

Experiences of Revival in the Dutch *Nadere* *Reformatie* Tradition: The Legacy of Four Divines in the Netherlands and North America

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The Protestant Reformation first spread to the Netherlands through the ideas and influence of the Lutherans (around 1517), followed by the Anabaptists (around 1531).¹ From 1545 onward, however, the Reformation

in the Netherlands generally followed the doctrines of the Reformed (or Calvinist) tradition as expressed in the Belgic Confession of Faith (1561), the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), and the Canons of Dort (1618–1619). The Reformed churches in the Netherlands flowered in particular through the experiential emphasis of the *Nadere Reformatie* (or the “Further Reformation”).²

The *Nadere Reformatie* was primarily a seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century movement that roughly paralleled English Puritanism. Early representatives of the movement include Jean Taffin (1529–1602) and Willem Teellinck (1579–1629), while its last major contributors included Alexander Comrie (1706–1774) and Theodorus van der Groe (1705–1784). Like the English Puritans the divines of the *Nadere Reformatie* emphasized the necessity of vital Christian piety, fidelity to the teachings of Scripture, conformity to the Reformed confessions, and a consistent outworking of the biblical faith in every aspect of the believer’s daily life.

Scholars define the *Nadere Reformatie* as a movement within the Dutch Reformed Church “which, as a reaction to the declension or absence of a living faith, made both the personal experience of faith and godliness matters of central importance,” thereby seeking to reform church, society, and state according to that vision of piety.³ The *Nadere Reformatie* has sometimes been called “Dutch puritanism” because of its similarities with English Puritanism in both doctrine and practice, and because the Reformed divines of the Netherlands were enriched by hundreds of writings from English Puritans translated into Dutch.⁴

The *Nadere Reformatie* stressed orthodox, biblical beliefs and warm, personal spirituality resulting in vital, practical obedience. It was, primarily, a God-centered movement. In the words of Willem Teellinck, God is “simply the very best,” a “spring,” a “full ocean,” a “sun,” “the holy fountain of everything that we desire,” and “better than life itself.”⁵ He wrote in another place, “When the preachers preach, that men should die to the world, and crucify the old man, etc., their meaning is not to make men wretched, and miserable thereby (as some imagine) but their purpose therein is only to bring men to the true happiness, which all of us seek.”⁶

The *Nadere Reformatie* was a movement—especially in its earlier stages—that was energized by the preached Word and the saving operations of the Holy Spirit. It was a Reformed, experiential movement that,

by faith, overflowed from the heart with practical obedience and good works, inspiring its leaders to promote genuine piety, evangelism, and discipleship.

From this combination of biblical doctrine and vital piety sprang the ministry of *Nadere Reformatie* pastors in the Netherlands (as well as among Dutch diaspora communities in North America) who witnessed various measures of revival in their times. In this article, we will consider the small revivals that occurred during the ministries of Willem Teellinck (1579–1629), Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711), and Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691–1747).

WILLEM TEELLINCK (1579–1629)

Willem Teellinck is often called “the father of the *Nadere Reformatie*,” much as William Perkins (1558–1602) is called “the father of English Puritanism.”⁷ What few know about him, however, is that he was instrumental in what could be considered a small revival during his pastorate in Middleburg.

The Life of Willem Teellinck

Born into a godly, prominent family in Zierikzee, Teellinck spent nine months with the Puritan community in England as a young man. He lodged with a godly family in Banbury (Oxfordshire), who profoundly impressed him with their heartfelt piety which they lived out through family worship, private prayer, discussions about sermons, Sabbath observance, fasting, spiritual fellowship, self-examination, and good works. At that time, Psalm-singing could be heard in every corner of Banbury, particularly on the Sabbath.

Teellinck believed that the Lord converted him during his stay in England. From that time, his zeal for God’s truth and Puritan piety was never quenched. He surrendered his life to the Lord and, upon his return to the Netherlands, he began studying theology at Leiden University.

Teellinck was ordained into the pastoral ministry in 1606 and served the Burgh-Haamstede parish on the island of Duiveland for seven fruitful years. There were several conversions, but Teellinck, much like his predecessor, Godfridus Udemans (1582–1649), struggled with village life, which was rough and undisciplined. The classis minutes of that time frequently address such problems as alcohol abuse, Sabbath desecration,

fighting, carnival attendance, and a general spirit of disorderliness.

During his pastorate in Burgh-Haamstede, Teellinck wrote his first books. In his first publication, *Philopatris, ofte Christelijke bericht* (“The Love of the Fatherland, or A Christian Report”), published in 1608, he insisted that the Dutch government needed to implement strict laws to combat the sins and faults of the people. In 1610, Teellinck visited England to renew ties with his Puritan colleagues Thomas Taylor (1576–1632), John Dod (1550–1645), and Arthur Hildersham (1563–1632). During his visit, he preached to an expatriate Dutch congregation in London. In 1612, he was delegated by Zeeland to go to The Hague to lobby the National Estates General for a national synod dedicated to resolving the growing problems associated with Arminianism.

From 1613 until his death in 1629, Teellinck served as a pastor in Middelburg, a flourishing city with six Reformed churches—four Dutch, one English, and one French. Many were drawn to his ministry by his godliness and self-denial, sincere conversation and preaching, faithful visiting and catechizing, godly walk and selfless demeanor, and simple and practical writings. He demonstrated the conviction that a pastor ought to be the godliest person in the congregation. When disease swept through Middelburg in 1624, for example, Teellinck not only called the townspeople to public and private repentance, but he also visited infected homes even as he urged others not to put themselves at risk by doing so.

Teellinck’s diligent labors in Middelburg bore fruit and could be considered a small revival. Five years after his arrival, he wrote to his congregation in his *Noodwendig verutoogh* (“Urgent Discourse”): “We have every reason to thank the Lord. You come to church in large numbers each Sunday; our four church buildings cannot contain all the people. Many of your families may be called ‘little churches.’ There is good order according to good rules. Many of you use the means of grace diligently and you gladly listen to our admonitions to exercise godliness.” Yet, like many of his contemporary English Puritans, Teellinck remained burdened for the indifference in and beyond his flock even though God was blessing his work significantly. The “constant hurt and pain” he carried in his heart because of the spiritual laxity and carnality that prevailed in church and society moved him to use his prodigious energies and gifts in speaking and writing to strive to bring about a comprehensive reformation in every sphere of life.

Teellinck battled ill health for most of his ministry. He died at the age of fifty on April 8, 1629. Thousands mourned his death, and he was buried in the churchyard of St. Pieters Church in Middelburg.

The Legacy of Willem Teellinck

In his preaching, Teellinck infiltrated the Dutch scene with English Puritan pathos. His sermons focused on the practice of godliness, and he preached often on the necessity of repentance. He was skilled in rebuking sin and pronouncing God's impending judgment while simultaneously drawing people to the love of God and alluring them to Christ. He despised trivialities from the pulpit, such as flowery expressions and petty illustrations. In his preaching, he was blunt and forthright.

Teellinck was a practical preacher who addressed current events. For example, when Admiral Piet Hein captured the Spanish Silver-Fleet and the entire Dutch nation rejoiced, Teellinck preached from 1 Timothy 6:17–19, stressing that the riches of this world are counterfeit and that only the riches of Christ endure forever. Teellinck also denounced the trends and fashions of his day. At times, he was criticized for legalism as he preached against luxury in dress, erotic literature, excessive drinking, dancing, traveling on the Sabbath, overindulgence in feasting, and the neglect of fasting. However, that was only one strand of a complex web of practical godliness that Teellinck sought to weave in the hearts and lives of his parishioners. Although he castigated the ethical insensibilities of some professing believers and deplored spiritual deadness in the church, his overarching emphasis was to build up the believer's "most holy faith" and to move the church toward "new life in Christ." In these matters, his preaching and writing bore much fruit and began to spread throughout the Netherlands.

In his preaching, Teellinck was profoundly influenced by William Perkins (1558–1602), who advocated the Puritan "plain method" of preaching. After exegeting a text, Teellinck expounded various doctrines, explained how these doctrines should benefit the hearer by means of comfort and admonition, and then applied wisdom gleaned from the text to both saved and unsaved hearers. Although he was not an eloquent orator, Teellinck was an effective preacher. After hearing Teellinck preach on a few occasions, Gisbertus Voetius wrote, "Since that time my heart's desire has been that I and all other preachers of this land could duplicate this kind of powerful preaching."⁸

The Netherlands was not as ready for Teellinck as England had been for Perkins, however. Teellinck's insistence on connecting the fruits of love with the acts of justifying faith did not appeal to some of his peers. They found his call for renewal in church, school, family, government, and society much too intense. So on the one hand, Teellinck's preaching against dead Reformed orthodoxy brought him under suspicion by the orthodox Reformed, while on the other hand, Arminians censored him for his devotion to that same Reformed orthodoxy and resented his popularity with laypeople.

The influence of Teellinck's writing ministry can scarcely be overestimated. Although he died at the age of fifty, he managed to write 127 manuscripts, sixty of which were published and which included twenty full-length books. His writings can be divided into five major categories: his *exegetical works* (such as his books on Judges 13—16, Malachi, and Romans 7:14–25); his *catechetical works* (such as his commentary on the Compendium of the Heidelberg Catechism and a doctrinal family manual); his *edificatory works* (such as his treatises on sickness, affliction, and the marks of true conversion); his *admonitory works* (such as his treatises on specific sins such as immorality and the use of images, as well as on God's threatened judgments against a backsliding nation); and his *polemical works* (such as his writings against Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, and even against forms of Calvinism that lack godliness). Major themes that pervaded many of Teellinck's writings include personal sanctification, godly devotion, conscientious Sabbath-keeping, and a Christ-centered celebration of the Lord's Supper.

After his death, Teellinck's sons began collecting and printing his treatises, but could not produce more than three folio volumes entitled *Alle de wercken van Mr. Willem Teellinck* ("All the Works of Mr. Willem Teellinck"). Over 150 editions of his books were printed in Dutch alone. Four of his titles were translated into English in the 1620s but were never reprinted: *The Balance of the Sanctuary*, *Paul's Complaint against His Natural Corruption*, *The Christian Conflict and Conquest*, and *The Resting Place of the Mind*. In 2003, his *The Path of True Godliness* was reprinted.⁹ Gisbertus Voetius, another major writer in the Dutch Further Reformation tradition, carried on the practical piety that pervaded all of Teellinck's writings.

GISBERTUS VOETIUS (1589–1676)

Gisbertus Voetius (Voet)¹⁰ stands as a theological giant in the time of the Dutch Further Reformation. He profoundly influenced the Dutch Further Reformation in at least three main areas—the development of an *intelligent piety*, the development of *pastoral theology*, and the development of *polemical theology*, each of which contributed to revival and reformation during his ministry.

Voetius was born in Heusden on March 3, 1589, just two months before Spanish troops besieged his native village.¹¹ Voetius began his education at the Latin school of Heusden and then the University of Leiden. During his early student years, he demonstrated a keen interest in theology and eagerly followed the disputations held between Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) and Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1651) at the University of Leiden. He was eventually nominated to the Synod of Dort as its youngest delegate. He further studied philosophy through Bartholomäus Keckermann (ca. 1572–1609).¹² His educational training demonstrated both a depth and breadth of knowledge that shaped his academic output in later years.

In terms of personal piety, Voetius was heavily influenced by the *Devotia Moderna* (or “Modern Devotion” movement), a late-fourteenth century movement in the Low Countries that emphasized the reform of the church as well as the rediscovery of personal piety. The movement was championed by Gerard Groote (1340–1384) and heavily influenced later by Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), who authored *The Imitation of Christ*, a book that had enormous influence throughout the centuries as a manual for the promotion of personal piety.¹³ This work also had a profound influence on his spiritual formation.¹⁴

Voetius was ordained to the ministry in 1611 and served faithfully for the rest of his life as a pastor in various congregations. He also served as a theologian and theological instructor at the University of Utrecht, where he trained a generation of pastors in the Dutch state church. Voetius’s influence continues to extend far and wide in the Dutch context, particularly his emphasis that “theology had to be practical and lead to a lifestyle that glorifies God.”¹⁵ It is this combination of theology and piety that marked his contribution to the Dutch Further Reformation in both his teaching and preaching.

The Influence of Gisbertus Voetius in the Development of Intelligent Piety

Voetius was to the Further Reformation what John Owen was to the Puritan movement in England.¹⁶ One of his distinctive contributions to the Dutch Further Reformation and to the development of Reformed theology in general is his combination of intellectual rigor and deep, warm spirituality, or what is commonly referred to as *pietatis cum scientia conjugenda*—“the wedding together of knowledge and piety.”¹⁷ Two of his works are notable for their influence in the development of this intelligent piety: *Prove van de Cracht der Godsalicheydt* (“Proofs of the Power of Godliness”) and *Meditatie van de Ware Practijcke der Godsalicheydt of der goede Wercken* (“Meditation on the True Practice of Godliness or Good Works”). Beeke and Pederson note that these two works “established [Voetius] as a writer of practical piety who insisted on a converted life as the attestation of an orthodox faith.”¹⁸

Furthermore, C. A. de Niet also notes the profound influence that Voetius exercised on the Dutch Further Reformation through his careful expositions entitled *Ta Asketika sive Exercitia Pietatis* (“‘Ascetica,’ or The Exercise of Godliness”).¹⁹ This work is a comprehensive manual of piety in both theory and practice drawing from the early church fathers, medieval streams of piety, and the Puritans. Voetius required his students to read this work as part of their preparation for pastoral and pulpit ministry.²⁰

The Influence of Gisbertus Voetius in the Development of Pastoral and Practical Theology

While Voetius served as a pastor for many years, he never lost his pastoral heart as a theologian and teacher. Two works stand out in Voetius’s corpus of writings that reveal his influence in the development of pastoral theology and contribute to the ethos of the Dutch Further Reformation and its emphasis on personal piety. The first is his massive work entitled *Politica ecclesiastica*. In this work, Voetius considers numerous questions concerning ecclesiology and provides invaluable insight into a Reformed understanding of ecclesiology. In particular, he expresses his concern for the reformation of the church through a sincere confession of faith in Christ. For example, in writing about public confession of faith, he writes that the sincerity of one’s confession should not only be discerned through a vocal confession, but that vocal confession must cohere with an inward confession as well through acts of piety. These aspects of confession cannot be separated but must be

taken together.²¹ This concern to connect both confession of mouth and confession of life was a pastoral response to the nominalism that plagued the Dutch state church. In dealing with practical questions like these, Voetius attempted to correct and reform the direction of the church.

Like other divines of the Dutch Further Reformation, Voetius also shows great concern for a proper understanding of ecclesiology. His concern is manifested in *Politica ecclesiastica*, where he considers the nature of the church. First, he shows that the church can be understood in a mystical way, where he refers to the church as an invisible, spiritual entity.²² The visible church is the association of believers which they enter on a voluntary basis. By participating in the visible church, believers can participate in the communion of the saints and can mutually communicate with one another in matters relating to salvation.²³ For Voetius, the invisible church exists within the visible church. These definitions became important in the debates with the Labadists over the nature of the church, who sought a pure church separate from the state church.

In his *Politica ecclesiastica*, one can hear the heartbeat of Voetius's teaching and training of men for sacred ministry as well as the importance of preaching in the reform of the church. As Voetius discusses the manner of preaching, he argues modestly that he contributes very little to this subject. He then goes on to quote a plethora of preachers and homiletics throughout church history, showing affinity and appreciation in particular for several English Puritans, such as William Ames (1576–1633), Arthur Hildersham (1563–1632), and Nehemiah Rogers (1593–1660).²⁴

Voetius's advice to candidates for the ministry is to read and listen to those men who excel in preaching and to absorb their methods to develop their own best method of preaching.²⁵ The absorption of such preaching provides good examples of "careful and clear explanation of the text; others of the elaboration and deduction of doctrines; still others of a careful and clear argument concerning them, of a sound and clear defense and refutation; of consolation; of exhortation; of a serious, fitting and wise rebuke; of a powerful prayer; of style and adornment; of a heart-moving presentation or of the right accompaniment of gestures."²⁶ In the method of preaching, Voetius allows personal freedom and argues that the edification of the congregation is the first law in pursuing a particular method of preaching. He concludes, "It is enough for us, if only Christ is preached to the heart of

the people and faith and conversion are powerfully aroused in them.”²⁷ This view of preaching lies at the heart of the Dutch Further Reformation, for the divines of that movement sought to present Christ and stir believers up to obedience in the Christian life based on the Scriptures.

Unique among Voetius’s writings is his work on spiritual desertion. Because of pressing demands in his ministry, he requested his colleague, Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666), complete the book he had started to write.²⁸ This work on spiritual desertion is motivated by pastoral concerns for those believers who struggle with a sense of spiritual desertion or abandonment. Voetius’s definition of spiritual desertion is particularly helpful in the context of pastoral ministry:

It is an inner cross or spiritual sorrow and trial as a result of which a person, now being truly converted to God, fails to feel his or heart’s delight in God and divine things. It results from the darkening of one’s assurance and clarity with respect to appropriation by a personal faith. The worst but least frequent occurrence is the suffering of a constant painful deficiency; a more frequent occurrence is the cross of believers; most frequent is the inner cross.²⁹

As Voetius works out the causes of desertion, he seeks to deal judiciously with the consciences of those plagued by this desertion. On the point of conscience, Voetius demonstrates close affinity with Puritan writers who have written treatises dealing with the consciences of believers who are afflicted.³⁰ Despite his towering intellect, Voetius showed himself to be a sensitive pastor who cared for afflicted souls under his care as he sought to nurture the faith of those who were afflicted with spiritual desertion. In this work, he comforts afflicted believers by teaching them that faith and assurance are still present although their lived experience dictates otherwise.³¹ Voetius thus shows that revival does not remove the need for clear and consistent pastoral care of afflicted souls. Rather, it requires a balanced ministry that involves rousing hypocrites from their spiritual doldrums and blindness, while simultaneously counseling and comforting afflicted souls.

The Influence of Gisbertus Voetius in the Development of Polemical Theology
Even as Voetius cared tenderly for afflicted souls as part of his ministry, he

also did not tolerate any theology or philosophy that might destroy the church of Christ or lead to moderatism within the church. Voetius did not hesitate to engage in polemics with enemies of the truth as they threatened the spiritual vitality of the church. Most notable of these opponents was René Descartes and his philosophy. Jonathan Israel notes that Voetius's polemics struck at the heart of Descartes's new philosophy that was based "on doubt and discarding all traditional (Aristotelian) science and philosophy, including existing proofs of God's existence."³² Cartesianism thus exalted human reason as the final arbiter of truth, thereby striking at the heart of the authority of Scripture. Voetius rightly viewed this philosophy as damaging to the church's spiritual vitality and teaching. Voetius also sparred with Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669) over the subject of covenant theology, insisting that Cocceius's views "would undermine both Reformed dogmatics and practical Christianity."³³ Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), a powerful preacher whose ministry was accompanied by revival activity, also came into the polemical crosshairs of Voetius's pen for his views on the church, his separatist tendencies, and his subjective mysticism.³⁴

WILHELMUS À BRAKEL (1635–1711)

Among Dutch Reformed Christians to this day, Wilhelmus à Brakel is often affectionately referred to as "Vader Brakel" (or "Father Brakel"). Many during (a after) his lifetime ascribed this unique title to him for his defining role and influence on the Dutch Further Reformation.³⁵ Brakel was born in Leeuwaarden on February 1, 1635, to Theodorus à Brakel and Margaretha Homma.³⁶ Within the nurturing context of this godly family, young Wilhelmus began to evidence sincere love for Jesus Christ. His God-fearing parents prayed constantly for their young son and faithfully admonished him to find his life in Christ alone.³⁷ At a tender age, Brakel evidenced a clear love for Christ, a love that would pervade his ministry and writings for the rest of his life.³⁸

At an early age, Brakel studied at a Latin school in Leeuwaarden and then began his university studies at the University of Franeker. He matriculated at Franeker with a standard seventeenth-century education in languages, philosophy, history, medicine, and theology.³⁹ At that time, Franeker was heavily influenced by the teaching of Johannes Cocceius and his followers.

In accordance with his father's advice, Brakel continued his studies at the University of Utrecht, then dominated by Voetius and his followers.⁴⁰ Brakel enjoyed the best of education in the milieu of the Dutch university; in fact, it would profoundly shape his piety as well as how he viewed the necessity and importance of a well-rounded education for pastors.⁴¹

Brakel served the Lord in ministry for nearly fifty years, serving a total of five churches throughout the Netherlands. De Reuver remarks that the Lord blessed Brakel with sound health, a sharp mind, and a loving disposition to those under his pastoral care.⁴² In his ministry, he saw evident spiritual blessing in the lives of those whom he pastored. For example, his first pastorate was in Exmorra, a village in Friesland, where he faced the nominalism and spiritual indifference of the Dutch church. However, through faithful preaching, teaching, and pastoring, there were stirrings of spiritual life through his ministry there.⁴³

Brakel's faithful ministry likewise bore fruit in his second pastorate in Stavoren, of which ministry his contemporary Abraham Hellenbroek (1658–1731) remarked, "The extraordinary fruit which he enjoyed in Stavoren has been very significant and widely recognized."⁴⁴ He saw similar spiritual fruit in his third pastorate in Harlingen where he witnessed a number of young women evidencing evangelistic zeal after he had taught about the prophetic office of Christ and believers. These young women spoke to others within the congregation and "stirred people up to acquire knowledge and to repent," with evident conversions as a fruit of their words and admonishments.⁴⁵

Controversies in the Ministry of Wilhelmus à Brakel

Although he saw Spirit-worked conversion, Brakel nonetheless faced several major challenges in his ministry. However, it must be noted that none of these challenges arose because of deficiency in his moral character or a lack of faithfulness in his ministry. Rather, these controversies surrounded various pastors and theologians and highlighted the spiritual condition of the Dutch church. Brakel's responses to these challenges demonstrate his influence in the spiritual revival during the Dutch Further Reformation, as well as his strong desire to see the church reformed and flourishing with genuine spiritual vitality. Indeed, conflict can often be the catalyst or context for revival. As Beeke observes, "Revival often happens in the midst of great conflict."⁴⁶

The first controversy arose during his third pastorate in Harlingen. This period was fraught with turmoil in Dutch society with the aristocratic segment of society exercising undue power and influence in society. In addition to this, the Dutch Republic also faced military assaults from France, England, Münster, and Cologne.⁴⁷ Brakel and other ministers of the churches in the province of Friesland intervened with officials in the government, petitioning them to address the ills of Dutch society and these foreign invasions. Overall, these societal, political, and military challenges were resolved through Dutch resilience in military self-defense, but also through a general synod held in Friesland where there was a general sentiment that the work of reformation needed to be undertaken.⁴⁸ The synod emphasized the importance of church discipline and reaffirmed the obligation of ministers to preach from the Heidelberg Catechism every Lord's Day.⁴⁹

Another controversy through which Brakel shaped the spiritual lives of the people whom he shepherded came through his pastorate in Leeuwarden. This controversy involved the gathering of conventicles. Conventicles were small groups of believers who gathered to discuss spiritual matters of the heart centered around the exposition of the Word of God. These conventicles were often responses by pastors and laypeople to preaching that was tepid and weak within the Dutch state church. Brakel encouraged these conventicles, for he considered them to be an impetus for spiritual revival among individual believers as well as a catalyst for revival on a wider scale within the church.⁵⁰ He did so amid opposition to conventicles by state authorities and church leaders who viewed the conventicles as schismatic, potentially mystical “churches within churches.” Rather than viewing conventicles as an opportunity to encourage schism or divide the national church, Brakel believed that conventicles could help believers seek vital piety and godliness in contexts where such godliness was often lacking—even among spiritual leaders.

Brakel found himself embroiled in another controversy after he invited Jacobus Koelman (1631–1695), another preacher of the *Nadere Reformatie* movement, to fill his pulpit in Leeuwarden. Koelman was a blunt and direct preacher, but at the heart of his ministry was the desire to promote further reformation within the Dutch state church. Both he and Brakel joined forces to address moral laxity among the laity, the failure of pastors to warn

their congregations against ungodliness, and the tardiness of the government to enact policies to curb immorality and vice in society.⁵¹ The controversy spilled over into the courts of both church and state as Koelman proved to be controversial in other matters of worship, arguing against form prayers in liturgy and Christian feast days as practices which inhibited true piety and spirituality.⁵² As Brakel supported his fellow minister, they confronted the governing authorities in church and state, eventually winning the day for their defense of the spiritual authority of the church. As a result, Brakel was catapulted into national fame in the Dutch Republic and as a central figure of the Further Reformation.⁵³

Another controversy erupted over the issue of biblical hermeneutics. In 1679, a minister named David Flud van Giffen preached a sermon on Psalm 8 in which he argued for a Cocceian interpretation of the psalm as a prophetic type of the Lord Jesus. Brakel disagreed with van Giffen's hermeneutic and preached what he viewed to be the correct interpretation of Psalm 8. Eventually, the two men were reconciled. In response to the controversy, Brakel eventually published a treatise on the covenant of grace entitled *Hallelujah, ofte lof des Heeren over het genadeverbond opgesteld* ("Hallelujah, or The Praises of the Lord Relative to the Covenant of Grace."⁵⁴ It is in this work and others that Brakel developed his theology within the framework of the covenant of grace.⁵⁵

The last significant controversy worthy of note was Brakel's conflict with Jean de Labadie. Although de Labadie was trained as a Roman Catholic Jesuit, he later became a Reformed pastor. The main emphasis of de Labadie's ministry became the idea and pursuit of a pure church. Brakel and other *Nadere Reformatie* divines resonated with de Labadie's views, especially his strong warnings against the moral laxity of many so-called Christians and his clarion calls for fasting and seasons of prayer. Over time, de Labadie separated himself from what he perceived to be the worldly state church and set up his own church of exclusively regenerate persons.

Paired with his increasingly extreme theological and ecclesiastical views, these initiatives alienated him from other Reformed ministers who, at first, had given him a rather warm reception. De Labadie's followers (who were known as "Labadists") eventually came into conflict with Brakel. While they shared the view that the state church was largely corrupt, they differed in their schismatic tendencies; Brakel preferred to stay within the church

and work for her reform, while the Labadists desired to separate from it. Brakel and the Labadists likewise differed over theological issues such as the nature of justification, the nature of love, and the ability to have absolute knowledge of the regeneration of one's neighbor. On these three points, Brakel maintained the orthodox position over against the extreme ideas of the de Labadie and his followers.

Ecclesiological Perspectives in the Ministry of Wilhelmus à Brakel

In each of the controversies with which Brakel contended during his ministry, two themes emerge and demonstrate his centrality to the *Nadere Reformatie* movement—his emphasis on ecclesiology as well as his emphasis on preaching as a means of revival and reformation. Issues of ecclesiology lay at the heart of the *Nadere Reformatie*. As van Lieburg points out, there were two basic poles regarding ecclesiology in the Dutch context. On one hand, there was the civil government's ideal of a broad church that could encompass the largest number of its citizens. On the other hand, there was the clergy's view of the church as a pure church preserved through rigorous church discipline.⁵⁶ Van Lieburg further captures the decline of the Dutch Reformed church as the *volkskerk* (or “the people's church”) gained ascendancy in the Dutch cultural and religious consciousness:

This supposed growth of the church became visible in a weakening of the exercise of church discipline. Discipline pertaining to doctrine became less meaningful now that competition with non-Reformed Protestant groups had diminished. And discipline concerning one's life-style lost force, for it could no longer bear an exemplary character because the public sins of the members were too numerous to be brought before the church council or to be combated effectively. Celebration of the Lord's Supper became less an expression of belonging to the chosen community of Christ, and more a demonstration of social respectability within the local community. The Dutch Reformed church evolved from its ideal of a pure church into a (limited) people's church (*volkskerk*), just as the regents always had had in mind.”⁵⁷

Brakel maintained an ardent love for the church of Christ no matter its condition. In fact, his love for Christ's church in its deplorable condition drove much of his ministry. This love for the church is especially evident

in his writing ministry. Willem van Vlastuin notes that in *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, Brakel places ecclesiology between Christology and Pneumatology.⁵⁸ Van Vlastuin observes that Brakel not only contributes to a *reordering* of ecclesiology but also to a *revaluing* of ecclesiology, so that “by using this ordering he revalues the church rather than underestimating it, as it traditionally had been . . . in this way the church was given intrinsic value as a form of eternal salvation.”⁵⁹ This reordering of ecclesiology in Brakel's systematic theology was indicative of a retrieval of the ecclesiology of the early church, where the emphasis was more on the corporate dimension of Christian faith rather than the individual dimension.⁶⁰ Much of this ecclesiological emphasis was thus contextually driven as Brakel addressed the more extreme elements among the Labadists, but this emphasis also preserves him from being labeled as overly individualistic and mystical in his emphases on the inner spiritual realities of the true believer. A modest conclusion can be drawn that Brakel preserves this objective-subjective distinction of the Christian life as he sought both the reform of the church and the revival of individual believers through the means of grace—particularly the preaching of the Word of God from the pulpit.

Second, in their attempts at the reformation of the church, pastors of the Further Reformation (such as Brakel) recognized that “truly apostolic revival could only take place within the framework of the official preaching of the Word, the administration of the sacraments, and the maintenance of discipline, these being the marks of the true Church of Christ.”⁶¹ Preaching played a central role in the revival of the church and its members. Van Lieburg writes, “Public preaching was an important medium of influence. The sermon was not to be a learned presentation or a theological argument, but an instruction in the godly walk of life and an application of the content of Scripture to various groups in the congregation: advanced and beginning believers, as well as the unconverted. Also highly valued were regular catechesis of children and adults, house visitation and pastoral guidance of members, and intensive maintenance of discipline concerning their beliefs and actions.”⁶²

Brakel also viewed the preaching of the Word of God as the primary means of grace through which God brings revival and reformation. He remarks in *The Christian's Reasonable Service* that the minister's objective in his preaching “ought to be to touch hearts, and thus while aiming for the heart,

to apply this, to comfort, and to stir up.”⁶³ In his discussion of the keys of the kingdom entrusted to the church by Christ, Brakel teaches that the key of preaching has a discriminatory function in that it opens the kingdom to believers and shuts it against unbelievers through the authority of Christ.⁶⁴ Closely connected with this view of preaching was a strong emphasis on the use of church discipline as the other key of the kingdom exercised by the church. In fact, Brakel spills proportionately more ink about the right use of church discipline than on preaching in *The Christian's Reasonable Service*. This perceived imbalance was driven by the great dearth of a healthy use of church discipline in the church.

It is with this view of preaching that Brakel sought to reform the church through a discriminating style that clearly delineated between true and false believers, preaching the gospel freely and warmly focused on Christ and his work. This is clear from just a sampling of *De waare christen* (“The True Christian”), a series of sermons on select texts of Scripture.⁶⁵ In a sermon on Isaiah 28:16, Brakel describes the nature of true believers. Those who believe upon Christ as the Cornerstone are not those who have temporary faith or historical faith.⁶⁶ Rather, those who God describes as true believers are those who have a sincere knowledge of their own sinfulness. True believers are also distinguished from an insincere believer according to the foundation of their faith. The sincere believer is grounded upon none other than Jesus Christ and finds in Him the only ground and cornerstone of his salvation. By Him, he receives the forgiveness of sins, shelter from the wrath of God, and both sanctification and glorification.⁶⁷

In another sermon on Job 8:13, “The Hypocrite’s Hope Shall Perish,” Brakel demonstrates his concern for uncovering the hypocrite and his false hope. He notes that there are two kinds of hypocrites—the *coarse* hypocrite and the *refined* hypocrite.⁶⁸ The coarse hypocrite is one who consciously plays the hypocrite without any qualms, such as Simon the Sorcerer (Acts 8:9–25). The refined hypocrite combines a strong sense of religiosity with their hypocrisy.⁶⁹ While distinguishing between hypocrites, Brakel is more concerned with addressing the refined hypocrite, especially refined hypocrites within the church. Throughout the sermon, he uncovers refined hypocrites by pointing out that they are concerned with the outward show of godliness and piety but lack the inward compulsion and life of godliness.⁷⁰ Brakel’s sermons on these subjects warrant further research and analysis,

but this small sampling demonstrates his concern for the vital piety of God's people, his desire to deal pastorally with such issues, and his desire to promote the kind of preaching that the Holy Spirit would use to bring about revival and reformation.

THEODORUS JACOBUS FRELINGHUYSEN (1691–1747)

A remarkable spiritual awakening occurred in the eighteenth century in the British colonies in America.⁷¹ Leaders of that awakening were renowned preachers such as George Whitefield (1714–1770) and Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). Yet two decades before Whitefield preached on American soil, the Holy Spirit was working through the Dutch Reformed minister, Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691–1747), to call sinners to Christ. Hundreds of people came to the Lord under Frelinghuysen's preaching. In 1739, George Whitefield wrote:

He [Frelinghuysen] is a worthy old soldier of Jesus Christ, and was the beginner of the great work which I trust the Lord is carrying on in these parts. He has been strongly opposed by his carnal brethren, but God has appeared before him, in a surprising manner, and made him more than conqueror, through His love. He has long since learnt to fear Him only, who can destroy both body and soul in hell.⁷²

Frelinghuysen has been described as a forerunner of the Great Awakening.⁷³ He was trained for the ministry with a combination of Reformed doctrinal purity and the vital piety of the Dutch Further Reformation. Heinrich Melchior Mühlberg (1711–1787), a Lutheran pietist and a “patriarch of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania and adjacent States”⁷⁴ who toured the Middle Colonies in 1759, referred to Frelinghuysen as “a converted Dutch preacher who was the first in these parts to insist upon true repentance, living faith, and sanctification, and who had much success.”⁷⁵ His preaching declared the reality of divine judgment according to the moral law, the insufficiency of good works to save sinners, the sovereignty of divine grace, and the necessity of new birth by the Holy Spirit to produce the power of godliness.⁷⁶

Regeneration and Repentance

Frelinghuysen preached his inaugural sermon in America on January 31, 1720. His text was 2 Corinthians 5:20: “Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ’s stead, be ye reconciled to God.” The sermon caused quite a stir as the new minister made it clear that he intended to labor among them “in Christ’s stead”—that is, with the earnestness and intense personal examination of Christ Himself.

If the Dutch Reformed parishioners of New Jersey’s Raritan Valley were surprised by their minister’s zeal, Frelinghuysen was no less surprised by his parishioners’ lack of spirituality and worldliness. Although he had heard rumors of their lack of spirituality while he was in the Netherlands, he soon discovered that the situation was far worse than he had thought. William Demarest notes, “He found that great laxity of manners prevailed throughout his charge . . . that while horse-racing, gambling, dissipation, and rudeness of various kinds were common, the [church] was attended at convenience, and religion consisted of the mere formal pursuit of the routine of duty.”⁷⁷ In short, many parishioners showed no fruits or marks of conversion.

Consequently, Frelinghuysen began to preach for the conversion of sinners rather than for the nurture of believers. He insisted that an outward confession and upright life were insufficient for salvation. The Holy Spirit must first reveal to a sinner his sinful state and cursed condition before God, he taught. He once wrote, “The sinner is driven out of himself to the sovereign grace of God in Christ for reconciliation, pardon, sanctification, and salvation.”⁷⁸

Frelinghuysen said that only those who have begun to bring forth the fruits of conversion can consider themselves to be saved. According to the Heidelberg Catechism, these fruits include not only the knowledge of sin and misery but also the experience of deliverance in Christ, resulting in a life of gratitude to God. Frelinghuysen urgently pleaded with sinners to come to Christ, declaring, “If you are weary of sin and sincerely desire to draw near to God through Christ, then come.”⁷⁹ He said with passion, “Jesus stands before us with extended arms, inviting sinners and the ungodly to repentance. Oh let him who senses his sins and his state of condemnation before God surrender himself to the Lord Jesus!”⁸⁰ He then explained that a true experience of joyous salvation in Christ will necessarily result in a life of Christian gratitude “marked by a new and hearty service” as one continually looks to Christ to overcome sin.⁸¹

Although many members of Frelinghuysen's church did not object to the scriptural and Reformed doctrines he proclaimed, others resented his forceful application of Reformed experiential theology to their souls. Had he said he was referring to people outside of the church as unregenerate, self-righteous hypocrites, church members might have been more accepting. But Frelinghuysen made it clear that he was speaking to his own parishioners. He said,

Come here, you careless ones at ease in sin; you carnal and earthly-minded ones, you unchaste whoremongers and adulterers; you proud, haughty men and women; you seekers after pleasure; you drunkards, gamblers, disobedient and wicked rejecters of the gospel; you hypocrites and dissemblers. How do you think the Lord will deal with you? . . . Be filled with terror, you impure swine, adulterers, and whoremongers. Without true repentance you will live with the impure devils. All who burn in their vile lusts will be cast into a fire that is hotter than that of Sodom and Gomorrah.⁸²

Furthermore, he sternly admonished his people against partaking of the Lord's Supper in a casual manner. He warned them, "Remember, that though moral and outwardly religious, if you are still unregenerate and destitute of spiritual life, you have no warrant to approach the Table of grace."⁸³

At the heart of Frelinghuysen's theology—and indeed the entire Dutch Further Reformation—was the conviction that regeneration is necessary to true Christianity. In a typical sermon, Frelinghuysen would ask his listeners to examine themselves for evidences of the new birth. Instead of assuming that everyone was saved, he believed that pastors should address the assembled church with the recognition that their congregants were in various spiritual conditions. He explained,

The church includes all kinds of people: wicked and unconverted persons, moral persons, and Christians in appearance and profession. This last group is the largest, for "many are called but few are chosen." There are also converted people in the church. These include babes in grace as well as those who are more advanced. Each has desires and needs. Each must therefore be preached to and dealt with according to his condition, as Jeremiah 15:19 says. Many zealous divines have shown how dangerous general applications can be (Ezek. 13:19–20).⁸⁴

Frelinghuysen preached Reformed truth with fire. As James Tanis says, he was not an innovator but rather a “transmitter” between the Dutch Further Reformation and the New World.⁸⁵ But this transmitter was also an “amplifier” who powerfully proclaimed the new birth with such gravity, intensity, and fervency that it shocked nominal and complacent Dutch churchgoers. It also provoked reactions that were either strongly positive or strongly negative.

Revival and Renewal

Soon after he arrived in the New World, Frelinghuysen’s stress on regeneration, heartfelt prayers, and criticism of material luxuries alienated him from two prominent Reformed ministers, Gualtherus Du Bois (1671–1751) and Henricus Boel (1692–1754). Frelinghuysen ministered to four small congregations along the Raritan River southwest of New York City. He preached a searching call to repentance and applied strict standards to exclude the unconverted from the Lord’s Table.

The disciplinary actions of Frelinghuysen and his consistory upset many in the congregation, particularly the wealthy. They complained to influential Reformed ministers in New York whose views differed from those of Frelinghuysen. Some of the ministers sided with the complainants—most notably, Du Bois and Boel. The complainants levied serious accusations against Frelinghuysen in a formal complaint or *klaag* that was 150 pages long.⁸⁶ The situation became even more tense when Frelinghuysen referred to colleagues who opposed him as “unconverted ministers.”

Although pastors such as Guiliam Bertholf (1656–1726), Bernardus Freeman (1660–1743), and Cornelius van Santvoord (1687–1752) supported Frelinghuysen, they cautioned him against sounding unduly harsh and judgmental. They insisted that his approach lacked tact, and his standards for the Lord’s Supper were too high. Bertholf attested to Frelinghuysen’s orthodoxy but privately wondered if Frelinghuysen’s criticisms of fellow ministers were too extreme.⁸⁷

The controversy raged for several more years, severely jeopardizing Frelinghuysen’s mental and emotional health. Finally, on November 18, 1733, the churches served by Frelinghuysen adopted eleven “Peace Articles,” which were read from their pulpits on the first three Sundays of 1734, then forwarded to Amsterdam for final approval. In

the articles, Frelinghuysen (and his consistories) forgave his opponents, who then accepted him as an orthodox Reformed minister. Although Boel's opposition to Frelinghuysen and the revivals continued, Du Bois eventually approved of peace. And Frelinghuysen regretted his judgmental castigation of his opponents as unconverted.

Despite relentless criticism, Frelinghuysen faithfully continued his work as a minister. He not only preached himself but he also trained lay preachers. Most notable among his students was Hendrik Visscher, who translated Frelinghuysen's sermons from Dutch into English. Visscher's own sermons were also influential; they were published and cherished for years by Reformed pietists in the Raritan Valley. Frelinghuysen trained several men for ordained ministry, including Samuel Verbryck, John Goetachius, and Thomas Romeyn, and he urged the establishment of a colonial theological seminary.

While Frelinghuysen's searching messages offended some people, God used them to bring many souls to a saving knowledge of Christ. Several small revivals (in 1726, 1729, 1734, 1739, and 1741) occurred under Frelinghuysen's ministry. In 1726, the Raritan congregation had only twenty communicant members. By 1741, however, the church had added 120 new members by confession of faith. The records of the New Brunswick church indicate that sixty more souls were admitted to communion.⁸⁸ The churches Frelinghuysen served, plus his ministry to people outside of his congregations, resulted in a spiritual harvest of at least three hundred people.

Other ministers took an interest in Frelinghuysen's ministry. The Presbyterian minister Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764) was particularly impressed by the soundness of the numerous conversions that occurred under his Dutch colleague's preaching.⁸⁹ What was it about Frelinghuysen's preaching that led, with the Spirit's blessing, to so many conversions? Visscher speculated that it was Frelinghuysen's skill in "discovering the state and condition of his auditors to themselves."⁹⁰ Frelinghuysen himself said, "Though I would not prescribe a method of preaching to anyone, yet I believe that the application should be discriminating, adapted to the various states of all hearers (Jude 20–21; Jer. 15)."⁹¹ Tennent immersed himself in studying Frelinghuysen's preaching. It was not long before he so excelled in discriminatory preaching that Tanis could say, "Tennent's preaching

was Frelinghuysen's method perfected." He added, "Whitefield's own method of preaching was greatly affected by his instruction, and so the torch which Frelinghuysen bore from East Friesland passed to Tennent, on to Whitefield."⁹²

Tennent's ministry became increasingly bound up with Frelinghuysen's. Occasionally, the two ministers held combined worship services in both Dutch and English. Although some people began to complain that Frelinghuysen was taking the churches out of "a Dutch way," that simply was not true, for his goal was the conversion of sinners. Whoever shared this vision was his friend, regardless of denomination or ethnicity.

Some of the central elements of Frelinghuysen's ministry were the necessity of personal regeneration, the call to the unconverted for self-examination and repentance, and cooperation with likeminded ministers regardless of denominational boundaries. These remain some of the central elements of modern American evangelicalism. Tanis concluded, "His [Frelinghuysen's] influence in the developing structures of American theology was enormous."⁹³

In the 1740s, revival touched northern New Jersey and southeast New York through the ministries of Frelinghuysen, Tennent, and Whitefield.⁹⁴ In New York City, Whitefield preached in the fields and in the pulpit of the Presbyterian minister Ebenezer Pemberton (1704–1777), after the local Church of England minister and the Dutch Reformed pastor, Henricus Boel, declared their opposition to him.⁹⁵ However, Du Bois sat on the outdoor platform with Pemberton, Frelinghuysen, and Whitefield, thereby showing his support as Whitefield preached.⁹⁶ Whitefield also preached to Germans in Skippack, Pennsylvania, and to the Dutch on Long Island.⁹⁷ Whitefield returned to New York to preach in 1754 and from 1763 to 1764.⁹⁸ In 1764 he wrote, "In New England, New York, and Pennsylvania the word has run and been glorified."⁹⁹ Samuel Buell also reported revival in 1764 among the English in East Hampton, Long Island.¹⁰⁰

Charles Corwin summarized three effects of the Great Awakening upon the Dutch. First, it produced a great spiritual quickening of the church, which largely augmented the number and membership of Dutch Reformed churches, calling for more ministers. Second, it encouraged a new drive for theological education for Reformed ministers in America. And third, it promoted a restored emphasis on the central principles of

Christianity and love for brothers of differing church traditions. This gospel emphasis brought liberty to the church. It also encouraged a quest for political liberty while serving, as Corwin noted, “as a balance to the political revolution and prevented it from being hurled into the vortex of anarchy and ruin in which the French Revolution was swallowed up.”¹⁰¹ The First Great Awakening faded after the 1740s, but significant works of the Spirit continued through the latter half of the eighteenth century.

CONCLUSION

A modern reassessment of these four figures of the Dutch Further Reformation, both in the Netherlands and the Dutch colonies abroad, yields several important lessons for the encouragement of the church today regarding both the *need for* and *response to* revival.

First, preaching is the primary means of grace that forms the foundation of revival. Apart from preaching that addresses the mind, the heart, and the will, nominalism reigns rampant in the church. As in the days of the Dutch Further Reformation, the desperate need of the church today is such preaching. The pastors of the Dutch Further Reformation recognized the intersection of preaching that addresses both mind and heart with the powerful work of the Holy Spirit. They were convinced that the Holy Spirit used means for the conversion of sinners, especially preaching that was warmly and experientially Christ-centered, aiming at the hearts of the hearers to awaken them from spiritual slumber, pull in the backsliders, and encourage genuine believers.

Second, these four figures were convinced of the need for the church faithfully to exercise church discipline to address the problems of hypocrisy, lax morals, and nominalism. Church discipline has fallen on hard times today, much as it had in the context of the Dutch Further Reformation. These four ministers, however, were convinced that church discipline brought to bear the authority that was not their own, but Christ’s, upon unrepentant and recalcitrant hearts. They were convinced that the combination of faithful preaching and church discipline were the keys by which Christ opened and closed the kingdom of heaven to sinner.

Third, when one thinks of revival, seldom does one immediately think of ecclesiology as an important theological distinction that affects the work

of the Holy Spirit. However, as we have seen with each of these ministers, ecclesiology was a central aspect to both the need *for* revival and the response *to* revival. Spiritual revival was necessary within the established church in order to reform the church and reset its spiritual vitality. Indeed, these ministers often viewed any notion of revival outside the established church as suspect. They also tended to view the Spirit's salvific activity as transpiring primarily within the established church, such that they saw no need for separatism in order for the Spirit to work. Their manifest love for the established church despite its flaws only increased the desire and prayer for revival, and when it came, they rejoiced that God had visited the church once again. This is a helpful reminder for the modern church as well with its individualistic focus and separatist tendencies. Revival often accentuates the catholicity of the church through the Spirit's unifying and reviving work rather than accentuating separatist tendencies.

Fourth, revival and the Spirit's heightened activity in the church highlighted the pastoral responses of these divines. The church today can also learn from these pastoral responses to a vast range of spiritual conditions within the church. There is no one-size-fits-all approach to pastoral ministry, visitation, and counseling. Rather the diversity of the body of Christ recognizes the need for a multifaceted approach to the care of souls. Rather than abandoning souls, these ministers showed the inextricable link between the two through their preaching and pastoring.

Finally, revival can often be viewed as anti-intellectual and merely emotional. What the Dutch Further Reformation underscores is the fact that the work of the Spirit in revival calls for a deeply grounded piety in the Scriptures that is both intelligent and that addresses the affections of believers. While some divines in this context tended toward a more mystical piety, most of those divines sought to biblically and pastorally balance the objective and subjective realities of spiritual life. The church today can learn much from this vital balance in its preaching, pastoral, and practical ministry. The work of the Spirit is often mysterious in its ways and effects, but it is never mystical in an unbiblical sense.

- 1 Parts of this article are adapted from Joel R. Beeke, "Revival and the Dutch Reformed Church in Eighteenth-Century America," in Robert Davis Smart, Michael A. G. Haykin, and Ian Hugh Clary, eds., *Pentecostal Outpourings: Revival and the Reformed Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016), 230–42. Used with permission.
- 2 For a more detailed treatment of the Dutch Further Reformation, see Joel R. Beeke, "Appendix: The Dutch Second Reformation (*De Nadere Reformatie*)," in *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 286–309. See also Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, "Introduction to the Dutch Further Reformation," in *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 741–44.
- 3 *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 19 (1995): 108, as cited in English translation by Bartel Elshout, *The Pastoral and Practical Theology of Wilhelmus à Brakel: A Brief Evaluation of The Christian's Reasonable Service* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1997), 9.
- 4 Willem Jan op 't Hof, *Engelse pietistische geschriften in het Nederlands* (Rotterdam: Lindenberg, 1993), 636–37, 640, 645.
- 5 Willem Teellinck, as quoted in Arie de Reuver, *Sweet Communion: Trajectories of Spirituality from the Middle Ages through the Further Reformation*, trans. James A. De Jong (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 117, 126–28.
- 6 Willem Teellinck, *The Resting Place of the Minde* (London: printed by John Haviland for Edward Brewster, 1622), 35.
- 7 This section on Willem Teellinck is adapted from Joel R. Beeke, "Introduction," in Willem Teellinck, *The Path of True Godliness*, ed. Joel R. Beeke, trans. Annemie Godbehere (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2021), 11–21. Used with permission. For the biographical details in this section, we are also indebted to the work of Willem op 't Hof on Willem Teellinck in various articles he has written over the years for the *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*.
- 8 Willem Teellinck, as quoted in Beeke, "Introduction," in Teellinck, *The Path of True Godliness*, 20.
- 9 Willem Teellinck, *The Path of True Godliness*, ed. Joel R. Beeke, trans. Annemie Godbehere (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2021).
- 10 "Voetius" is the Latinized name of the family name "Voet." Latinizing names was a common practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
- 11 C. A. de Niet, "Voetius, Gisbertus (1589–1676)," in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, ed. W. J. op 't Hof, A. Baars, F. W. Huisman, J. van de Kamp, and A. de Reuver (Utrecht: De Groot Goudriaan, 2016), 2:467.
- 12 De Niet, "Voetius, Gisbertus," in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, 2:468–69.
- 13 Carl A. Volz, *The Medieval Church: From the Dawn of the Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997), 178–79.
- 14 De Niet, "Voetius, Gisbertus," in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, 2:469.
- 15 M. Eugene Osterhaven, "Introduction," in Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, ed. M. Eugene Osterhaven, trans. John Vriend and Harry Boonstra, Classics of Reformed Spirituality (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 16.
- 16 Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 799.
- 17 See Joel R. Beeke, *Gisbertus Voetius: Toward a Reformed Marriage of Knowledge and Piety* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 1999).
- 18 Beeke and Pederson, *Meet the Puritans*, 802.
- 19 This work has been translated into English and will be published by Reformation Heritage Books in 2026.
- 20 De Niet, "Voetius, Gisbertus," in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, 2:475–76.
- 21 Gisbertus Voetius, *Politica ecclesiastica*, as quoted in W. van 't Spijker, "Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676)," in W. Van 't Spijker, H. Florijn, C. J. Meeuse, A. de Reuver, and H. J. Selderhuis, *Oude schrijvers: Een kennismaking* (Houten: Den Hertog, 1997), 114. C. A. de Niet has translated several sections of the *Politica ecclesiastica* into Dutch from Latin. I (Maarten Kuivenhoven) have translated the Dutch passages rendered into English in this article.
- 22 Voetius, *Politica ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 112.
- 23 Voetius, *Politica ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 112.
- 24 Voetius, *Politica Ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 107–108.
- 25 Voetius, *Politica Ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 108.
- 26 Voetius, *Politica ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 108.

- 27 Voetius, *Political ecclesiastica*, as quoted in *Oude schrijvers*, 108–109.
- 28 Osterhaven, “Introduction,” in Voetius and Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, 22–23.
- 29 Voetius and Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, 30.
- 30 Voetius and Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, 35.
- 31 Voetius and Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, 47.
- 32 Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 584.
- 33 Beeke and Pederson, *Meet the Puritans*, 805.
- 34 Beeke and Pederson, *Meet the Puritans*, 805. At first, Jean de Labadie was warmly received by the divines of the Dutch Further Reformation, but as time progressed his separatist and mystical tendencies became apparent. After establishing a separate church, the Dutch Further Reformation divines began to write against him.
- 35 Wilhelmus à Brakel, *De waare christen* (Leiden: Johannes Deelbeek, 1755), 3.
- 36 W. J. op ‘t Hof, “Brakel, Wilhelmus à (1635–1711),” in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, ed. W. J. op ‘t Hof, A. Baars, F. W. Huisman, J. van de Kamp, and A. de Reuver (Utrecht: De Groot Goudriaan, 2015), 1:121.
- 37 A. de Reuver, “Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711),” in *Oude schrijvers*, 215.
- 38 W. Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in Wilhelmus à Brakel, *The Christians Reasonable Service*, ed. Joel R. Beeke, trans. Bartel Elshout (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1992), 1:xxxii–xxxiii.
- 39 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:xxxii.
- 40 Op ‘t Hof, “Brakel, Wilhelmus à,” in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, 1:121.
- 41 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:xxxii.
- 42 De Reuver, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *Oude schrijvers*, 216.
- 43 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:xlvi–xlvi.
- 44 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 45 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 46 Joel R. Beeke, “Revival and the Dutch Reformed Church in Eighteenth-Century America,” in *Pentecostal Outpourings: Revival and the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Robert Davis Smart, Michael A. G. Haykin, and Ian Hugh Clary (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016), 252.
- 47 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 48 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 49 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li–lii.
- 50 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:liv.
- 51 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 52 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li–li.
- 53 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li–li.
- 54 Fieret, “Wilhelmus à Brakel,” in *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 1:li.
- 55 Willem van Vlastuin, “The Fruitfulness of a Paradox: The Doctrine of the Covenant in Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711) Reapplied,” in *Covenant: A Vital Element of Reformed Theology*, Studies in Reformed Theology 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 283–98; Richard A. Muller, “The Covenant of Works and the Stability of Divine Law in Seventeenth-Century Reformed Orthodoxy: A Study in the Theology of Herman Witsius and Wilhelmus à Brakel,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 29, no. 1 (April 1994): 75–101.
- 56 Fred A. van Lieburg, “From Pure Church to Pious Culture: The Further Reformation in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic,” in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers 1994), 410.
- 57 Van Lieburg, “From Pure Church to Pious Culture,” 412.
- 58 Van Vlastuin, “The Fruitfulness of a Paradox,” in *Covenant*, 285.
- 59 Van Vlastuin, “The Fruitfulness of a Paradox,” 286.
- 60 Van Vlastuin, “The Fruitfulness of a Paradox,” 286.
- 61 Van Lieburg, “From Pure Church to Pious Culture,” 416.
- 62 Van Lieburg, “From Pure Church to Pious Culture,” 416–17.
- 63 Brakel, *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 2:139.
- 64 Brakel, *The Christian’s Reasonable Service*, 2:159.
- 65 Brakel, *De waare christen, of opregte gelovigen hebbende deel aan God in Christus, in tegenstelling van een geveinsde, en valsche Huichelaar; of natuurlijk onbekerde mensch; beide voorgesteld in hun caracters, en merkteeken, so als zij sig opdoen in haar begin, voortgang, en einde* (Leiden: Johannes Delbeek, 1755).

- ⁶⁶ Brakel, *De waare christen*, 1-23.
- ⁶⁷ Brakel, *De waare christen*, 4-6.
- ⁶⁸ Brakel, *De waare christen*, 91.
- ⁶⁹ Brakel, *De waare christen*, 92-3.
- ⁷⁰ Brakel, *De waare christen*, 93-105.
- ⁷¹ Much of this section is adapted from Joel R. Beeke and Cornelis Pronk, "Biographical Introduction: Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691-1747), Precursor of the Great Awakening," in Joel R. Beeke, ed. *Forerunner of the Great Awakening: Sermons by Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691-1747)* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), vii-xxxviii. Used with permission.
- ⁷² George Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1960), 352 [Tuesday, November 20, 1739].
- ⁷³ For further resources on the life and ministry of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, see Scott Maze, *Theodore Frelinghuysen's Evangelism: Catalyst to the First Great Awakening* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011); F. J. Schrag, "Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen: The Father of American Pietism," *Church History* 14 (1945): 201-16; James Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies: A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967). For an annotated bibliography of many other sources, see Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 335-39.
- ⁷⁴ W. J. Mann, "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," in *Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopaedia* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 3:1591.
- ⁷⁵ Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, as quoted in Randall H. Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 122.
- ⁷⁶ Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, Jr., *Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 63-64.
- ⁷⁷ William Demarest, "Biographical Sketch," in Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, *Sermons* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1856), 7.
- ⁷⁸ Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, "The Poor and Contrite God's Temple," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 16.
- ⁷⁹ Frelinghuysen, "The Way of God with His People in the Sanctuary," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 131.
- ⁸⁰ Frelinghuysen, "The Miserable End of the Ungodly," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 104.
- ⁸¹ Frelinghuysen, "The Believer's Well-Founded Expectation of Future Glory," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 185.
- ⁸² Frelinghuysen, "The Great Earthquake: Emblem of Judgment upon Enemies of the Church," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 226-28.
- ⁸³ Frelinghuysen, "The Acceptable Communicant," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 41.
- ⁸⁴ Frelinghuysen, "Duties of Watchmen on the Walls of Zion," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 280-81.
- ⁸⁵ Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies*, 97. On Frelinghuysen's Reformed theology, see Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies*, 91-162.
- ⁸⁶ Henricus Boel, *Klagte van eenige leeden der Nederduytse Hervormde Kerk* (New York: W. Bradford and J. P. Zenger, 1725); translated in English as Henricus Boel, *Boel's Complaint against Frelinghuysen*, ed. and trans. Joseph A. Loux, Jr. (Rensselaer, NY: Hamilton, 1979).
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- ⁸⁹ Milton J. Colter, Jr., Gilbert Tennent, *Son of Thunder: Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 16-17.
- ⁹⁰ Hendrik Visscher, as quoted in Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism*, 69.
- ⁹¹ Frelinghuysen, "Duties of Watchmen on the Walls of Zion," in Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening*, 280.
- ⁹² Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism*, 80-81.
- ⁹³ Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies*, 97.

- ⁹⁴ John Gillies, *Historical Collections of Accounts of Revival* (1845; repr., Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1981), 329–34, 424–26. Originally titled, *Historical Recollections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel*.
- ⁹⁵ Arnold A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1989), 1:434; Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion*, 123.
- ⁹⁶ Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon, 1902), 4:2798–99.
- ⁹⁷ Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, 1:484–86.
- ⁹⁸ Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, 2:369, 427, 433.
- ⁹⁹ Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, 2:438.
- ¹⁰⁰ Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 274–80. See Samuel Buell, *A Faithful Narrative of the Remarkable Revival of Religion, in the Congregation of East-Hampton, on Long-Island, Part of the South Division of the Province of New-York* (Glasgow: printed by John Bryce, 1768).
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