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Protestant European Politics Yesterday and Today: The Example of Adolf Schlatter, Adolf Stoecker and Abraham Kuyper

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SUMMARY

Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) and Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938) were both in touch with Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909) at the end of the nineteenth century. Their interaction with the German Lutheran politician and party-founder is fascinating in many respects. In this essay,

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RÉSUMÉ

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) et Adolf Schlatter (1852-1938) ont tous deux été en relation avec Adolf Stoecker (1835-1909) à la fin du xix^e siècle. Leur interaction avec cet homme politique allemand et luthérien, fondateur d'un parti politique, est à bien des égards fascinante. Le présent article compare l'approche réformée et l'ap-

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) und Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938) standen beide Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Verbindung mit Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909). Ihr Austausch mit dem deutschen lutherischen Politiker und Parteigründer beeindruckt in vielerlei Hinsicht. In diesem Aufsatz vergleiche ich reformierte und lutherische

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1. Introduction

The political landscape in Europe is changing. Fuelled by acts of terror committed by Islamist extremists in Berlin, Paris and Brussels, nationalist right-wing parties are gaining considerable support on the continent. In the last French presidential election, far-right candidate Marine Le Pen of the Front National made it to the second round, and,

I compare Reformed and Lutheran approaches to politics using the example of the interaction between Kuyper, Schlatter and Stoecker. This historical case study offers much food for thought as we today seek to deal with the growing support for right-wing parties in Europe, and as we intend to offer a theologically balanced approach to Christian engagement in the realm of politics.

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proche luthérienne de la politique à partir du cas de cette interaction entre Kuyper, Schlatter et Stoecker. Cette étude historique donne beaucoup de matière à penser dans le contexte actuel où l'on doit faire face à la montée des partis d'extrême droite en Europe et où nous cherchons à présenter une approche théologiquement équilibrée de l'engagement chrétien dans la sphère politique.

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Zugänge zur Politik anhand des Beispiels vom Austausch zwischen Kuyper, Schlatter und Stoecker. Diese historische Fallstudie bietet viele Denkanstöße, wenn wir heute versuchen, mit der wachsenden Unterstützung für extreme rechts-außen Parteien in Europa umzugehen und dabei einen theologisch ausgewogenen Ansatz für christliches Engagement im Bereich der Politik bieten wollen.

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whilst she was defeated by Emmanuel Macron, gained an impressive proportion of votes (33.9%). Geert Wilders' populist Party for Freedom (PVV) came in second at the last general elections in the Netherlands and in Germany the right-wing populist party Alternative for Germany (AfD) recently won its first seats in the Bundestag at the federal elections.

In my view there is much to learn from the past as we seek to deal with the growing support for right-wing parties in Europe today. The Protestant tradition offers considerable theological impulses and it is, in my view, a worthwhile endeavour to explore historical examples in order to make progress in our discussions today. In this essay, I compare the positions of Dutch Neo-Calvinist and political party-founder Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920)¹ and his Swiss contemporary, the Reformed theologian Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938)² with that of the German Lutheran politician and party-founder, Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909).³ Kuyper and Schlatter were both in touch with Stoecker during the late nineteenth century, and I intend to trace their individual encounters, giving special attention to their theological-political viewpoints. This historical exercise will allow us to chisel out distinct theological elements of a public theology that bears significant potential to inspire an informed and effective Christian political involvement today.

The essay proceeds as follows: I will set the scene by introducing, very briefly, our three main protagonists, Kuyper, Schlatter and (in a bit more detail) Stoecker. We shall then trace the historical encounters between Kuyper and Stoecker, and Schlatter and Stoecker, respectively, particularly focusing on their views on politics. In a third and final step we will analyse the features of Kuyper's and Schlatter's Calvinist politics as distinct from the politics of German Lutheranism, epitomised by Stoecker. I will explore how their views apply to our current discussion of what is often referred to as 'public theology'.⁴

2. Kuyper, Schlatter and Stoecker

Who was Abraham Kuyper? Born as the son of a pastor in 1837, Kuyper became himself a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church after earning the doctorate in theology at the University of Leiden in 1867. During his first pastorate in Beesd (he later served in Utrecht and Amsterdam), he experienced a Christian conversion and discovered Calvinism as an overall worldview to which he would adhere throughout his career. It soon became evident that Kuyper was not only a talented pastor with a clear vision to pursue social equality, but that he was also a gifted journalist, networker, organizer and politician, so much so that he would eventually labour in all these different areas: as journalist, Kuyper authored over

twenty-thousand newspaper articles (in *De Heraut* and *De Standaard*), he was the co-founder of the Free University in Amsterdam (*Vrije Universiteit*, 1880), where he also served as theology professor; he was involved in the establishment of a new denomination (the *Gereformeerde Kerken*), and he was the leader of a political party for forty years (the *Anti-Revolutionary Party*), also serving as the prime minister of the Netherlands from 1901 to 1905. In the later stage of his career, Kuyper was invited to the United States, where he delivered the Stone Lectures on Calvinism at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1898. These influential lectures are still in print and they offer a good introduction into Kuyper's mature thought on public theology. In 1920, at the age of 83, Kuyper died in The Hague.

At the time when Abraham Kuyper founded the newspaper *De Standaard* and launched his political career, Adolf Schlatter (born 1852) began his studies in theology, first in Basle (1871–1873), and then in Tübingen (1873–1874). He was subsequently ordained as a minister in the Swiss Reformed state church and served as a parish minister for several years. In 1880, when Kuyper established the Free University in Amsterdam, Schlatter took up his teaching career in Bern as a private lecturer. Eight years later, he was called to Greifswald in the north-east of Germany, where he became one of the main proponents of the positive Greifswald school that was designed to counterbalance the influence of Ritschlian theology in the German Protestant faculties.⁵ In 1893, Schlatter moved to Berlin to take up the newly established chair for systematic theology at the University of Berlin.⁶ Five years later, in 1898, when Kuyper delivered his 'Stone Lectures on Calvinism' in Princeton, Schlatter accepted the call to the University of Tübingen where he would live and teach for nearly four decades until his death in 1938. For Schlatter as well as for Kuyper, obviously, theology and church were inseparable. The Swabian professor was involved in the Württemberg church, both as a preacher in the Tübingen *Stiftskirche* and as a member of the synod. He was also committed to participate in (and organise) various church-related groups and activities. What is more, Schlatter had a keen interest in politics. In his public speeches, he continually encouraged Christians to take an active part in politics, insisting that political engagement is mandatory for Christians.⁷ Around the late 1920s, he was personally active in the political

and social movement *Christlich-sozialer Volksdienst* (Christian-social Service for the People, CSVD, 1929–1933). This conservative Protestant party had its origin in Adolf Stoecker's Christian Social Party, founded a few decades earlier.

Our brief biographical outline reveals significant overlaps between Schlatter and Kuyper: Both were Reformed theologians, parish ministers, university professors, and both were engaged in the public sphere, Kuyper certainly more so than Schlatter. Through their lives and their diverse interests and activities, both set examples of theological *and* political engagement, always with the perspective of the whole of human experience and for the good of the 'little people', *de kleine luyden*, as Kuyper would have said. What is more, both were in touch with the German Lutheran minister, politician and party founder, Adolf Stoecker, to whose biography we turn next.

Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909) studied theology in Halle⁸ and Berlin.⁹ In 1863, he was appointed as the Lutheran minister of a small parish in Saxony-Anhalt, and subsequently of a small industrial town near Magdeburg (1866), where he was confronted with the troubles of the working population, first and foremost their precarious labour conditions. Improving this situation and re-Christianising the workers, who were very much disconnected from the church, was from this point on very much on his agenda. In 1871, Stoecker became the pastor of the garrison in Metz, and he was courageous enough to preach on the battlefield during the Franco-Prussian war.¹⁰ His talent to deliver impressive speeches and sermons was recognised by the entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm I, and Stoecker was appointed fourth chaplain to the royal court in Berlin in 1874, where he preached until his dismissal in 1890.¹¹ A few years later, in 1877, Stoecker was also appointed leader of the Berlin City Mission (*Stadtmission*).¹² In Berlin, he was again faced with the dire needs of the proletariat and he was alarmed by its estrangement from and disillusion with the church.¹³ Stoecker realised that the working class might be susceptible to Marxism (which he rejected as ungodly) and he thus attempted to formulate an alternative Christian socialist answer that could appeal to the middle and lower classes. In 1878, he took the initiative to found the Christian Social Labour Party (*Christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei*). The party's programme promoted, for example, reforms of the work place, prohibition of work on Sundays, support for widows and invalids, implementa-

tion of health care, and high taxation on luxury products¹⁴ – issues that were also very much on Kuyper's political agenda.¹⁵ Stoecker writes, and this could also have been penned by Kuyper as well as by Schlatter:

It is essential that Christians carry the vision of the Kingdom of God into the world, working and struggling, believing and praying, witnessing and suffering, so that as much as possible will be glorified in the light of Christ. Christians, then, cannot just authorize but must be engaged in the practice of Christian morality in the world, in order to win others and to endeavour to shape this world by the ideal of the Kingdom of God.¹⁶

What distinguishes Stoecker's approach from his Reformed contemporaries, however, and we will return to this issue later, is that he primarily addresses those who are in authority; reforms had to come '*von oben*' (top-down) and not from below, bottom-up.¹⁷ In the elections of July 30, 1878, however, Stoecker's party proved to be unsuccessful: The Christian Social Labour Party won less than one per cent of the vote, thus failing to get a seat in the *Reichstag*.¹⁸ After the attacks on Kaiser Wilhelm I in summer 1878, one of them committed by a young socialist, any socialist movement was to suffer opposition. In October of the same year, *Reichskanzler* Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) limited the political rights of the socialists by means of the so-called 'socialists' law' (*Sozialistengesetz*), and he even considered banning Stoecker's Christian Social Labour Party.¹⁹ As a consequence, Stoecker tried to appeal to a more middle-class constituency and in 1881 he removed the word 'worker' (*Arbeiter*) from the party's name.²⁰ The Christian Social Party (*Christlich-Soziale Partei*, CSP), as it was called from then on, however, remained a minority party. It soon gave up its independence and was incorporated into the German Conservative Party (*Deutschkonservative Partei*, DKV), of which Stoecker was one of the most influential and successful members. Stoecker sat as a representative of the German Conservative Party in the *Reichstag* from 1881 until 1893.

Later in his career, Stoecker unfortunately exhibited clear anti-Semitic tendencies. In his view, one had to counter liberalism whose main proponent was, according to him, modern Judaism.²¹ Some argue that by his notorious public speeches Stoecker laid the foundation for later anti-Semitic movements.²² In 1890, he lost his position as a

court preacher, not least due to his anti-Semitic language.²³ Kaiser Wilhelm II dismissed him after receiving a complaint about an anti-Semitic speech Stoecker had delivered at the German Conservative Party's gathering in Karlsruhe.²⁴ Stoecker became increasingly politically isolated and was finally, in 1896, asked to leave the Conservative Party.²⁵ His friends, however, were able to secure for him a rectorate at the church of the Berlin City Mission (*Stadtmission*) and he remained an influential figure in church politics. He for instance initiated the Protestant-Social Congress (*Evangelisch-sozialer Kongress*, 1890), which offered a platform for a Christian academic discussion of social problems,²⁶ and he also organised Protestant Church Assemblies (*Landeskirchliche Versammlungen*), where he found a close ally in Adolf Schlatter. In his later years, Stoecker continued with his various activities, although with less influence and success, and he died in 1909 in Bozen, Tyrol. Having introduced the main protagonists, we now turn to Kuyper's and Schlatter's encounter with Stoecker.

3. Dutch and Swiss Calvinism meets German Lutheranism

3.1 Kuyper and Stoecker

The cultural developments in Germany in the late nineteenth century fascinated its Dutch neighbours. The influential Dutch politicians Johan Rudolph Thorbecke (1789–1872) and Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1876),²⁷ and the writer Eduard Douwes Dekker (1820–1887, better known as 'Multatuli') all travelled (or even moved, as did the latter) to Germany to explore the exciting progress made in the realms of science, the arts and in politics.²⁸ Dutch historian and politician, Roel Kuiper, writes:

At the time Germany was the dominating influence in philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, history, art and literature, and in the Netherlands people paid close attention to it. It is almost impossible to flip open a nineteenth-century Dutch book on science that does not discuss, or brag about, German scholarship.²⁹

Prussia as a Protestant state was considered by some as a kind of role model for the Netherlands, and the Dutch Protestants carefully observed the political developments of their neighbours. In so doing they could not overlook Adolf Stoecker.³⁰ His name was thus mentioned in the *Standaard* and in several other publications in the Netherlands.³¹

The Dutch orthodox Protestant scene particularly appreciated the way in which Stoecker approached the 'social question' (*sociale quaestie*). What Abraham Kuyper probably found most interesting in Stoecker, was the fact that he had been able to launch a Christian social party, and he wondered whether there were things to learn from Stoecker for his own purposes and plans. One must bear in mind that by 1874, Kuyper had become the successor of Groen van Prinsterer as the leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, and since then he sought to infuse new life into the party, together with the provision of a clear theoretical (and theological) foundation.³² Kuyper had penned the party programme *Ons Program* as early as 1876, which laid the foundation for the future development of the Anti-Revolutionary Party.³³ In January 1878, Kuyper reports in the *Standaard* on the establishment of a Christian Social Labour Party in Berlin,³⁴ and a month later, on 12 February, the programme of Stoecker's party was printed *verbatim* in the Dutch newspaper.³⁵ As the translation of a Christian social emphasis into political action was also Kuyper's goal, he became curious enough to seek a personal encounter with Stoecker.

After Abraham Kuyper, a notorious workaholic, had recovered from a burnout he suffered in early 1876, he made plans to visit Stoecker. In September 1878 he travelled to Berlin together with the Amsterdam ale-brewer Willem Hovy (1840–1915) and was Stoecker's guest for a day.³⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know what Kuyper and Stoecker discussed during their meeting. They most likely met again during one of the summer holidays Kuyper spent in Switzerland, where Stoecker owned a house; and they may have met again in London a few years later, in November 1883.³⁷ In all likelihood, Kuyper and Stoecker exchanged at least some letters; only one letter survives, however (Stoecker to Kuyper in April 1879, see below). Around six months after his visit to Stoecker, Kuyper sent him the collection of his *Standaard* essays, containing the programme of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, which was later published as *Ons Program*.³⁸ Stoecker responded that he was impressed with Kuyper's work, even noting that he will have to learn Dutch in order to understand Kuyper's programme better.³⁹ Stoecker writes:

Dear Dr, precious brother, let me express my heartfelt gratitude for the lovely book you sent me. It is a fine souvenir of the beautiful day I

was able to spend here with you [and Mr Hovy]. I am resolved to learn Dutch in order to fully understand your book, which for us Germans is not difficult at all. I will let you know what I think about it. Here, the [work of the] Christian Social Labour Party continues steadily.⁴⁰

I suspect Stoecker never really learnt Dutch. He was quite busy at the time as he had been elected as a representative for the *Reichstag*, and his focus somewhat shifted towards opposing the liberal Jewish upper class. Apparently, Stoecker, more pragmatist and propagandist, was less interested in theoretical discussions about political programmes and he did not really reciprocate his Dutch neighbour's interest in a personal exchange about the foundations of Christian politics. So much for their, albeit short, personal encounter. Let us now take a closer look at characteristic similarities and differences of these two figures.

Abraham Kuyper and Adolf Stoecker are similar in many respects.⁴¹ Both were theologians, pastors, writers, gifted speakers, politicians and party leaders. They equally pursued a policy to alleviate the situation of the working class who suffered from the industrial revolution, and both believed that this must be done in an organic, peaceful way – they both abhorred the idea of a revolution (as did Schlatter).⁴² Moreover, both exhibited anti-Semitic tendencies, Stoecker obviously much more seriously than Kuyper.⁴³ (This topic has been sufficiently explored elsewhere.)⁴⁴ The striking similarities between these two figures provoked some scholars to regard Kuyper as a 'Dutch Stoecker'. Yet, as our ensuing discussion will show, this is a misleading observation.⁴⁵

What then are the significant differences between the two? Four major points are worth mentioning: First, as noted earlier, Kuyper lays heavy emphasis on the theoretical-theological foundations of politics, whereas Stoecker's approach is rather pragmatic. Secondly, Kuyper's emphasis on sphere sovereignty stands in opposition to Stoecker's mingling of nationalism with religion. Thirdly, Kuyper could not agree with Stoecker's state-socialism and, fourthly, Kuyper attributes their different outlooks to their different denominational affiliations (Reformed vs. Lutheran). Each of these points will be explored in turn.

3.1.1 Theory versus pragmatism

To begin with, Abraham Kuyper approached politics on the basis of his Calvinist *Weltanschauung*,

as he explains in his Stone Lectures,

Calvinism made its appearance, not merely to create a different Church-form, but an entirely different form of human life, to furnish human society with a different method of existence, and to populate the world of the human heart with different ideals and conceptions.⁴⁶

For Kuyper it was vital to first establish the (theoretical) theological and ethical foundations of Christian political engagement, before he would indeed venture into politics, defending the interests of the *kleine luyden*.⁴⁷ Stoecker, on the other hand, was more of a pragmatist and less interested in philosophical-theological *prolegomena* to politics.⁴⁸ He was first and foremost a preacher who focused on the pressing needs of the working class. This is also reflected in the fact that his political programme for the Christian Social Labour Party is a mere two pages long,⁴⁹ whereas Kuyper's is a massive opus of 1300 pages.⁵⁰ For this reason, Kuyper, though appreciating Stoecker on a personal level, was finally unable to establish a political link with him. Kuyper writes:

Indeed I had a heartfelt sympathy for Stoecker's demeanour, yet I warmly recommended [that he should write] a political statement in a general sense more than once. In the social domain, he appeared energetically and brisk; his social politics, however, remained in mid-air, lacking a general political foundation. For this reason, it was impossible for us to associate ourselves with his aspiration.⁵¹

Adolf Schlatter, as we shall see in due course, very much echoes Kuyper's criticism.

3.1.2 Nationalism

Moreover, Kuyper was unhappy with Stoecker's tendency to almost conflate the German empire with the kingdom of God, thus blending, as it were, church and state. Right after the proclamation of the German empire in 1871, Stoecker wrote to a friend, 'The holy Protestant kingdom of the German nation is consummated ... in this sense we recognise God's work from 1517 to 1871.'⁵² For Stoecker, 'the love of God and the love of the fatherland' were one.⁵³ 'Christianity – Kingdom – Fatherland', this was his main slogan with which he inspired the masses.⁵⁴ This view is clearly antagonistic to Kuyper's own motto of sphere sovereignty (*souvereiniteit in eigen kring*), where the realms of church and politics are supposed to be independent from each other.⁵⁵

3.1.3 *Social matters*

Kuyper also felt that Stoecker consigned too much responsibility to the state in regards to social matters. The Dutch Neo-Calvinist politician could not agree with the German Lutheran who intended to shift, he felt, too much responsibility to the Prussian state, pursuing a kind of ‘state-socialism’. His own position was that both employer and employee would share the social responsibilities,⁵⁶ thus emphasising the freedom and responsibilities of the smaller political entities. Unlike Stoecker, Kuyper was more critical towards what he considered to be the centralistic and almost authoritarian form of governance that Prussia embodied and pursued.

3.1.4 *Denomination*

Interestingly Kuyper actually attributes these diverse political styles and preferences to their underlying different denominational outlooks: The Lutheran, Kuyper feels, tends to emphasise the authority of the state (and the church), whereas the Calvinist seeks to promote the self-governance of the different spheres.⁵⁷ Prussian Lutheran state politics thus necessarily leads to immature citizens, Kuyper argues, whereas Calvinist politics encourages active political participation of the smaller social units. ‘Now it was to be not the sovereignty of the people,’ Kuyper writes, ‘but the Sovereignty of the State, a product of Germanic philosophical pantheism.’⁵⁸ Clearly, Kuyper’s Calvinist politics, with its emphasis on sphere sovereignty, on personal responsibility and on freedom is at odds with Stoecker’s centralistic and socialist Lutheran politics.

3.2 Schlatter and Stoecker

We now turn to Adolf Schlatter’s encounter with and evaluation of Stoecker. Schlatter met Stoecker almost a decade after Kuyper had travelled to Berlin. In contrast to Kuyper, Schlatter thus encountered the later Stoecker, whose most successful days lay in the past. In 1888, Schlatter moved to Greifswald where he took the position of professor of New Testament. About two years later, in June 1890, he met Stoecker at the Berlin Pastoral Conference (*Berliner Pastoralkonferenz*),⁵⁹ and, like Kuyper, he was personally impressed with the Berlin preacher. Schlatter wrote to his mother:

I liked him very much in his ... simplicity [*Schlichtheit*] and naturalness. He has serious and honest intentions, and he is, in his own way,

a very smart man.⁶⁰

Although Stoecker had by then passed the prime of his career and was also known for his anti-Semitic comments, he still seemed to possess the charisma of a winsome speaker. Schlatter apparently did not seem to take Stoecker’s anti-Semitic tendencies seriously. I am not aware of any critical comments by Schlatter to this effect and this is clearly one of Schlatter’s weak points one must not overlook. Overall, Schlatter was more interested in Stoecker’s secular and ecclesial political trajectory, of which he expresses both approval and criticism.

We shall now take a closer look at Schlatter’s encounter with and evaluation of Stoecker. Schlatter commends Stoecker’s socio-ethical vision and his emphasis on an active Christianity; he also agrees and even sides with him in matters of church policy, but – much like Kuyper – he was unable to agree with Stoecker’s overall political programme.

3.2.1 *Socio-ethical vision*

Schlatter was intrigued by Stoecker’s socio-ethical ambitions. Schlatter had ‘the strong impression’ that Stoecker would be ‘a healthful element in our Prussia and, particularly, in our Berlin’.⁶¹ Hence, Schlatter wished that his students would learn from Stoecker ‘not to be ashamed of the gospel and to have a heartfelt concern for the misery of our people and cities’.⁶² This social misery, Schlatter felt, was adequately recognised neither by the state nor by the church. He was particularly unhappy about what he considered an atmosphere of Pietistic passivity within the Protestant church. He criticises the passive believer who regards the Christian life as ‘a journey of tears until we reach a blessed death’.⁶³ Therefore, Schlatter welcomed Stoecker’s emphasis on an active Christianity that cared for the poor and the neglected people in the here-and-now. In Stoecker he admired the combination of gospel preaching with social ethics; an orthodoxy that was accompanied by orthopraxy. It remains to be seen whether Schlatter correctly interpreted Stoecker’s theological approach as orthodox or whether his version of the gospel was an exclusively social gospel that was emptied of the traditional Protestant doctrines. At any rate, Schlatter welcomed the Berlin preacher’s clear pragmatic approach as providing a healthy renewal of the Protestant church in Germany at the time.

3.2.2 Church policy

When it came to church politics, Schlatter was prepared to agree with Stoecker and even to side with him. In order to understand Schlatter's reasons for supporting Stoecker, one needs to take into account the German cultural-historical background at the *fin de siècle*. The Prussian state, with its ideal of a secular *Wissenschaftsstaat*, was keen to strengthen its influence over the Protestant theological faculties.⁶⁴ At the same time, it was the liberal faculties who felt that their pursuit of a scientific theology actually backed the Prussian credo of science and progress.⁶⁵ The liberals, and in particular the Ritschlian school, thus sought more influence on the appointment of theological professors in order to consolidate their position.⁶⁶ In 1895, Stoecker organised an assembly of the Protestant Church (*Landeskirchliche Versammlung*) to gather support for an official complaint against the liberal theological faculties. Schlatter, who rather sided with the church than with his liberal contemporaries, as he himself put it, was immediately prepared to support Stoecker.⁶⁷ Schlatter, by then professor of systematic theology in Berlin, drew up a resolution which was unanimously accepted by the delegates.⁶⁸ This resolution openly criticised the theological departments for undermining the authority of the word of God and also called for a stronger influence of the church on the appointment of professors to the theological faculties. This situation evidently led to a serious crisis between Schlatter and his Berlin faculty colleagues, in particular his friend Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930).⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Schlatter did not regret his public support for Stoecker, who, as Schlatter writes, had 'earned my sincere admiration and ... I put up with a severe struggle with the Berlin faculty, because I could neither separate myself from him nor offend him'.⁷⁰

3.2.3 Political vision

Schlatter was more critical of Stoecker's approach to secular politics. The key element Schlatter appreciates in Stoecker's secular policy is that he provides a Christian socialist alternative to Marxist socialism.⁷¹ Schlatter admired 'Stoecker's attempt to make an alternative form of governance to the Marxist one available to the proletariat'.⁷² Schlatter's observation is indeed accurate: Stoecker's form of socialism was intentionally opposed to that of the Marxists, as well as to the Social Democrats' socialism, in particular due to

their omission of any reference to God and a certain lack of national pride, as Stoecker felt. Stoecker's rejection of the Marxists and the Social Democrats found expression in the second general principle of the Christian Social Labour Party's programme, which 'rejects contemporary social democracy as impractical, un-Christian and unpatriotic'.⁷³

With this emphasis on patriotism, however, and here emerges Schlatter's criticism (echoing Kuyper's evaluation), Stoecker runs the risk of mixing *völkische*, national elements and Christianity in an unhealthy way. Additionally, and again similar to Kuyper's assessment, Schlatter could not agree with Stoecker's tendency to centralism and state-socialism. In one of his autobiographical works, Schlatter clarifies his position:

[It] did not lead to collaboration, and, developing from that, friendship, between us. In my view, Stoecker identified me too closely with Pietism, suspecting that I was only interested in the Christian condition of the individual [*Christenstand des einzelnen*] and that I did not sufficiently appreciate his work that was directed at the whole of the city and the people ... His state with its civil service, acting as a custodian for the general public, hangs, as I see it, too tenaciously on the Old Fritz's coattails [*zu zäh an den Rockschössen des Alten Fritz*; Schlatter here refers affectionately to the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, 1712–1786] ... I could not shake off the thought that we are not supposed to organise the state and the church top-down through a central power. We build the church by establishing congregations, and we strengthen the state by establishing healthy towns.⁷⁴

This statement, especially the latter part, is significant for our analysis. Like Kuyper, Schlatter could not subscribe to Stoecker's centralistic-socialist top-down policy (the state as the 'custodian for the general public'), as it leads the citizens to immaturity. And, again very much like his Dutch contemporary, Schlatter emphasised the significant mandate of the smaller socio-political entities such as the Christian congregations. These needed to be strengthened and equipped so that they would flourish, which would, in turn, stabilise the state.

In light of this significant overlap between Kuyper's and Schlatter's evaluation of Stoecker, one wonders whether this can be attributed to an underlying common view of a public theology. Based on our analysis so far, would it be feasible

to identify some characteristic building blocks of a public theology? This question shall be the focus of our final considerations.

4. Building blocks of a public theology

Based on our comparison of the Reformed theologians Adolf Schlatter and Abraham Kuyper with the Lutheran Adolf Stoecker, one can identify certain elements of a (Reformed) public theology that is quite distinct from (Stoecker's) Lutheran approach to politics. In this section I wish to flesh out some implications that can be drawn as we think about Christian political engagement today. However, before we turn to these concluding reflections, I would like to point out that this brief historical narrative is limited in that it allows us only to offer certain hints; this is not the place for an in-depth theological exploration of the foundations for a public theology. (Although one would hope that an article such as this could stimulate others to pursue such a promising and important endeavour!) Bearing this important caveat in mind, we note that – based on our historical comparison – at least two aspects stand out: insistence on an informed theological approach to politics and emphasis on a bottom-up democratic political approach.

4.1 Foundations

Kuyper and Schlatter share a keen interest in a profound theological foundation for Christian engagement in society. For both, cultural engagement was the most natural result of their theological studies. In contrast with the Lutheran pragmatist Stoecker, they put forward Calvinism as an overall *Weltanschauung* that underlines the sovereignty of God over the whole of human experience – Kuyper even more so than Schlatter. 'There is not a square inch,' Kuyper famously said, 'in the whole domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is Sovereign of *all*, does not cry, "Mine"!' ⁷⁵ Kuyper criticises any 'monastic flight *from* the world' and calls his fellow believers to serve 'God *in* the world, in every position in life'. ⁷⁶ Kuyper and Schlatter highlight that both the religious and the public sphere are part of God's sovereign creation and thus require, in particular, the Christian's attention, involvement and care, as a member of both spheres. ⁷⁷ In his sermon, 'Rooted and Grounded' (1870), Kuyper speaks of God instituting a new creation 'in Christ as a *human* life', a stream of grace that ultimately forms the church. ⁷⁸ The task

of the church as organic organism, he claims, is to bring about a 'redeemed humanity in a redeemed creation', as James D. Bratt put it. ⁷⁹

Whilst Kuyper is more insistent than Schlatter on the separation of church and state, in the Anti-Revolutionary Party's programme, *Ons Program*, he still refers to the Netherlands as 'a baptised nation', where Christianity is allocated a special place. ⁸⁰ In Kuyper's view, the state developed as a response to sin. ⁸¹ Schlatter, however, has a more positive outlook; he is happy to root the state in God's sovereign creation. In his work on Christian ethics (*Christliche Ethik*), Schlatter points out that both the 'community of the state' (*staatliche Gemeinschaft*) and the 'community of the church' (*kirchliche Gemeinschaft*) are part of God's creation: The first is created through nature and the latter through grace. ⁸² The Christian, as a member of both communities, is obliged to embrace both as God's creation and to live in and for them. According to Schlatter, then, the believer cannot retreat to the safe haven of the church, but is called to contribute actively to the flourishing of public life. Cultural engagement is thus a means for the Christian to glorify God: 'We live for our people for God's sake,' he notes. ⁸³

Although Kuyper and Schlatter disagree on theological nuances when it comes to the foundations and relationship between church and state, they agree that Christians, as organic disciples and members of both spheres, are to play an active part in society. 'With our Christian possession, we are to work for our people,' writes Schlatter, ⁸⁴ and Kuyper argues that the 'lamp of the Christian religion ... [illuminates] all the sectors and associations that appear across the wide range of human life and activity: justice, law, the home and family, business, vocation, public opinion and literature, art and science, and so much more'. ⁸⁵ Schlatter's and Kuyper's proposals offer a significant theoretical-theological foundation for practical Christian engagement in the public sphere. Today, we are called to emulate their example and to make, in our own context, a convincing (theological!) case for Christian engagement in the public sphere.

4.2 The priority of the local

Kuyper and Schlatter present a clear tendency towards a democratic bottom-up policy. Although we are separated from these two figures by about a hundred years, their approaches are, I think, still stimulating for our society today, which is ever more pluralistic and fragmented in its belief sys-

tems. In an era in which our democratic culture is suffering from chronic fatigue, in which our social cohesion is endangered by economic injustice, and in which the church has caved in in face of secular humanism, the resurgence of an active public theology is vital for the future of human society. Kuyper and Schlatter both emphasise the political importance of smaller social entities, such as the community, the congregation and the family.⁸⁶ These social units are, they agree, the backbone of human society; in combination with Kuyper's principle of sphere sovereignty, this also means that they must have freedom for political self-governance on their local level. (Historically, this view is in contrast to the centralistic Prussian system of governance.) The political decision-making process, then, must move from the bottom up, not merely top-down. Both Kuyper and Schlatter highlight the responsibility of the individual Christian, who, as *homo politicus*, fights for social justice, cares for the socially disadvantaged and thus contributes to the flourishing of human communities. Calvinist politics involves the clear mandate for individual political engagement at the local level. This is probably the most important incentive for today as we are faced with the increasing popularity of right-wing parties in Europe.

5. Conclusion

Abraham Kuyper, Adolf Schlatter and to a certain extent even Adolf Stoecker have shown us the importance of an active and emancipated Christian political involvement that courageously takes up the social question. They have exemplified through their own lives that Christians are not supposed to remain pious, passive onlookers but to become active political disciples who work for the good of human society. We are encouraged to be creative as we develop a theological programme for Christian political engagement today and as we, as members of pressure groups and grassroots movements, defend the rights of the socially disenfranchised and articulate their needs on the public stage. For our own context, we are to translate (especially) Kuyper's and Schlatter's programmes as we seek to deal with the growing support for populist right-wing parties in Europe. This calls for a new generation of public theologians who, continuing in the tradition of Kuyper and Schlatter, offer a fresh and convincing perspective for our Christian cultural mandate today.⁸⁷

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Endnotes

- 1 On Kuyper's life and work see the recent biography by James D. Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013).
- 2 For a short introduction to Schlatter's life and theology see Peter Stuhlmacher's essay in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Theologen des Protestantismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert II* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978) 219–240. Werner Neuer's short biography on Schlatter is available in English, see Robert Yarbrough, *Adolf Schlatter: A Biography of Germany's Premier Biblical Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995). Neuer's magisterial Schlatter biography is, however, still untranslated: *Adolf Schlatter: Ein Leben für Theologie und Kirche* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1996).
- 3 On Adolf Stoecker see Martin Greschat, 'Adolf Stoecker und der deutsche Protestantismus' in Günter Brakelmann, Martin Greschat and Werner Jochmann (eds), *Protestantismus und Politik: Werk und Wirkung Adolf Stoeckers* (Hamburg: Christians, 1982) 19–83, and Martin Greschat, 'Protestantischer Antisemitismus in Wilhelminischer Zeit. Das Beispiel des Hofpredigers Adolf Stoecker' in Günter Brakelmann and Martin Rosowski (eds), *Antisemitismus. Von religiöser Judenfeindschaft zur Rassenideologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 27–51; see also Karl Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker, Hofprediger und Volkstribun* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1970); Harold M. Green, 'Adolf Stoecker: Portrait of a Demagogue', *Politics & Policy* 31.1 (2003) 106–129. On the early Stoecker see Robert Stupperich, 'Adolf Stoeckers Anfänge', *Historische Zeitschrift* 202.2 (1966) 309–332.
- 4 See, for instance, the recent contribution by Miroslav Volf, *A Public Faith: How Followers of Christ should Serve the Common Good* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2011); Graham Ward, *The Politics of Discipleship: Becoming Postmaterial Citizens* (Norwich: SCM / Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009) and Kevin Vanhoozer and Owen Strachan, *The Pastor as Public Theologian: Reclaiming a Lost Vision* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015).
- 5 See Eckard Lessing, *Geschichte der deutschsprachigen evangelischen Theologie von Albrecht Ritschl bis zur Gegenwart*, Band 1: 1870 bis 1918 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 43–49, 116–121.
- 6 This professorship, or rather, 'penal professorship' (*Strafprofessur*) as it was called, was established

- by the Prussian ministry of culture in order to counterbalance the largely liberal-minded faculty, represented by Adolf von Harnack. See Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 292–297. For a summary of the *Apostolikumsstreit* see Karl Neufeld, *Adolf Harnacks Konflikt mit der Kirche: Weg-Stationen zum 'Wesen des Christentums'* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1979) 114–132.
- 7 See for instance his speeches 'Nationalismus und Christentum' (October 1926) and 'Was fordert die Lage unseres Volkes von unserer evangelischen Christenheit?' (18 February 1929); see Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 679–687. for details.
 - 8 In Halle, Stoecker studied under F.A.G. Tholuck (1799–1877) who, however, did 'not make a great impression on Stoecker'. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 11–12.
 - 9 In Berlin, the mediation theologian Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787–1868) left a lasting impression on Stoecker. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 13.
 - 10 Green, 'Adolf Stoecker', 108.
 - 11 At the apex of his career he carried the honorary title of 'court chaplain of all Germans' (*Hofprediger aller Deutschen*); see Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 311. Some even considered him to be a 'second Luther'; Green, 'Adolf Stoecker', 108; cf. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 7.
 - 12 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 26.
 - 13 One must bear in mind that between 1874 and 1878, eighty per cent of the weddings in Berlin were conducted outside the church, and forty-five per cent of the children were not baptised. Green, 'Adolf Stoecker', 108.
 - 14 See D.A. Jeremy Telman, 'Adolf Stoecker: Anti-Semite with a Christian Mission', *Jewish History* 9.2 (1995) 100; cf. Ronald L. Massanari, 'True or False Socialism: Adolf Stoecker's Critique of Marxism from a Christian Socialist Perspective', *Church History* 41.4 (1972) 494.
 - 15 In 1905, when Kuyper was still Prime Minister, he not only drafted a three-volume social reform proposal, but the cabinet under his leadership also proposed a whole range of socio-economic bills to be submitted to Parliament. Among the suggestions were provisions for a labour contract, the creation of Chambers of Labour, increasing protection of women and young persons in industry, establishment of an insurance system covering sickness, disability and old age, widows included. Frank Vanden Berg, *Abraham Kuyper: A Biography* (St. Catharines, Ontario: Paideia, 1978) 223.
 - 16 Stoecker, in Massanari, 'True or False Socialism', 494.
 - 17 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 36.
 - 18 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 39; Telman, 'Adolf Stoecker: Anti-Semite', 100.
 - 19 Roel Kuiper, 'Der Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs von Deutschland. Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) und Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909)' in *Jahrbuch Zentrum für Niederlande-Studien* 9 (1998) 113–138, 121. Bismarck later regretted not having banned Stoecker's party. See Green, 'Adolf Stoecker', 112.
 - 20 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 46.
 - 21 Telman, 'Adolf Stoecker: Anti-Semite', 95; cf. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 43–53.
 - 22 Günther Brakelmann, 'Adolf Stoecker und die Sozialdemokratie' in Günter Brakelmann, Martin Greschat and Werner Jochmann (eds), *Protestantismus und Politik: Werk und Wirkung Adolf Stoeckers* (Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1982) 84–122, 106. Cf. Green, 'Adolf Stoecker', 106.
 - 23 Stoecker openly criticised the Jewish banker Gerson Bleichröder (1822–1893), a close financial advisor to Bismarck; from then on Bismarck made Stoecker's life difficult. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 51–53.
 - 24 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 68–69.
 - 25 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 78. Having left the German Conservative party in 1896, Stoecker again launched the Christian Social Party, and between 1898 and 1908 he served as their representative in the *Reichstag*. After the First World War, the CSP joined the German National People's Party (DNVP). As its Christian Social wing, it later became independent again as the Christian Social Service for the People (*Christlich-sozialer Volksdienst*, CSVD); one of its supporters was Adolf Schlatter.
 - 26 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 74–75.
 - 27 The Dutch Anti-Revolutionary leader, Guillaume van Prinsterer, was in touch with and influenced by a group of Christians in Berlin, among them Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–1861) and the brothers Gerlach (Ludwig F. L., 1790–1861 and Ernst L. von Gerlach, 1795–1877). Kuiper, 'Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs', 113.
 - 28 Kuiper, 'Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs', 113.
 - 29 Kuiper, 'Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs', 113. This is also true with a view to religion and religious movements. Many Dutch religious movements of the nineteenth century can be traced to movements of their German neighbours. See Ulrich Gäbler, 'Evangelikalismus und Réveil' in Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 3 of Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler and Hartmut Lehmann (eds), *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 66–67.
 - 30 Kuiper, 'Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs', 115.
 - 31 Kuiper, 'Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs', 115.
 - 32 See Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 69–77.
 - 33 Kuyper, *Ons Program* (Amsterdam: J.H. Kruyt, 1879).

- 34 The party was founded on 3 January 1878 in the *Eiskeller* in Berlin. See Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 28–31.
- 35 See Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 127.
- 36 Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 115.
- 37 Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 126 n. 36.
- 38 Leroy Vogel, *Die politischen Ideen Abraham Kuypers und seine Entwicklung als Staatsmann*. Doctoral Dissertation, Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg (Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1937) 104. Cf. Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 128.
- 39 Stoecker to Kuyper, 23 April 1879; in Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 128.
- 40 Stoecker to Kuyper, 23 April 1879, in Vogel, *Die politischen Ideen Abraham Kuypers*, 104.
- 41 Scholars noticed similarities between Kuyper and Stoecker quite early; see Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 115 n. 9.
- 42 Both believed that social structure was given by God and had to be improved evolutionary, organically, from within and not through an anarchic and chaotic revolution. See for Stoecker, Massanari, ‘True or False Socialism’, 492. The same is true for Schlatter, who regards a revolution only as the *ultima ratio* of politics. See Adolf Schlatter, *Die christliche Ethik* 3. Auflage (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1929) 141–142.
- 43 Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 116; Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 330.
- 44 See Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 131–137.
- 45 As Kuiper could also show in his essay ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 115–130.
- 46 Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1931) 17.
- 47 Kuyper had, as Nicholas Wolterstorff describes it, the ‘endemic habit of mind ... of digging beneath the surface of whatever religious, social, cultural, or intellectual development he was dealing with to discover its fundamental principles’. Nicholas P. Wolterstorff, ‘Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) Commentary’ in John Witte Jr. and Frank S. Alexander (eds), *The Teachings of Modern Protestantism: On Law, Politics, and Human Nature* (New York: Columbia University, 2007) 29–69, 30.
- 48 Vogel, *Die politischen Ideen Abraham Kuypers*, 105; cf. Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 16, 37.
- 49 For the political programme of the Christian Social Labour Party see Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 34–35.
- 50 Kuyper, *Ons Program*.
- 51 Abraham Kuyper, *Antirevolutionaire staatkunde* II (Kampen: Kok, 1917) 54; in Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 117.
- 52 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 18.
- 53 Stoecker in Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 30, cf. 37.
- 54 Kupisch, *Adolf Stoecker*, 37.
- 55 See Kuyper, *Souvereiniteit in eigen kring* (Amsterdam: J.H. Kruyt, 1880).
- 56 Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 129.
- 57 Kuyper in *De Standaard* of 13 February 1880, 3 October 1883 and 13 July 1894; in Kuiper, ‘Abschied eines Antirevolutionärs’, 129.
- 58 Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism*, 88.
- 59 Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 261–262.
- 60 Schlatter to his mother, 21 February 1892, in Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 262.
- 61 Schlatter to his mother, 21 February 1892, in Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 262.
- 62 Schlatter to his mother, 21 February 1892, in Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 262.
- 63 Quoted in Stephen F. Dintaman, *Creative Grace: Faith and History in the Theology of Adolf Schlatter* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993) 163 n. 5.
- 64 Thomas A. Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the German University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 25–26.
- 65 See Howard, *Protestant Theology*, 17–18, 27–28.
- 66 Joachim Weinhardt, *Wilhelm Herrmanns Stellung in der Ritschlschen Schule* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996) 124.
- 67 Schlatter, *Rückblick auf meine Lebensarbeit* (ed. Theodor Schlatter, Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1977) 182.
- 68 See Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 306–323, and Schlatter, *Rückblick*, 181–187.
- 69 It was, in particular, Adolf von Harnack who felt offended by Schlatter, both because of Schlatter’s participation in the assembly in the first place and, obviously, because of his opposition to the faculty. Neuer, *Adolf Schlatter*, 320.
- 70 Schlatter, *Erlebtes: Erzählt von D. Adolf Schlatter* 5. Auflage (Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1929) 56. Schlatter writes: ‘When, though, the colleagues force us to choose between faith in Christ and their “science”, between the faculties and the church, the one [church] that does not deny Christ, then, according to my opinion, for today’s theologian the apostolic word applies: “I count it all as garbage.”’ Schlatter, ‘Warum ich an der landeskirchlichen Versammlung teilnahm, Antwort auf die “Nationalzeitung” vom 16.5.1895’, *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 9 (1897) H.3, 214.
- 71 See also Massanari, ‘True or False Socialism’, 487–496.
- 72 Schlatter, *Erlebtes*, 56.
- 73 Quoted in Vogel, *Die politischen Ideen Abraham Kuypers*, 105.
- 74 Schlatter, *Erlebtes*, 56.
- 75 Kuyper, *Souvereiniteit in eigen kring*, 35; English translation in James D. Bratt (ed.), *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader* (Grand Rapids:

- Eerdmans, 1998) 488.
- 76 Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism*, 30 (emphasis original).
- 77 For Kuyper's views see Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 172–187, 194–204; for Schlatter's views see Schlatter, *Ethik*, 135–142, and *Das christliche Dogma* 2. Auflage (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1923) 402–408.
- 78 Kuyper in Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 176.
- 79 Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 186.
- 80 Kuyper, in Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 147.
- 81 Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 145.
- 82 Schlatter, *Christliche Ethik*, 135–136.
- 83 Schlatter, *Christliche Ethik*, 137.
- 84 Schlatter, *Christliche Ethik*, 175.
- 85 Kuyper, in Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 204.
- 86 Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*, 144–145; Schlatter, *Christliche Ethik*, 393–409.
- 87 I am very grateful to George Harinck and to an anonymous reviewer for their constructive suggestions regarding an earlier draft of this essay.