

SUMMARY

A widespread, passionate debate in the Netherlands around 1840 concerned the 'new' Protestant theology. The various positions in this discussion were all related to the possibility or impossibility of reconciling Christianity with the latest developments in the sciences, philosophy, and Bible criticism. Underneath all arguments were the big questions about the relationship between faith and science, between the Gospel and modern culture, and the status of 'truth'. The Protestant modernists wanted to remain Christians and saw themselves as the true heirs of the Reformation ushering in a new, widely accepted form of Christianity. They had to defend themselves against adversaries from widely different corners: orthodox Protestants, freethinkers, and Roman Catholics.

The 'new' theologians saw as their task not only the adaptation of church, faith, and theology to the new ideas on free inquiry that had originated during the Enlightenment, but also the wide dissemination of these views. A firmly held conviction in the nineteenth century was that through the written word it was possible to influence not only the ideas of individuals, but also public opinion. Together with the greater accessibility of steadily cheaper publications this made 'educating the public' an important theme after 1850.

The preferred medium in the debate was the brochure, a type of publication eminently suited to the instant broadcasting of often very personal opinions without the critical intervention of an editorial board, as was for instance the case with journals. If we can assume that (religious) truth is usually found through the clash of opinions, the medium lent itself especially well to religious and theological discussions. My thesis focuses on the question how brochures functioned in the discussions between Protestant modernists and Catholics between 1840 and 1870. In how far did the modern-Protestant gospel really reach the intended audience? Are there differences between modern Protestant and Catholic authors in writing styles and the ways they use brochures? Was there actually a dialogue between the two camps?

The source for this exploration is the extensive collection of nineteenth-century theological brochures in the Leiden University Library. A first objective of the 'brochure' project was to unlock and catalogue these texts (most of them Sleeping Beauties in dusty boxes) for the benefit of modernism research. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Leiden Faculty of Theology enjoyed a special position as a bulwark of Dutch Protestant modernism, which of course

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lends particular importance to the collection in the Leiden University Library. The resulting catalogue of about 540 brochures (the *Leidse Lijst*), the basis for this study, offers a representative collection of titles on the debate on Protestant modernism between 1840 and 1870, reflecting the developments noted in other contemporary sources, and in the secondary literature on the topic. As selection criteria I have used a mixed formal/substantive definition, conforming as much as possible to contemporary categories: a brochure in the *Leidse Lijst* is an occasional publication with an independent title, of sober appearance, of polemical intent, and in principle not exceeding 100 pages.

Although the dissertation contains some examples of quantitative analysis in Part 3, this approach has proved to be not without its frustrations and problems. The availability of thousands of scans for instance, though undoubtedly a great blessing, carries with it the question of the reliability of digital searches. My analysis of the brochure collection is largely based on a qualitative approach, as may for instance be seen from the number of quotations in the text -- many authors have been allowed to speak in person.

In **Part 1** of this dissertation (**Chapters 1 to 4**) the *Leidse Lijst* is placed in the historical context reflected in the ideas, currents, and individuals figuring in the brochures. *Chapter 1* describes the international background to the developments that led to the introduction of modern theology in the Netherlands. Philosophers and theologians such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, G.W.F. Hegel, D.F. Strauss and F.C. Baur provided new answers to old questions such as 'what can we know about God?', 'How do we know God exists?' and 'Is God *in* or *above* the world?' These answers came during the multi-faceted process of the Enlightenment, which manifested itself from the end of the eighteenth century onwards in church and society. For both Protestants and Catholics the Enlightenment was a pluriform concept, widely spread not only in time and place, but also over many levels of intensity. The debates encompassed all social classes everywhere.

Enlightened *topoi* reflected in the brochures discussed in this dissertation, were a certain relativism; optimism as reflected in the notion of 'progress'; the wish to spread enlightened ideas to a wide audience; tolerance; the separation of church and state; the secularisation of public institutions such as schools and hospitals, and last but not least the principle of free inquiry -- also in matters of faith and theology. The methods eagerly adopted in this inquiry were those of the fast-developing natural sciences, which understandably undermined the credibility of many biblical stories and the authority of the Church. The Enlightened perspective resulted in a more utilitarian and rationalist view of theology and faith, a

dismissal of dogma, and a desire for a 'natural' faith. A conspicuous offshoot of the fascination with the 'scientific' method, recognising only causality and regulated order, was Auguste Comte's positivism, which manifested itself in the Netherlands around 1845; it was not nearly as prominent in the Netherlands as it was in France, but positivist aspects were certainly found in Protestant modernism.

The new atmosphere permeated all of Europe and beyond. Next to Germany, there were manifestations of 'modern' theological thinking for instance in France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The widespread discussion about the modern ideas created numerous contacts between Dutch Protestant modernists and their counterparts in other countries; Dutch Catholics, too, were active on the international stage.

The new ideas were initially slow to percolate to the Netherlands (*Chapter 2*), where the general atmosphere around 1840 was one of a moderate, rational supranaturalism. A conservative-orthodox branch of the Dutch religious tree also figuring in the *Leidse Lijst* was the *Réveil* (Revival) movement, led by the converted Jew Isaac da Costa and the historian and politician Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer. Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (1835-1836), in which he denied Christ's divinity, met with vehement protest in the Netherlands until well into the 1850s; it was only among the most radical modernists that Strauss' ideas were embraced. Among those who searched for a synthesis between modern ideas (including recent scientific developments) and historical Christianity there was a small group of theologians at the University of Groningen, who in 1835 founded a 'Theological Society' around Petrus Hofstede de Groot. To a certain extent they may be seen as pioneers of the Protestant modern theology in the Netherlands, with their concept of revelation as a 'school' in which God educates both individuals and mankind in general to true humanity. The *Groningers* stressed the human nature of Christ, but rather incongruously also stuck to the authority of the New Testament authors and a certain level of supranaturalism. This soon turned them into opponents of Protestant modernism.

The first real manifestation of Protestant modernism in the Netherlands appears to have been the inaugural lecture by J.H. Scholten in 1840 in Franeker. Here, Scholten radically presented Jesus Christ as wholly man and so offered a monistic view of the complete unity of the divine and the human. With his appointment in 1845 as Professor of New Testament exegesis at Leiden University Scholten became the founder of the liberal image of the 'Leiden school' of theology. Six years after Scholten the philosopher and jurist C.W. Opzoomer expressed an equally radical standpoint in his inaugural lecture in Utrecht: there is no contradiction be-

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tween science and philosophy. If science were based on absolute and abstract principles its statements would automatically be in accordance with our religious sense.

Scholten's and Opzoomer's inaugural lectures were the starting point for passionate discussions between sympathizers and opponents, both Protestant and Catholic. These discussions were all the more heated because initially the modernists' ideas were liable to change frequently. Inevitably, many of the religious convictions and habits in which people had for centuries found comfort had to be thrown on to the scrapheap: the brochures abound in metaphors for old and venerable buildings (or, depending on one's point of view, decrepit and already crumbling) being demolished.

The growing self-confidence and visibility of the Catholics (a third of the total Dutch population) since the 'Batavian Revolution' of 1795 led to a noticeable increase in anti-Catholicism, a cultural phenomenon of long standing, also reflected in many brochures in the *Leidse Lijst*. In this view Catholicism is a monolith, a-historical, unchangeable and uncompromising. Anti-Catholicism became a driving force for those (liberal) currents that saw Catholicism as the antithesis of a modern world view; many Protestant periodicals, for instance, were propelled by anti-Catholic zeal. Conversely, there were also streams of invective running in the other direction -- Groen van Prinsterer called the Catholic part-time historian and publicist W.J. F. Nuyens a representative of 'anti-Protestant polemics'. With the appearance in 1848 of a prominent liberal stream in politics, Catholics became even more oriented on Rome and the Pope, which resulted in the radically anti-Enlightened ultramontaniam.

During the decade from 1850 to 1860 (*Chapter 3*) modern theology gained further ground. It was also in this decade that the Dutch term *modern* came to be used for the followers of Opzoomer and Scholten. In 1854 two of these, J.C. Zaalberg and L.S.P. Meyboom, were called to congregations in The Hague and Amsterdam, respectively -- the first time progressive ministers were given an official podium in the church. In the other camp, the reinstatement of the Roman Catholic episcopal hierarchy in 1853 (made possible by the liberal new Dutch constitution of 1848, which had granted all religious groups freedom of worship) meant a boost for the self-confidence and visibility of Dutch Catholics.

Notable years were, first, 1853, with the 'April tumult', an avalanche of petitions and brochures from various quarters for and against the reinstatement of Roman Catholic bishops in the Netherlands. The opponents lost, but conservative Reformed ministers continued to stoke the anti-Catholic fires, putting their trust in

King William III. The question whether the Protestant modernists on the whole were as fiercely anti-Catholic as their conservative counterparts is difficult to answer. From their writings an anti-Catholic attitude can certainly be distilled, but in the avalanche of brochures in 1853 they are represented with only few titles, some of these pleading for understanding and moderation; it was also deemed necessary to educate the Catholics. The objective was always to defend Protestantism, which to both modernists and conservatives equalled 'the truth'. Another prominent year was 1857, which not only saw the appearance of Conrad Busken Huet's *Brieven over den Bijbel* (*Letters about the Bible*), a work that did much to make modern theology known to a wider audience, but was also the year in which the modernist Allard Pierson took up his ministry in the Walloon Church. Finally, in 1857 S. Hoekstra, in his inaugural lecture at the Mennonite Seminary in Amsterdam, presented a more psychological form of modern theology.

G.E. Lessing's influence on the Protestant modernists became visible in another prominent modern theologian, L.W.E. Rauwenhoff. In a different stream, originating from the conservative *Réveil*, D. Chantepie de la Saussaye and J.H. Gunning jr. presented the so-called ethical-irenic (*ethisch-irenische*) theology -- a basically conservative current, opposed to the modernists, but non-radical and peaceable ('irenic') in its criticism. Wholly outside any church there was yet another group of critics of the Protestant modernists: the freethinkers ('unbelievers'), who became a visible and organized group around 1850. A prominent figure here is J. van Vloten, a prominent author in the *Leidse Lijst*. Van Vloten was also the central figure in the 'Spinoza renaissance' of the nineteenth century -- Spinoza can certainly be considered a catalyst in the development of free thinking. The relationship between the freethinkers and the Protestant modernists is rather ambivalent. What they had in common was a certain reforming zeal, but the two groups had radically different views on the figure of Christ; also, an important part of 'unbelief' was the new materialism -- an *ism* largely absent from modern theology.

Chapter 4 covers the years 1861-1870, the heyday of the first wave of Protestant modernism. Important developments here are the discussions about the question whether modern ministers could remain in the Dutch Reformed Church, and the related question of what exactly constitutes a church; and sparse manifestations of liberal Catholicism, together with the official Catholic reaction to modern developments in the encyclical *Quanta Cura* and its companion *Syllabus Errorum* in 1864. A new stimulus to anti-Catholic sentiment was the First Vatican Council and the dogma of papal infallibility proclaimed there. Finally, neo-Calvinism appeared in the figure of Abraham Kuyper.

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Modern ideas had now penetrated so far that a veritable 'school' had materialized, with all the attendant controversies. In the *Leidse Lijst*, 1865 is the absolute top year for the output of brochures. Not all authors, however, were equally convinced of the benefit of writing on theological topics for the general public; some of them, for instance Opzoomer, considered this unnecessary or outright dangerous. Protestant modern theology was in essence a concern of the liberal elite. The historical-critical method of Bible exegesis was of course mainly pursued at the universities. In the Netherlands it was a particularly strong suit, which even grew into a 'radical' school of exegesis; an important name here is that of Pierson. A figurehead of Old Testament criticism is the Leiden professor Abraham Kuenen; his Leiden colleague, the Remonstrant professor C.P. Tiele, was a founding father of comparative religion, a field of study that was rapidly gaining ground -- not surprising, given the modernists' hope of one 'universal' religion.

Another field in which these 'universal' aspirations appeared was the battle for publicly funded denominational schools (*schoolstrijd*), a continuing theme from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Around 1848 Groen van Prinsterer defended denominational schools against a proposal for interconfessional schools for all Christian pupils together. Liberals, among whom the Protestant modern theologians, wanted general, non-denominational education; orthodox Protestants found allies in the Catholics in their struggle against what they saw as an increasingly irreligious world. Among modern Protestants anti-Catholicism received a new impulse with the bishops' open letter of 1868, in which they pleaded the cause of exclusively Catholic schools.

Because of the hierarchical and authoritarian structure of the Catholic Church any internal diversity or divergent, 'modern' thought was far less visible than among the Protestants. What is more, the early liberal Catholics usually saw themselves forced to hide their views and opt for silence. *Quanta Cura* and the *Syllabus* appeared at the apogee of the hesitant, early liberal Catholicism, in Germany represented for instance by the church historian Ignaz von Döllinger. Among more progressive and 'liberal' Catholics in the Netherlands at this time were the jurist J.B. Van Hugenpoth tot den Beerenclaw, and the journalist L. Philippona

The question whether 'modern' ministers felt themselves justified to continue to work in the Dutch Reformed Church evoked many different answers. A considerable number (of whom Busken Huet, in 1862, and Allard Pierson, in 1865, were the first) left the ministry and pursued a career in for instance journalism or education. Other modern ministers found shelter with denominations outside the Dutch Reformed Church, for instance the Remonstrants or the Free Congregation

in Amsterdam; others became orthodox, as Kuyper did; most, however, remained in the Dutch Reformed Church, where they found their position challenged. However, the position of progressive Catholics in the Catholic Church was much worse. Because of their very specific, non-academic training they had nowhere to go, and were forced to choose between remaining obscure or explicitly stating their views -- which invariably meant excommunication.

Part 2 of this dissertation (Chapters 5 and 6) is devoted to the mechanics of the debate: the medium (brochures as a phenomenon), and the techniques used (polemical and rhetorical methods). *Chapter 5* deals with the large number of brochures, whose function, partly overlapping with that of journals, reflect the explosion in reading activity that started around 1850, visible in a rapid growth of the 'internal market' in books, brochures and newspapers. Production methods gained in efficiency, new markets appeared, for children's books and textbooks, and because of the advent of electric light and a general shortening of the regular working day there was more opportunity to read.

Contemporary sources of information about titles and production figures provided a basis for several graphs comparing numbers of theological titles nationally with the figures in the *Leidse Lijst* in this chapter. Information about readers, on the other hand, is not easy to find in nineteenth-century sources. It is clear that for anyone who wanted there was ample access to reading material. In general, women read more than men; on the 'production' side, however, their number was negligible. Most brochures reached their readers via the so-called 'reading museums' (*leesmusea*) frequented by the elite, but there were many different types of libraries. The (cheap or free) denominational libraries saw it as their task to protect their readers against harmful influences through reading, and offered a relatively large proportion of 'edifying' titles. Here, Catholic authorities were much more strict and intrusive than their Protestant counterparts, who generally were more inclined to trust to their readers' self-cleansing capacities.

After 1870 fewer and fewer brochures were published by private individuals; the production shifted to various associations and official authorities, and the podium for free expression of opinions now moved to the newspapers.

In *Chapter 6* various types of polemics are discussed in terms of a typology offered by Marcelo Dascal; the 'modernist' discussion in the nineteenth century is probably best characterized as either a 'dispute' or a 'controversy'. Historiography was an important tool in the discussion: history was used to demarcate group identity and cast doubt on opponents' claims. The Protestant modernists saw themselves as the heirs to the Reformation, the Reformation as the cause of the Revolt, and

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the Revolt as the cradle of 'The Netherlands'. Here specifically Groen van Prinsterer played a part as the representative of the 'mythical', conservative, Calvinist view of Dutch history as that of the triple alliance between God, the House of Orange and the state of the Netherlands. The Catholics on the other hand pointed to the Middle Ages as the origin of the Dutch nation. Historiography rapidly became more professional, with chairs in history being created at several universities. The inaugural lecture by Robert Fruin, the first to be appointed to the Leiden chair of Dutch history in 1860 and a long-time close friend of Opzoomer, marked a shift from a more narrative to a more analytic type of historiography. To Fruin, historiography had to be autonomous, without political and religious affiliations. Instead of serving as a weapon in a struggle about identity, historiography should be a way towards reconciliation and finding a common national identity. In line with this view Fruin called on the Catholics to write a history of the Revolt from their own perspective, an appeal immediately answered by the prominent Catholic (amateur) historian Nuyens. His *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche beroerten in de XVIe eeuw* (*A history of the Dutch troubles in the sixteenth century*) marked the beginning of the Catholic emancipation in historiography.

An important topic in this dissertation is the tactics used by the *Leidse Lijst* authors: these are found for a considerable part to stem from classical rhetorics. The second half of Chapter 6 contains an extensive overview of its main elements, with the use of images stressed as an important strategy in the demarcation of identities and the quest to convince readers and listeners. The metaphor of a wolf in sheep's clothes is often used to underline the standard accusation directed at the Protestant modern ministers: they deceive their congregations by using familiar words to cover new meanings. Conversely, the modernists claimed that what they demolished was only the temporary shell (the husk); they retained the eternal, unchangeable religious truth (the kernel) -- an image not found with the Catholic authors in the *Leidse Lijst*. The dependency on traditional rhetorics in the brochures is illustrated by a detailed analysis of six publications from the *Leidse Lijst* for 1869-1870.

Part 3 (Chapters 7-9), finally, contains three case studies, one for each decade of the period covered in this thesis, and each focussing on one or more reactions from Catholics to a specific Protestant-modernist publication or manifestation, placed in the context of the period in question. These case studies are not necessarily wholly representative of the spirit of the time, but should be seen as examples of various ways to analyse the brochure texts.

In all three chapters the publications discussed are also analysed in terms of rhetoric, tone and style, and in all three cases we find the constant monitoring of opponents' ways of arguing, for instance in criticism of both *ad hominem* attacks and authors' frequent hiding behind pseudonyms; the philosophical question of the suitability and feasibility of using existing language for new concepts, and the pros and cons of writing for the general public.

Chapter 7 presents the view of an anonymous Catholic author on the early development of Opzoomer's ideas between 1846 and 1850. Also included in the discussion are a very early publication of Opzoomer's against Da Costa, and the Catholic F.C. de Greuve's criticism of Opzoomer's inaugural lecture of 1846. In his 1850 lecture *De twijfel des tijds, de wegwijzer der toekomst* (*The uncertainty of our time, the signpost to the future*) Opzoomer took a distinct turn towards empiricism, away from the abstract, absolute basis for the sciences he had advocated in his inaugural lecture of 1846. The anonymous Catholic author doubts the effectivity of the (typically Protestant) method of free inquiry on a positivist basis, presented by Opzoomer as a solution to the uncertainty of the time, and predicts only chaos everywhere. Opzoomer seems to have been a selective polemicist: he apparently did not react to any of his Catholic opponents.

The topic of *Chapter 8* is the discussion around J.C. Zaalberg's sermon of 31 October 1855 on Catholic and Protestant views on 'mediators', a debate encompassing at least 12 brochures from various quarters. This discussion grew into heated polemics on the excellence of the one denomination above the other, reflecting anti-Catholic as well as anti-Protestant sentiments. The Catholic convert S.P. Lipman contributed explicit directives about what 'Christian polemics' should be. The chapter offers detailed analyses on various levels of style, language and argumentations, mainly regarding Zaalberg and his main opponent, the Jesuit A. Frentrop, but there is also a correspondence analysis of key words in all 12 selected brochures. Both Catholics and Protestants seem united in their criticism of Zaalberg ("that awful Modern buffoon") as devious and fanatic; he certainly does not meet Lipman's requirements for Christian polemics as dignified, irenic in tone, and without undue passion. Frentrop, by contrast, appears more restrained, albeit not always dignified in his sarcastic comments on Zaalberg.

Chapter 9 centres around the various views among Protestants and Catholics on ecclesiology, as reflected in the discussions started by Busken Huet's and Pierson's leaving the Dutch Reformed Church. Other topics include the political relations between Catholics and Liberals; the exact meaning of the term 'liberal'; liberal Catholicism; and the intellectual and educational deficits among Catholics.

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As spokesmen in these discussions the chapter introduces the Catholic pastor J.G.H.C. Essink, in a scathing condemnation of the pluriformity of Dutch Protestant modernism; Abraham Kuenen, whose brochure *Het goed recht der modernen* (*Why the modernists have every right to remain*) proves a good guide through such thorny ecclesiological questions as how much freedom regarding dogma is possible, desirable or required, or whether there should be a confession at all -- and the various answers to these. A representative Catholic voice in this chapter is that of *De Katholiek* (a scholarly journal founded in 1842 and intended specifically to combat 'Leiden modernism'), with its famous statement "We consider the remainers far less worthy than he who says 'I will go'". There was no real solution to the modernists' dilemma of whether to stay or go, and eventually the discussion proved to be about the status quo and future perspective of modern theology.

The increased visibility around 1865 of what could be called 'liberal Catholics' -- although it was not always clear at the time who was what and to what extent -- may have had something to do with the advances in academic and intellectual emancipation among the Catholics. A good gauge of the reception of more liberal Catholic ideas is the reactions in the Netherlands to *Vie de Jésus* (1863), by the French philosopher, linguist, historian and writer Ernest Renan. Renan shared some views with the Dutch Protestant modernists, but his influence remained limited.

Essink also mentions the idea of the distances between orthodox Protestants and Catholics being much shorter than those between modern and orthodox Protestants. The introduction of this image is generally attributed to Zaalberg, in a sermon from 1862, but is actually found as early as 1829-1830, when the influential Catholic convert J.G. Le Sage ten Broek urged *Réveil* men Da Costa and W. Bilderdijk to draw the consequences of their views and simply become Catholics -- an instance of qualitative text analysis uncovering a finding *contra* current opinion. Also in this chapter, a new element is mentioned, linked to the rising influence of newspapers in this period: the bad reputation of journalism. Catholics, for instance, were blamed for publishing only in journals and brochures, thus leaving a large part of polemics to newspaper journalists -- which of course lowered the tone considerably.

A standard grievance in the Catholic camp at the time is the lack of knowledge of things Catholic among the modern Protestants. Rauwenhoff and Opzoomer, for instance, came in for harsh criticism, although Rauwenhoff does appear to have taken some pains to remain *au courant*. However, his reviews of some Catholic ar-

ticles earned him biting scorn from *De Katholiek*. The continued anti-Catholic attitude among the Protestant modernists is reflected in a peculiar back-handed compliment: Catholicism is beautiful -- and hence very suitable for the more simple-minded. The opening of the First Vatican Council in 1870 drove Opzoomer and Rauwenhoff to urgent actions (denounced by Van Vloten as misguided) in terms of anti-Catholic voting advice and lectures. Yet, the Protestant ignorance may partly be attributed to the Catholics themselves: their intellectual and educational deficit, which only started to improve in the second half of the century, had led to a certain fear of scholarship and discussions in the public sphere on their part. Their only contact with 'the other side' was in the form of polemic-apologetic publications; in fact, they largely remained under their stone.

Around 1870 the Protestant modernists' revolutionary drive had dissipated, and was found for various reasons not to have resulted in the desired universal acceptance of their new theology. In the subsequent decades the divisions among the Protestant modernists became more visible. As to the Catholics, only after 1890 did a second wave of Catholic liberalism, now actually called 'modernism', materialise; this was effectively smothered in September 1907 with the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, in which Pius X condemned modernism as the 'synthesis of all errors'. The final blow was the proclamation of the anti-modernist oath of 1910, which all clerics had to swear, and which remained in force until 1967.

The brochure texts analysed in this thesis indicate that there was certainly debate, not only among Protestant modernists but also between them and Catholics, and that there were clear ideas about the other camp. The analysis of polemical tactics and rhetorics offers a stimulating insight into the preoccupations on either side. A real dialogue, intended to bring about a reconciliation in the bosom of the Catholic Church as Essink would have it, was out of the question. The brochures in the *Leidse Lijst* confirm what has always been seen as the crucial difference between the two denominations: in the eyes of most Catholics Protestant modernism was the logical continuation of the 'organic' ecclesiology, the individualism, and free inquiry propagated by the Protestants. Individualism and freedom will irrevocably lead to diversity; Catholics saw this as a lack of stability which would eventually result in the total annihilation of the ideals of the Reformation; to the Protestants, however, diversity was a positive trait.

With the small proportion of titles by liberal Catholics in the *Leidse Lijst* a comparative analysis of modern Protestants and their Catholic counterparts for the period 1840-1870 has seemed immaterial. An analysis along those lines for the period after 1870, however, may certainly yield interesting results. Any differences in

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style and structure between modern Protestant and Catholic authors as noted in the case studies, though clear in those small *corpora*, will have to be considered accidental rather than structural. However, in various respects the *Leidse Lijst* has proved representative, not least because it confirms common assumptions such as the unbridgeable gap between Catholics and (modern) Protestants; also, the small number of titles by Catholic authors reflects the general situation between 1840-1870 of Catholic authors preferring journals as their medium. As a representation in exemplary detail of the main issues of the time regarding Protestant modernism, the *Leidse Lijst* will certainly meet its intended function as an indispensable tool for research in this field.