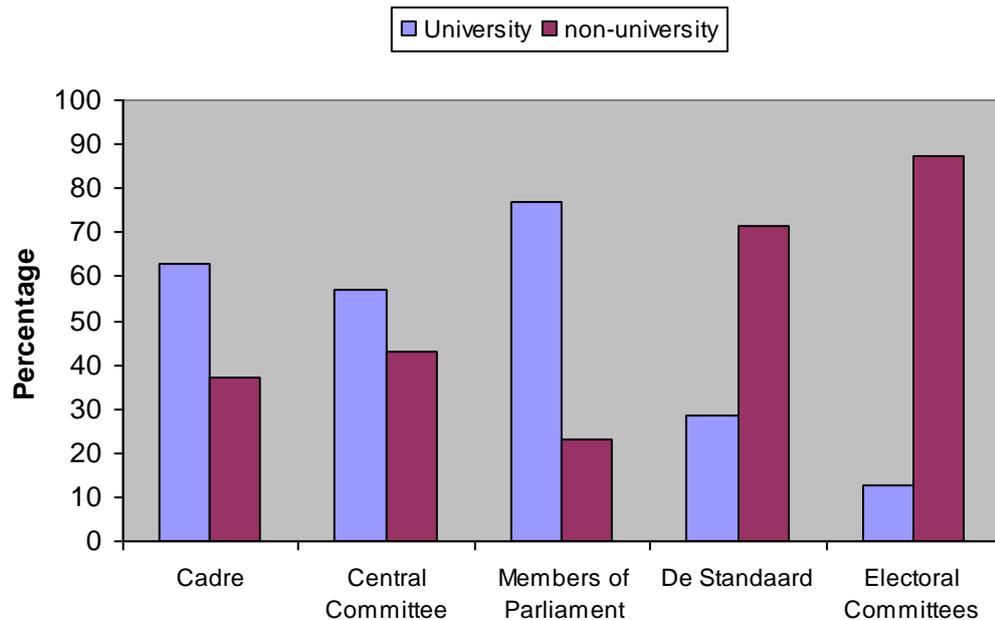
### **Education**

Education is an important indicator of political activism as it provides many skills necessary to engage in the political process and influences profession and social status. In the questionnaire, education was measured with three consecutive variables asking about the level of education, if the respondent had a university education it asked the field of study, and at which university the individual studied. For the first variable on the level of education there were six answers: PhD, university, polytechnic school, HBS /secondary school, primary school, and none.

A frequency distribution was constructed to determine the level of education of the ARP cadre members. The results are in accordance with expectations with a large majority having receiving a university degree or a PhD. For 30% of the respondents in the ARP national cadre and 80% in the Electoral Committees the level of education could not be determined. Because for most respondents a degree of biographical information was found, but education was not expressly mentioned, it can be assumed that those whose education was unknown did not have a high education. When these unknowns are taken as having non-university educations, and the various categories are collapsed into a dichotomy of either having or not having a university education, 63% of ARP cadre members had a university education, as can be seen in Graph 6. As an indication of the relevance of this figure it can be compared to that of the general population of who in the 1870's approximately 0.3% had completed a university education.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, 120.



**Graph 6 Level of Education ARP Cadre Groups**

Of the various groups comprising the cadre, the Members of Parliament are the most highly educated with 77% having completed a university education. This figure is comparable to the level of education of the Members of Parliament of as a whole, irrespective of party, of who 80% had a university education.<sup>82</sup>

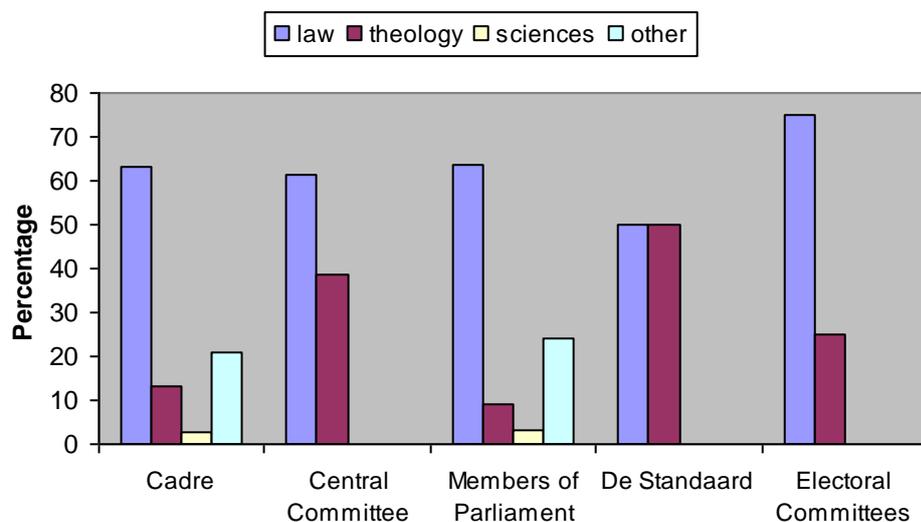
With 57% having a university education, those in the Central Committee are a little under average. For both *De Standaard* and the local Electoral Committees, the number without a university education outnumbered those with a university education. The most likely reasons for this disparity is rather straight forward. Members of Parliament have making laws and checking the workings of government as tasks, both of which require a set of skills most easily attained through higher education. They also have to be elected into their position and must give the electorate evidence of their capabilities; a high level of education is proof of certain skills. Those in the local Electoral Committees, on the other hand, had few difficult tasks and were not elected, so the autodidact or the industrious individual was able to reach a leadership position at the local level.

*De Standaard* employees have an added peculiarity not visible in the collapsed form. They fall into only one of three categories, either a PhD, HBS / secondary school, or unknown. This seems to confirm the notion that there are a few employees who are very

<sup>82</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, Table 4.1, 121. Van den Berg gives three figures for the period under investigation: 1879 83%, 1883 80%, and 1887 78%, the average of which is approximately 80%.

highly educated and who form the leaders of the group while the rest who have no higher education perform menial editorial tasks.

For those who completed a university education, the field of study and the location of study were also asked, displayed in Graph 7. A total of seven answer categories were provided on the questionnaire: law, theology, letters and philosophy, sciences, medicine, social sciences and other. 63% of the ARP cadre studied law, with 13% having studied theology, 2.5% studied the sciences and 21% studied something else which, as will become apparent further down, is the military's officer training.



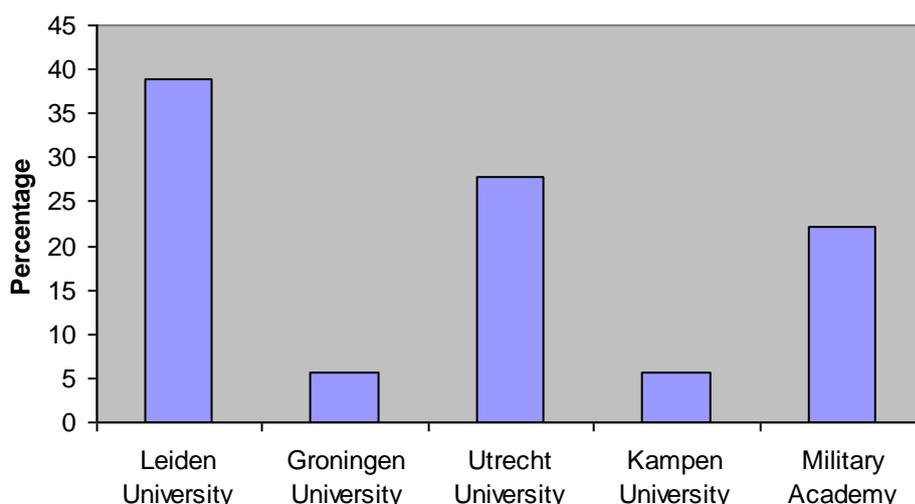
**Graph 7 Type of University Education for ARP Cadre Groups**

In each cadre group, those that studied law are in the majority. It is interesting to note that the group that studied theology is so well represented in the Central Committee, 38%, and at *De Standaard*, 50%, while less than 10% of the Members of Parliament studied theology. An explanation for this will be offered further down when professions are discussed. The Members of Parliament are the only group who display some variety in their choice of study with 64% having studied law, but also theology, 9%, sciences 3%, and 24% with a military education. It should be noted that the percentage of ARP Members of Parliament having studied law, 64%, is substantially lower than the average for the Parliament as a whole, 88%, and those having studied theology, 9%, is slightly higher, 5%.<sup>83</sup> Due to classification issues, Van den Berg had a stricter definition of what entailed a university education and did not

<sup>83</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, table 4.4, p 124. Van den Berg gives three figures for the period under investigation: 1879 89%, 1883 88%, and 1887 87%, the average of which is approximately 88%; 1879 5%, 1883 5%, and 1887 5%, the average of which is 5%.

include those that had a military officers training as one, it is uncertain if the difference is of any significance.

It is clear that those having studied law or theology were more likely to become active within the ARP than those from other fields of study. More than all the other possible fields of study, law and theology provide the individual with the most cognitive skills that have practical value in politics. Both are trained in speaking and writing with conviction, and both are capable of understanding abstract concepts and complicated texts. Law further provides the individual with an understanding of matters of the state and the comprehension of laws and how to make new ones. Law has frequently been perceived as the field of study preparing one for jobs within politics or public administration. Weber noted this and Kossmann labelled an education in law at the universities of Leiden or Utrecht the education of regents.<sup>84</sup> It may have been due to the positive employment prospects that large numbers of students studied law, as high as 50% of all students at Utrecht University in 1850.<sup>85</sup>



**Graph 8 University location for ARP cadre.**

In addition to what they studied, also the location of university studies was noted. Sizable groups studied at Leiden University, 39%, the University of Utrecht, 28%, and at one of the two military academies, 22%. Using a crosstabulation, Table 3, it becomes apparent that all those that studied something else at university where studying at the military academies. The

<sup>84</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, 43.

<sup>85</sup> Dorsman, L. J., '365 jaar rechtsgeleerdheid'. in: Bekkers, W.M.J., Koning, R.H. en Vette, N.J. (eds.). *Rechten in Utrecht: de academische studie in verleden, heden en toekomst*. (Deventer: Kluwer 2002) 19-44.

cross-tabulation further reveals that more than half of those studying law studied law at Leiden University with a third studying law studied in Utrecht. Those studying theology were divided between Utrecht University and the theological university at Kampen, both 40%, and the remaining 20% having studied at Leiden University. What is interesting to note is the lack of any theology graduates from Groningen, where 22% of all Hervormde clergyman candidates in the period 1829-1871 graduated.<sup>86</sup>

Graduates from the University of Amsterdam and the Free University are entirely missing. The reasons for this are simple. Although in the 1880's the University of Amsterdam would become the largest university in the Netherlands, prior to 1878 it had not been an accredited university. The Free University, which was founded by Kuiper and which would play an important role in training the ARP cadres of the future, had only been founded in 1880. In both cases, it is understandable that the graduates had not yet managed to acquire important positions within the party.

			UNIEDU University education			
			1 law	2 theology	7 other	Total
UNILOC University location	1 Leiden university	Count	13	1	0	14
		% within UNIEDU University education	56,5%	20,0%	,0%	38,9%
	2 Groningen university	Count	2	0	0	2
		% within UNIEDU University education	8,7%	,0%	,0%	5,6%
	3 Utrecht university	Count	8	2	0	10
		% within UNIEDU University education	34,8%	40,0%	,0%	27,8%
	4 Kampen university	Count	0	2	0	2
		% within UNIEDU University education	,0%	40,0%	,0%	5,6%
	7 Military academy	Count	0	0	8	8
		% within UNIEDU University education	,0%	,0%	100,0%	22,2%
Total		Count	23	5	8	36
		% within UNIEDU University education	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

**Table 3 Crosstabulation of University location and University education.**

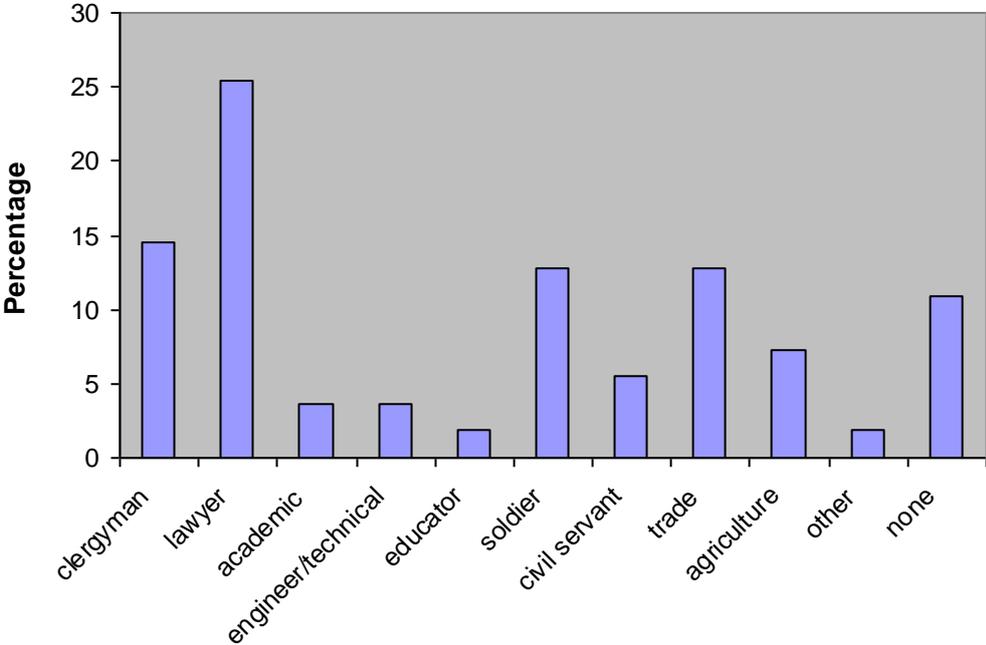
## Profession

A profession provides the individual with cognitive skills as well as social status and social networks all of which can be employed in the political process. For the variable profession a

<sup>86</sup> Vree and Kuiper, 'De eenwording'.

total of thirteen professions were listed including the choices ‘other’ and ‘none’. A frequency distribution was run displayed in Graph 9. The largest group, representing 25% of the total, are employed as lawyers, which is unsurprising in light of the large number that studied law. Other popular professions, each representing over ten percent, are that of clergyman, soldier, trade and none.

The large number having no profession does need to be explained. A crosstabulation reveals that those with no profession were not unemployed and destitute, but rather wealthy aristocrats with no need for employment. All but one of those individuals labelled as having no profession were aristocrats, with the remaining person belonging to the upper class but without a formal title. They were thus not destitute outcasts, but rather men of leisure.



**Graph 9 Profession of ARP cadre.**

A frequency distribution was also run for each of the cadre groups comprising the ARP, Graph 10. Significant differences are discernable. Clergymen are well represented in each group with almost 40% of the Central Committee employed as a clergyman while the clergy is under represented in Parliament. An explanation for this under-representation in Parliament is most likely that clergymen who took their seat in Parliament were expected, according to the 1848 constitution, to relinquish their ecclesiastical roles in order to preserve separation of church and state. It was a rule that was applied and Kuyper was concerned about it when he

first took his seat in Parliament in 1874. In a compromise that foreshadowed the changing times, Kuyper ‘loosened’ his ties with the church, without severing them, and was accepted into Parliament.<sup>87</sup>

Lawyers, too, are well represented everywhere except in *De Standaard*. It is interesting to note that educators are not well represented in the national cadre, but are active in the local Electoral Committees, 14%. It is possible that their involvement at the local level is a consequence of the Anti-School Law League from which, according to Janssens, the ARP grew.<sup>88</sup> Soldiers are represented only among the Members of Parliament. Finally, those dealing in trade are relatively well represented in all groups, with the exception of Members of Parliament. Traders are very well represented in the local Electoral Committees.

Van den Berg’s study into the social background of Members of Parliament revealed that 30% of Members of Parliament had been employed as civil servants.<sup>89</sup> This is much higher than the number of ARP Members of Parliament of which only 7% were employed as civil servants. Furthermore, no other members of the ARP had been employed as civil servants. It is likely that the difference is due to the fact that the ARP was a party opposed to the liberal regime which dictated government policy for most of the nineteenth century. This is an interesting finding as it suggests that the ARP was a party which emerged *outside* the bulwark of the ruling elite and state apparatus. It does, however, require further investigation as Van den Berg reports that after 1888 the number of civil servants who become Members of Parliament for the ARP significantly rises. Was this due to the acceptance of the ARP as a normal political party, thereby allowing state employees to join the party without fear of negative consequences, or is it related to the anti-revolutionary’s strategy of taking over strategic position in the state bureaucracy? Unfortunately Van den Berg merely mentions the fact but provides no quantitative data to substantiate it.<sup>90</sup>

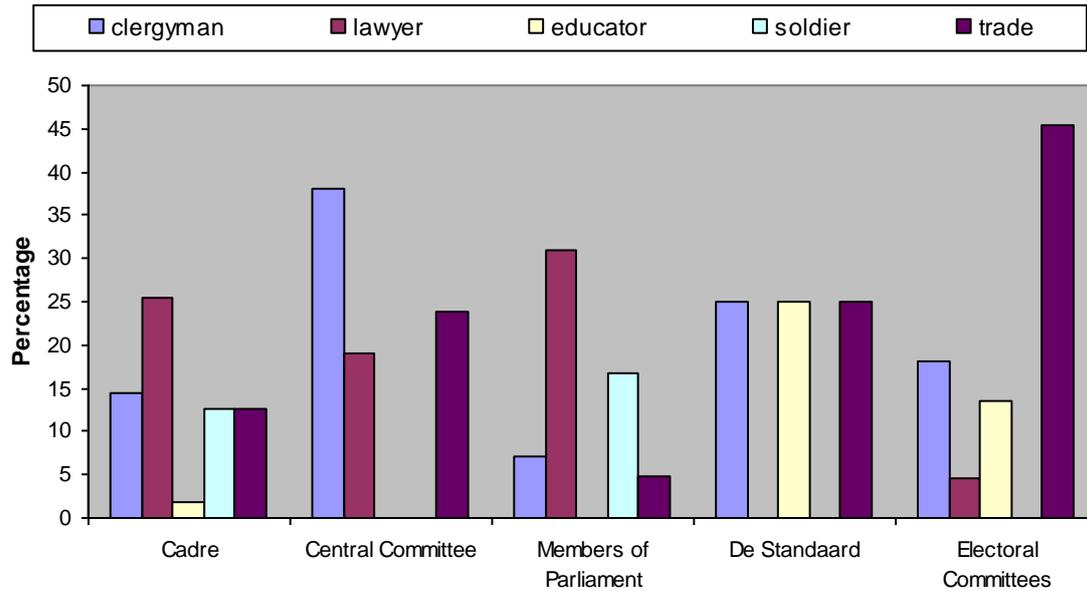
---

<sup>87</sup> Kasteel, P., *Abraham Kuyper* (Kampen: J.H. Kok 1938) 84-85.

<sup>88</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*.

<sup>89</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, Table 5.2, p. 167. Van den Berg gives three figures for the period under investigation: 1879 25%, 1883 31%, and 1887 33%, the average of which is approximately 30%.

<sup>90</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, 177.



**Graph 10 Top 5 Professions of the ARP Cadre Groups.**

### Class

Social class is a key determinant of political participation. Class often indirectly influences other variables such as education and profession. Those with wealthy backgrounds tend to have more money and time to develop the skills necessary for politics. Furthermore, they are usually well acquainted with the mores of the ruling classes facilitating their entry into higher levels of government and society upon reaching maturity. Class, thereby, functions as an important factor in the individual's socialisation. Class is also an indicator of the social networks the individual may have access to with those in the upper classes being in closer proximity to those in the ruling classes.

Two aspects of class are important: the individual's class at the time of political activity and the class they grew up in, or the father's class. The addition of father's class further allows us to test for social mobility.

The pinnacle of Dutch industrialisation and economic growth is to be found in the period from 1860 until 1880 and influenced the class structure as well as social mobility.<sup>91</sup> The old Dutch class system stratified Dutch society into a hierarchy which allowed for little upward mobility. The stratification consisted of four main *standen*; the aristocrats, the wealthy citizens that had no formal title, the middle class of small merchants, and the under class consisting of workers and farmers. Due to liberal policies to emancipate the lower

<sup>91</sup> Wintle, *Pillars of Piety*.

classes as well as the advent of industrialisation, Dutch society gradually adopted the modern division of the upper class, the bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Although both the old aristocracy and the farmers were under threat from modernity, both groups remained important throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, in respect to the importance of religion in the ARP, the clergy is added as another relevant class distinct from the others. Hence, for this study a combination of the two classifications must be used. The variables for class, therefore, have six options: aristocrat, upper class without a title, clergy, middle class, working class, and farmer.

It must be noted that determining class can be rather arbitrary because the stratification is dependent on the research questions and determining the boundaries between layers is often subjective. Some studies choose a class system based mainly on income while others prefer to focus on occupation.<sup>92</sup> The differentiation used here places more emphasis on cultural patterns over but in addition to profession and wealth and therein follows the approach taken by Kuiper.<sup>93</sup>

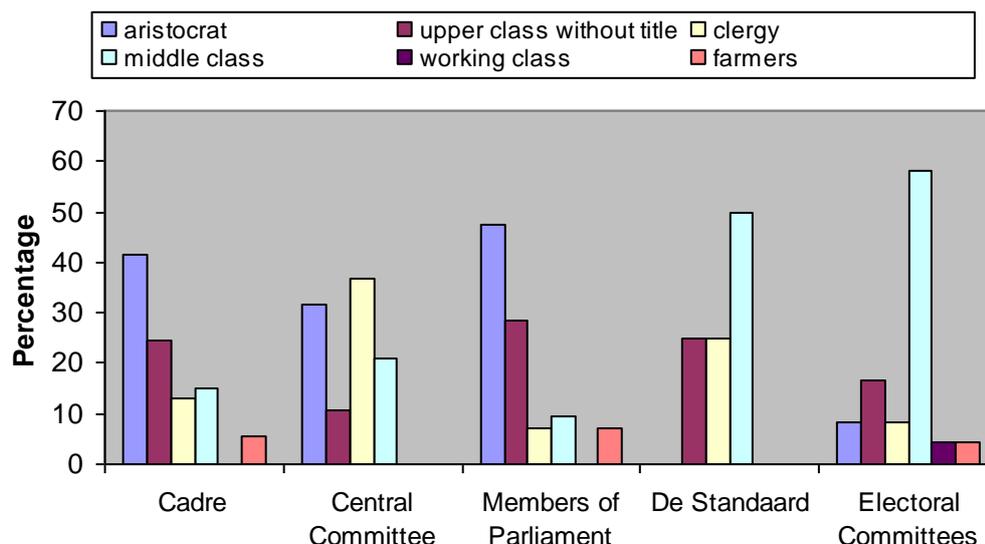
Nevertheless, classifying an individual into a certain class can cause problems. For the aristocracy a formal title is required and poses little problems. The same applies for the clergy. However, delineating the difference between the upper and the middle class, using criteria of culture, profession or wealth, is sometimes not so easy and doubt does exist. Another complication is determining the class of wealthy agrarians; should they be classified as belonging to the upper class in accordance with their wealth and status or with the farmers in accordance with their cultural, moral and physical surroundings? The latter was chosen.

In terms of social class, the cadre of the ARP was mostly part of the upper classes as can be seen in Graph 11. A total of 66% belong to either the aristocracy or the upper class without a title. The clergy, the middle class and farmers are represented, but not the working class. When the cadre is divided into the cadre groups, significant differences in composition become evident.

---

<sup>92</sup> P. Kooij, *Groningen 1870-1914: Sociale veranderingen en economische ontwikkelingen in een regionaal centrum*, (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum 1987); J.J.M van Tulder, *De beroepsmobiliteit in Nederland van 1919 tot 1954: Een sociaal-statistische studie* (Leiden: H.E. Stenfert Kroese 1962).

<sup>93</sup> Kuiper, *De Voormannen*, 34-35.



**Graph 11 Social Class of ARP Cadre Groups.**

The Members of Parliament are overwhelmingly part of the upper classes, with 76% belonging to either the upper class or the aristocracy. This percentage may be even higher due to classification questions arising for those in the middle class and the farmers. This result confirms, in part, that of previous studies, such as Van den Berg who found around 70% of members of parliament in the 1870's and 80's belonged to the higher classes, or D.Th. Kuiper or R. Kuiper who both found similar results.<sup>94</sup> When Van den Berg split the Members of Parliament into political parties, however, he found a higher than average percentage, 91%, of those in the ARP belonged to the upper classes.<sup>95</sup> The differences could be attributed to errors or differences in classification. The conclusion, however, remains the same: the upper classes dominated Parliament.

What explains this predominance of the upper classes in Parliament? A number of reasons may be identified such as advantages in wealth, education and social contacts. Van den Berg gives a telling example of the dominance of certain families in politics. No less than eight members of the Van Asch van Wijck family, one of which is included in this study, had seats in Parliament for the ARP at the end of the nineteenth century and held numerous other posts in politics or government. Social connections or even nepotism likely played its part.

Another explanation is that it may be a consequence of the district electoral system with limited suffrage that existed in the nineteenth century. Any candidate that stood for

<sup>94</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, 46-47; Kuiper, *De Voormannen*, 441; Kuiper, *Herenmuiterij*, 11.

<sup>95</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, Table 2.2, 49, 50. He provides three different percentages for the relevant period: 1879 100%, 1883 84%, and 1887 90%, the average of which is approximately 91%.

election would have to find enough support among the voters to win the election. Especially an upcoming and in many ways controversial party like the ARP would have to scrape together the necessary votes. In light of this, it was of strategic importance to field candidates who were well-known, respected and of good standing. For strategic reasons a candidate of good standing was often preferred over one with loyalty to the party program, although this gradually changed as the 1880's progressed.<sup>96</sup>

In the Central Committee, the upper classes were well represented, 42%, but were closely followed by the clergy with 37%. At *De Standaard* those with a middle class background were in the majority, 50%. It is important to note that the clergy and the upper classes were also well represented within *De Standaard* which is a further indication of the crevasse existing between the leaders at the paper and the employees performing menial tasks.

In the Electoral Committees the middle class holds an absolute majority, 58%. The dominance of the middle class at the local level is clear. It could be this group that was referred to when some studies indicated a strong presence of the middle classes or when the ARP described itself as consisting of the *kleine luyden*, or little people.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, in combination with Janssens' thesis that the build-up of the ARP was bottom-up, this lends some support to the findings of change in class distribution within the cadre from predominantly upper class to predominantly middle class that some studies have signalled.<sup>98</sup>

A crosstabulation was run for the variables of class and father's class, but little evidence of social mobility was found. For example, 95% of the aristocrats had a father that was an aristocrat as well. The largest difference was for 31% in the upper class without a title who had fathers belonging to the middle class. But because the difference between the upper class without a title and the middle class is sometimes difficult to determine, not too much emphasis should be placed on this apparent upward mobility. For the remaining cases little social mobility was found. For the dataset of the Electoral Committees a crosstabulation was also constructed but 80% of the cases were missing rendering it useless.

---

<sup>96</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*.

<sup>97</sup> Kuiper, *Herenmuiterij*, 12-13. Klinken, *Actieve burgers*, 75.

<sup>98</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*, 323; Kuiper, *Herenmuiterij*.

## D - Social and Political Activism

Social and political activities provide the individual with valuable social skills, networks and experience facilitating entry into politics.

### Church membership

Church membership is of importance for political activism. For the ARP the religious background of the cadre is of significance because Kuyper would instigate a church schism and disputes over theology permeated into the party. Nevertheless, Kuyper maintained his stance that everyone that supported the anti-revolutionary ideals was welcome in the party, irrespective of church affiliation.<sup>99</sup> This is a specific claim that needs to be tested.

Furthermore, although the ARP was a protestant party, in the political process it actively and continually sought cooperation with the Roman Catholics against the liberals. A few anti-revolutionaries even married Roman Catholics, such as the first wife of Central Committee member Isaac Esser.<sup>100</sup> A number of anti-revolutionaries had converted from Judaism, such as early anti-revolutionary Da Costa and ARP activist and clergyman P.S. van Ronkel.<sup>101</sup> It is therefore not unthinkable that non-orthodox or even non-protestants were active in the ARP.

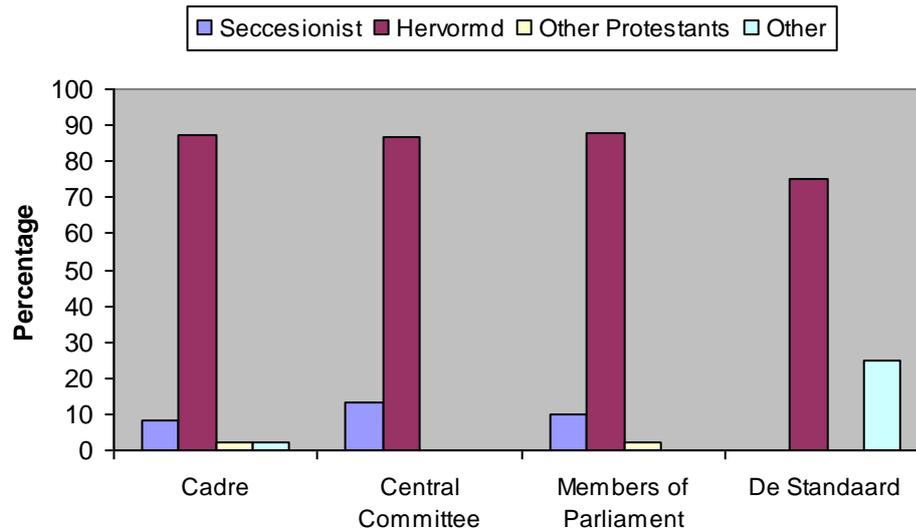
The variables on church membership are threefold. First, a variable asks about church membership up until 1886. A second variable asks if the individual supported the church schism, the Doleantie, in 1886, and a third variable asks about church membership after 1886.

---

<sup>99</sup> Janssens, *De opbouw*.

<sup>100</sup> W.A. Wieringa, *Isaac Esser* (Drukkerij van de Stichting Hoenderloo 1937).

<sup>101</sup> A. van der Ploeg, *Philippus S. van Ronkel* (Leiden: Uitgeverij J.J. Groen en Zoon 1990).



**Graph 12 Church Affiliation ARP Cadre Groups.**

A frequency distribution, displayed in Graph 12, reveals that the vast majority of the ARP cadre, almost 90%, belongs to the Hervormde Kerk. As again 80% of the data for the Electoral Committees is missing, it is not included. Of the cadre as a whole 8% belongs to the Secessionists, the group that split off from the Hervormde Kerk in 1831. One person was of another protestant denomination, Member of Parliament Th. Heemskerk who was Lutheran, and one person noted as other, *De Standaard* employee A.J. Hoogenbirk who was not part of a formal denomination and, surprisingly, may not have been religious at all.<sup>102</sup> The percentages for the separate cadre groups are similar. The findings corroborate claims made in previous research.<sup>103</sup>

ARP leader Kuiper instigated the Doleantie, and it is of interest to see whether a substantial section of other party members followed his lead and either explicitly accepted the Doleantie or later joined the Gereformeerde Kerken. Both measure essentially the same phenomenon, but whereas the question on supporting the Doleantie was not applicable for those outside the Hervormde Kerk, all cadre members made a choice to join or not join the Gereformeerde Kerken. The results are displayed in Graph 13.

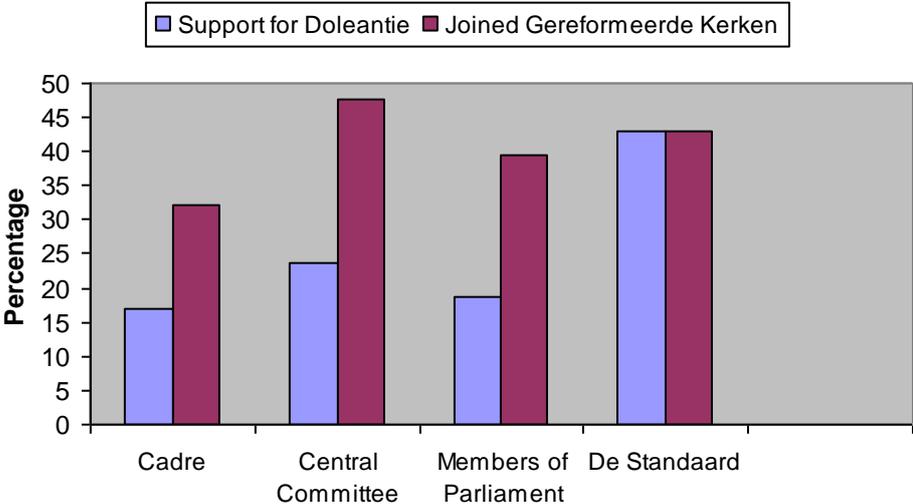
For a quarter of the cadre members and 60% of the Electoral Committee determining whether they supported the Doleantie was not possible. It is possible that many of them did

<sup>102</sup> 'Heemskerk' in: www.parlement.com ; R.G.K. Kraan, *Ons Tijdschrift 1896-1914: Een literair-historisch onderzoek* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters 1962).

<sup>103</sup> Kuiper, *De Voormannen*, 441.

not support the Doleantie, for otherwise the information may have been more readily available. In consideration of this, the percentages retrieved from the frequency distribution and shown in the graph are only those who supported the Doleantie and they are the actual percentages found as opposed to the valid percentages usually shown. For the variable on the Gereformeerde Kerken respectively 18% of the data was missing for the cadre as a whole and 80% for the local Electoral Committees. Due to the missing data, the Electoral Committees have not been included.

17% of the ARP cadre supported the Doleantie but 30% demonstrated affinity with the ideas of Kuyper by at some point joining the Gereformeerde Kerken. With the Members of Parliament support is least, although the difference with those in the Central Committee is not great. Almost a quarter of the members of the Central Committee supported the Doleantie and nearly 50% joined a Gereformeerde Kerken while 42% of those at *De Standaard* supported it and joined a Gereformeerde Kerken. This indicates that there was somewhat less support for the Doleantie among the members of Parliament compared to those in other parts of the party although, again, the difference is not great.



**Graph 13 Support for Doleantie and Gereformeerde Kerken Among ARP Cadre Groups.**

### **Moral, church and educational organisations**

One factor which has proven to be very relevant for political activism is the degree of other social activity. Those who are active in related spheres develop skills and contacts preparing them for participation in the political process.

For the anti-revolutionaries two groups of socio-political organisation can be distinguished that are related to the anti-revolutionary cause which the ARP cadre may have been active in. One group contains the moral organisations, such as organisations for the abolition of slavery or for the prohibition of prostitution. The other group consists of church or educational organisations, such as the Anti-School Law League. The end of the nineteenth century was a time when social movements and organisations, often aimed at overturning specific legislation, flourished.<sup>104</sup> These organisations were the first forms of popular participation in the political process and thereby greatly influenced the method of political participation and the perception of the political process. In his study on the growth of the ARP, Rienk Janssens argues that these organisations contain the seeds from which the ARP would eventually sprout.

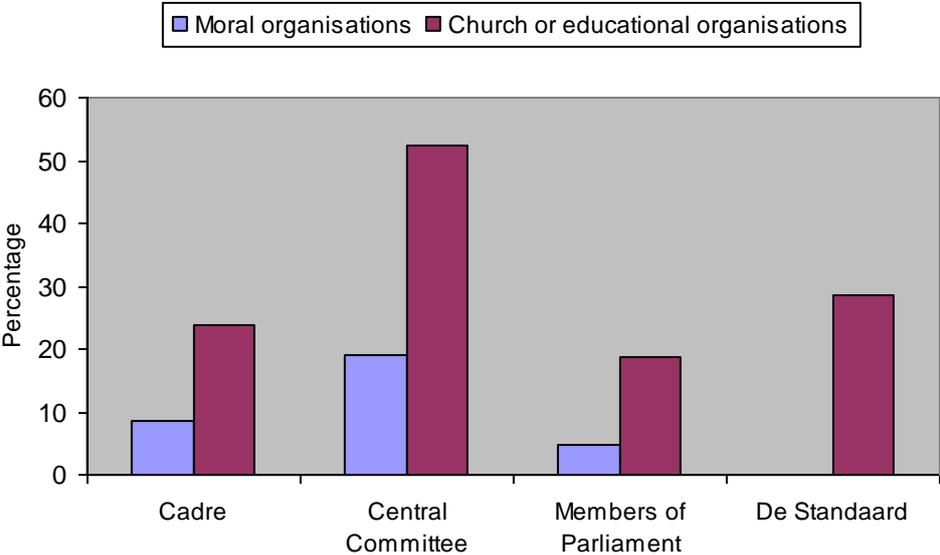
Both variables were asked for two time periods: before 1878 and between 1879 and 1888. One indicates activity before the ARP, while the other identifies activity undertaken in conjunction with membership of the ARP. The responses to these variables were either yes or no. It must, however, be noted that unlike membership of political bodies such as Parliament which is formally registered and definitively confirmed or rejected, it is difficult to conclude that someone has never undertake any activity for any such organisation. Furthermore, there were a great many organisations, many of which operated locally and in relative anonymity and of which little records have remained. This reluctance to too quickly register inactivity has resulted in a very large number of missing cases. We can be sure of the affirmative responses so these will be noted, but with the cautionary addendum that it does not imply the others were inactive.

As can be seen in Graph 14, in the case of respectively 8,5% and 24% of the ARP cadre members it can be said for certain that they were active in moral and church or educational organisations. The difference between the various cadre groups is large, with confirmed membership for the Member of Parliament being only 5% and 19% in moral organisations and church or educational organisations respectively, while membership can be confirmed for 19% and 52% for the members of the Central Committee. For *De Standaard*

---

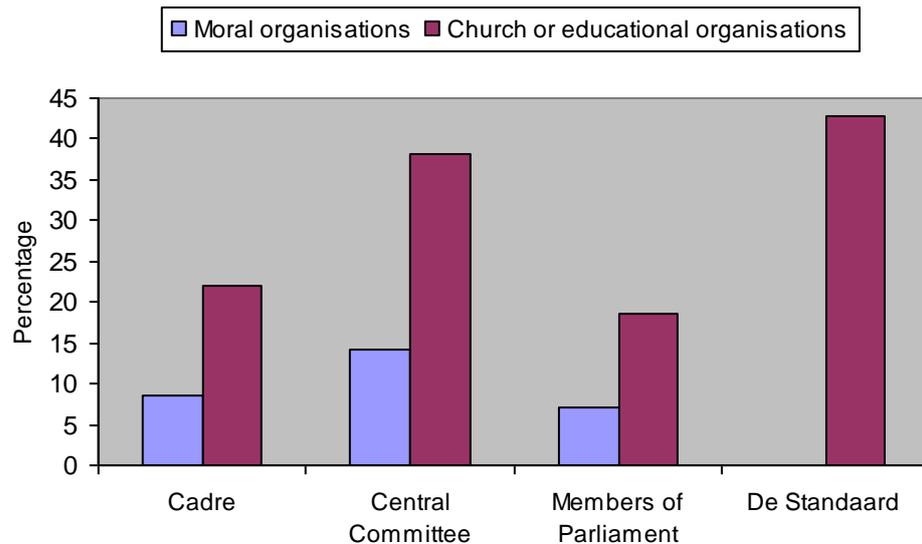
<sup>104</sup> Maartje Janse, *De afschaffers: publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek in Nederland 1840-1880* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek 2007).

employees, membership of moral organisations and church of educational organisations was respectively 0% and 29%. Those belonging to the Central Committee appear to have been much more active socially than the Members of Parliament.



**Graph 14 Membership of moral organisations, and church and educational organisations before 1878 for ARP cadre groups**

The pattern is similar for the period from the founding of the ARP in 1879 until before the successful elections in 1888 as can be seen in Graph 15. The proportions for which membership could be confirmed between the cadre groups are similar. Again, the members of the Central Committee are much more socially active than the Members of Parliament. Interestingly, those employed at De Standaard appear to have been more active in church or educational organisations but remain inactive in moral organisations.



**Graph 15 Membership of moral organisations, and church and educational organisations 1879-1888 for ARP cadre groups**

### Political activities

Previous political activities too are relevant to an individual's participation. Political activities train skills and provide valuable contact and activities at a lower level, such as in the municipality, prepare for activities at higher levels, such as in the national Parliament.

Statistical package SPSS 14, used for all statistical analyses here, does not allow the coding of multiple response sets. Hence, the questions on political activities were divided into multiple dichotomous questions asking whether or not the individual was a member of a political body in either of the two time periods. So, instead of asking what political bodies the individual was a member of with a list of possible answers, it was asked if he was a member of the First Chamber of Parliament, 'yes' or 'no'; if he was a member of the Second Chamber of Parliament, 'yes' or 'no'; etc. To obtain the frequency distribution, these dichotomous responses were then defined as a multiple response set in SPSS.

The variables display a great number of missing values. This is because for some of the political functions it was hard to absolutely reject an individual's participation. For the national parliament membership could easily be determined thanks to a limited number of seats and an online database, but for the municipalities no central register was available and the great number of municipal council and legislature seats complicated matters. Therefore, only the positive answers, those whose membership could be confirmed, were counted and shown in the graphs as a percentage of the total in that cadre group. Van den Berg, in his study on the careers of Members of Parliament, encountered a similar problem with missing

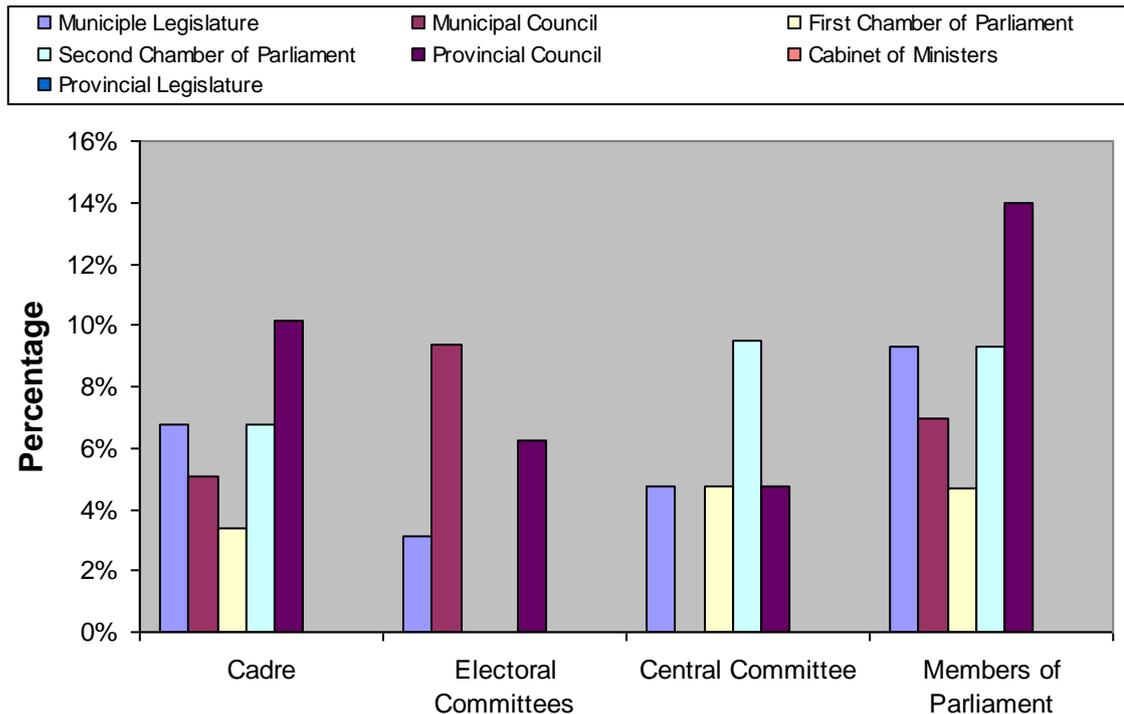
data and it led him to only touch on his finding.<sup>105</sup> The findings will be reported here but are highly tentative.

For none in the ARP cadre membership of the Cabinet of Ministers or the Provincial Legislature could be confirmed. Further, the percentage of cadre members fulfilling a political function prior to the establishment of the ARP in 1879 is very limited, hardly surpassing the 10% as can be seen in Graph 16. There therefore does not appear to have been a great deal of political experience among the ARP cadre. What also becomes evident is that if the ARP cadre members did fulfil a political function, they did so evenly at the national, local and provincial levels. They were, however, mainly active in the elected councils and not well experienced in the legislatures. In fact, they only had legislative experience in the municipal legislatures.

When each group is looked at individually, it becomes apparent that the members of parliament had the most and the most diverse political experience prior to 1879. But even in that group only one in ten had prior experience in Parliament. Those in the Central Committee also had some political experience but, surprisingly, none in the municipal councils. Those in the local Electoral Committees mainly had their experience at the local level in the municipal councils and legislatures in addition to some at the provincial level in the provincial councils. For those in *De Standaard* there were too many missing values, for all but one, and the group is therefore not included.

---

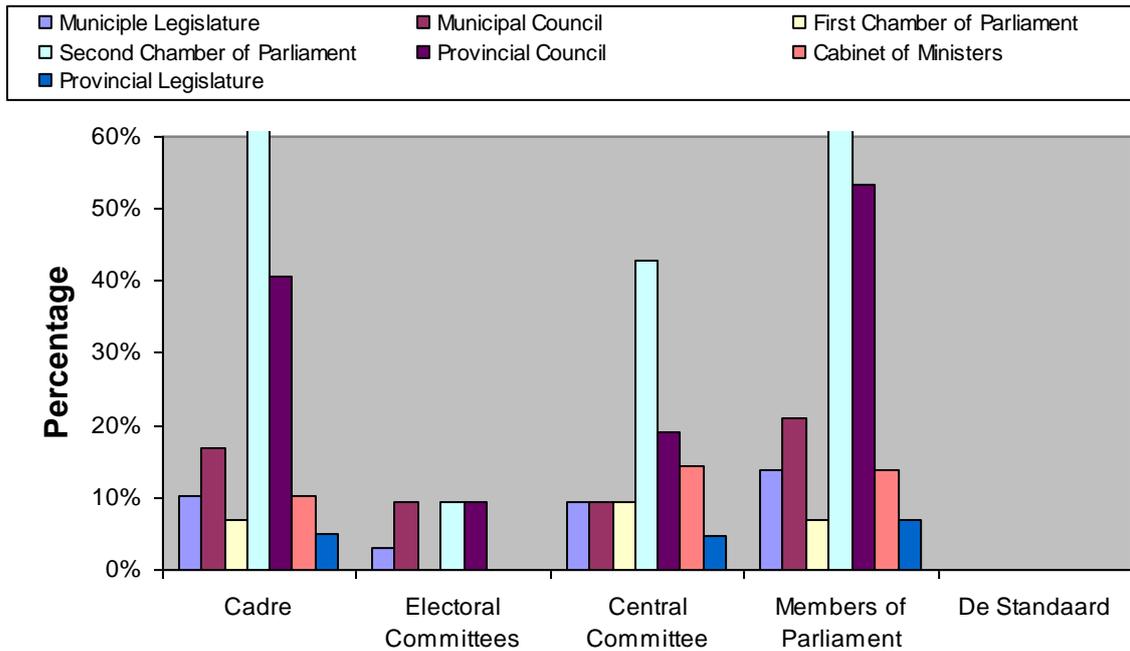
<sup>105</sup> Van den Berg, *De toegang*, 72.



**Graph 16 Political Functions of ARP Cadre Groups Before 1879.**

For the first years of the ARP, from 1879 until 1888, the frequency distribution of the political functions of the ARP cadre groups have been graphed in Graph 17. Two bars representing the percentage of Members of Parliament penetrate the top of the graph, but since membership of Parliament was one of the requirements to be included as a cadre member, the high percentages of this variable are superfluous here and should be ignored.

Overall, the number of political functions in this period is much higher than prior to 1879. This is due to the establishment of the ARP and its success at elections which enabled the cadre members to occupy political positions. Especially the growth of those having held or holding a function in the Provincial Councils grew dramatically, from a mere 10% to 40%. When looking at the Members of Parliament, it is remarkable to note that more than 50% occupied a seat in a Provincial Council, either prior to or in conjunction with membership of Parliament. Those of the Central Committee held numerous political functions while the employees of *De Standaard* did not occupy any political position in this time period.

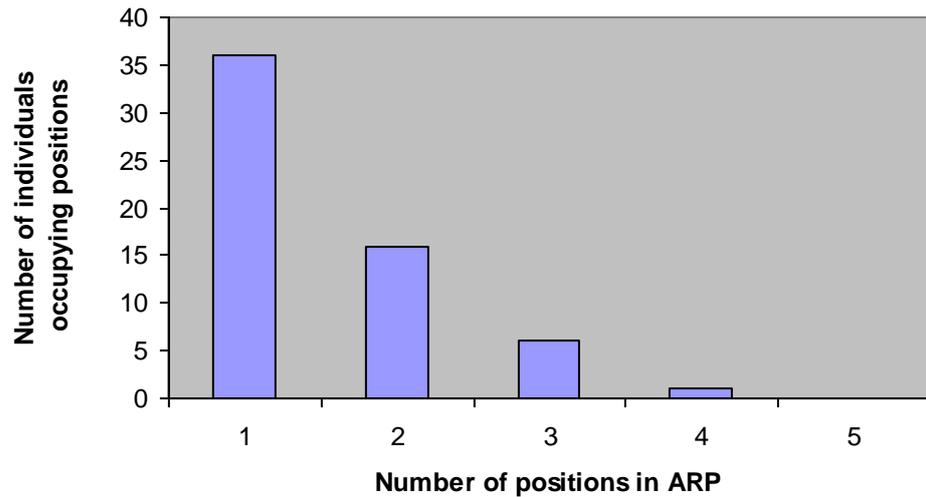


**Graph 17 Political Function of ARP Cadre Groups 1879-1888.**

### ARP Activities

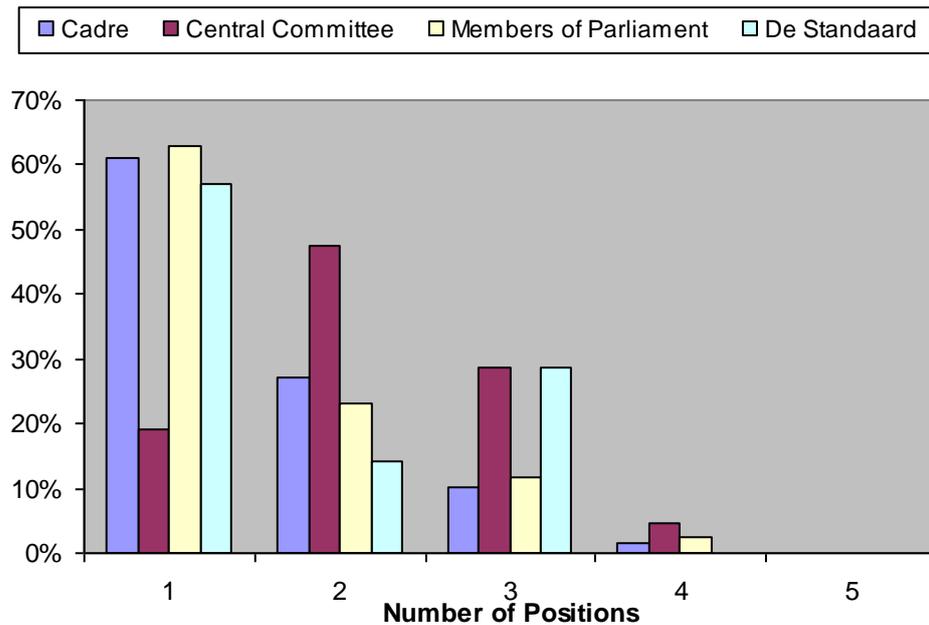
Finally it is of interest to determine how active those in the cadre were within the ARP. To determine how active individual cadre members were, the number of positions within the ARP the cadre members occupied were counted.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>106</sup> This was done using the 'select cases' tool in SPSS to split the dataset where the selection was made based on the sum of the responses. To enable this, all missing values had to be recoded into 'no' or given the value 2, while an affirmative answer has value 1. This allows answers to dichotomous questions to be quantified and used in calculations. For example, occupying a single position within the ARP would give a total of 9 ([1x1] + [4x2]=9) giving an 'if Statement' of: (Sum of ARP positions) = 9.



**Graph 18 Number of Positions in ARP occupied by ARP cadre.**

As can be seen in Graph 18, more than half, 36, of the cadre occupied only a single position within the party with a third, 16, occupying two positions and one tenth, 6, occupying three. Only one individual occupied four positions. This was Savornin Lohman who was a member of the First and Second chambers of Parliament as well as a member of an Electoral Committee and the Central Committee. The only position he did not occupy was that with De Standaard, something he did do prior to 1879 when for a time he took over Kuyper's role as editor in chief.



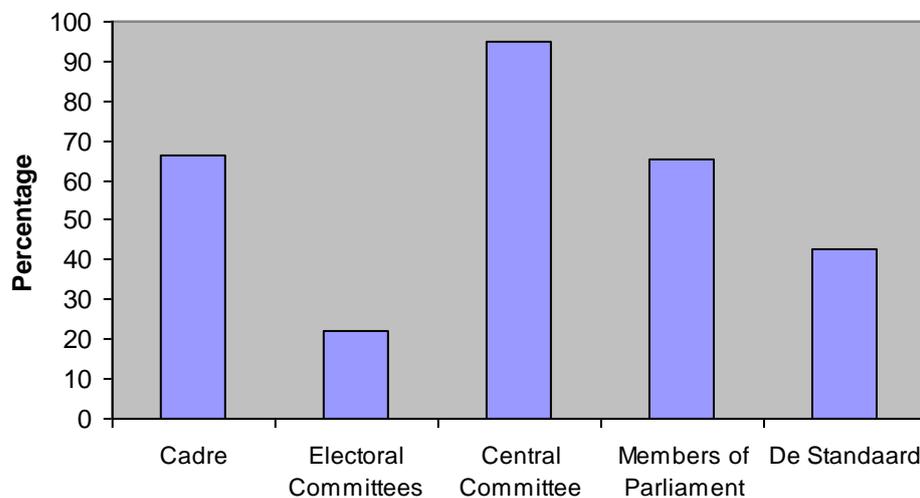
**Graph 19 Percentage of ARP Positions Occupied by Cadre Groups.**

When comparing the different cadre groups, displayed in Graph 19, it is immediately apparent that those in the Central Committee were more active than those in the other cadre groups. For the other groups the majority of members, around 60%, occupied only one position within the ARP while the majority of those in the Central Committee occupied two or more. It is interesting to note that *De Standaard* is split with a large group of 57% occupying one position only and another large group, 30%, occupying three positions. This adds to the view that those in *De Standaard* can be split into two: a small number of active and highly educated leaders and a larger group of employees that work at *De Standaard* but do little else.

An organisation that played an important role in the ARP, but has hereto hardly been mentioned, was the Meeting of Delegates. Since it was a meeting with participants instead of an organisation with members, it was not included in the cadre groups. However, participation in the Meeting of Delegates can be counted for each cadre group and is displayed in Graph 20. Participation was affirmed when the individual was present at at least one Meeting of Delegates. The source for this was a logbook that contained the minutes of the meetings as well as full lists of participants.<sup>107</sup> A majority of the cadre participated in the Meetings.

<sup>107</sup> Minute book of Meetings of Delegates, Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme (1800-heden), Archief van het Centraal Comité van Anti-revolutionaire Kiesverenigingen (1878-1940), 52/1.

Highly striking is the small amount of those in the local Electoral Committees that participated since the Meetings were expressly designed to include them in the national party.



**Graph 20 Participation in Meeting of Delegates by ARP Cadre Groups.**

## Conclusion

To answer the first research question, ideal types are constructed to give a clear overview of who the ARP cadre members were. For a number of the variables tentative explanations have already been attempted as to why the results turned out as they did. An important additional question was whether the ARP cadre members lost-out in the economic and political modernisation in the nineteenth century.

### Ideal types

From the empirical data discussed above ideal types can be constructed that can aid further research. Recollect that the Weberian ideal type is a simplification and a conscious exaggeration of essential features of empirical reality into a unified concept, as was explained in the introduction.<sup>108</sup>

The ARP cadre member was a man in his forties from an upper-class family. He was born in Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel or Gelderland but later moved to Holland or Utrecht. He studied law at Leiden or Utrecht University and was employed as a lawyer. He was a member

<sup>108</sup> Kalberg, *Max Weber's..*

of the Hervormde Kerk, possibly joined the Gereformeerde Kerken later on. He did a little work for social or religious organisations and was a Member of Parliament and probably also occupies other elected positions.

The ideal types are dependent on the research questions and it quickly became apparent that there were differences in the sociological background of the various cadre groups. In order to fully answer who comprised the ARP cadre, the cadre groups must be examined independently.

The ARP Central Committee was a man in his late forties. He was born in Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel or Gelderland and later lived in Holland or Utrecht in one of the four large cities. He studied law or theology at the University of Leiden, Utrecht or Kampen, was employed as a lawyer or clergyman, and he was part of the upper class or the clergy. He was a member of the Hervormde Kerk and may have joined the Gereformeerde Kerken. Next to his membership of the Central Committee, he occupied a number of other positions within the ARP and was a Member of Parliament.

The ARP Member of Parliament was a man in his early forties. He was born into an aristocratic family in the provinces of Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel or Gelderland where he continued to live. He studied law at either Leiden or Utrecht University and was employed as a lawyer. He was a member of the Hervormde Kerk and possibly joined the Gereformeerde Kerken. Next to his membership of Parliament, he also held an elected position in the Provincial Council.

No ideal type will be constructed for the employees of *De Standaard* due to the small group of individuals for which adequate biographical information could be retrieved. Furthermore, the great disparity in sociological background the employees displayed indicate that there was a large cleavage between two groups within the newspaper hampering the construction of a single ideal type. This seems to substantiate the notion of there being editors and there being employees fulfilling menial tasks only.

The ideal type for the Electoral Committees is tentative due to the significant number of individuals in the sample for whom little biographical information could be retrieved. Although diverse, there was no clear dichotomy within the group allowing for a broad ideal type to be constructed. The member of the local Electoral Committee was a man in his forties. He did not have a university education, was employed in trade and belonged to the middle class. Aside from his activities with the Electoral Committee he did not hold formal political positions.

## Conclusion

The groups that comprised the ARP were thus very diverse. The local activists of the Electoral Committees seem to have been the *kleine luyden* the ARP identified with. Their leaders in Parliament and within the Central Committee, however, did not belong to the little people. The Members of Parliament were clearly well off and although they displayed the greatest variance in sociological backgrounds, one group was always predominant rendering it fairly homogenous. The members of the Central Committee, however, displayed a clear dichotomy with one group of upper-class lawyers being very similar to that of the Members of Parliament while the other group was the clergy.

Two sociological groups thus seem to have headed the party, which may be personified by Savornin Lohman on the one hand and Kuyper on the other. This division may have foreshadowed the schism that would take place in 1894 where Lohman seceded and founded a rival anti-revolutionary party. Alternatively, however, this dichotomy may have formed the backbone of the party and in the first decade may have been an asset rather than a liability. Further qualitative research into the relationship between the individuals must reveal the value or cost of this dichotomy.

In the introduction the image was raised of an aggrieved minority organising themselves to launch a counter-revolution against the ruling liberal hegemony. The discussion on the ARP's anti-revolutionary ideology and militant cadre mission supported this view of the party. Did the cadre members belong to groups negatively affected by modernity or were they part of the ruling class?

What is immediately obvious is that none of the cadre members were outright losers. They were in general highly educated and occupied respected professions. Neither workers nor farmers, two professions negatively affected by industrialisation, were well represented and the cadre does not seem to have been adversely affected by economic modernisation. In fact, the ARP made ample use of the benefits of industrialisation to build-up the party.

In terms of class the picture is somewhat different and the classes well represented among the ARP cadre lost out due to political and economic modernisation. Significant numbers came from either the aristocracy who were threatened by a loss of privilege and upward social mobility or from the clergy who were under threat from secularism and political liberalism. Both these classes belong more in the pre-modern world of tradition, heritage and faith than in the modern world. Their opposition is unsurprising. Interestingly, though, is that those in the local Electoral Committees were in majority from the middle class who are normally thought to have benefited from modernity.

The ARP cadre members were not part of the political system. They did not hold government jobs, they were not highly experienced politicians, and they were relatively young. While they had been somewhat active in moral or church and educational organisations they only became active in party politics after the establishment of the ARP. They were thus not part of the political system and in that sense they were outsiders.

From the empirical data collected here it can thus be argued that the ARP cadre members were not losers on the fringe of society but rather managed to flourish in a changing world. Industrialisation does not seem to have impacted the ARP cadre members negatively since they did not belong to the affected classes and made ample use of the benefits. Their positions as aristocrats or clergymen were, however, under threat from political liberalism. To counter this they first became active in various social organisations and upon the founding of the ARP they began engaging in party politics. It thus seems that they were not resentful men with personal qualms but were indeed fighting for fundamental principles.

## IV - The ARP Elite Cadre

---

While filling in the questionnaires for the ARP cadre members and undertaking the statistical analysis on the ARP cadre, it seemed that most of the cadre members were hardly mentioned in either the primary or the secondary literature and many seemed to be rather inactive in the ARP, often limiting participation to a single activity. A number of individuals, however, was mentioned frequently and these men seemed to be active in various fields. Are these De Maistre's four or five men? Can a distinction be made between the cadre of the ARP and what could be called the elite cadre whose members are exceptionally active and influential? What distinguished these men from the rest of the cadre? Were they more or less affected by modernisation?

### Selection

The criteria with which the elite cadre members can be differentiated from the rest of the cadre is taken to be fulfilling active leadership roles and participation in the ARP party. Using a similar method as in Part 3 using the five variables that determine party positions after 1879, seven individuals can be distinguished that occupied at least three positions within the ARP.<sup>109</sup>

In this paper, it has been maintained that the ARP was a party firmly entrenched in the anti-revolutionary movement within which it originated. Positions occupied in the anti-revolutionary movement should thus be included when selecting an elite cadre that led the party as well as the movement. Additional variables denoting activities outside the party must be included. The questionnaire contains 24 variables determining social and political participation, with 11 for the period before 1879 and 13 for the period between 1879 and 1888. Of these variables 4 determine participation in organisations outside the ARP, 14 determine political functions, and 6 determine a role within the ARP. A selection was made from the ARP cadre according to the number of positions the individual occupied.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> This was done using the 'select cases' tool in SPSS to split the dataset where the selection was made based on the sum of the responses. To enable this, all missing values had to be recoded into 'no' or given the value 2, while an affirmative answer has value 1. This allows answers to dichotomous questions to be quantified and used in calculations. Occupying at least three positions within the ARP would thus give a total equal to or greater than 7 ( $[3 \times 1] + [2 \times 2] = 7$ ) giving an 'if Statement' of: (Sum of positions)  $\leq 7$

<sup>110</sup> This was done using the 'select cases' tool in SPSS where the selection was made based on the sum of the responses. To enable this, all missing values had to be recoded into 'no' or given the value 2 while, an affirmative answer has value 1. Occupying at least a single position would give a total equal to or greater than 47 ( $[1 \times 1] + [23 \times 2] = 47$ ) Example of the 'if Statement' for at least one position: (Sum of positions)  $\leq 47$

The elite cadre had to be a small group of men, no more than a handful, that could set out the path and lead the party. Distinguishing what number of positions actually qualifies an individual as belonging to the elite cadre is rather arbitrary, so this had to be determined retrospectively. A method of trial-and-error with different numbers of positions as criteria was employed. Eight positions resulted in a group of five individuals.

<u>With three AR-party positions</u>	<u>With eight AR-movement positions</u>
Donner, J. H.	Donner, J. H.
Elout van Soeterwoude, Jhr. P.J.	Esser, Isaïc
Fabius, D.P.D.	Geer van Jutphaas, B. J. L. baron de
Geer van Jutphaas, B. J. L. baron de	Kuyper, A.
Kuyper, A.	Savornin Lohman, Jhr. A. F. de
Noordtzij, M.	
Savornin Lohman, Jhr. A. F. de	

**Table 4 ARP elite cadre members according to selection criteria.**

### **Brief biographies**

As a way of introducing the eight elite ARP cadre members, brief biographies of each will be provided. More detail on specific aspects of their lives and their involvement in politics will be given in the discussion below. A note on the sources is in order. For a number extensive biographies were readily available that detailed their personal as well as professional life. For others, despite their prominence, little was available beyond the basic outlines of their lives.

Johannes Hendricus Donner (1824-1903) was for twenty years a minister of the Secessionists and later became head of a school for missionaries. In 1879 he became a member of the APR's Central Committee, was elected to Leiden's municipal council, and the following year he was elected to parliament, a role he would fulfil until his death in 1901.<sup>111</sup>

Pieter Jacob Elout van Soeterwoude (1805-1893) was the last of the old combatants. In the campaign against the Belgian secession he was on the staff of the Prince of Orange. He was first elected to parliament in 1853, was active in the Réveil and organised many other religious, moral, educational and political activities. He was a lawyer and later became a judge. In 1878 he presented the anti-school law petition to the King William III, returned to parliament a year later and took a seat in the First Chamber of Parliament in 1886.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> 'Donner' in: P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and Fr.K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, (Amsterdam: Israel 1974) Deel I, 738; 'J.H. Donner' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>.

<sup>112</sup> W. jr. Jonker, *Jhr. Mr. P.J. Elout van Soeterwoude herdacht*, (Rotterdam: D.A. Daamen 1906); 'Elout van Soeterwoude' in: P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and Fr.K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch*

Isaac Esser (1818-1885) was a street minister and autodidact who spent the first part of his life in the Netherlands East Indies where he was employed as a colonial civil servant. He organised many missionary, religious, political and educational activities, both in the colonies and upon his return to the Netherlands. He published numerous articles and pamphlets popularising anti-revolutionary thought. Although he stood for election eight times he never held any elected or governing position.<sup>113</sup>

Dammes Paulus Dirk Fabius (1851-1931) studied law and became the first law professor at the Free University. He was an editor for *De Standaard* and became the long-time secretary of the Central Committee.<sup>114</sup>

Barthold Jacob Lintelo baron de Geer van Jutphaas (1816-1903) studied law and became a law professor at the University of Utrecht. He was active in numerous scientific, religious, political and educational organisations and in the 1850's already campaigned against the liberal Thorbecke. He would hold elected positions in Municipal and Provincial Councils and in Parliament.<sup>115</sup>

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) studied theology and became a minister. He was chairman of the Central Committee and founded *De Standaard* of which he was editor-in-chief, Amsterdam's Free University where he was a professor, and the Reformed Churches.<sup>116</sup>

Maarten Noordt zij (1840-1915) studied theology and was a minister of the Secessionists. He later became a professor at Kampen University. He was involved in numerous religious and educational organisations and held elected positions in the Municipal Council, the Provincial Council and Parliament.<sup>117</sup>

---

*woordenboek*, (Amsterdam: Israel 1974) Deel I, 814; 'Jhr. Mr. P.J. Elout van Soeterwoude' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>; D.P.D. Fabius, *Elout van Soeterwoude*, ('s-Gravenhage: A Berends 1894.

<sup>113</sup> I. Esser, *Antirevolutionaire Catechismus: Ook voor het volk achter de kiezer*, ('s-Gravenhage: H.J. Gerretsen 1874); Jong, R. de. *Uitslagen van de verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer 1848-1918* <<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Verkiezingen>>; W.A. Wieringa, *Isaac Esser* (Drukkerij van de Stichting Hoenderloo 1937); Kuyper, A. 'In Memoriam', *De Standaard* 14 October 1885; Hooft, F.L. van 't, 'Isaac Esser', In Nauta, D. (ed.), *Biografische lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, (Kampen: Kok 1978-2006) Deel I, 77-78.

<sup>114</sup> Gaay Fortman, W.F. de, 'Fabius, Dammes Paulus Dirk 1851-1931', in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* <<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/>>; M.A. Urbanus-Kamper, 'Inventaris van het archief van D.P.D. Fabius' <<http://www.hdc.vu.nl/hdc/Inventarissen/090%20Fabius.pdf>> (10 February 2008); 'Mr. D.P.D. Fabius' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>; I.A. Diepenhorst, *Fabius Herdacht*. (Delft: Uitgeverij van Keulen 1952).

<sup>115</sup> 'Geer van Jutphaas' in: P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and Fr.K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, (Amsterdam: Israel 1974) Deel III, 434-5; 'Dr.Mr. B.J. Lintelo baron de Geer van Jutphaas' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>.

<sup>116</sup> Koch, Abraham; Kasteel, Abraham Kuyper; 'Dr. A. Kuyper' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>.

<sup>117</sup> 'Noordt zij, Maarten', in: Nauta, D. (ed.), *Biografische lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, (Kampen: Kok 1978-2006) Deel III, 284-6; 'M. Noordt zij' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>.

Alexander Frederik de Savornin Lohman (1837-1924) studied law and became a judge. He later became a professor at the Free University and was elected to Parliament.<sup>118</sup>

## **Sociological background**

In order to see whether the leading eight differ from the rest of the ARP cadre the group will be compared to that of the ARP cadre.

### **Age**

The leading eight were on average 50 years old or between 35 and 65 years of age when the ARP was established in 1879. The variance in their age was much greater than that of the cadre as a whole and they were on average older. The oldest was Elout who was born in 1805 and was 74 at the time and the youngest van Fabius who was only 28 when the ARP was established. The difference in age between the two implies an immense difference in experience and they were raised in very different worlds. Elout was old enough to have first-hand experience of the secession of Belgium and to recollect an era before the constitution of 1848 and before industrialisation set in. Fabius, on the other hand, was born after the constitution had come into effect and grew up amidst industrialisation. It is interesting that the anti-revolutionary ideology could transcend such an age difference.

### **Geographic origins and migration**

The eight elite cadre members were in majority, five out of eight, born in Holland and Utrecht. Two elite cadre members, Donner and Fabius, were born in Gelderland and one, Lohman, in Groningen. These proportions affirm Holland and Utrecht as the core regions for the ARP cadre. None in the elite cadre was born in Friesland, affirming the idea raised before that the Frisians were not very active in the party itself despite being relatively well represented in Parliament. In terms of residence, seven resided in Holland and Utrecht with only Noordt zij living in Overijssel. This further highlights the importance of Holland and Utrecht. While Overijssel and Gelderland were important areas for ARP Members of Parliament this was not the case for the more active elite cadre. Both the place of birth and the place of residence denote Holland and Utrecht as the core region for the ARP elite cadre which places them in proximity to the country's centres of economic and political power.

---

<sup>118</sup> L.C. Suttorp, *Jhr. Mr. Alexander Frederik de Savornin Lohman: zijn leven en werken*, ('s-Gravenhage: A.A.M. Stols 1938); 'Jhr.Mr. A.F. de Savornin Lohman' in: *Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>.

However, statistics mask some important details. Lohman, for instance, was born in Groningen and lived and worked in the predominantly Roman Catholic 's-Hertogenbosch in Brabant for many years. It was there that he initially became active in the Schools Question. The most important years of his life were spent outside of the anti-revolutionary core and he only reluctantly moved to Amsterdam after having accepted a teaching position at the anti-revolutionary Free University. For others too the story is more complicated. Kuyper was born in a town in Zuid-Holland and studied at Leiden University in the same province. However, it was in a town in Gelderland, Beesd, that he experienced a religious conversion and turned to orthodox Calvinism. Also for Isaac Esser the story is more complex, being born in Haarlem in Holland, then moving to Kampen in Overijssel and then to the Netherlands East Indies where he too experienced a religious conversion before returning to live in The Hague.

Here we can answer a question we were unable to answer before: if migration was a cause, result or entirely independent of anti-revolutionary activities. In Lohman's case migration to the West was a direct consequence of his political activities and also for Fabius migration to Amsterdam was a direct consequence of his appointment at the Free University. For Kuyper and Donner appointments at churches caused them to move to the West which was before and independent of involvement with the ARP. Noordt zij was appointed to a position at Kampen University in Overijssel after having fulfilled several church positions across the country. The reason for Esser's move to The Hague from the Netherlands East Indies remains unclear but it was most likely related to his religious rather than political activities. De Geer and Elout barely migrated, if at all. Migration, therefore, seems to have been a consequence of employment opportunities and was only related to anti-revolutionary activities if employment coincided with those activities.

As a side-note, it is of interest to mention that several of the elite cadre members travelled widely abroad. Kuyper travelled frequently and spent long periods abroad. Also Elout travelled and corresponded extensively with other nationals. Esser lived in the Netherlands East Indies for many years and travelled widely within the archipelago. In addition to the domestic migration, it shows that the elite cadre members were not sedentary individuals entrenched within their own community but were aware of the wider world and familiar with other cultures and societies.

Although political activism may not have caused migration, once migration was completed the new location did affect political activism. Fabius, for example, was very active in the ARP as editor of *De Standaard* and as secretary of the Central Committee and in 1879 Kuyper asked him to organise the local electoral districts. Fabius reluctantly declined, citing

the distance to Drenthe, where he had accepted a new job, as the reason for his refusal. Location, therefore, did greatly affect the individual's contribution to the party and the assumption made previously that those residing in proximity to centres of power were more inclined to be politically active seems justified.

### **Education, profession and class**

Six of the eight elite cadre members had a university education. Esser had little or no education and had moved to the Netherlands East Indies at the age of nineteen because he professed to have little prospects in the Netherlands. Donner had been trained as a minister outside of the university. Of those that studied at university, four studied law and two studied theology. All those that studied law also completed a PhD, while of those that studied theology only Kuyper completed a PhD. They studied at the Universities of Kampen, Utrecht, Groningen and Leiden, with Leiden University being the most popular with three out of seven having studied there. A crosstabulation between subject and location further reveals that no single university functioned as an anti-revolutionary centre of higher learning. In respect to education, the men of the elite cadre were slightly higher educated than the others but did not display any extra homogeneity.

In terms of profession the members of the elite cadre practiced three occupations that in several cases overlapped. Four were Protestant ministers and two were employed as lawyers and two as academics. However, in total five were later employed as professors at a university with Kuyper, Lohman and Fabius taking positions at the anti-revolutionary Free University. Those that fulfilled positions at universities were both theology, two, as well as law graduates, three. It is interesting to note that Esser, who did not attend university, was for a time on the board of directors of the Free University.

When this is compared to the cadre groups the contrast in diversity is apparent. While the cadre groups included large groups of lawyers and clergymen, there were also soldiers, traders, teachers and men of leisure active in the ARP cadre. The number of lawyers in the elite cadre was comparable to the cadre as a whole, amounting to a quarter of the total, and slightly less than with the Members of Parliament where a third were lawyers. There was a great difference in number of clergymen between the elite cadre and the cadre as a whole with 50% and 15% clergymen respectively. The proportion of clergymen in the elite cadre is comparable to those in the Central Committee which suggests that clergymen were overrepresented in leadership positions. The academics are overrepresented in the elite cadre. It is further interesting to note that none in the elite cadre were employed in trade while this

was a profession held by many in the Central Committee and in the local Electoral Committees. The three professions held by the elite cadre members were those that provided the individual with cognitive skills useful in politics.

Interesting to note is that both Elout and Esser had been obstructed in their careers because of their religious convictions. Elout had been recommended for a high judicial position but was rejected because he had protested against the persecution of the Secessionists. Esser was employed as a civil servant in the colonial government of the Netherlands East Indies when a letter he had sent to the English Evangelical Alliance asking them to pray for the colonies and the arrival of missionaries was published in the press. After threats of expulsion from the colonies, the formal decision to transfer him and Groen van Prinsterer's defence of Esser in Parliament, Esser was transferred to another part of the archipelago where he was repeatedly denied advancement. It is possible that these episodes left a feeling of resentment towards the government.

The social class of the elite cadre members is split in two with four who belonged to the upper classes, of which three to the aristocracy, while the other four belonged to the clergy. The percentage of clergymen was much higher among the elite cadre, 50%, than in the cadre group, 13%, and, together with education and profession it indicates a strong presence of the clergy in the leadership of the party.

The perspective of class is somewhat different if the social class of the father and thus the class the individual grew up in is taken into account. Four had fathers belonging to the upper classes, while Fabius' and Kuyper's father belonged to the clergy, Donner's father to the middle class and Noodtzij's father belonged to the lower class. Further analysis shows that those who were born into the clergy, middle or lower classes became clergyman. Indeed, Donner, Kuyper and Noordtzij all became ministers and this career path may have been a vehicle for upward social mobility. If this was indeed the case then these men did not have modernity to thank for their upward social mobility but rather the institution presumably most threatened by modernity. It was only Esser who suffered downward social mobility, with a father belonging to the upper class while he himself first became a low level civil servant and later a poor minister. There was thus more social mobility among those in the elite cadre than in the cadre as a whole.

An interesting side-note, which may require the attention of psychologists, is that several of the elite cadre members lost their father at an early age and were raised by their mothers. Esser's father died when he was seven, Fabius' when he was nine, Lohman's when

he was eleven and although Elout's father died when he was in his thirties, his father was frequently absent for extended periods of time.

Taking the men's education into account, the group seems to be split in two between lawyers and ministers. What is more, this cleavage largely corresponds to a difference in social class, with the lawyers belonging to the upper classes and the ministers to the middle and lower classes. De Geer, Lohman, Elout are the upper class lawyers and Donner, Noordtzij and Kuyper the middle class ministers. Esser and Fabius bridge the two groups.

The question can then be reiterated whether this dichotomy foreshadows the party schism of 1894 where a group within the ARP split off and formed a party of their own. The schism is often attributed to a difference in social class, which was substantiated in Roel Kuiper's study *Herenmuiterij*. Kuiper focused exclusively on the Members of Parliament and the question remains whether it can be upheld for those in the group leading the party. The biographies of the elite cadre members suggest that this is may be the case. Lohman and De Geer, who left the ARP, belonged to the upper-class-lawyer segment while Kuyper, Donner and Noordtzij in the middle-class-minister group all remained with the ARP, as did Fabius who bridged the divide. Esser and Elout both died prior to the schism. The differences in social class and profession, which both greatly affect a man's outlook, may have been a difference that could not be bridged and the double cleavage seems to have foreshadowed the later schism. But, further research is needed to confirm this suggestion.

## **Religion**

The church membership of the elite cadre displays a clear difference compared to that of the cadre groups. Two of the eight, Donner and Noordtzij, belonged to the Secessionists before 1886 with the other six belonging to the Hervormden. Here statistics again obscure a more complex reality. Lohman, for example, belonged to the Hervormde Kerk only in name as he was raised within a Walloon congregation and personally felt more akin to the Secessionists. Also with Esser the story is more complicated as he initially did not belong to any church at all. As a young man his sympathy went out to the Secessionists who suffered persecution and it was only when he went to work for his uncle that he was pressured into joining the Hervormde Kerk. Elout, too, had sympathy for the Secessionists and protested against their persecution.

After 1886 only De Geer remained Hervormd with the others joining the Gereformeerden. Esser died in 1885 and therefore did not live to see the Doleantie. The proportion that joined the Gereformeerde Kerken was significantly higher than in the other

cadre groups and, together with their earlier sympathies for the Secessionists, suggests that the more orthodox Protestants were more dominant within the party.

What the statistics again obscures is the passion with which these men practiced their faith. Although all were highly religious men, four being ministers, Kuyper and Esser experienced true revelations that immensely impacted their lives. Kuyper's rebirth as a true Calvinist became a legend. While studying in Leiden, Kuyper had been influenced by modern theology but when he was assigned to a congregation in the village of Beesd he was greatly influenced by the faith of the common people, and one woman in particular, and he experience a religious rebirth that provided him with a mission in life. Esser's rebirth also brought him a new mission in life. After his arrival in the Netherlands East Indies he was deeply troubled with what he saw and was deeply unhappy. He tried to undertake good deeds and visited a prisoner convicted of murder. While talking to the prisoner about the New Testament, Esser himself realised the value of the scripture and experienced a religious revelation. Henceforth his life was geared towards spreading the faith.

The religious orientation of the men in addition to their chosen professions greatly emphasise the importance of religion for the ARP elite cadre. As a religious party it is unsurprising to have men of faith leading the party, but the intensity with which they did so distinguishes those in the elite cadre from the others in the cadre and especially from those in Parliament.

### **Social and political activism**

That the men in the elite cadre were very politically active is clear, it was in fact the criterion by which the individuals were selected, but it is relevant to see in which organisations they were active.

The Anti-School Law League and the Committee for the Anti-School Law Petition were instrumental in politically organising the population prior to the founding of the ARP. The League was founded in 1872 and quickly gathered a sizable number of supporters. Of the elite ARP cadre members De Geer, Kuyper and Noordt zij were on the board of the league and also Donner played a part. De Geer was chairman of the organisation but Kuyper took the most initiative and did most of the work.

In 1878 a new school law was proposed and Kuyper, De Geer and Lohman decided to organise a petition to the king. The committee in charge of the petition activated numerous organisations around the country to gather support. It showed the political clout the anti-revolutionaries could muster and provided the motivation to formalise the political

organisation. Kuyper, De Geer and Lohman were on the organising committee and Elout offered the petition to the king.

Most of the elite cadre members were also very active in other organisations outside the party and most of these organisations were either religious in nature, dealing with Christian education or morality. An exception is Fabius who appears to have become socially active only after the period under investigation, but this may have been due to this relative youthfulness being only 28 when the ARP was established. Elout, for instance, was active in the intellectual movement of the Reveil but also numerous other organisations such as the Association for Honouring of the Sunday and the Association for the Abolition of Slavery both of which he helped establish in addition to organisations for the rights of colonial people and for the abolition of the lottery.

Kuyper had written the party program that was a clear move towards more political organisation. The program was then signed by a number of prominent anti-revolutionaries, among whom Elout, De Geer, Lohman and Donner. Five of the eight elite cadre members had thus supported the party program and helped initiate the party. However, despite their support, Kuyper's closest allies De Geer and Lohman offered the most criticism on the program.

With the founding of the ARP in 1879, a Central Committee was established to lead the party and coordinate the local Electoral Committees. Fabius became the secretary and would fulfil that function until 1888. In the first year, the Central Committee also included Kuyper, De Geer and Lohman but all elite cadre members would take a seat in the Committee sooner or later and all thus played a part in the party's leading organisation. It is important to note that those four elite cadre members that joined the Central Committee first were all still prominent party members in 1887 when prior to the elections a delegation consisting of Kuyper, Fabius, De Geer and Lohman met with the Catholic electoral association to discuss cooperation during and after the elections. This subsequently led to their first coalition government in 1888.

The newspaper *De Standaard* had existed since 1872 and was slowly incorporated into the party. Kuyper was the editor-in-chief from the start and would remain the driving force behind the newspaper. Lohman took over the position of editor-in-chief for a year when Kuyper was ill. Fabius and Esser were both editors of the newspapers for a time and both contributed frequently with articles. Kuyper, however, was the only of the elite cadre to be involved with *De Standaard* at length giving him a unique position to influence the worldview of the ARP supporters.

Five of the eight elite cadre members, Donner, De Geer, Noordtjij, Lohman and Elout, were Members of Parliament between 1879 and 1888 with Lohman and Elout initiating the formation of the Parliamentarian's Club. If the whole period from 1869 until 1888 is taken into account this rises to six of eight, with Kuyper having held a seat before 1879. Both Fabius and Esser did not hold seats in Parliament during this period.

The fact that both the secretary of the Central Committee, Fabius, as well as the long-time chairman and editor-in-chief of the party newspaper, Kuyper, were not Members of Parliament seems to suggest that the hub of the party was not in Parliament but in the extra-parliamentary sphere. While Fabius did stand for election on several occasions between 1879 and 1888, Kuyper did not which seems to indicate that staying outside of Parliament was, for him, a purposeful choice. Additionally, once in 1888 the ARP gained its first major electoral success and participated in a coalition government, none of the elite cadre members became government officials.

## **Conclusion**

The elite cadre members were in many respects very similar to the other cadre members. Yet, interestingly, the dichotomy that cleft the Central Committee is also apparent in the elite cadre group. The elite cadre members, too, were split between upper-class lawyers on the one hand and clergy on the other.

None in the elite cadre group can be said to have been a loser in society. They were well educated, well travelled, and most held prominent positions. They were not destitute or economically marginalised. Like the rest of the cadre, industrialisation does not seem to have been detrimental to them.

However, they do appear to have been affected by liberalism and political modernisation as both the aristocrats and the clergy were under pressure from these developments. The emphasis on religion, in terms of education, profession and personal conviction further suggests that liberalism and political modernisation infringed on their world. They were thus, as they themselves maintained, fighting for fundamental principles against a regime encroaching on what they held dear.

## V - Conclusion

---

In 1888, less than a decade after its establishment, the ARP joined its first coalition government together with the Catholics. With this coalition of confessional parties, the liberal hegemony was broken and set the country on a new course. A year later the hated school law was changed. Although the coalition government did not achieve as much as they had hoped, and the following elections brought a liberal government back into office, the cadre of the ARP had established a party that would frequently take part in government coalitions and would exist for more than a century.

This paper sought to answer a number of questions on the group of leading individuals, the cadre, that built up the party and changed the course of Dutch history.

Firstly, the question who comprised the ARP cadre should be answered. In answering this question, let's recollect the quote by Mosca noted in the introduction that the individuals who make up elites "are distinguished...by qualities that give them a certain *material, intellectual or even moral superiority...*"(my emphasis).<sup>119</sup> Indeed, the ARP cadre was largely well-off, was highly educated in fields that provided them with the skills to excel in politics, and fought for fundamental principles as apposed to material gain.

The Weberian ideal type for the ARP cadre members was as follows. The ARP cadre member was a man in his forties from an upper-class family. He was born in Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel or Gelderland but later in life moved to Holland or Utrecht. He studied law at either Leiden or Utrecht University and was employed as a lawyer. He was a member of the Hervormde Kerk and possibly joined the Gereformeerde Kerken later on. He dedicated some time to work for social or religious organisations and was a Member of Parliament and probably occupies other elected positions simultaneously. The ideal types of the various cadre groups are included in the conclusion of Part III.

When comparing the various cadre groups that comprised the ARP cadre, it became apparent that those in Central Committee differed from those in Parliament. While the Members of Parliament showed a great diversity in sociological backgrounds with the largest group being the aristocratic lawyers, the Central Committee showed a clear dichotomy between lawyers and ministers.

This dichotomy between upper class lawyers and the clergymen was also revealed in the elite cadre group. This small group of men, eight in total, were distinguished by their

---

<sup>119</sup> Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, 53.

activism and functioned as true anti-revolutionary leaders. It is possible that the divide foreshadowed the schism of 1894. But, it must also be remembered that up until that schism both those lawyers and those clergymen worked to build-up the ARP and a number of them had worked together for twenty years. Further research is needed to determine whether this dichotomy was to their benefit or detriment.

The second and third research questions pertaining to explaining the cadre's sociological background and understanding the party's origins are directly related to the hypothesis raised that the cadre members came from outside the existing political structure and were negatively influenced by the political and economic modernisation. The empirical evidence discussed in this paper suggests that indeed the cadre members were relative outsiders. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that being affluent and having occupations largely unaffected by the economic changes, they were not negatively affected by industrialisation. However, they did belong to the aristocracy and the clergy and in addition were highly religious which thus seems to suggest that they were negatively affected by political liberalism. With this, the hypothesis seems to be confirmed which answers the remaining research questions.

The picture the empirical data in this study portrays is that of men aggrieved by the liberalisation of their society and their efforts to build an organisation to challenge the liberal hegemony. How exactly they did this remains to be told.

## Literature

### Archives

Minute book of Meetings of Delegates, Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme (1800-heden), Archief van het Centraal Comité van Anti-revolutionaire Kiesverenigingen (1878-1940), 52/1

### References

*Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*

<<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/>>

*Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* <<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN>>

Houniet, Dagmare (ed.) *Thesaurus of Protestant Terms*

<<http://www.hdc.vu.nl/hdc/Thesaurus.pdf>> (12 October 2007).

Jong, Ron de (ed.) *Uitslagen van de verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer 1848-1918*

<<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Verkiezingen>>

Nauta, D. (ed.), *Biografische lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, (Kampen: Kok 1978-2006).

*Parlement en politiek* <<http://www.parlement.com>>

P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and Fr.K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, (Amsterdam: Israel 1974).

### Published materials

Andeweg, Rudy B and Irwin, Galen A., *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2002).

Bax, Erik Hans, *Modernisation and Cleavage in Dutch Society: A study of long term economic and social change*, (Groningen 1988).

Berg, J. Th. J. van den, *De toegang tot het Binnenhof: De maatschappelijke herkomst van de Tweede-Kamerleden tussen 1849 en 1970* (Weesp: van Holkema en Warendorf 1983).

Beus, Jos de, Doorn, Jacques van and Rooy, Piet de. (1996). *De ideologische driehoek: Nederlandse politiek in historisch perspectief. Second Revised Edition*. Amsterdam and Meppel: Boom.

Broeke, Willem van den and Ham, Gijs van der, 'Twintig eeuwen Zeeland, de Zeeuwen en hun verkeer' in: Gijs van der Ham e.a. *Ach lieve tijd: Zeeland Twintig eeuwen Zeeuwen en hun rijke verleden* (Wanders Uitgevers) 58-80.

Burns, Nancy, Lehman Schlozman, Kay and Verba, Sidney, *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality and Political Participation*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press 2001).

Deursen, A. T. van, *Een hoeksteen in het verzuild bestel: de Vrije Universiteit 1880-2005*. (Amsterdam: Bakker 2005).

Deursen, Arie van, 'Van antirevolutionaire richting naar antirevolutionaire partij 1829-1871' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 11-52.

Diepenhorst, I.A., *Fabius Herdacht*. (Delft: Uitgeverij van Keulen 1952).

Dorsman, L. J., '365 jaar rechtsgeleerdheid'. in: Bekkers, W.M.J., Koning, R.H. en Vette, N.J. (eds.). *Rechten in Utrecht: de academische studie in verleden, heden en toekomst*. (Deventer: Kluwer 2002) 19-44.

Duverger, Maurice and North, Barbara and North, Robert (trans.), *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. (London and New York: Methuen & Co and John Wiley & Sons 1954 (1951)).

Esser, I. *Antirevolutionaire Catechismus: Ook voor het volk achter de kiezer*, ('s-Gravenhage: H.J. Gerretsen 1874).

Fabius, D.P.D., *Elout van Soeterwoude*, ('s-Gravenhage: A Berends 1894).

Femia, Joseph V., *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987).

Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001).

Heslam, Peter S., *Creating a Christian Worldview: Abraham Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge and Carlisle: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and The Paternoster Press 1998).

Hofstee, Evert Willem, *Korte demografische geschiedenis van Nederland van 1800-heden* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck 1981).

Janse, Maartje, *De afschaffers: publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek in Nederland 1840-1880* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek 2007).

Janssens, Rienk, *De opbouw van de Antirevolutionaire Partij 1850-1888* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001).

Janssens, Rienk, 'Antirevolutionaire organisatievorming 1871-1879' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 53-72.

Janssens, Rienk, 'Eenheid en verdeeldheid 1879-1894' in: Harinck, George, Kuiper, Roel and Bak, Peter (eds.), *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 73-92.

- Jonker, W. jr., *Jhr. Mr. P.J. Elout van Soeterwoude herdacht*, (Rotterdam: D.A. Daamen 1906).
- Kasteel, P., *Abraham Kuiper* (Kampen: J.H. Kok 1938).
- Kaam, B. van 'De Standaard en het kapitaal' *Vu Magazine*, vol. 1, num. 8 (April 1972), 17-32.
- Kalberg, Stephen, *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers 1994).
- Klinken, Gert van, *Actieve burgers: Nederlanders en hun politieke partijen 1870-1918* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek 2003).
- Klinken, Gert van. 'Gereformeerden per trein' in: Kuiper, Dick and Vree, Jasper, *Het liep op rolletjes: De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail 1839-1939* (Zoetermeer: Meinema 2007) 117-140.
- Knippenberg, Hans and Pater, Ben de, *De Eenwording van Nederland* (Nijmegen: Sun 1988).
- Koch, Jeroen, *Abraham Kuiper: een biografie* (Amsterdam: Boom 2006).
- Kooij, P., *Groningen 1870-1914: Sociale veranderingen en economische ontwikkelingen in een regionaal centrum*, (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum 1987).
- Koole, Ruud, *De opkomst van de moderne kaderpartij: Veranderende partijorganisatie in Nederland 1960-1990* (Utrecht: Aula 1992).
- Kraan, R.G.K., *Ons Tijdschrift 1896-1914: Een literair-historisch onderzoek* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters 1962).
- Kuiper, D. Th., *De Voormannen: Een social-wetenschappelijke studie over ideologie, konflikt en kerngroepvorming binnen de gereformeerde wereld in Nederland tussen 1820 en 1930* (Meppel en Kampen: Boom en J.H. Kok 1972).
- Kuiper, R. *Herenmuiterij: Vernieuwing en sociaal conflict in de antirevolutionaire beweging, 1871-1894* (Leiden: J.J. Groen en Zoon 1994).
- Kuiper, A. 'In Memoriam', *De Standaard* 14 October 1885.
- Kuiper, Abraham, *Ons Program, Derde druk*. (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser: 1892).
- Kuiper, Abraham, *Lectures on Calvinism*. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company ? (1898)).
- Lijphart, Arend. (1968). *Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Maistre, Joseph de and Audenaerde, Roeland (trans.), *De Satanische Revolutie*. (Soesterberg: Aspect 2003 (1796)).

- Marsh, Alan, *Political Action in Europe and the USA* (London: Macmillan 1990).
- Mosca, Gaetano and Kahn, Hannah D. (trans.) and Livingston, Arthur (ed.) *The Ruling Class*. (McGraw-Hill 1939).
- Ploeg, A. van der, *Philippus S. van Ronkel* (Leiden: Uitgeverij J.J. Groen en Zoon 1990)
- Prast, J.A.J., 'Bliksemstralen uit Jeruzalem: Abraham Kuyper en de mannen achter De Standaard', *Documentatieblad voor de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis na 1800*, vol. 31 (December 1989) 35-40.
- Ros, B. van der, 'De Standaard', in: B. van der Ros (ed.) *Geschiedenis van de christelijke dagbladers in Nederland* (Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok 1993) 25-69.
- Rooy, Piet de, *Republiek van rivaliteiten: Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt 2005 (2002)).
- Rooze-Stouthamer, Clasiën and Zwemer, Jan, 'Twintig eeuwen Zeeland, de Zeeuwen en hun ziel en zaligheid' in: Ham, Gijs van der *Ach lieve tijd: Zeeland Twintig eeuwen Zeeuwen en hun rijke verleden* (Wanders Uitgevers) 299-319.
- Secker, W.P. (1991). *Ministers in beeld: De sociale en functionele herkomst van de Nederlandse ministers (1848-1990)*. DSWO Press.
- Staaïj, C.G. van der, 'Contra-revolutionair en anti-revolutionair in de negentiende eeuw: hetzelfde en toch verschillend', *Zicht* (1992-4) 165-173.
- Streek, H.J. van de. 'De christenvrouwen 1880-1940: liefdadigheid, vrouwenbeweging en politiek' in: Bruijn, J. de (ed.) *Een land nog niet in kaart gebracht: Aspecten van het protestants-christelijk leven in Nederland in de jaren 1880-1940* (Passage1987) 217-240.
- Suttorp, L.C., *Jhr. Mr. Alexander Frederik de Savornin Lohman: zijn leven en werken*, ('s-Gravenhage: A.A.M. Stols 1938).
- Tulder, J.J.M van, *De beroepsmobiliteit in Nederland van 1919 tot 1954: Een sociaal-statistische studie* (Leiden: H.E. Stenfert Kroese 1962).
- Urbanus-Kamper, M.A. 'Inventaris van het archief van D.P.D. Fabius' <<http://www.hdc.vu.nl/hdc/Inventarissen/090%20Fabius.pdf>> (10 February 2008)
- Velde, Henk te, 'Van grondwet tot grondwet. Oefenen met parlement, partij en schaalvergroting, 1848-1917' in: Aerts, Remieg, Liagre Bohll, Hermand de, Rooy, Piet de and Velde, Henk te *Land van kleine gebaren: Een politieke geschiedenis van Nederland 1780-1990* (Nijmegen and Amsterdam: SUN 2001) 99-178.
- Vree, Jasper and Kuiper, Dick, 'De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail' In: Kuiper, Dick and Vree, Jasper *Het liep op rolletjes: De eenwording van protestants-christelijk Nederland per rail 1839-1939* (Zoetermeer: Meinema 2007) 9-28.
- Wieringa, W.A., *Isaac Esser* (Drukkerij van de Stichting Hoenderloo 1937).

Wijfjes, Huub (2004). *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, cultuur en organisatie*. Amsterdam: Boom.

Wintle, Michael, *Pillars of Piety: Religion in the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century 1813-1901* (Hull University Press 1987).

Zanden, Jan Luiten van and Riel, Arthur van, *Nederland 1780-1914: Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling*. (Uitgeverij Balans 2000).

## Appendices

### Appendix A - English-Dutch Dictionary of Terms

(extract from Houniet *Thesaurus of Protestant Terms* )

**afgescheidenen** Secessionists / Seceders / Dissenters

**afscheiding** Secession

**deputatenvergadering** Meeting of Delegates

**Doleantie** Doleantie

**Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland** Reformed Churches in the Netherlands

**Hervormde kerk** Dutch Reformed Church

**kamerclub** Parliamentarian's Club

**Kleine Luyden** "Little People"

**Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk** Dutch Reformed Church

**predikant, dienstdoende** – minister in service

**schoolkwestie** Schools Question

## Appendix B - The Questionnaire

Questionnaire respondents ARP cadre

(99) = missing information, (98) = not applicable

1. Case number (CASENUM): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Name (NAME):  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Sex (SEX):  
1= male    2= female
4. Date of birth (DOBIRTH): \_\_\_\_\_
5. Date of death (DODEATH): \_\_\_\_\_
6. Place of birth (POBIRTH)
  - 1= Four large cities
  - 2= Holland en Utrecht
  - 3= Zeeland
  - 4= Friesland
  - 5= Groningen en Drenthe
  - 6= Overijssel en Gelderland
  - 7= Noord-Brabant en Limburg
  - 8= Indië
  - 9= Abroad
7. Place of residence (RESIDE):
  - 1= Four large cities
  - 2= Holland en Utrecht
  - 3= Zeeland
  - 4= Friesland
  - 5= Groningen en Drenthe
  - 6= Overijssel en Gelderland
  - 7= Noord-Brabant en Limburg
  - 8= Indië
  - 9= Abroad
8. Right to vote (VOTE)  
1= yes    2= no
9. Highest education (EDU)
  - 1= PhD
  - 2= university
  - 3= polytechnic school
  - 4= HBS / high school
  - 5= lower school
  - 6= none
10. University field of study (UNIEDU)
  - 1= law

- 2= theology
- 3= letters and philosophy
- 4= sciences
- 5= medicine
- 7= other

11. University (UNILOC)
  - 1= Universiteit Leiden
  - 2= Universiteit Groningen
  - 3= Universiteit Utrecht
  - 4= Universiteit Kampen
  - 5= Universiteit Amsterdam
  - 6= Vrije Universiteit
  - 7= Military Academy (KMA of KIM)
  - 8= University abroad
12. Profession (PROF)
  - 1= clergyman
  - 2= lawyer
  - 3= academic
  - 4= engineer / technical
  - 5= teacher
  - 6= soldier
  - 7= civil servant
  - 8= trade
  - 9= agriculture
  - 10= factory worker
  - 11= agricultural worker
  - 12= other
  - 13= none
13. Social class (CLASS)
  - 1= aristocrat
  - 2= higher class without title
  - 3= clergy
  - 4= middle class
  - 5= working class
  - 6= farmer
14. Social class father (CLASSFA)
  - 1= aristocrat
  - 2= higher class without title
  - 3= clergy
  - 4= middle class

- 5= working class  
6= farmer
15. Church membership (CHURCHA)  
1= Secessionist  
2= Hervormd  
3= other protestant  
4= other
16. Part of Doloeantie (DOLEAN)  
1= yes 2= no
17. Church member after 1886 (CHURCHB)  
1= Gereformeerd  
2= Hervormd  
3= other protestant  
4= other
18. Year member ARP (YEARMEM): \_\_\_\_\_  
19. Year left ARP (YEARLEFT): \_\_\_\_\_

**Period I tot 1878**

20. Member moral organisation (MOORG1)  
1= yes 2= no
21. Member church or edu. org. (CHEDORG1)  
1= yes 2= no
22. Member First Chamber (PARL11)  
1= yes 2= no
23. Member Second Chamber (PARL21)  
1= yes 2= no
24. Member Provincial Parliament (PROV1)  
1= yes 2= no
25. Member Municipal Parliament (MUN1)  
1= yes 2= no
26. Member Cabinet of Ministers (MIN1)  
1= yes 2= no
27. Member Provincial Council (GEDEP1)  
1= yes 2= no
28. Member Municipal Council (BENW1)  
1= yes 2= no

29. Member AR-Electoral Committee  
(ARKIES1)

1= yes 2= no

30. Employee De Standaard (RED1)

1= yes 2= no

**Period II 1879-1888**

31. Member moral organisation (MOORG2)

1= yes 2= no

32. Member church or edu. org. (CHEDORG2)

1= yes 2= no

33. Member First Chamber (PARL12)

1= yes 2= no

34. Member Second Chamber (PARL22)

1= yes 2= no

35. Member Provincial Parliament (PROV2)

1= yes 2= no

36. Member Municipal Parliament (MUN2)

1= yes 2= no

37. Member Cabinet of Ministers (MIN2)

1= yes 2= no

38. Member Provincial Council (GEDEP2)

1= yes 2= no

39. Member Municipal Council (BENW2)

1= yes 2= no

40. Member AR-Electoral Committee  
(ARKIES2)

1= yes 2= no

41. Member ARP Central Committee (CC2)

1= yes 2= no

42. Employee De Standaard (RED2)

1= yes 2= no

43. Participation Meeting of Delegates.  
(DEPUT2)

1= yes 2= no

44. Other board membership (MANAG2)

1= yes 2= no

## Appendix C - ARP Cadre Members

Alphen, J. van  
Asch van Wijck, Jhr. T. A. J. van  
Aylva baron van Pallardt, F. W. J. van  
Baarbé, H.L.  
Beelaerts van Blokland, Jhr. G. J. Th.  
Bichon van Ijselmonde, M.  
Boer, B.M. den  
Boer, F. de  
Borch van Werwolde, A. Ph. R. C. baron van der  
Bosgra, O. T.  
Brantsen van de Zijp, W. G. baron  
Brantsen, C. M. baron  
Brummelkamp, A. jr.  
Brunt, C.  
Buytendijk, S.H.  
Bylandt, Mr. W. K. F. P. graaf van  
Dedem, A. baron van  
Dedem, Mr. G. W. baron van  
Dercksen, H.M.  
Diemer, W.  
Donner, J. H.  
Elout van Soeterwoude, Jhr. P.J.  
Engelberts, D.  
Esser, Isaïc  
Fabius, D.P.D.  
Fabius, J. Ch.  
Gangel, J.H.F. Czn.  
Geer van Jutphaas, B. J. L. baron de  
Glinderman, N.  
Godin de Beaufort, Jhr. K. A.  
Gratama, B.J.  
Hamerling, J.  
Havelaar, J. P.  
Heemskerk, Th.  
Heyblom, E.W.  
Hooft, P. C. 't  
Hoogenbirk, A.J.  
Hoogeveen, G.A.  
Huber, U. H.  
Kempen, L. J. S. van  
Keuchenius, L. W. Ch.  
Kluyve, A.W. van  
Kruyt, J. H.  
Kuyper, A.  
Löben Sels, C. M. E. van  
Lucasse, Ch.  
Mackay, AE. baron  
Mackay, Th. Ph. baron  
Melvil baron van Lyndon, R.  
Miedema, A,  
Mol Moncourt, J.C. de  
Mondriaan, P.C.  
Moquette, F.J.P.  
Nonhebel, J.P.  
Noordtzijs, M.  
Okma, R. K.  
Oppedijk, W. M.  
Otto, H.W.  
Pollema, H.  
Quist, Bastiaan  
Rechteren van Appeltern, G.W. graaf van  
Rechteren van Appeltern, G.W. graaf van  
Rollman, H.  
Roodhuyzen, P.  
Savornin Lohman, Jhr. A. F. de  
Savornin Lohman, W.H. jhr.  
Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, A. baron  
Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, J. E. N. baron  
Seret, H.  
Smit, H.E.E.  
Staal, P.S. van der  
Thomassen a Thuessink van der Hoop van Slochteren, G. H.  
Thomassen a Thuessink van der hoop van Slochteren, A. J.  
Tinholt, ds. L.  
Tulp, J.  
Velzen, S. van jr.  
Vermeulen, C. Adzn.  
Verweijck, R.C.  
Vingerling, A.  
Voorhoeve, J. H.Czn.  
Vries, L. de Hzn.  
Vries, L. W. de  
Waller, H.  
Walsum, A van  
Wassenaer van Catwijck, Mr. O. J. E. baron van  
Wassenaer van Catwijck, O. baron van  
Wolff, L, van der  
Wormser, J.A. jr.

## Appendix D - Data Tables

	Mean	SD	Valid N
Cadre	41,3	11,5	57
Central Committee	48,1	12,6	20
Members of Parliament	40,9	10,9	43
De Standaard	32,5	8,1	6
Electoral Committees	44,6	9,1	19

**Appendix Table 1 Mean Age of ARP Cadre Groups in 1979**

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	The four large cities	16	31,4
	Holland and Utrecht	4	7,8
	Zeeland	1	2,0
	Friesland	7	13,7
	Groningen and Drenthe	3	5,9
	Overijssel and Gelderland	17	33,3
	Noord-Bradant and Limburg	2	3,9
	Netherlands East Indies	1	2,0
	Total	51	100,0
Missing		8	
Total		59	

**Appendix Table 2 Place of Birth ARP Cadre**

	Population 1839	Place of birth cadre
Holland and Utrecht	39,0	39,2
Zeeland	5,3	2,0
Friesland	8,0	13,7
Groningen and Drenthe	8,7	5,9
Overijssel and Gelderland	19,0	33,3
Brabant and Limburg	20,1	3,9

**Appendix Table 3 Place of Birth ARP Cadre and Population 1839. in percentages.**

Population data source: Hofstee Korte

	Population 1839	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
Holland and Utrecht	39,0	39,0	56,3	32,6	75,0
Zeeland	5,3	2,0	0,0	2,3	0,0
Friesland	8,0	13,7	0,0	16,3	0,0
Groningen and Drenthe	8,7	5,9	6,3	7,0	0,0
Overijssel and Gelderland	19,0	33,3	31,3	34,9	25,0
Brabant and Limburg	20,1	3,9	0,0	4,7	0,0
Valid N		51	16	43	4

**Appendix Table 4 Place of Birth ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
The Four Large Cities	40,0	50,0	30,3	75,0
Holland and Utrecht	17,8	31,3	18,2	25,0

Zeeland	8,9	6,3	9,1	0,0
Friesland	11,1	0,0	15,2	0,0
Groningen and Drenthe	2,2	0,0	3,0	0,0
Overijssel and Gelderland	20,0	12,5	24,2	0,0
Brabant and Limburg	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Valid N	45	16	33	4

**Appendix Table 5 Place of Residence ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
University	62,7	57,1	76,7	28,6	12,5
Non-university	37,3	42,9	23,3	71,4	87,5
Valid N	42	12	37	3	6

**Appendix Table 6 Level of Education ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
Law	63,2	61,5	63,6	50,0	75,0
Theology	13,2	38,5	9,1	50,0	25,0
Sciences	2,6	0,0	3,0	0,0	0,0
Other	21,1	0,0	24,2	0,0	0,0
Valid N	38	13	33	2	4

**Appendix Table 7 Type of University Education for ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**

	Valid N	Percentage
Leiden University	14	38,9
Groningen University	2	5,6
Utrecht University	10	27,8
Kampen University	2	5,6
Military Academy	8	22,2

**Appendix Table 8 University location for ARP cadre.**

	Valid N	Percent
clergyman	8	14,5
lawyer	14	25,5
academic	2	3,6
engineer/technical	2	3,6
teacher	1	1,8
soldier	7	12,7
civil servant	3	5,5
trade	7	12,7
agriculture	4	7,3
other	1	1,8
none	6	10,9

**Appendix Table 9 Profession of ARP cadre.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
clergyman	14,5	38,1	7,1	25,0	18,2
lawyer	25,5	19,0	31,0	0,0	4,5

teacher	1,8	0,0	0,0	25,0	13,6
soldier	12,7	0,0	16,7	0,0	0,0
trade	12,7	23,8	4,8	25,0	45,5
Valid N	55	21	42	4	22

**Appendix Table 10 Top 5 Professions of the ARP Cadre Groups.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
aristocrat upper class without title	41,5	31,6	47,6	0,0	8,3
clergy	24,5	10,5	28,6	25,0	16,7
middle class	13,2	36,8	7,1	25,0	8,3
working class	15,1	21,1	9,5	50,0	58,3
farmers	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	4,2
	5,7	0,0	7,1	0,0	4,2
Valid N	53	19	42	4	24

**Appendix Table 11 Social Class of ARP Cadre Groups.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
Secessionist	8,3	13,3	9,8	0,0	0,0
Hervormd	87,5	86,7	87,8	75,0	100,0
Other Protestants	2,1	0,0	2,4	0,0	0,0
Other	2,1	0,0	0,0	25,0	0,0
Valid N	48	15	41	4	6

**Appendix Table 12 Church Affiliation ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard	Electoral Committees
Support for Doleantie Joined Gereformeerde Kerken	16,9	23,8	18,6	42,9	25,0
	32,2	47,6	39,5	42,9	15,6
Valid N	34	8	30	4	13

**Appendix Table 13 Support for Doleantie and Gereformeerde Kerken Among ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
Moral organisations	8,5	19,0	4,7	0,0
Church or educational organisations	23,7	52,4	18,6	28,6

**Appendix Table 14 Membership of moral organisations, and church and educational organisations before 1878 for ARP cadre groups, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
Moral organisations	8,5	14,3	7,0	0,0
Church or educational organisations	22,0	38,1	18,6	42,9

**Appendix Table 15 Membership of moral organisations, and church and educational organisations 1879-1888 for ARP cadre groups**

	Cadre	Electoral Committees	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
Municiple Legislature	6,8	3,1	4,8	9,3	0,0
Municipal Council	5,1	9,4	0,0	7,0	0,0
First Chamber of Parliament	3,4	0,0	4,8	4,7	0,0
Second Chamber of Parliament	6,8	0,0	9,5	9,3	14,0
Provincial Council	10,2	6,3	4,8	14,0	0,0
Cabinet of Ministers	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Provincial Legislature	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

**Appendix Table 16 Political Functions of ARP Cadre Groups Before 1879, in percentages.**

	Cadre	Electoral Committees	Central Committee	Members of Parliament
Municiple Legislature	10,2	3,1	9,5	14,0
Municipal Council	16,9	9,4	9,5	20,9
First Chamber of Parliament	6,8	0,0	9,5	7,0
Second Chamber of Parliament	71,2	9,4	42,9	97,7
Provincial Council	40,7	9,4	19,0	53,5
Cabinet of Ministers	10,2	0,0	14,3	14,0
Provincial Legislature	5,1	0,0	4,8	7,0

**Appendix Table 17 Political Function of ARP Cadre Groups 1879-1888, in percentages.**

	1	2	3	4	5
Number of positions	1	2	3	4	5
Number of individuals	36	16	6	1	0

**Appendix Table 18 Number of Positions in ARP occupied by ARP cadre.**

<b>Cadre</b>					
Number of positions	1	2	3	4	5
Percentage of individuals	61%	27%	10%	2%	0%
<b>Central Committee</b>					
Number of positions	1	2	3	4	5
Percentage of individuals	19%	48%	29%	5%	0%
<b>Members of Parliament</b>					
Number of positions	1	2	3	4	5
Percentage of individuals	63%	23%	12%	2%	0%
<b>De Standaard</b>					
Number of positions	1	2	3	4	5
Percentage of individuals	57%	14%	29%	0%	0%

**Appendix Table 19 Percentage of ARP Positions Occupied by Cadre Groups.**

	Cadre	Electoral Committees	Central Committee	Members of Parliament	De Standaard
Percentage attending	66,10169	21,875	95	65,11628	42,85714
Valid N	59	13	20	41	7

**Appendix Table 20 Participation in Meeting of Delegates by ARP Cadre Groups, in percentages.**