

Solving the Problem of the Spirit

Cornelis Brem, Hermanus Johannes Krom and
Innovative Pneumatology in Dutch Evangelicalism, 1770-1804

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Introduction

The evangelical revival that occurred in America and Britain during the 1730s and 1740s was nipped in the bud in the United Provinces. Initially the Nijkerk Awakening of 1749-1750 showed promise as it resembled the revivals at Northampton (1733-35) in Massachusetts and Cambuslang (1742) in Scotland. British and American evangelicals acknowledged the mass conversions at Nijkerk as integral to the intensified operations of the Spirit, since they had experienced it similarly. They were convinced that the Dutch village Nijkerk was one of the blessed places that received an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.¹

Within the United Provinces however, the reformed ecclesiastical authorities regarded the Nijkerk Awakening as false and dangerous. A severe battle of pamphlets was the result of the enthusiastic report written by the minister of the Nijkerk congregation, Gerard Kuypers, on what had been happening under his ministry. Many authors did not accept the events in Nijkerk as work of the Holy Spirit; rather they seen as enthusiast experiments that were uncontrollable, dangerous, and above all incompatible with the true effects of grace. Interference from the prominent divine Joan van den Honert, urged by Stadholder Willem IV, definitively brought the Nijkerk Awakening to an end. And with it, the Dutch branch of the otherwise Anglo-Saxon awakenings.²

Over two decades passed before a form of Dutch evangelicalism reappeared in public. In 1774 the Rotterdam elder, Cornelis Brem (1721-1803), started issuing the *Evangelical Magazine* after an English example. It primarily consisted of translated texts from across the Channel, with reports about world-wide awakenings, conversions, and devotional pieces.³ The relaunch of Dutch evangelicalism continued and reached its peak around 1800. From the 1770's until his death in 1803, Brem was busy translating and issuing work by evangelical authors, such as John Newton and Jonathan Edwards. He also issued much of John Owen. In 1797 the *Dutch Missionary Society* (NZG) was founded, directly modelled after the English LMS. Brem,

¹ Joke Spaans, 'Inleiding', 7-10, W. Vlastuin, 'Nijkerk en Northampton' 67-69, in: Joke Spaans red., *Een golf van beroering. De omstreden religieuze opwekking in Nederland in het midden van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2001), Jonathan M. Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism. The Life and Thought of John Erskine* (Oxford 2011) 37-38

² Peter van Rooden, 'De communicatieve ruimtes' in: J. Spaans ed., *Een golf van beroering. De omstreden religieuze opwekking in Nederland in het midden van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2001) 127-149; Joris van Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord in the United Provinces. Religious Toleration and the Public in the Eighteenth-Century Netherlands* (Leiden 2003) 56

³ J. van Ekeris, "'Ter bevordering van kennis en beoefening van den waaren evangelischen godsdienst'. Een onderzoek naar Cornelis Brem (1721-1803) en zijn relatie tot het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap" in: A. th. Boone en J. van Ekeris, *Zending tussen woord en daad. Twee hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis van gereformeerd Piëtisme en zending* (Kampen 1991) 82 (footnote 54)

along with the reformed divine Hermanus Johannes Krom (1738-1804), were cofounders.⁴ Krom was the antipode of what Van den Honert had been. In addition to opposing the Nijkerk Awakening, Van den Honert had been instrumental in the condemnation of the non-denominational Moravians.⁵ Krom behaved in a completely opposite manner to Van den Honert. He embraced both revivalism and the Moravians. Krom represented a new generation of theologians that accepted revivalism as result of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. He himself had high hopes of a new outpouring of the Spirit. Krom also publicly sympathised with the Dutch Moravians living at Zeist, and issued an ecclesiastically approved book in their defence in 1799. Within the circles of the NZG, another remarkable fact was that least three systematical-theological studies on Holy Spirit were published in succession, and one was written by Brem himself. In these studies, theme's such as God's love, salvation, scripture, revelation, mission and other theological loci were studied from a distinct and encompassing pneumatological scope. The last one, issued in 1810, concerned the operations of the Holy Spirit as furthering the expansion of Jesus' Kingdom.⁶

Which historical developments have enabled the apparent reinstatement of Dutch evangelicalism, as represented by Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom? What perception caused a focus on awakenings in other places, the zeal for mission, the rehabilitation of the Moravians and an increased theological interest in the Holy Spirit? Or could it be that all former attributes were results of the latter?

In a recent historical-theological publication, attention was drawn to the development of reformed pneumatology and its significance in intellectual history. This publication reveals how the dynamics of pneumatological reflection accompanied Protestantism from its conception. This intellectual process enabled the development of a modern conception of God and man, and well as an orientation to experiential faith. The reformed Anglo-Saxon tradition including John Owen are viewed as constitutive of this.⁷ In a similar way attention has been asked for the radical pneumatological scope of Jonathan Edwards.⁸ As previously stated, Cornelis Brem read, translated and issued both Owen's work and Edwards' work. May it be the

⁴ J. Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap in zijn eerste periode. Een studie over opwekking in de Bataafse en Franse tijd* (Leeuwarden 1987) 44

⁵ J. Exalto en J.K. Karels, *Waakzame wachters en kleine vossen: gereformeerden en herrnhutters in de Nederlanden, 1734-1754* (Groen 2001) 60, 72, 228

⁶ J. Clarisse, *Verhandeling over den Heiligen Geest* (Utrecht 1795), C. Brem, *Kort Vertoog over de bijzondere liefde van God den H. Geest* (Rotterdam 1798), J. van Eyk, *Het Werk van den Heiligen Geest ter uitbreiding van Jesus Rijk* (Den Haag 1810)

⁷ Maarten Wisse and Hugo Meijer, 'Pneumatology: Tradition and Renewal' in: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.) *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy* (Leiden 2013) 491-507, 514-518

⁸ W. van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking. Een onderzoek naar de leer van de Heilige Geest in de opwekkingstheologie van Jonathan Edwards* (2001 Heerenveen) 208, 212, 256, 297, 315

case that the history of pneumatology provide insight to the long and short term developments that enabled the relaunch of Dutch evangelicalism in the latter decades of the eighteenth century? To what extent were the topics that Brem and Krom wrote about pneumatologically related? If using a pneumatological scope is indeed helpful to understand the writings of Brem and Krom, what is the explanatory value of this perspective for Dutch evangelicalism? What does it add to explanations of Dutch Evangelicalism that exist already? Taking these things in consideration, the research question of this work is formulated as follows:

To what extent were the writings of Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom featured by an innovative pneumatological scope, and how does their position help to understand the character and origin of Dutch evangelicalism between 1770 and 1804?

This research question is relevant for two reasons. At first it enables one to understand and to overcome the conceptual impasse of Dutch evangelicalism that currently exists in the Dutch literature. Evangelicalism, is a concept with multiple connotations; it was used as an adjective in different times and by different creeds in polemical contexts. Thus, this term is bound to generate misunderstandings and suggestions for substitute terms, and that is what happened in the discussion on Dutch evangelicalism. The central questions in the Dutch literature are: To what extent did Dutch evangelicalism really exist? And, to what extent did it differ from the Pietist Further Reformation movement? We provide a brief overview of the authors who have contributed in this discussion. We believe it is useful to refer to them at this place already in order to concentrate on other authors in chapter one.

P.N. Holtrop was the first author to call some of the NZG founders “evangelical”, including Brem, who was also typified by Holtrop as a representative of the “reformed orthodoxy”. According to Holtrop Krom would be rather “rational orthodox”.⁹ Holtrops decision to use the term ‘evangelical’ as an adjective, was rejected by J. Boneschansker for three reasons. The NZG had never used this adjective. Also, one letter was found in which this term is used disapprovingly. Boneschansker’s last argument was that the theology of the late eighteenth century had not yet sufficiently been investigated. According to Boneschansker, if an adjective should be used, it should be “Biblicist”.¹⁰ Boneschansker further pointed to the Pietist and enlightened features in the thought of the NZG.¹¹ J. van Ekeris also did not adopt Holtrop’s proposal to label Cornelis Brem as ‘evangelical’. Van Ekeris acknowledged the

⁹ P.N. Holtrop, *Tussen Piëtisme en Réveil. Het “Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft” in Nederland, 1784-1833* (Amsterdam 1975) 152-156, 162

¹⁰ J. Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 181

¹¹ Idem, 180-185

rationalist and British-evangelical influences on Brem, but he emphasized Brem's adherence to the Further Reformation.¹² On a theological level the concept of Dutch evangelicalism between 1770 and 1800 seemed solidified by C. Graafland. Graafland's article was triggered G.H. Leurdijk's suggestion that Ewaldus Kist (1762-1822), usually labelled as evangelical, actually represented the more traditionally orthodox Further Reformation. Graafland rejected Leurdijk's argument by turning it upside-down, and argued that the Further Reformation *itself* may be an unsure concept, as her spirituality could also be found elsewhere. Dutch evangelicalism in her turn could be regarded as an actual variant of reformed pietism, featuring by a "wide" preaching of the gospel and an aversion to scholastic theology.¹³ Holtrop's and Graafland's approach was followed by R.A. Bosch, who also referred to the Dutch evangelical openness to Moravian piety and to particular English and German literature, in which 'evangelical' functioned as synonym for 'new-testamentical' as opposed to legalistic or old-testamentical.¹⁴ However, things were still not settled for Dutch evangelicalism as historical movement. In 2003, J. Van den Akker opened the debate about the definition of evangelicalism again. Although he fully accepted the arguments of Graafland and Bosch, he argued that the term 'evangelical' was not suitable for use as an adjective, as it had been used in other contexts and had thereby lost its signifying function. As an alternative Van den Akker launched "oecumenical-reformed."¹⁵ It is to be feared, however, that this proposal might be forgotten, as in the same year J. van Eijnatten introduced Brem and Krom as Dutch evangelicals in a voluminous English study.¹⁶

Thus far, the debate has focused on definition. With the exception of Van Eijnatten, the abovementioned authors have often presented their themes in clusters of relatedness, without indicating a clear leading principle. Furthermore, these authors do not provide a sufficient explanation for the odd time gap between the Nijkerk Awakening in 1749-1750 and Dutch evangelicalism that developed from the 1770s onwards and reached its peak only around 1800. This study on the pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom enables us to structure the debate and to formulate a leading principle. Thus it is possible to arrange relevant themes and subthemes, as they are fundamentally related to each other. In this manner this study contributes to the understanding of a controversial topic in the church history of the Netherlands.

¹² Ekeris, "'Ter bevordering'", 60-61, 75-77

¹³ C. Graafland, 'Ewaldus Kist (1762-1822) en de nadere reformatie', in J.H. van de Bank e.a., *Theologie en kerk in het tijdperk van de camera obscura: studies over het Nederlandse protestantisme in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Utrecht 1993) 34, 89-92

¹⁴ R.A. Bosch, *En nooit meer oude Psalmen zingen. Zingend geloven in een nieuwe tijd 1760-1810* (Zoetermeer 1996) 39-46

¹⁵ J. van den Akker, "Nieuwlichterij of bijbels geloven? De evangelische beweging in de achttiende eeuw", *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 27 (2003) 35-36

¹⁶ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 299, 444, 455, 456-457, 463

As it combines history and theology, this research question is also significant because of its interdisciplinary nature. This study uses relevant findings of historical-theological research and implements them in the historical argument. History and theology are naturally related, as they share a similar narrative style, they both aim to explain as they practice ‘making sense’ of events and developments. It is not without reason, therefore, that several historians have recently highlighted the importance of theology and religious history; they are particularly important for the eighteenth century, which is often regarded as the age of secularisation. The complex relationship between religion and enlightenment in the Dutch context has been aptly proven by E.G.E. Van der Wall and J.W. Buisman.¹⁷ B.W. Young also made an important argument about the proper place for religion in eighteenth-century historiography. He blamed historians for secularizing the historiography of the eighteenth century. Referring to the archetypical British historian Edward Gibbon, Young called on his colleagues to reverse this situation: “Since we are all liberal agnostics, we write histories of liberal agnosticism; Gibbon, however, did not write history like that”.¹⁸

The period demarcated in the research question is based on the year of death of Krom (1804) and on the year that other authors used as ‘start’ of Dutch evangelicalism.¹⁹ In order to answer the research question carefully, this piece is composed of three essays or chapters. The first two chapters each address a single problem. The first chapter discusses the problem of early modern evangelicalism as historical phenomenon. The second chapter considers the problem of the Spirit within protestant Christianity. The multidisciplinary approach is thus reflected by the first two chapters. The relevant findings of the first two chapters are compared with the thematical content of the writings of Brem and Krom in Chapter three.

By the time of writing the article of Wisse and Meijer could only be obtained in draft version. The page numbers of the volume in which it forms a chapter were only acquired afterwards. This might have caused some minor impurities in the page numbers as referred to in the footnotes. Brem and Krom wrote in Dutch. All citations of Dutch sources are translated to English by the author, except when otherwise stated.

¹⁷ Ernestine van der Wall, ‘Religie en Verlichting: een veelzijdige verstandhouding’, in: Ernestine van der Wall en Leo Wessels (red.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding. Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (Nijmegen 2007) 15, 30-33, Jan Wim Buisman, ‘Inleiding: vreemde Verlichting’, in: Jan Wim Buisman (red.), *Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850: vrede tussen rede en religie?* (Nijmegen 2013) 9-12

¹⁸ J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and religion*, I: *The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764*, p. 9, cited in: B.W. Young, ‘Religious History and the Eighteenth-Century Historian’, *The Historical Journal* 43:3 (2000) p. 864

¹⁹ Akker, ‘Nieuwlichterij’, 30; Bosch, *En nooit meer oude Psalmen zingen*, 41

The aim of this chapter is fourfold. First, it is an essay about the most relevant approaches to evangelicalism as historical problem. It discusses some of the most relevant authors who wrote on the question: ‘what is evangelicalism?’ Second, it aims to indicate if and at which points in these answers the problem of the Holy Spirit appears. Where is it brought up or referred to by the authors? It may be the case that an author does not explicitly refer to the Holy Spirit as topic, but that there is reason to say that the argument is, theologically seen, pneumatological in nature. The third aim is to narrate the relevant historical circumstances and factors of importance that play a role in the later chapters. It turns out that taken together, the authors discussed in this first chapter are able to draw the relevant historical picture. Fourth and last aim is to further introduce Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom. After all, they figure as main characters in this research. Although their writings are discussed in chapter three, they are referred to regularly in the first chapters, too. It is their story we start with in paragraph 1.1. It becomes clear why both authors – and not others – figure in this research. In 1.2. the origin of the word ‘evangelicalism’ is shortly narrated and further introduced. The paragraphs 1.3 to 1.10 narrate the different causes and characteristics described by historians in their quest to understand and solve the problem of evangelicalism. It becomes clear that their histories contain important pneumatological observations. In 1.11 the important conclusions of this chapter are briefly summarized.

1.1.1 Cornelis Brem

During the later years of his life, the wealthy Rotterdam woollen fabric dyer Cornelis Brem was occasionally occupied with other activities. Apart from engaging in theological disputes once in a while, he issued no less than three series of magazines titled ‘evangelical’. Having started publishing the *Evangelisch Magazijn* in 1774, he quitted after three years, only to resume in 1780 with the follow-up edition, the *Nieuw-Evangelisch Magazijn*. The last issue of this ‘New Evangelical Magazine’ appeared in 1784. In 1799 at the ripe old age of 78, Brem launched his last project, the *Evangelische Schatkamer* or ‘Evangelical Treasury’, concluding only in 1802, a year before his death.²⁰

With his magazines, Brem had created a platform that he used to connect the Dutch audience with the evangelical movement in Britain and America. Brem longed to promote a

²⁰ Ekeris, “Ter bevordering”, 47-48, 82 (footnote 54)

renewed, vivid and sound piety in the Dutch Reformed Church and used English evangelical authors along Dutch authors of the Pietist *Further Reformation* to do so. Therefore, the magazines included reports of awakenings in Scotland and America, spiritual anecdotes, tales on remarkable conversions and other devotional pieces. These texts were mostly translated from the English Evangelical Magazines that Brem read himself. Brem acted not on alone: for his last Magazine he was encouraged by printer Nicolaas Cornel, who apparently expected the magazine would sell.²¹

The magazines appeared along with a range of books in Dutch that Brem translated himself from English, or that he prefaced and edited. Being an ordained elder of the Scots Church in Rotterdam from 1789 onwards (and having been deacon between 1756 and 1765), Brem had the right connections to obtain new books from across the Channel. Apart from theological interest, Brem's membership of the Scots Church in Rotterdam might have to do with the background of his wife, Johanna Gray (Graj), who's surname was Scottish. Her father Richard Gray had been a merchant at the Geldersche Kade in Rotterdam. It is unclear to what extent family ties played a role here. However, Dutch people being member of the Scots Church was not uncommon, since it was possible to be member of both the Dutch Reformed Church and The Scots Church, as the latter was recognised as a fellow reformed congregation.²²

Brem established correspondence with at least two British ministers: the London Baptist minister Abraham Booth (1734-1806) and John Newton (1725-1807), who sent him works regularly.²³ Also the theologians Thomas Boston, John Owen, Jonathan Edwards and especially John Newton were among the authors that Brem translated.²⁴ Apart from translating English work Brem was an author himself. In reaction to a novel of Rhijnvis Feith (1753-1824) Brem wrote a book to defend the doctrines of the Reformed Church that he found misrepresented in the said novel.²⁵ Another apology of Reformed Christianity appeared only a year later, in

²¹ C. Brem, *Oprichting*, in: 'Euangelische schatkamer, of Gemengde bijdragen, ter bevordering van de kennis [...] van den waaren euangelischen godsdienst' (Nicolaas Cornel Rotterdam 1799) vii

²² Ekeris, "'Ter bevordering'", 47, 52

²³ Idem, 57, 82

²⁴ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 456. The complete list of works issued, translated or edited by Cornelis Brem: Ekeris, "'Ter bevordering van kennis'", 88-90

²⁵ C. Brem, *De eer en leer der Hervormde Kerk gehandhaafd, tegen de verkeerde voordracht van eenigen haarer leerstellingen, en tegen eenige misvattingen, begreepen in zeker werkje, genaamd: Dagboek mijner goede werken, in rekening gebracht bij God, tegen den dag der algemeene vergelding* (Rotterdam 1790). Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 455-456, note 301. On Rhijnvis Feith: W. Gobbers 'Rhijnvis Feith' in: G.J. van Bork en P.J. Verkruijse (red.), *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs van middeleeuwen tot heden met inbegrip van Friese auteurs* (Weesp 1985) 203-204

1791.²⁶ In 1798, Brem published a book on “the particular love of God the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation”.²⁷

Because of his age Brem feared that he would not be able to finish all the sixteen issues of the magazine *Evangelische Schatkamer*. In his foreword he therefore entrusted the members of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* with the completion of the series beforehand.²⁸ The NZG or the *Dutch Missionary Society for the Propagation and Advancement of Christianity, Especially Among Heathens* was founded in 1797 as Dutch counterpart to the London Missionary Society. Brem had been involved from the beginning as one of the secretaries.²⁹ The initiator of the NZG had been the physician and missionary Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp. He had been visiting London regularly and became impressed by the integrity and zeal of the LMS. Due to his lobbying work, it came to the foundation of the NZG.³⁰ Cornelis Brem would remain involved in the NZG till his death in 1803.

1.1.2 Hermanus Johannes Krom

When Van der Kemp came back in the Netherlands after the LMS meeting of 1798, one of the first persons he met was Hermanus Johannes Krom. Krom was a Middelburg based professor in church history. Van der Kemp and Krom had a special bond since Van der Kemp once helped to cure Krom’s wife from a serious illness. On instigation of Van der Kemp, Krom had written the preface of the Dutch edition (1793) of *Ratio disciplinae unitatis fratrum* (1789) by Johann Loretz (1727-1798); a book on the Moravian Brethren and their missionary activities. The preface was accepted by the provincial synod of Zeeland. This was a unicum, since most provincial synods were wary of the Hernhutters, who seemed another threat to the Reformed Church, especially after settling permanently in Zeist in 1745. Krom belonged to the circle of Dutch ministers who occasionally visited the Hernhutters and read their newsletters. In the preface, Krom showed strong sympathy with the missionary activities of the Hernhutters, refuted accusations of sectarianism made to them, and defended their zeal for ecumenism

²⁶ C. Brem, *Brieven en gesprekken over eenige belangrijke waarheden van den Hervormden Godsdienst, in opzicht tot de bevinding en betrachting der heiligen; Voornaamelijk ingerigt tegen eenige misvattingen van zommige hedendaagsche geschriften over den Godsdienst* (Rotterdam 1791)

²⁷ C. Brem, *Kort vertoog over de bijzondere liefde van God den H. Geest in het Werk der Verlossing* (Rotterdam 1798)

²⁸ C. Brem, *Opdracht*, in: *Euangelische schatkamer*, vii-viii

²⁹ Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 44-45, Ekeris, ““Ter bevordering”, 69-73

³⁰ Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 38-41, I.H. Enklaar, *Life and work of dr. J. Th van der Kemp 1747-1811: missionary pioneer and protagonist of racial equality in South Africa* (Rotterdam 1988) 50-54

among Christians, on basis of mutual recognition of heart-felt faith.³¹ Like Brem, Krom was present at the morning of 19 December 1797 when the NZG was founded. Krom acted as chairman, while Van der Kemp opened with prayer.³² A few years later, in 1799, Krom was at the centre of attention again, when he held a speech at the general meeting of the NZG. The speech featured a strong eschatological expectation. Krom remarked that the Gospel was already known in most places on the earth, and that slavery was also a disappearing phenomenon. He therefore invited all who confessed Jesus as only Saviour as members of the NZG. These remarks met some objections of the synod when the text of Krom's speech was reviewed for ecclesiastical approbation. It was feared Krom came too close to the Remonstrants. In reaction, Krom acknowledged that an organizational union of churches would not be realistic. However, he stood his ground and emphasized the need for all worshippers of Jesus to cooperate in mission. Krom refused to be easily intimidated and defended his friend Van der Kemp to accusations by the strict Calvinist Petrus Hofstede of doctrinal deviations in his *Theodicee* (1799). Krom allied with Van der Kemp by writing the prefaces of the several parts.³³ Krom's loyalty to Van der Kemp and to the ecumenical NZG testify of his dedication to explore the possibilities for new vocabularies and possibilities to promote the case of mission, be in within or just over the boundaries of the Reformed Church. Krom could do so, since he was an respected apologetic theologian. This becomes clear by some of his other writings, in which Krom defended the reformed doctrines, the credibility of Moses and in which he argued that revelation is compatible with natural sciences.³⁴ Along with his interest in natural sciences, Krom was an ardent supporter of proper Christian education in public schools. He argued this was needed to stop the decay of knowledge among Christians.³⁵

1.2 Evangelical as adjective

Having introduced Brem and Krom and before heading on to the different explanations to evangelicalism as historical problem, we now continue with a short introduction to the word 'evangelical'.

³¹ M.H. Quak, 'Krom (Crom), Hermanus Johannes', in: D. Nauta e.a. (red.), *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme, deel 3* (Kampen 1988) 229, Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 454

³² Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 44

³³ Quak, 'Krom', 230

³⁴ H.J. Krom, *Godgeleerde, uitlegkundige en wijsgeerige verhandelingen* (1796), *Verhandeling ter verantwoording van eenige zwarigheden uit de beschouwing der natuur afgeleid tegen het berigt van Mozes, aangaande den ouderdom der wereld* (1795), *Betoog dat de beoefening der Natuur en Sterrekunde niet strijdig is met de erkenning der goddelijke openbaring* (1793). Referred to in: Quak, 'Krom', 230; N.N., 'Krom (Hermanus Johannes)', in: A.J. van der Aa (red.), *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden deel 10* (Haarlem 1862) 398

³⁵ Quak, 'Krom', 230

It may not be coincidental that the word ‘evangelical’ came into use in the Dutch language during the first half of the sixteenth century. Martin Luther himself had used the word to refer to the New Testament, but also to specify between obscured Roman preaching, involving indulgences and purgatory, and gospel-based preaching that emphasized justification by faith alone.³⁶ The word ‘evangelical’ originally came from the Greek εὐαγγέλιον (evangelion) and the Latin evangelium, meaning ‘good message’. As adverb and adjective the word refers not only to the good news of Christianity per se, but also to the books that contained this message: the New Testament Gospels, that recount the story of Jesus Christ, his birth, life, death and resurrection. ‘Evangelical’ thus literary means ‘according to the gospel’. It is believed that the oldest Dutch example of the usage of ‘evangelical’ in this classical sense can be found in the texts of the Ghent Plays of 1539. There it reads: “a virgin will receive and give birth / who’s seed, as evangelically heard / is the heavenly father’s comforting word”.³⁷ The drama play *Gentse Spelen* was written on the occasion of the grand literary festival in the town. The time it was held was peculiar: at the very time of the conflict of Ghent with Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and adversary of the Reformation. In reaction to Luther and his use of ‘evangelical’ as adjective Luther’s adversaries Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More and Johannes Eck started to use the adjective too: in a negative sense to disqualify Luther’s followers. As result, in English and German ‘evangelical’ and ‘evangelisch’ respectively became synonyms for ‘protestant’, as well as tool for Reformers to distinguish between gospel-like and non-gospel-like preaching. The word thus functioned from the start of Protestantism as a means to underscore theological differences.³⁸ In post-reformatory times, the word ‘evangelicalism’ would get new dynamics, as will be shown in the next passage.

1.3 The continental origins of evangelicalism: W.R. Ward

W.R. Ward is the first author examined on his analysis of the problem of post-reformatory evangelicalism. His study *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* is fundamental because it overviews all of Europe, and because it has a long-term scope, from 1646 to about 1750. In short, Ward demonstrates that the root of post-reformatory ‘evangelicalism’ lied in Central Europe and Germany. It shoots only reached Britain and the Netherlands in the eighteenth

³⁶ K. Aland, *Luther Deutsch. Die Werke Martin Luthers in neuer Auswahl für die Gegenwart* (Göttingen 1990) 11

³⁷ “Zegghende: een maecht zal ontfanghen en baerzen / Wiens zaet, zoot evangelichlic ghehoort es / Des hemels vaders troostelic woordt es.”, in: B.H Erné and L.M. van Dis, *De Gentse Spelen van 1539* (’s-Gravenhage 1982) line 87-89 p. 157, referred to by website *De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank*, lemma ‘evangelie’. www.gtb.inl.nl

³⁸ John H. Gerstner ‘The Theological Boundaries of Evangelical Faith’, in: David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge *The Evangelicals* (Nashville 1975) 21-36, J. van den Akker, ‘Nieuwlichterij’, 1

century. This new type of protestant piety developed by a twofold cause. First, the catholic Habsburg Empire exerted *external* pressure on central-European Protestants, causing crisis and migration. Second, in the German lands an *internal* protestant dynamics and confrontation existed between the Lutheran orthodoxy and the innovatory movement of Pietism. The movement of Pietism, as we will see, was fundamentally pneumatically concerned.

1.3.1 External pressure: Habsburg

Citing Ward, the revivalism that would affect Western Europe and America ultimately “began in resistance to a real or perceived threat of assimilation by the state in its modern shape, and the timetable of the revival, even in the West, was set by the timetable of the Protestant crisis in Eastern and Central Europe where that treat was most raw and crude.”³⁹ It was the deep crisis experienced by the Central European Protestants who were on the losing side of the Westphalia settlements of 1648. Although Protestants in Silesia had been given some rights of free worship in the negotiations, those in Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Salzburg, Poland and Hungary were given none. These protestants were left to the ruthless catholicizing policies of the Habsburgs.⁴⁰ In these areas the public Protestant worship crumbled under the growing pressure of the catholic authorities. Communities became vulnerable for obstruction and persecution. Secluded family homes and barns now became the place of communal worship, rather than parochial churches. With the ecclesiastical structures of the Lutheran or Reformed Church absent, the Pietists from Halle University – who will further concern us shortly – were in a position where they could help. Pietists held dear the idea of the priesthood of all believers, and were therefore willing to use lay forces in a situation where no alternatives were available. The Central European refugees were thus influenced by the German Pietist tradition. Both groups blended well, since they shared a preference for plain scripture over dogma. The ‘frontier experience’ of these marginalized groups intensified their religious experience, and led to revivals, starting in Silesia, soon followed by Bohemia and Moravia, aided by the steady supply of literature from the University of Halle. From 1722 onward, when the first Moravian settlers were invited by Count Nicolas Zinzendorf to settle on his Berthelsdorf estate, they became the core of the Herrnhutter movement of Count Nicolas Zinzendorf. The fact that ‘Moravian’ and ‘Herrnhutter’ are often used interchangeably in the English language testifies to this.⁴¹

³⁹ W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge 1992) 353

⁴⁰ *Idem*, 65-66

⁴¹ *Idem*, 67, 79-80

The Moravians represented a new type of Protestantism where the protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was cherished opposite to the elaborate protestant confessions and sub confessions.⁴² A degree of independence of the faithful relative to the clergy of the state-led orthodoxy was thus established within the communities in Germany. Beside the fear of state intervention, the Enlightened views of many of the German clergy caused Pietists and Moravians to formulate their own theological focus. This last aspect, however, is not emphasized too much by Ward, who rather speaks of “the rigidity of the Lutheran establishment” as the reason for the countermovement.⁴³ The content of Pietism as countermovement is further described in the following passage.

1.3.2 Internal rivalry: Pietism

In 1648 Europe’s dreadful religious wars between Catholics and Protestants were ended by the Peace of Westphalia. During the decades after the treaty the established Reformed and Lutheran churches in Europe tried to console religious peace within their own ranks and territories. They did so by developing highly articulated systematic theologies. This tendency to scholastic preciseness in theology corresponded with the simultaneous trend in the European states of streamlining the secular bureaucracies. In many German states, Lutheranism became the religion of state. In the United Provinces the Reformed Church became the privileged one.⁴⁴

The articulate and elaborated theologies of the established churches could not prevent that centrifugal forces emerged within the established Protestant churches of Europe. The learned and sterile theologies, designed to keep pace with the current philosophies, soon provoked reaction. The international movement of Pietism rocked the boat of Protestant Orthodoxy. In 1666 the German theologian Philipp Jakob Spener took the office as senior minister at Frankfurt am Main. During his Frankfurt time, Spener launched a program for church renewal, starting with the publication of the tract *Pia Desideria, or Heartfelt Desires for an Improvement of the True Evangelical Church Pleasing to God, with Some Christian Proposals to That End*.⁴⁵ In this tract Spener criticized the Lutheran classes and clergy for leaving the church in a deplorable and obsolete state because of their lack of piety and inappropriate lifestyles. Spener’s heartfelt desires or solutions for this problem were twofold. He wanted to stimulate effective preaching and he called for a sanctification of life.

⁴² Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 353

⁴³ Idem, 207, 208

⁴⁴ Idem, 47

⁴⁵ Philipp Jacob Spener, *Pia desideria : herzliches Verlangen nach Gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren evangelischen Kirche* (Frankfurt 1675), Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 57

Spener came with three methods to gain more effect of preaching. First of all, Spener formulated methodical instructions for preachers. Sermons should be arranged so that “their purpose, namely faith and its fruits, can be furthered as much as possible among their audience”.⁴⁶ In this way the pneumatic quality of their sermons would be better. Spener’s second advise was to set up conventicles (*collegia pietatis*) where the faithful would teach, warn and instruct each other. In doing so, the priesthood of all believers would be given its rightful shape. Putting the ideal of a priesthood of all believers in practice reduced the importance of the established church as organizational body. This observation is constitutive of Ward’s understanding of Pietism. And of evangelicalism, too, because it adopted the key principles of Pietism. When the ideals of Spener were put in practice, it caused, according to Ward, a “separation of religious from ecclesiastical life”.⁴⁷ Later in this chapter the importance of this phrase becomes clear, as historians Van Eijnatten and Van Rooden used this phrase at starting point in their own analyzes of Pietism and evangelicalism.

The third remedy prescribed by Spener was that personal conversion and the importance of it should be the central topic of the conversation at the conventicles. This could be conversion as still lacking, experienced the first time, or in deepening levels of affection and understanding.⁴⁸ Spener’s emphasis on personal conversion was explicitly aimed at ministers, too. After all, only reborn preachers could incite others to conversion. Spener encouraged preachers therefore to take part in the private prayer meetings, bible readings and discussions of the faithful. By taking part they would learn of the experiences of others and deepen their own spiritual understanding. This would make their preaching more effective.

When preaching would be internally effective, a public sanctification of the lives of the faithful would follow suit. Sanctification can thus be seen as the embodiment of effective preaching. Ministers had to be examples of this daily *praxis pietatis*. They had “to be true Christians as much as possible and to have divine wisdom so that they may also carefully guide others on the path of the Lord.”⁴⁹ Pastoral care and speaking about sanctification went together. People in the late 17th and early 18th centuries found it very important to be able to verify their faith empirically and to be able to detect its effects in their own lives. By living a godly life,

⁴⁶ A. Bitzel, ‘The theology of the sermon in the eighteenth century’ in: Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden 2009) 65

⁴⁷ Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 46-53

⁴⁸ Idem, 57

⁴⁹ Bitzel, ‘The theology’, 63-65, Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 57

and by reflecting on it, the faithful could verify that their conversion was real. Pietist preaching offered this reflection, and thus helped to verify the lifestyles of the faithful.⁵⁰

1.3.3. Pneumatological aspects of Pietism

Theologically spoken, Spener's key concerns of effective preaching and sanctification were both pneumatological topics. In both cases it concerned the completing operations of the Holy Spirit. Ward rightly observes the problem that Orthodoxy faced: its "heavy dependence on the scripture principle" proved useless in confrontation with the Enlightenment.⁵¹ Pietism and in its wake evangelicalism both provided the needed alternative: a faith not of the minds, but effective in hearts and deeds. In bringing two pneumatological topics to the foreground, Pietism tried to reinvent the signifying character that Protestantism was in the risk of losing.

Ward's study thus acknowledges the enduring theological importance of Pietism, and also relates to the pneumatological aspects of Pietism and their impact on international evangelicalism. However, Ward does not thematise pneumatology as separate topic. In his book the highly polarized German situation figures as model for the revival movements in the rest of Europa and America. This causes a strong focus on the church political rivalry between Pietism and the established orthodoxy and the enduring consequences, rather than the pneumatological quality of Pietism as such. The following citation illustrates Ward's insufficient appreciation of the pneumatological innovation of Pietism. Ward defines the Great Awakening in America as a "combination of theological conservatism and practical innovation".⁵² To agree with this would be to overlook the innovative pneumatology of Jonathan Edwards, who redefined history as redemptive space, defined by the outpourings of the Holy Spirit, and who gave much more attention generally to the operations of the Spirit, than, for instance, Luther or Calvin had done before.⁵³ These and other things, however, we keep for the second chapter.

1.3.4 Dutch evangelicalism in Ward's analysis

In Wards understanding of the phenomenon, Dutch evangelicalism ended rather poorly in 1752, twenty two years before Cornelis Brem would issue his first Evangelical Magazine. In 1752,

⁵⁰ Bitzel, 'The theology', 66

⁵¹ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 47

⁵² Idem, 355

⁵³ A. Zakai, 'Chapter 4 - The age of Enlightenment' in: Stephen J. Stein (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Cambridge 2007) 88-91

the exercise of formal church discipline brought an end to the revival that had stirred the congregation of minister Gerard Kuyper in Nijkerk in 1749.⁵⁴

Ward's choice to end the story of Dutch evangelicalism in 1752 already is due to his conception of evangelicalism as phenomenon of competition. It is the result of Ward's conception, taken from the German situation, that evangelicalism or revivalism (Ward uses these words interchangeably) concerned a radical application of the idea of the 'priesthood of all believers' at the expense of the established Church order. Such a strive in the Netherlands could only be found among radical Pietists like Lampe, Freylinghuysen and Schortinghuis, the names Ward indeed puts attention to. Generally in the Netherlands, the established church proved too powerful to allow for the "separation of religious from ecclesiastical life" that Ward expects a proper revival to be.⁵⁵ In contrast to the German situation the Dutch "eased their way into a range of theological and religious views, with a minimum of dissent from the ranks of the establishment, and with toleration, never easy, to new groups of dissenters from the outside, notably Moravians."⁵⁶

Ward's conceptual frame prevent him to appreciate changes *within* established churches that other historians have recognized as evangelical, because they were caused by Pietism, too. In this way, Ward's analysis is one-sided. Therefore, we will now investigate how Bebbington explained evangelicalism as historical phenomenon.

1.4 Assurance as key concept: D.W. Bebbington

Unlike Ward, Bebbington's study is on evangelicalism in Britain only and commences in the 1730's.⁵⁷ Bebbington's different approach adds two important perspectives to Wards analysis. In brief, Bebbington firstly argues that British evangelicalism was triggered ultimately by an theological problem: the Puritan theology of assurance of faith. Second, Bebbington argues that this problem was overcome through innovative pneumatology. This innovation was reached by combining Moravian piety and some of John Locke's philosophical assumptions. Contrary to Ward, Bebbington thus argues that evangelical renewal was not only triggered by ecclesial dynamics, but also by developments in contemporaneous philosophy. Evangelicalism was in

⁵⁴ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 239, F. van Lieburg, *Heilig Nijkerk. Religiegeschiedenis van een landstad* (Zoetermeer 2013) 77, Spaans, *Een golf*, 7-14

⁵⁵ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 228-240. On the various 'deviant Pietists' in the Netherlands, see: Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 39-47, 55-61

⁵⁶ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 227

⁵⁷ D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London 1989)

touch with the spirit of the age. Bebbington observes that theologians were often followers of philosophical trends.⁵⁸

1.4.1 Activism the result of assurance

What made the British evangelical movement stand out and innovatory was its untroubled activism. This zeal not only encompassed regular preaching, but also charitable work and mission.⁵⁹ Activism is one of the four features with which Bebbington characterizes evangelicalism. The other three, conversionism, biblicism and crucicentrism were by no means new traits, Bebbington argues. They had been passed on from earlier British Puritanism. In Germany Lutheran Pietists shared a similar focus, whereas many pastors in the Dutch *Gereformeerde Kerk* – often influenced by English Puritan authors – would preach accordingly.⁶⁰

How could it be that British evangelicalism was featured by refreshing activism? According to Bebbington, the secret behind the success of the evangelical movement and its activism was that it provided faith assurance. Puritans had earlier often problematized assurance by writing detailed casuistry about how it could be obtained, or how it could be self-deception. The Elizabethan Puritan divine William Perkins not only described the separate steps in which assurance could be obtained (the Spirit *convicts*, the elect *subjects*, the Spirit *gives testimony*, peace *flows* in the conscience, and the believer *cries*: Abba Father), but also described, in line with the parable of the sower, how faith would turn out to be temporary for the non-elect.⁶¹ Perkins therefore stimulated believers to scrutinize themselves for signs of grace. In doing so, the faithful tested whether they had really received the “Spirit of adoption”.⁶² In this tradition, assurance was something that was by no means a given fact, and it needed to be sought after repeatedly. This Puritan reservation in matters of assurance had been formalized in the eighteenth chapter of the Westminster Confession (1646): “This infallible assurance does not so belong to the essence of faith, but that a true believer may wait long, and conflict with many difficulties, before he be partaker of it” (III), and: “True believers may have the assurance of their salvation divers ways shaken, diminished, and intermitted” (IV).⁶³ In upholding the

⁵⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 1-17, 271-273

⁵⁹ *Idem*, 41-42, 70

⁶⁰ *Idem*, 34-35

⁶¹ Matthew 13:1-13, Park, *The Sacred Rhetoric*, 156, 164-165

⁶² Romans 8:15, Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 43.

⁶³ http://www.reformed.org/documents/wcf_with_proofs/. Mentioned in: Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 44. Assurance of faith as problem in reformed orthodoxy and as topic in the Westminster Confession is also mentioned in: Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 486

tension around assurance, Puritanism thus caused a repeated dynamic of self-examination among the faithful.

Evangelicalism solved much of the tension around assurance of faith, so Bebbington argues. “Before the throne my surety stands / My name is written on His hands”, as Charles Wesley put it in one of his hymns.⁶⁴ Among evangelicals, it was emphasized that normally, assurance belongs to a believer. This new approach towards assurance was partly inspired by the Moravians. John Wesley visited them in Herrnhut in 1738 and took home the belief that usually, forgiveness and full assurance thereof concur. Other evangelicals like James Hervey and Joseph Milner shared in the Wesleyan optimistic tone around assurance of faith. Abraham Booth, the Baptist minister Cornelis Brem corresponded with, emphasized that reborn Christians would no longer wrestle with fears, but with sins alone. The Puritan praxis of self-examination did not disappear, but rather evolved from a mere question to salvation towards a dedication in resisting sin, awaiting fruits of the Spirit and practicing sanctification. The strengthened assurance over one’s ‘state’ thus allowed for a new focus in self-examination: searching for the marks of real change worked by the Holy Spirit.⁶⁵ Bebbington refers to influence of the Moravians, but with a totally different scope than Ward does in his research. Ward also describes John Wesley’s visit to Herrnhut, more detailed even than Bebbington.⁶⁶ Only Bebbington, however, refers to the Moravians as source of spiritual renewal: emphasizing the crucial importance of assurance as theological concept.

1.4.2 John Locke’s influence on Jonathan Edwards

Bebbington argued that British evangelical theology internalized aspects of contemporaneous philosophy. For this research, the example of Jonathan Edwards and his use of Lockean philosophy is relevant.

Bebbington explains that the evangelical reappraisal of assurance and the role of the Holy Spirit therein is best seen in the theology of Jonathan Edwards. Even the change of attitude can be exactly located. During the revival of 1734-5 at Northampton, Massachusetts, Edwards was confronted with many newly converts. He chose to interview them, and when the personal testimony was credible, Edwards assured them they were real Christians. Puritans would have given spiritual homework rather than a confirmation. Edwards new approach of spiritual

⁶⁴ ‘Arise, My Soul, Arise’, first published as ‘Behold the Man’ in: Charles Wesley, *Hymns & Sacred Poems* (1742) 264. Cited at: www.hymnary.org

⁶⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 42-46

⁶⁶ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 310-314

counselling provoked critique, on which he reacted with his book *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* (1741). In it, he provided a checklist of signs that conversion had been real. By doing so, Edwards “created an Evangelical framework for interpreting Christian experience”, derived from a distinct pneumatological perspective.⁶⁷ Edwards’ book learned other pastors in the reformed tradition how to reassure new believers rather than sending them into introspection.

The optimism with which Edwards treated ‘marks’ and declared them as ‘distinguishing’ was a theological innovation based on John Locke. In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke argued that experience is the source of all understanding, contrary to the idea that the human mind possesses innate ideas. Edwards took from Locke the optimism about the human powers of knowledge, an optimism the Puritans had typically lacked. Edwards believed that newly converted would be given a ‘new inward perception or sensation of their minds’ by the Holy Spirit. As gift of God this new sense made assured knowledge of God possible. Edwards encouraged this capacity among believers. Bebbington’s conclusion is firm: “Edwards derived his confidence about salvation from the atmosphere of the English Enlightenment”, as represented by John Locke.⁶⁸

Concluding we can say that the relevance of Bebbington’s study to ours is threefold. At first, Bebbington provided a clear set of characteristics of British evangelicalism, of which assurance proved to be crucial and innovative. In the following chapters it will appear that Bebbington’s observation was right. Secondly, Bebbington repeatedly relates to the pneumatological when he describes the problem of assurance and Edwards new conception of it. Bebbington does not address pneumatology as separate issue, but his selection of topics at least supports the hypothesis of this study. Thirdly, Bebbington raises the issue of the relation between theology and philosophy within an historical study. Also he takes a clear stance: theology follows philosophy. In addressing these issues as belonging together, Bebbington’s work confirms the validity of a multidisciplinary approach when studying the history of religion.

⁶⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 47. On *The Distinguishing Marks*: Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 123-128. On the dissemination of Edwards books in America and Britain: Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*, 147-151, 171-174. On Edwards’ writings in the Netherlands: Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord* 62, 453, 455-456

⁶⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 48

1.5 Pneumatological motives for British missiology: J. van den Berg

Van den Berg differs with the other authors as he studied British evangelicalism only directly, through an investigation of the development of missionary motives among evangelicals during the eighteenth century. The importance of this study is threefold. The first point is the structure and basic assumptions of his dissertation. Van den Berg problematizes the *historicity of Protestant theology* with the aim to better understand British evangelicals and their zeal for mission. The study of Van den Berg is therefore interdisciplinary and includes an historical and theological part. Van den Berg argued that this was justified because “missionary science transcends the limits of purely historical research by the plain fact of its theological character.”⁶⁹ Like the study of Van den Berg, this research too acknowledges the theological character of her subject and is therefore interdisciplinary in structure. It problematizes the historicity of protestant theological thought in order to better understand evangelicalism, in this case the Dutch variant as believed to be represented by Brem and Krom.

The second point of relevance is that Van den Berg, unlike Ward and Bebbington, explicitly recognizes the importance of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit for the British evangelical movement in particular and all revivals in general. Speaking as theologian, Van den Berg says that ultimately, behind every revival “stands the hidden, mysterious work of the great mover, God’s Spirit”.⁷⁰ Van den Berg also reminds his reader that “it was the men of the revival-movements who began to take seriously again the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and his work in man’s heart”.⁷¹ These remarks confirm the principle of this research that evangelicalism as historical problem should be related to evangelical Spirit-theology.

The third reason why Van den Berg’s research is important to the current one, is that he relates some motives for mission to the Holy Spirit, or that he refers to pneumatology in an indirect way. The latter is the case for the missionary motive of *restoring the corpus christianum*. Van den Berg’s understanding of evangelical mission is based on the notion of something lost: the “corpus christianum”.⁷² In this perspective, evangelicalism is the reaction to the disappearance of the – probably rather romanticized – concept of an old, parish-based form of Christianity in which everyone took part. According to Van den Berg, this caused evangelicalism’s individual approach of man, oriented on his personal conversion, and, as a result, with the tendency to neglect the Reformatory doctrine of the covenant of grace. In this

⁶⁹ J. van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus’ Love. An inquiry into the motives of the missionary awakening in Great Britain in the period between 1698 and 1815* (Kampen 1956) 166

⁷⁰ Idem, 3

⁷¹ Idem, 79

⁷² Idem, 82, 84, 167-172, 189-193

light Van den Berg also explains the disappearance of the theocratic ideal within the evangelical mind.⁷³ The loss of the *corpus christianum* had thus created a new type of believer: a “man, groping for new, experiential certitude amidst the disintegrating forces of his own times and circumstances.”⁷⁴ Such a man, one can imagine, could do with an extra outpouring of the Spirit. Like Bebbington, Van den Berg here refers to assurance as crucial factor in understanding eighteenth-century British evangelicalism.

The notion of the Holy Spirit is directly behind the *eschatological* motive for mission. Van den Berg points to the fact that eschatological expectations were very present during the Awakening in Northampton in Massachusetts in 1734. The coming Kingdom was a topic that Jonathan Edwards often spoke and wrote about, and that was taken over by others. High expectations of deeds of the Holy Spirit remained vivid in British evangelical circles during the eighteenth century. “We have the greatest reason to suppose, that the glorious outpouring of the Spirit, which we expect at last, will be bestowed”, wrote the Baptist minister and missionary William Carey in 1792.⁷⁵

In relation to the Holy Spirit Van den Berg further mentions the motive of *inner compulsion* that forced revivalists into missionary work: “Methodism and revivalism meant a return to the belief in the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit.”⁷⁶ With the motive of inner compulsion came a change in style. British evangelicalism was extrovert and publicly emotional. Although the leaders, especially Wesley, discouraged excessive emotions, the emotional and affective aspects of faith were certainly visible among Evangelicals and their preaching.⁷⁷ Not without reason Whitefield has been called ‘the divine dramatist’.⁷⁸ Van den Berg interprets the increased space for emotions both theologically and culturally. Theologically, he connects it to a renewed emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the work in man’s heart in contrast to plain religious moralism. This theological countermovement had also a cultural side: “in a period of cool rationalism, a renewed emphasis on ‘feeling’ was necessary”.⁷⁹ Like Bebbington, Van den Berg thus explicitly connects evangelicalism with the changing cultural tides of the day. Striking in Van den Berg’s argumentation is that he connects the increased emphasis on the Holy Spirit in theology with the increased emphasis of feeling in

⁷³ Berg, *Constrained* 81-82

⁷⁴ *Idem*, 82

⁷⁵ Cited from W. Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversions of the Heathens*, in: Berg, *Constrained* 161

⁷⁶ *Idem*, 102

⁷⁷ *Idem*, 79

⁷⁸ H. S. Stout, *The divine dramatist: George Whitefield and the rise of modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids 1991)

⁷⁹ Berg, *Constrained*, 79, 97

culture. The coincidence of similar themes in culture and theology will be further referred to in the coming chapters.

For now, it suffices to say that the interdisciplinary approach of Van den Berg's dissertation proved to be useful. It revealed how motives for mission in British evangelicalism were related to theological field of the operations of the Holy Spirit. The motives for mission of the Dutch authors Brem and Krom concern us in paragraph 3.4.

1.6 Dutch evangelicalism and the problem of continuity

Before heading on to Eijnatten and his explanation of evangelicalism in the Dutch context, we must address the one important problem of Dutch evangelicalism. It is the problem of continuity. Ward's and Van den Berg's histories of evangelicalism cover more than one age, whereas Bebbington's history of evangelicalism in Britain covers as much as three ages. This would not be possible for evangelicalism in the Netherlands. In the British and American cases, the awakenings during the eighteenth century gained lasting significance because of the great success the movement continued to have during the nineteenth century. Because of this continuity, eighteenth-century evangelicals like Whitefield, Wesley and Edwards were seen as founders of an important and recognizable movement that would change Protestantism in the Anglo-Saxon world forever. According to Peter van Rooden however, it is the issue of continuity, or the very lack of it, that indicates the otherness of "Dutch evangelicalism". Dutch evangelicalism, or persons and events that could be labelled as such during the eighteenth century, would not be succeeded by nineteenth-century successors that would explicitly claim to be its heir.⁸⁰

For some time, the Réveil movement of the 1820's has been assumed by some to be such a successive movement. In her classic study on the Réveil in the Netherlands and Europe, Elizabeth Kluit arranges the 'evangelical' characters and movements of the eighteenth century simply under the heading "pre-history of the Réveil".⁸¹ According to Kluit, "from the first decades of its independent national existence, the intellectual and religious life of the Dutch nation existed between the poles of Calvinism and Humanism."⁸² Since eighteenth-century evangelicalism and the nineteenth-century Réveil were both on the Calvinistic side, Kluit concludes that they must be historically related and rather unproblematic.

⁸⁰ Rooden, 'Communicatieve ruimtes', 134, P. van Rooden, *Religieuze Regimes. Over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570-1990* (Amsterdam 1996) 144

⁸¹ M. E. Kluit, *Het protestantse Réveil in Nederland en daarbuiten* (Amsterdam 1970) 8-9, 37, 496-497

⁸² Idem, 37

Van den Berg wrote an essay in reaction to Kluit. In it, he acknowledges the similarities between the movements and also mentions Cornelis Brem and his network as possible connection between late eighteenth-century evangelicalism and the Réveil. However, van den Berg also argues that he cannot find a historically verifiable chain of events between the two movements. Above that, he suggests that in contrast to the counter-cultural Réveil, late eighteenth-century evangelicalism was more progressive and innovating.⁸³ Reading Van den Berg in this article shows that Dutch evangelicalism should be studied on its own eighteenth-century terms, rather than from the hindsight perspective of nineteenth-century movements. Van Eijnatten, the authors discussed in the next passage, typically does so.

1.7 From the confessional to the polite public sphere

Joris van Eijnatten solves the problem of Dutch evangelicalism in the wake of *Liberty and Concord*, his impressive cultural history of the eighteenth century. At the end of his book, Van Eijnatten explains how Dutch evangelicalism was the result of a massive cultural shift that took place from 1760 onward. It concerned the large-scale and fundamental cultural transition from the *confessional* to the *polite* public sphere. During this transition, the public place of religion in society changed, and long held beliefs, values and suppositions gave way to new ones.⁸⁴ One could also say it concerned the cultural transition from the pre-modern to the modern age. Van Eijnatten describes evangelicalism as reaction of defence to the changing public sphere. Also, he emphasizes how evangelicalism incorporated the key values of the new public sphere: piety and reasonableness. Van Eijnatten stages Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom as representatives of Dutch evangelicalism as explained this way.⁸⁵

In the following, we derive two crucial themes from Van Eijnatten's study. At first, we observe the crucial place of the Nijkerk Awakening in Van Eijnatten's book. We discover how at Nijkerk, the problem of the Spirit suddenly became public and generated intellectual miscommunication. Second, we discuss Van Eijnatten's explanation of Dutch evangelicalism as means of defense and adaptation to the polite public sphere.

⁸³ Berg, 'Dutch revival', 210-219, 221; J. van den Berg and G.F. Nuttall, *Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and the Netherlands* (Leiden 1987) 95, 97

⁸⁴ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 21-26, 486-493

⁸⁵ Idem, 299, 444, 455, 456-457, 463

1.7.1 The case of the Nijkerk Awakening in 1749

Before mentioning the Nijkerk Awakening, Eijnatten elaborates on the features of the confessional public sphere. It appears that his analysis for this part heavily relies on the study of Ward. We summarize it briefly. According to Eijnatten, the confessional public sphere was based on the idea that concord in matters of religion was crucial for the welfare of both state and society. Doctrinal unity was seen as crucial for the unity of church and state. Religious concord therefore needed to be visible and to be reaffirmed time after time. In the United Provinces the public order rested on the clearly defined confessional basis defined by the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619).⁸⁶ Van Eijnatten shows that during the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century, reformed theologians were busy to “buttress the confessional commonwealth” and to reconcile different camps involved in internal conflicts.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Pietists of all sort were threatening the status quo of religious truth as something that could be maintained outwardly. Pietists turned the matter round and emphasized that an inward, personal conversion was fundamental for partaking in true religion. Tending to define and limit the group of ‘true believers’ and thereby excluding others, Pietists undermined the stability of the public religious order. Van Eijnatten shows how deviant Pietist ideas were successfully barred by state and church. Also Zinzendorf and the Moravians were antagonized in the 1730’s and 1740’s.⁸⁸ So far, Van Eijnatten’s description of the Dutch situation is in line with Ward’s general thesis of a battle between orthodoxy and Pietism and Revivalism. Van Eijnatten even sharpens Ward’s thesis by showing that the situation in the United Provinces was more polarized than Ward had noticed.

How does the Nijkerk Awakening of 1749 fit in this story? At the village of Nijkerk, many churchgoers were suddenly greatly moved under the preaching and catechism lessons of their minister Gerard Kuypers. They publicly showed signs of conversion and repentance and were moved to tears because of their sin. The situation continued and reached its height in the summer of 1750, when several preachers helped Kuypers in preaching and comforting distressed souls. The Nijkerk Awakening gained wide publicity, reaching to Scotland and the American colonies. Many recognized the Nijkerk Awakening as the Dutch counterpart of the famous Cambuslang Work in Scotland and the Great Awakening in America.⁸⁹ Also, the Nijkerk Awakening caused a large debate in the Netherlands: had the collective conversions

⁸⁶ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 4-6

⁸⁷ Idem, 30-39

⁸⁸ Idem, 55-67

⁸⁹ Spaans, ‘Inleiding’, 7-10, Vlastuin, ‘Nijkerk en Northampton’ 67-69, in: Spaans, *Een golf*, Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*, 37-38

and public distress indeed been the work of the Holy Spirit?⁹⁰ What have historians said about the Nijkerk Awakening? To what extent was the Nijkerk Awakening a proper evangelical revival and a unique event?

In his work, Van Lieburg primarily reacts to Dutch authors who keep digging in the Nijkerk case. He emphasizes that it is useless to debate specific details or connections that may have caused the Nijkerk Awakening. He shows that on a local scale, the intensification of religious consciousness of faith had been happening in the Netherlands for a longer time already, which is not surprising, since an intensification of religious consciousness was exactly what the Dutch movement of the Further Reformation envisioned. After all, in the Netherlands a vivid pietistic subculture existed, “in which everything turned around the question how the work of the Holy Spirit takes shape in the lives of man.”⁹¹ Contradicting Ward on this point, Van Lieburg argues that in the Netherlands, all revivals sprang from the common ground of popular pietism, rather than resistance to a rigid or dead orthodoxy.⁹² ‘Nijkerk’ was not the start of a larger Dutch Awakening, but rather the start of a large public debate. Van Lieburg acknowledges the international aspect of the Nijkerk Awakening, and therefore proposes to see the Dutch Awakenings around 1750 as “an intersection of several traditions that were present within international Protestantism”.⁹³ It seems Van Lieburg is generally right in his focus on the Further Reformation and popular pietism as explanation for the Nijkerk Awakening. However, Van Lieburg’s presupposition of Nijkerk being just another Dutch local revival prevents him from seeing the particular pneumatological nature of the debate it generated, and the cultural significance of that debate: it raised the question what forms of expression and what measure of emotion were allowed after conversion or after being touched by the Holy Spirit. From a pneumatological perspective one can therefore say that Nijkerk was an important moment. It was Van Lieburg himself who observed that by the end of the eighteenth century, the specific piety of the Further Reformation had either been changed, or displaced.⁹⁴ What came in place for the spirituality of the Further Reformation? Could it not be that the Nijkerk

⁹⁰ F. van Lieburg, ‘De Libanon blijft ruisen. Opwekkingen in Nederland in de gereformeerde traditie’ in: Joke Spaans red., *Een golf van beroering. De omstreden religieuze opwekking in Nederland in het midden van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2001) 33

⁹¹ Idem, 23

⁹² 23

⁹³ Idem, 36

⁹⁴ C. Graafland, W.J. op’t Hof en F.A. van Lieburg ‘Nadere Reformatie: opnieuw een poging tot begripsbepaling’, *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 19 (1995) 168-169. Referred to by Jelle Bosma, *Woorden van een gezond verstand. De invloed van de verlichting op de in het Nederlands uitgegeven preken van 1750-1800: monografie en bibliografie* (Nieuwkoop 1997) 375, note 221

controversy was the presage of a more evangelical spirituality that would flourish at the last decade of the century, the decade in which the NZG was founded?

In this respect, it is highly interesting that Van Rooden points to the perspective of an outsider on the Nijkerk Awakening: Hugh Kennedy, minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, and well acquainted with Cornelis Brem. Kennedy took part in the polemic that developed in the years after the Awakening. In this context he published *Humble defense of the work of the Holy Spirit in Scotland and Nieuwkerk* (1751).⁹⁵ In it he defended the Awakening against slanderers who regarded it an inappropriate exhibition of enthusiasm his essay. Kennedy took the intensified religious experiences of the Nijkerk people seriously. He compared the events at Nijkerk with the Scottish revival at Cambuslang, and placed both events in the grand perspective of redemptive history, driven by the visible operations of the Holy Spirit. Kennedy's explicit pneumatological scope led him to interpret Nijkerk in an eschatological way. Van Rooden therefore rates Kennedy's essay as the most innovative of all essays in this polemics. However, he also observes that Kennedy's arguments were neither used nor refuted by others. He and his arguments were ignored. According to Van Rooden, Kennedy was ignored because Kennedy's approach was totally outside the conceptual framework of the Dutch partakers in the Nijkerk controversy. They were primarily worried about proper public piety, virtue and civilization in the context of a perceived moral decay of the United Provinces. They argued Church Orderly and *conservatively*, along lines of national recovery and restoration. In contrast, Kennedy argued *progressively* because of his grand redemptive historical scope, aimed at the future Kingdom of God. He was an outsider from across the Channel, devoid of Dutch preoccupations, and only concerned about the spiritual well-being of the individuals touched by the Spirit.⁹⁶ The mismatch between Kennedy and the Dutch contributors to the Nijkerk controversy, in short, was a perfect example of the different theological and cultural climate in Britain and the Netherlands around 1750, with the British evangelical perspective the one being ahead. Kennedy's pneumatological and eschatological perspective on the Nijkerk Awakening would only later, in the 1790's, be adopted by Dutch ministers, most notably by Herman Johannes Krom in his sermon *Great Promise* in 1799. This will concern us in chapter three.

On Van Rooden's analysis, Van Eijnatten too builds his own thesis. To generate a larger evangelical movement, Eijnatten argues, Nijkerk came too early – before the rise of the polite

⁹⁵ Dr.tr. H. Kennedy, *Nederige verdediging van het werk des Heiligen Geestes* (1751), quoted and referred to with the English title by: Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 62

⁹⁶ Rooden, 'Communicatieve ruimtes', 149-151

public sphere – to have further consequences. Theology professor Joan van den Honert, the fiercest adversary of the manifestation at Nijkerk, represented the confessional public par excellence. His disapproval was a fierce attempt to maintain the dominance of an orderly confessional public sphere, without uncontrollable and enthusiast experiments. In the words of Van Eijnatten, who quotes Ward in his turn: “If the ‘separation of religious from ecclesiastical life’ correctly describes the consequences and sometimes the aims of the eighteenth-century ‘evangelical awakening’, one can hardly find fault with the reservations of contemporary church leaders. Their duty was to maintain an orderly church organization, one that preserved the doctrine, performed the rituals, educated the people and generally watered the ground on which piety would grow.”⁹⁷ Van Rooden and Van Eijnatten agree that before 1760 the confessional public sphere in the United Provinces was too powerful to allow for particular evangelical initiatives. Tables turned, however, during the cultural shift that progressed during the second half of the century.

1.7.2 The polite public sphere: J. van Eijnatten

The shift from the confessional public towards the polite public sphere in the United Provinces did not happen overnight. Ever since the Synod of Dort, the Arminians had been in written opposition to the hegemony of the Contra remonstrant Reformed Church. After 1760, the Arminian plea for a single latitudinarian state church free of formularies started to gain more and more ground, also among reformed ministers. Van Eijnatten also refers to a broad range of non-theologians who contributed to the shift towards the polite public. New ideas on the relation between political and religious liberty emerged among magistrates, poets, political theorists, independent authors, radical Spinozist philosophers, and natural law scholars. Many works reflected on the desirability and possibility of a single ‘universal church’, based on clear and simple virtues.⁹⁸ The German ‘new Reformers’ or ‘neologen’ were greatly influential too in the change towards the polite public sphere in the United Provinces. These theologians argued for a free, historical-critical inquiry of the Bible. In their theology they reevaluated doctrines and approached Christianity in an ethical way. According to them, truths were only truths if they contributed to moral improvement. Christianity in essence was a system promoting felicity.⁹⁹

In reaction to the changing times with large parts of society embracing the free market of ideas, the privileged Reformed Church needed to defend herself to the growing disapproval

⁹⁷ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 46-53

⁹⁸ Idem, 264, 292, 488-489

⁹⁹ Idem, 336-337, 347, 367

of many with a single privileged confession. Many written apologies were issued. According to van Eijnatten, apologies reflected the “the anxieties involved in the formation of the polite public”.¹⁰⁰ It was the anxiety of losing ground to all sorts of written heterodoxy was available at the Dutch book market. For instance *The Age of Reason* by Thomas Paine – a book on which Krom reacted as mentioned in chapter three. However, apologies should not be seen as conservative tracts merely. They often narrated what had went wrong in the past in preaching and theological hairsplitting and could provide a program for a new Christianity by focusing on a few central doctrines. Apologies thus functioned as a two-sided sword: they ruled out extremities on either side of the religious spectrum: both irreligious radicalism and intolerant orthodoxies.¹⁰¹

A second effect of the changed polite public sphere was the incorporation of some of the less radical points of the German New Reformers by those theologians who wanted to improve the church without losing orthodoxy as such. Most influential was the idea that only the fundamental articles of Christianity really mattered. Under the direct and indirect influence of the German new Reformers, the ideal of doctrinal simplicity changed the face of the Dutch theology in the later eighteenth century. Simple truths had become the intellectual basis of the religious public rather than confessional formularies.¹⁰²

Apologies in their turn only furthered the polite debate, rather than preserving the former confessional public sphere. Van Eijnatten concludes: “persuasion rather than control had become the new moral basis of the public sphere.”¹⁰³ The new moral basis of civil persuasion depended on two key virtues: reasonableness and piety. These two became the two pillars of public debate from 1760 onwards: they were the vehicles of communication in the polite public. Reasonableness afforded a common point of departure for all who joined the public debate. Piety as personal value functioned as proof of the sincerity and responsibility of the participants in debate. Also, the notion of piety covered the truths that did not “derive their persuasiveness from their reasonableness”.¹⁰⁴ Personal piety and integrity in reasoning thus became a late eighteenth century authoritative means of communication.

¹⁰⁰ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 318, 316-318

¹⁰¹ Idem, 319, 324-326

¹⁰² Idem, 371-379

¹⁰³ Idem, 319

¹⁰⁴ Idem, 425, 438

1.7.3 Dutch Evangelicalism as part of the polite public sphere

According to Van Eijnatten, Dutch evangelicalism of the late eighteenth century typically incorporated the new moral basis of persuasion through personal piety and reason. In describing the features of Dutch evangelicalism, Eijnatten relies heavily on Jelle Bosma's study on the influence of the Enlightenment on the religious mentality in the Dutch Republic between 1750 and 1800. As sources Bosma used printed protestant sermons. In his analysis of them Bosma created one category of 'evangelical' sermons. Based on these sermons and on Van Eijnatten's thesis, the four characteristics of Dutch evangelicalism emerge.

What made Dutch evangelicals stand apart at first were the theological sources they used. They were often foreign authors of recent date: British evangelicals and German Pietists. The Further Reformation rooted more within native theology and in older English Puritan theology.¹⁰⁵ The evangelical style and content of preaching also differed: rather than the classic analytical style, evangelicals used the more modern plain style. It involved less complex exegesis, clear language, a thematic structure and a plain and simple message. Typical for evangelicals was that complex or harsh parts of Calvinist doctrines were not often raised in the sermon. Instead, a simple 'preaching of the cross' became the rule, structured by the classical Heidelberg Catechism scheme of iniquity, conversion, and gratitude. As a result, the evangelicals were more concerned with conversion and sanctification than with examining signs of election – a contrast that directly confirms Bebbington's thesis that Puritan self-examination evolved under evangelical influence, because assurance lost its central place. Examples for foreign authors that influenced the Dutch evangelicals in this were Philip Doddridge, Isaac Watts, John Newton, James Hervey, Johann Caspar Lavater and Johan Ludwig Ewald.¹⁰⁶ Another innovation brought by the evangelicals was a more positive conception of the intellectual faculties of man. Dutch evangelicalism was more reasonable than the Dutch Pietist-puritan type of preaching represented by writes as Holtius, Comrie and Van der Groe.¹⁰⁷ Evangelicals valued the importance of conversion experiences and a vivid internal piety, but they protected it from the assault of 'enthusiasm' by approaching it reasonable, observing the law of 'common sense' (*gezond verstand*).¹⁰⁸ Finally, what made the evangelicals different to the Further Reformation was their position in society. They fully participated in the new public sphere, based on politeness and persuasion. Evangelicals published magazines that

¹⁰⁵ Bosma, *Woorden*, 374-375

¹⁰⁶ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord* 442, 440-445, 451-452, Bosma, *Woorden*, 375, 377-378

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, 455

¹⁰⁸ *Idem*, 446, 450-451; Bosma, *Woorden* 377

included not only theology, but also view on education, mission, orphanage, charity and forbearance. Their attitude was interdenominational and focused on church unification, not necessarily by organization, but at least by heart.¹⁰⁹

The abovementioned features of evangelicalism gave ample reason for Van Eijnatten to regard Brem and Krom as evangelicals. They combined orthodoxy with the key virtues of their age and also participated actively in society. Brem and Krom used both piety and a reasonable style of argument in their works.¹¹⁰ Krom stressed the integrity and doctrinal simplicity of the Moravians. Both cooperated with Christians of other denominations. Cornelis Brem issued magazines. Herman Johannes Krom was not only a friend of the Moravians in Zeist, but he also wrote a proposal in 1781 for improving the public schools.¹¹¹

In his analysis Bosma's limited himself to sermons. His study therefore includes some sermons of Krom and some translated sermons prefaced by Brem.¹¹² However, nor he, nor Van Eijnatten thematized a changed pneumatology as particular feature of Dutch evangelicals. The aim of the following chapters is investigate whether pneumatology indeed featured Dutch evangelicalism.

1.11 Résumé

In this chapter it became clear how Ward, Bebbington, Van den Berg, Van Rooden, Van Eijnatten and Bosma use themes that relate to pneumatology in order to explain evangelicalism as historical phenomenon. These topics include effective preaching, sanctification, assurance of faith and mission. Van den Berg as theologian is the only author who explicitly assumed the relation between the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and evangelical revivalism. None of the authors, however, systematically researched the relation between the development of evangelicalism and the development of the doctrine of the Spirit.

The Nijkerk Awakening brought the question of the Holy Spirit very much in the public sphere. The unicity of the Kennedy's pneumatological explanation of the Awakening revealed how reformed pneumatology in Britain and the United Provinces developed at a different pace. It revealed how a more or less innovative pneumatology could make the difference in either acceptance or rejection of evangelical forms or religion.

¹⁰⁹ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 455-457

¹¹⁰ Van Ekeris regards Brem's appeal to reason in addition to revelation as weak point, as it allows opponents to do the same on issues that are not suited for reason: Ekeris, 'Ter bevordering', 60

¹¹¹ H.J. Krom, *Over de verbetering der openbaare, vooral Nederduitsche scholen* (Middelburg 1781), referred to in: Quak, 'Krom', 230; Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 440

¹¹² Bosma, *Woorden*, 520-521, 671-672

The findings in this chapter suggest a relation between the development of evangelical Protestantism at the one hand and the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit the other. In the following chapter therefore the development of pneumatology within Protestantism is discussed.

Chapter Two The Problem of the Spirit within Protestant Christianity

“It has become almost a convention that those who undertake to write about the Holy Spirit should begin by deploring the neglect of this doctrine in the thought and life of the Church today.”¹¹³ This first line of George S. Hendry’s study from 1957 had not the effect that church historians and theologians would complain less. At the contrary. Hendry’s remark has become a classic point of reference, and many remarks about supposed neglect of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Western Christianity would follow.¹¹⁴ Although Wisse and Meijer have recently argued that the concept of *Geistvergeessenheit* should be seen as a typical modern theological concern and projection, Hendry and others rightly point to the fact that whereas the Trinitarian doctrine roots in the Holy Scripture, the Scripture itself is neither consistent nor homogenous on the matter. It certainly does not provide a full-fledged doctrine of either the Trinity or the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵ This makes pneumatology a particular hard subject in theology, and a source of much diversity and discord in church history. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been a problem for the Church from the start of Christianity.

This chapter has four aims. The first is to show that the problem of the Spirit existed in the fact that official dogma was repeatedly threatened by essentially two alternatives: Unitarianism and Enthusiasm. The second aim is to show that the recurring threat of these alternatives forced theologians to clarify themselves. They did so by speaking more often *distinctively* on the operations of the Holy Spirit, and in a *more encompassing* way. The third function of this chapter is to prove that, as a result of the foregoing, the concept of ‘innovative pneumatology’ as used in the research question is thus correct. In this way, chapter two prepares for chapter three, in which the innovative pneumatology of Brem and Krom is discussed. The last aim of this chapter is to validate the findings of chapter one. In the first chapter we learned how several historians used pneumatological topics in their explanations of evangelicalism, such as assurance, experience or sanctification. In this chapter these topics recur in the context of the intellectual systems from which they sprang: systematic protestant theology of dogma.

¹¹³ George S. Hendry, *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology* (London 1957) 11

¹¹⁴ Hendry’s remark is cited in: Terry L. Cross, ‘Chapter 7, *The Holy Spirit*’, *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology* (Cambridge 2007) 93. The theologians O. Dilschneider and H. Berkhof also spoke about the neglect of pneumatology. Referred to in: Yoon-Bae Choi, *De Verhouding tussen Pneumatologie en Christologie bij Martin Bucer en Johannes Calvijn* (Leiden 1996) 2, 3; G. Wainwright, ‘Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit’, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge 1997) 289

¹¹⁵ Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 466-469; Hendry, *The Holy Spirit*, 12; Wainwright, ‘Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit’, 273; Peter C. Phan, ‘Chapter 1 - Developments of the doctrine of the Trinity’ in: Peter C. Phan (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Trinity* (Cambridge 2011) 3-4

In this way the pneumatological aspect in the historiography of evangelicalism is further proven.

In 2.1 the theological importance and problematic nature of the Holy Spirit for Western Christianity is briefly introduced and explained, with reference to both Testaments and the fundamental creeds of the Early Church. The aim of 2.2 is to narrate the fronts over against Luther and Calvin developed their pneumatologies. In 2.3. the standards of reformed pneumatology as formalized in the Belgic and Westminster Confession are investigated on their innovative aspects. In 2.4 to 2.6 three important authors are staged: John Owen, Jonathan Edwards and Nicolas Zinzendorf. It is argued that their theologies tried to solve the problem of the Holy Spirit, thereby opening innovative pneumatological perspectives. The chapter closes with a short résumé.

Concerning the method of this chapter, it might further suffice to say that, in order to structure theological information, this essay follows Wisse and Meijer in referring to standard topics of dogmatics such as the doctrines of scripture, God, creation, Christ, salvation, ecclesiology, eschatology and sacraments.¹¹⁶ To avoid encyclopaedic paragraphs, the dogmatic points will only be referred to as long as they relate to the aims formulated for this chapter.

2.1 The problem of the Holy Spirit: biblical and Early Church developments

George S. Hendry has discerned five problems that relate to the Holy Spirit. We recall them in this passage because most of them either relate to biblical verses or they were apparent in the early Church. Also, they help us to structure the historical developments in pneumatology that we will encounter in this and the next chapter.

The first problem stems directly from the New Testament and is the problem of relation between the *Spirit and Christ*. Directly related to this are the subtopics of the Spirit and his place in *soteriology* (the doctrine of salvation) and *eschatology* (the doctrine of the End Times), the moment when Christ returns. The second problem springs from the first, and is the relation between the *Spirit and God*, also called the Trinitarian problem. The questions of the Trinity and the godhead of Christ have particularly concerned the councils of the Church in the fourth century.¹¹⁷ The third problem Hendry refers to is the relation between the *Holy Spirit and the Church*. This problem of *ecclesiology* is of particular importance, since it relates to the major divisions in Western Christianity. The fourth problem originated from the Protestant answer to the third and is the relation between the *Holy Spirit and the Word*. The fifth problem formulated

¹¹⁶ Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 479-480, 485, 488, 503

¹¹⁷ Hendry, *The Holy Spirit*, 14; Phan, 'Chapter 1 – Developments', 8-11

by Hendry is the problem of the relation between the *Holy Spirit and the human spirit*. With the last problem we have entered the realm of anthropology and philosophy, earlier referred in chapter one, with Bebbington, who points to the relation between Lockean philosophy and the prominent place of sure knowledge in British evangelicalism as gift of the Holy Spirit after conversion.¹¹⁸

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit and its biblical constitutive parts are good examples of the fact that Christian doctrines are not immobile but subjected to a more organic “pattern of growth, decline, eclipse, retrieval, and possibly growth again”.¹¹⁹ In the Hebraic Old Testament, the ‘Spirit of God’ implies a “distinction-in-identity”.¹²⁰ He is the basic source of life, he equips for various tasks and responsibilities, and is “a means of revealing the Lord, communicating his will, energizing his work and enabling obedience to Him. The Spirit may come upon and enter into a human being, but the Spirit remains God’s Spirit.”¹²¹ These Hebraic distinctions allow the Christian church later on to develop a Trinitarian doctrine, especially after the coming of Jesus and the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. It is only in the New Testament that pneumatology gets an explicit Christological signature, with as important moments the annunciation of Jesus’ birth to Mary, Jesus’ baptism and Jesus’ explicit promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit as important moments.¹²² In the gospel of St. John particularly, the Spirit is spoken of as a person, with a masculine Greek pronoun: *ho Paraklêtos*, rather than the neuter *to Pneuma*. Because in this book Jesus’ promise “takes on a physiognomy which will be very important in the recognition of the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Trinity”, St John’s gospel has been constitutive in Christian pneumatology.¹²³

During the time of the Early Church, the first Nicæan Creed of 325 restricted itself to the simple phrase “and in the Holy Spirit”.¹²⁴ This could not solve the discord among the doctrine. Arians rejected the Trinity altogether and identified the Spirit indiscriminately with the Being of the one true God. The so-called Modalists argued that the Spirit of God was a ‘mode of God’s presence’ rather than a person in the Godhead. With the aim to formulate a

¹¹⁸ Hendry, *The Holy Spirit*, 14; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 47-48

¹¹⁹ Phan, ‘Chapter 1 – Developments’, 4

¹²⁰ Wainwright, ‘Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit’, 273

¹²¹ *Idem*, 276

¹²² *Idem*, 273, 277

¹²³ John McIntyre, *The Shape of Pneumatology. Studies in the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (London 2004) 68-71; Wainwright, ‘Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit’, 277-178

¹²⁴ www.earlychurchtexts.com/public/creed_of_nicaea_325.htm, consulted at 8-8-2015

more precise ecumenical pneumatology, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381 elaborated on the Holy Spirit. It confessed the Holy Spirit as Lord and Life-Giver, proceeding from the Father, worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, and as the person in the Godhead through whom the prophets had spoken.¹²⁵ Important is the notion of worship. Usually, the Holy Spirit was invoked in the Church as part of the Trinity. A separate worship of the Holy Spirit is rarer.¹²⁶ In chapter three, we will see how Zinzendorf introduced a separate cult of the Holy Spirit in his congregations.

2.2 Luther and Calvin versus Rome, enthusiasts and Unitarians

How did the problem of the Spirit recur during the Reformation? This period will concern us for a moment as Brem and Krom stood in the Protestant tradition and cherished its fundamentals. The Reformation of the sixteenth century represented a renewal in pneumatology. The main pneumatological innovation made by Martin Luther and John Calvin was that, unlike the medieval scholastic tradition, they connected Word and Spirit. Calvin did this more systematic than Luther.¹²⁷ Luther and Calvin were forced to choose position over against three rivalling pneumatologies. First of all, there was the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. Second, there was the threat of loose spiritualism, most visible in Luther's reaction. Third, Calvin attacked Unitarianism in the person of Servetus.

The major pneumatological tradition that Luther and Calvin had to confront with was medieval scholasticism as practiced within the Roman Catholic Church. The Church regarded itself as the successor of Christ, and the presence and power of the Holy Spirit were seen as gifts from the Spirit of Christ to enable the Church. Because in this way Church and Spirit by definition coincided, the idea that the Holy Spirit by means of the (external) gospel teaching could speak to a possibly errant Church did not exist. As result, the role of the Holy Spirit in Roman homiletics was very limited. The sermon was not regarded a means of the Holy Spirit with direct soteriological relevance but as a matter of instruction and information for the baptized.¹²⁸ In contrast, Luther and Calvin believed that sermon is meant to become effective through the Spirit in the life of man and in the course of events. It places the hearer in a new condition: the condition of faith. The close connection between Word and Spirit was captured

¹²⁵ P. Kärkkäinen, *Luthers Trinitarische Theologie des Heiligen Geistes* (Mainz 2005) 1; Wainwright, 'Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit', 280; Phan, 'Chapter 1 – Developments', 8-9; Kärkkäinen, *Trinitarische Theologie*, 1

¹²⁶ Wainwright, 'Chapter 14, The Holy Spirit', 283

¹²⁷ Both Luther and Calvin have been called 'theologians of the Holy Spirit': Choi, *De Verhouding*, 7-8

¹²⁸ Bitzel, 'The theology', 61-62; Hendry, *The Holy Spirit*, 55-59; Choi, *De Verhouding*, 1; Park, *The Sacred Rhetoric*, 19

in the first confessional writings of the reformation: the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Belgic Confession (1561) and the Second Helvetic Confession (1562-1564).¹²⁹

Beside the theology of Rome, Luther and Calvin faced other challengers in the field of pneumatology. Luther became notorious for his polemics with Müntzer and Karlstadt, who he accused to be enthusiasts or spiritualists. These men and their followers represented a radical Protestantism that rejected ecclesiastical structures and that built and legitimated itself on immediate spiritual experiences.¹³⁰ Luther denounced them as *Schwärmer* (zealots) and argued they were influenced by Satan himself. He caused man to confuse sinful impulses with the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit.¹³¹ With the word ‘schwärmer’, Luther created the modern ideological opposition between reason and experience, thinking and feeling, rationality and emotion that would trouble Protestantism for the ages to come. In Luther and his conflicts, one could say, the problem of the Spirit within Protestantism vigorously manifested itself for the first time. It helped to cause the schism of Luther with Zwingli and the reformed Bucer of Strasbourg. Luther aligned Zwingli with Karlstadt, and because Karlstadt had found refuge in Strasbourg, Luther also accused Bucer of being a spiritualist. In the following of this and the next chapter it becomes clear how among protestants the accusation of ‘enthusiasm’ survived well into the eighteenth century.¹³²

Like Luther, Calvin dissociated himself from spiritualism.¹³³ The first edition of his Institution was issued a year after the Anabaptist Münster Rebellion of 1534. However, Calvin became notorious for his confrontation with Michael Servetus in 1533. Servetus rejected the classical idea of the Trinity as formulated by the ancient Nicaean and Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creeds. By arguing that the concept of the Trinity did not reflect the simplicity of the Gospels but was an invention of Greek philosophy, Servetus reopened the fundamental debates on the Trinity of the fourth century. In doing so, Servetus represented the launch of the early modern Unitarian movement, also known as Socinianism. This movement,

¹²⁹ Bitzel, ‘The theology’, 58-60; A.M. Haas, *Der Kampf um den Heiligen Geist - Luther und die Schwärmer* (Freiburg, Schweiz 1997) 29-30

¹³⁰ M.G. Baylor, *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge 1991) xi-xxii

¹³¹ Haas, *Der Kampf*, 12; A.J. La Vopa, ‘The Philosopher and the “Schwärmer”’: On the Career of a German Epithet from Luther to Kant’, *Hungtinton Library Quarterly* 60:1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997) 87-88

¹³² Haas, *Der Kampf*, 13; Choi, *De Verhouding*, 7-8; J.G.A. Pocock, ‘Enthusiasm: The Antiself of Enlightenment’, *Hungtinton Library Quarterly* 60:1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997) 8, 12; C. Atwood, ‘The Mother of God’s People: The Adoration of the Holy Spirit in the Eighteenth-Century Brüdergemeine’, *Church History* 68:4 (1999) 906-909

¹³³ Linde, *De leer van den Heiligen Geest*, 105-110

too, would survive well into the eighteenth century, and disconcert the orthodox ecclesiastical establishments.¹³⁴

2.3 The standard of reformed pneumatology

The reformed pneumatology as formulated first by John Calvin and then written down in the Belgic Confession (1561) and Westminster Confession (1646) represented innovation, and also set a new standard for the Dutch and the Anglo-Saxon reformed world. However, they also left important pneumatological questions unsolved, and so enabled the innovations made by John Owen and Jonathan Edwards. These are the reasons why we discuss them briefly in this passage.

The Reformation symbolized a crisis in authority, as well as a crisis in the mediation and understanding of salvation.¹³⁵ John Calvin tried to solve these problems with a pneumatological approach. The crisis of authority arose because the Reformation testified that the Church could actually be wrong. A new norm was needed to define truth and truthfulness. Calvin therefore took a full pneumatological perspective on the Scripture itself. In doing so he closely linked God and God's revelation through the Bible. Calvin established the specifically Reformed idea of the Scripture as *principium fidei* – the Scriptures as being trustworthy because they are inspired by the Holy Spirit, and because the Holy Spirit testifies its truth in the hearts and minds of the faithful.¹³⁶ Regarding the question of salvation, Calvin chose to give faith a central role (unlike the medieval tradition). Calvin understood faith pneumatologically. It is the act of response to the Gospel, enabled by the Holy Spirit. As good works follow out of faith, 'sanctification' becomes a new pneumatological concern in Calvin's theology.¹³⁷

The main pneumatological innovation of the Belgic Confession can be found in its ecclesiology. The Belgic Confession defined the Church in profound pneumatological language: as "a holy congregation (...) sanctified and sealed by the Holy Spirit".¹³⁸ This choice differs from Calvin's more static Christological perspective with Christ as head of the Church. Wisse and Meijer also point to frequent use of the adjective 'spiritual' in the Belgic Confession. According to the authors, this term is significant. It not only reinforced the emphasis on the role

¹³⁴ Rafael Bermudo del Pino, 'Calvin, Servet et la Théologie Trinitaire de Tertullien', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 11.1 (2009) 3, 26-27; María Tausiet, 'Mago contra Falsario: un Duelo de Insultos entre Calvino y Servet', *Hispania Sacra* 62 (2010) 185-187; Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*, 77, 203

¹³⁵ G.R. Evans, *Problems of Authority in the Reformation Debates* (Cambridge 1992) 1-2, 113-116

¹³⁶ Johannes Calvijn, *Institutie, of onderwijzing in de christelijke godsdienst*, deel I, vert. C.A. de Niet (Houten 2009) I. 7.4-5, 89-91; I.9.2-3, 105-106; II.5.5, 318-319; Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 479; Linde, *De leer van den Heiligen Geest*, 20-21, 57-58, 72-74; Hendry, *The Holy Spirit*, 75

¹³⁷ Calvijn, *Institutie*, deel I, III.2.33-36, 566-569; III.6.3, 665-666; Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 480; Linde, *De leer van den Heiligen Geest*, 132-133, 143

¹³⁸ Quoted in: Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 483

of the Spirit in faith, but also underscored the difference between the physical and the spiritual world – be it in soteriology or in anthropology. According to Wisse and Meijer at this point the Confession reflects a cultural shift. This observation is important, as indeed the spiritual or experiential side of faith would be emphasized in the ages following the Belgic Confession. We already discussed Pietism in this respect.¹³⁹ The Belgic Confession does mention the Holy Spirit in its doctrine of Scripture, Christology and soteriology, but not more than in a formal way. It does not mention the Holy Spirit altogether in its articles about the creation, providence and fall.¹⁴⁰

The Westminster Confession was written a full age after the Belgic Confession, and this is reflected in its pneumatology. Urged by the early Enlightenment discussions on the historical reliability of the Scriptures, the Westminster Confession chose to attribute the inspiration of the Scripture to God in general rather than the Holy Spirit, as did the Belgic Confession. Compared to the Belgic Confession the Westminster Confession is much more detailed about the work of the Holy Spirit in salvation (soteriology). It describes the work of the Holy Spirit on three levels: the Spirit works together with the Word, bringing the elect to Christ. The Spirit also works in those who are elected, but are unable to get to know Christ: the infants and elect pagans. Finally, the work of the Spirit enables the response of faith by those who hear the Gospel. Such a response of faith is not self-evident – the work of the Holy Spirit is thus crucial obtaining salvation. Similar to Bebbington, Wisse and Meijer point to the role the Westminster Confession played in problematizing assurance of faith. The confession confirmed the unsteadiness of assurance within the life of the faithful, and points the Holy Spirit as the possible source of relief.¹⁴¹

The Westminster Confession of the seventeenth century may count as the interim high point of reformed pneumatology. However, it left the question of assurance of faith essentially open. By doing so, it enforced the problem of assurance as experienced by many faithful in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Although meant as theological standard, the open ends of the Westminster Confession invited later theologians to elaborate on the specific work of the Holy Spirit even more, especially because enthusiasm and Unitarianism resurfaced with renewed power in the eighteenth century and the last decades of the seventeenth century.

¹³⁹ Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 484. According to Telford Work, modern Western civil religions indeed tend to separate the physical from the spiritual: "This Holy Spirit is about our souls rather than our bodies": Telford Work, 'Pneumatology', in: Kelly M. Kapic and Bruce L. McCormack, *Mapping Modern Theology. A Thematic and Historical Introduction* (Grand Rapids 2012) 28

¹⁴⁰ Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 484

¹⁴¹ Idem, 485-486

2.4. Innovative pneumatology: John Owen

The reformed theologian and Congregationalist John Owen (1616-1683) was very significant in the development of the theology of the Holy Spirit. In his later life, he wrote the tract *On the Trinity* (1669) and his masterpiece *Pneumatologia* (1677-1678). By writing extensively and detailed about the work of the Holy Spirit in creation and in regeneration, as comforter, in prayer and in spiritual gifts, Owen went beyond the pneumatology of John Calvin and the Westminster Confession.¹⁴²

John Owen is crucial in this argument because Cornelis Brem based himself directly on Owen's *Pneumatologia* in 1798 when he wrote *Kort Vertoog*, his own book on the Holy Spirit. In his preface Brem included a lengthy quote from *The Spirit as Comforter*, book VIII of *Pneumatologia*. Brem chose 'love' as fundamental perspective on all operations of the Holy Spirit and defended his choice by citing John Owen, who chose the same perspective.¹⁴³ Van Ekeris has also written about Brem's admiration for John Owen's theology. Van Ekeris refers in his texts to the several works of Owen that Brem issued or prefaced. However, Van Ekeris does not mention Brem's citation of Owen's *Pneumatologia* in *Kort Vertoog*. Moreover, *Kort Vertoog* is not included at all in Van Ekeris' analysis of Brem's theology. Van Ekeris only mentions Brem's book on the Holy Spirit in the general bibliography at the end of his article. This must be seen as an omission, because van Ekeris aims to explain John Owen's influence on Brem. *Kort Vertoog* is one of the few books that Brem wrote himself, and that in a significant period. The *Dutch Missionaries Society* or NZG had been founded just a year before.¹⁴⁴ Because Van Ekeris does not include *Kort Vertoog* in his article, the influence of Owen on Brem's pneumatological scope is not sufficiently recognized. In the next chapter the results of Brem's pneumatological scope are further discussed.

John Owen himself wrote his theology of the Holy Spirit in the context of three controversies. First, there were the early Enlightenment disputes on the historical reliability of the Bible, fuelled by radical humanists. Second, there were the English Socinians: those who rejected the Trinity altogether and therewith an explicit pneumatological approach of theology. Another front Owen wrote against were the Arminians: those who tended to ascribe more power to natural reason and good works than to the Reformed doctrine of grace would allow for. As John Calvin had tried to solve the sixteenth century crises in authority and salvation with a turn to pneumatology, John Owen likewise reacted to his adversaries by carefully elaborating on the

¹⁴² Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 492

¹⁴³ C. Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 8-11

¹⁴⁴ Ekeris, 'Ter bevordering', 55-56, 76-80

work of the Holy Spirit in the relevant fields of theology. Owen thus reacted on the questions of his time – and thereby fully participated in the ongoing quest for answers on the problem of the Spirit.¹⁴⁵

John Owen came to his innovative pneumatology by thinking about the Trinity in terms of orders and operations. Owen argued that although all works of the Trinity are absolutely to be ascribed to God as one Being, all three Persons within the Trinity do take part according to their *order of subsistence* within the Trinity. Their distinct order of subsistence has consequences for their *order of operation*: it results in distinct roles for each Person. Concerning the role of the Holy Spirit, Owen wrote: “In every great work of God, the concluding, completing, perfecting acts are ascribed unto the Holy Ghost”.¹⁴⁶ This was Owen’s first pneumatological axiom. Cornelis Brem explicitly referred to it in the preface of his own book. The Holy Spirit has a distinct identity as Comforter, and this results to the specific work of comforting.¹⁴⁷ The second was that the Holy Spirit directs all *outward* acts of the Trinity. While making these distinctions, Owen is keen to stress that his axioms do not deny the classic maxim that *opera ad extra sunt indivisa*. If the Spirit acts, he does so as the Spirit of the Father and the Son.¹⁴⁸

The two pneumatological axioms were used by John Owen to elaborate on the specific work of the Holy Spirit in several parts of dogmatics. The innovative aspect of this became first visible in the doctrine of creation. Although Calvin and the Westminster Confession had also mentioned the Holy Spirit in the work of creation, the continental reformed tradition hardly regarded creation as locus of pneumatology. By pointing to the live-giving and preserving work of the Spirit in all creation, Owen’s gave pneumatology as a whole a concrete and all-encompassing character. Wisse and Meijer suggest that Owen’s specific Trinitarian approach of creation was prompted by the controversy with Socinians, who denied the Trinity. Further, Owen’s specific pneumatology is likely to have been caused by his debate with Arminians. Owen wanted to defend radically that every work of human perfection – also those before the fall – were a total work of the Spirit.¹⁴⁹

Regarding the doctrine of Christ, Owen’s innovative point was that he explicitly compared the operations of the Spirit within Christ with the work of the Spirit within the

¹⁴⁵ C.R. Trueman, *John Owen, Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (Aldershot 2007) 3, 26-31, 47-54; Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 490-491, 494

¹⁴⁶ Cited in: Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 492

¹⁴⁷ “Ambt of bediening”, Cornelis Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 9

¹⁴⁸ Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 495-496

¹⁴⁹ Idem, 493-494; Trueman, *John Owen*, 57

believers. As much as the Spirit sanctified, helped and guided Jesus during his life, so much the Spirit works in believers. By raising this point, Owen creates a pneumatology that comes very close to the individual believer. The work of the Spirit in Jesus' life testifies to the promising future for the faithful. Owen points out that the Holy Spirit is as much dedicated to equip and sanctify believers as he did for Jesus. In doing so, Owen connects the Christological with the realms of soteriology and sanctification. "Every pneumatological aspect of Christology has its parallel in soteriology, in the work of the Spirit on the believer".¹⁵⁰

Soteriology had always been seen within the reformed tradition as the prime locus of the work of the Spirit. Therefore, Owen stayed classic in this aspect. Nevertheless, Beeke and Van der Zwaag have pointed to Owen's distinct pneumatological approach as compared to the Dutch reformed tradition. Whereas in soteriology the Dutch would rather speak from the perspective of the Father, who absolves sinners because of his Son, Owen's soteriological perspective is on the Spirit, who confirms atonement and applies scriptural promises in the heart of the faithful. The latter perspective would also concern a longer period, whereas the former was often seen as a special single experience.¹⁵¹ Owen carefully described the work of the Holy Spirit in every step of salvation. Regeneration he visually described as the "infusion of a new, real, spiritual principle into the soul and its faculties."¹⁵² At this point, the debate with the Arminians played a role in Owen's argument: concerning regeneration, he repeatedly emphasized the work of the Spirit over against the work of man.¹⁵³

2.4.1 Wilhelmus à Brakel and the turn to subjective pneumatology

Wisse and Meijer point to the fact that Owen did not provide a systematic pneumatology relating to the Holy Supper. It is merely absent. However, the authors point to an alternative, subjective pneumatology: *experiencing* the Holy Spirit before, during or after partaking at the Holy Supper. This alternative was provided by the Dutch Pietist author Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635-1711).¹⁵⁴ The case of Wilhelmus à Brakel represents the turn to subjectivity in the field of pneumatology. Brakel belonged to the Pietist tradition of the Further Reformation as it manifested itself in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Although speaking about the interplay between Spirit and soul was very close to the Puritan tradition,

¹⁵⁰ Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 497-498

¹⁵¹ K. van der Zwaag. *Afwachten of verwachten. De toe-eigening des heils in historisch en theologisch perspectief* (Heerenveen 2003) 462

¹⁵² Cited in: Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 502

¹⁵³ *Idem*, 501-503

¹⁵⁴ *Idem*, 78-79

Wisse and Meijer nevertheless say that Brakels subjective pneumatology “seems quite new in the history of Christian theology”.¹⁵⁵ Brakel is relevant to our study because his turn to the subjective recurs strongly in the following parts concerning Edwards and Zinzendorf. In their writings too, it can be seen that pneumatology had “changed into something like a personal presence of God the Holy Spirit in the soul.”¹⁵⁶ The turn to an explicit subjective pneumatology was something that was shared between Dutch Pietists and Anglo-Saxon evangelicals. The differences will be discussed in the following parts.

Owen’s pneumatological turn allowed others to continue at this track and to excogitate the consequences of Owen’s axioms in a subjective direction. The case of Brakel is an example of this. If the Holy Spirit was indeed responsible for completing and directing all outward operations of God, all interaction between God and man could be rewritten in a pneumatological sense. This is, at least, what Jonathan Edwards and Nicolaus Zinzendorf did.

2.5 Innovative pneumatology: Jonathan Edwards

In this passage, the innovative pneumatology of Jonathan Edwards concerns us for a number of reasons. First, Edwards’ theology was influential for reformed evangelicalism at large. His works reached a great audience both in America and in Britain.¹⁵⁷ Second, as Edwards’ pneumatology stood in the reformed theological tradition, he can be compared with John Calvin and John Owen. Third, because of Edwards’ theological influence, it can be expected that some of Edwards’ theological concerns are reflected in the writings of Brem and Krom. Cornelis Brem himself issued in Dutch Edwards’ book on the ultimate purpose of creation, and wrote in the preface that he had enjoyed reading other works of Edwards.¹⁵⁸

Besides elaborating on the theology of John Owen, Edwards had three reasons to choose a radical pneumatological scope. At first, he was confronted with the remarkable revivals of the 1730’s and 1740’s. If Edwards wanted to defend the Awakening as work of the Holy Spirit, the “swoonings away and falling to the Ground... bitter Shrieking and Screaming; Convulsion-like Trembling and Agitations, Strugglings and Tumbings”¹⁵⁹ of the newly converted had at least

¹⁵⁵ Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 513; Zwaag. *Afwachten of verwachten*, 421

¹⁵⁶ Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 514

¹⁵⁷ Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*, 170-174; D.A. Sweeney, ‘Evangelical tradition in America’, in: Stephen J. Stein (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Cambridge 2007) 217-219; D.W. Bebbington, ‘The reputation of Edwards abroad’, in: Stephen J. Stein (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Cambridge 2007) 239-241

¹⁵⁸ Jonathan Edwards, *Verhandeling over Gods laatste einde in de schepping der weereld (...) uitgegeven, met voorrede en aantekeningen, door Cornelis Brem* (Amsterdam 1788) 2r-2v

¹⁵⁹ Cited in: M.W. Amstrong, ‘Religious Enthusiasm and Separatism in Colonial New England’, *Harvard Theological Review* 38:2 (1945) 129

to be explained, put in context or if necessary excused for. After all, accusations of enthusiasm were soon made by the *Old Light* pastors who opposed the Awakening.¹⁶⁰ Second, Edwards had to provide pastoral care and counseling for those afflicted by intense faith experiences. He also urgently needed a rationale for himself to distinguish what events belonged to the work of the Holy Spirit and which did not. From Bebbington we know that Edwards' book *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* (1741) was a crucial text. With this book, Edwards created a guidebook to interpret Christian experience as work of the Spirit. In Edwards' theology assurance became seen as based on the new perception given by the Holy Spirit at the time of conversion it was no longer a matter of despair but of certainty.¹⁶¹ Edwards' third reason to choose a pneumatological scope was that it provided an alternative worldview over against the dominant enlightened philosophy of his time, featured by determinism and a Deist distant God image.¹⁶² Edwards brilliantly used the impressive events of the First Great Awakening as occasion for this alternative worldview. In Edwards view, history, present and eschatology were all pneumatologically defined. Time progresses on the rhythm of outpourings the Spirit. Within this worldview, mission and eschatology got a renewed place within an explicit pneumatological scope.¹⁶³ Thus presented, these topics regained actuality. They made that the scope of Jonathan Edwards' pneumatology surpass the pneumatology of John Owen.

The characteristics of Edwards' pneumatology have been studied comparatively with those of John Calvin by Van Vlastuin. It becomes possible to oversee the major changes that took place in pneumatology between the Reformation and Edwards' theology. Concerning Edwards, Van Vlastuin distinguishes five themes in which he locates the standard dogmatic fields and the specific pneumatological topics as described by Edwards. These are "the work of the Spirit" (soteriology), followed by "the outpouring of the Spirit" and "the fruit of the Spirit" (ecclesiology, sacramentology and missiology), the relation between man and the Spirit (anthropology), testing the Spirit (Scripture, God, creation, Christology) and, finally, the hope on the Spirit (eschatology, history).¹⁶⁴ As we see, the outpouring of the Spirit, missiology, anthropology, eschatology and history are mentioned by Van Vlastuin as specific topics elaborated on by Edwards within his pneumatological theology. These topics also determined

¹⁶⁰ Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning The Present Revival Of Religion In New England* (1743) 33, 35, 57, 84, 92-98. Consulted 9-8-2015, www.edwards.yale.edu, J. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith, Christianizing the American People* (Harvard University Press 1990) 185-186; Armstrong, 'Religious Enthusiasm', 128-132

¹⁶¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 47

¹⁶² Zakai, 'The age of Enlightenment', 82, 89

¹⁶³ Idem, 91; H.S. Stout, 'Edwards as revivalist', in: *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Cambridge 2007) 127

¹⁶⁴ Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 196, 233-234, 250, 269, 289, 312

Edwards' influence as theologian of the Great Awakening. Edwards would greatly inspire eighteenth-century evangelicals in Britain and Europe.¹⁶⁵ In the following part, a closer look is taken on innovations Edwards made in his theology.

Concerning regeneration, Edwards speaks with Owen about the 'infusion' of the Spirit rather than Calvin's 'illumination'. The choice of this word testifies of the immediate and perceptible character of the work of the Spirit in Edwards soteriology. If the Spirit works, it is immediate and final: the power of sin breaks and the sinner becomes a saint. The assurance of faith is not founded on Scripture, but on the testimony of the Spirit. Because the law does not belong essentially to salvation, spirituality is not defined by the dynamics of sin and grace, but by the glow of love and beauty and by the knowledge of God's majesty.¹⁶⁶ Overall, it can be said that where Calvin centered faith in his soteriology whereas Edwards emphasized the Holy Spirit and his indwelling.¹⁶⁷

A renewed outpouring of the Spirit, or a 'revival' was not in the scope of Calvin or both reformed Confessions. Edwards in contrast stated that God's grace becomes most concrete in times of revival. The work of the Spirit takes shape in this world. Spiritual blooming should leave a positive legacy in society, and should be recognized and identified as such. This contrasted with Calvin's view, who envisioned the Church as recognizable by a Christ-like humility and sojourning. Edwards is more optimistic than Calvin about the possibilities of spiritual growth. Revivals are God's method to realize his predestination. Where Calvin keeps Word and Spirit on the same level, Edwards emphasizes the sovereignty and transforming power of the Spirit.¹⁶⁸

In ecclesiology, Edwards' radical pneumatology leads him to define the Church by the spiritual quality of its members. Whereas Calvin uses the catholic image of the Church as mystical body of Christ, Edwards defines the Church as the fruit of the Spirit: a congregation of saints, who made a covenant with God. Whereas Calvin searched for the 'true' Church, Edwards reached for a 'pure' church. With regard to mission, Calvin took little action, whereas Edwards did. For Edwards, reacting to the call for mission belonged to the fruit of the Spirit. When mission was effective, was part of the same rhythm of the Spirit as revivals were.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 110-112; 'Nijkerk en Northampton' 63-69; Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism* 11-12, 192

¹⁶⁶ *Idem*, 196-207, 214, 217

¹⁶⁷ *Idem*, 217

¹⁶⁸ *Idem*, 231-239

¹⁶⁹ *Idem*, 248-240, 250-256

Concerning Edwards' anthropology, there is a paradox. He wanted to rule out every contribution of man in the work of salvation and credit the immediate work of the Spirit for everything. Because the proof of this lied in experience however, Edwards had to take much attention to the experience of man. This experiential orientation was also present in Brakel's subjective turn that we mentioned earlier. The difference is that Edwards is more optimistic about the spiritual heights that the Spirit will lead the faithful to. Compared with Calvin, Edwards is more open to human emotions. Affections are substantial for spiritual life. This, however, makes it necessary for Edwards to theorize about which experiences are from the Spirit, and which are not. As we saw, this is what he did in his *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*. The power of Edwards over the Dutch Further Reformation was that he structured the spiritual experience rationally, and placed it in a larger cohesive theological-anthropological structure.¹⁷⁰

In the doctrines of God, Christ and Scripture there are no important pneumatological differences between Edwards and Calvin. Unlike Owen, Edwards is not very specific in how the Holy Spirit worked in Christ. Concerning Scripture, Edwards emphasizes the rational character whereas Calvin would stress the contrariety of God's and man's judgement. In the doctrine of creation Edwards resembled John Owen innovative pneumatology in emphasizing that creation stood from its beginning in the context of Christ's work of redemption. In the concrete reality of creation it is the Holy Spirit who furthers its ultimate end: the glory of God.¹⁷¹ In the next chapter it appears that Cornelis Brem choose to issue in Dutch Edwards' book on the ultimate end of creation.

History and eschatology, finally, are topics where Edwards' innovative pneumatology is very prominent. Edwards is more positive about progress and development in theology than Calvin is. For Calvin, Christ is the centre of history. Salvation has *already* been acquired, which means that there is no progress in redemptive history as such. Edwards in contrast emphasized the majesty of the Kingdom of God, that would come but had *not yet* been realized. It should be expected. Calvin argued that faith waives the visible, whereas Edwards argued that the work of the Spirit can be traced in history. The coming millennium was an important issue for Edwards. Edwards' theology is distinctively progressive as it looks forward to the triumph of Christ and the outpourings of the Spirit that will accelerate that moment. The progress of redemptive history is more important to Edwards than the past facts of salvation. According to

¹⁷⁰ Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 267-273

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, 296-297

Van Vlastuin, this even means that in Edwards theology, pneumatology and eschatology take precedence over Christology.¹⁷²

Recapitulating it can be stated that in the theology of Jonathan Edwards the innovative pneumatology of John Owen was further extended. In the following chapter it will be investigated to what extent the writings of Brem and Krom contained a pneumatological concern that was similar to the scope of Jonathan Edwards. In order to complete our comparison however another innovator in pneumatology needs to be addressed first.

2.6 Innovative pneumatology: Count Nicolas Zinzendorf

Count Nicolas Zinzendorf solved the problem of the Spirit in a very peculiar way. He used “mother language” to worship the Holy Spirit and to characterize “her” operations. “Lord God, now we praise you, you worthy Holy Spirit! The church in unity honours you, the mother of Christendom. All the angels and the host of heaven and whoever serves the honour of the Son; also the cherubim and seraphim, sing with a clear voice: ‘Divine majesty, who proceeds from the Father, who praises the Son as the creator and points to his suffering.’ ... Daily O Mother! whoever knows you and the Saviour glorifies you because you bring the gospel to the world.”¹⁷³ These remarkable lines of the hymn *Te Matrem* were regularly sung in the Moravian communities in Europe and America in the decades around 1750.¹⁷⁴

This innovative pneumatology of Count Nicolas Zinzendorf matters for four reasons. First, it reflects a radical implementation of experience as decisive argument in theology, and this in a time and context that witnessed the rise of Deism and Unitarianism. Second, by writing hymns containing the mother-metaphor, Zinzendorf maximized the pneumatological potential of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In this Creed it was asserted that the Holy Spirit had to be worshiped, similar to and together with the Father and the Son. Third, the mother-metaphor reinforced pneumatological topics such as comfort and mission and gave them a more intimate character. Fourth, it helps to explain why Moravian spirituality was initially rejected by the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities. The last reason of relevance is that although the mother-language was abandoned, it would have a lasting influence on the Moravian spirituality. As we know, Krom was greatly inspired by the Moravians.

Zinzendorf developed his maternal pneumatology in his sermon between 1746-1747. Surely, he had his biblical places with which he legitimated his maternal vocabulary about the

¹⁷² Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 310-315

¹⁷³ Cited in: Atwood, ‘The Mother’, 886

¹⁷⁴ *Idem*, 887

Spirit. After all, had Jesus not said to Nicodemus that man needs to be born again by the Spirit? Not by from his mother's womb, but from the womb of God? Zinzendorf's fundamental argument for his 'mother language' was however experimental, and expressed in intimate terms, in which we recognise his Pietist roots. The ultimate legitimation to praise the Holy Spirit as mother was religious experience. It was felt by the faithful that the care of the Holy Spirit was a *motherly* care. Indeed, Zinzendorf radically completed the turn to the subjective in pneumatology, that we have seen developing also under Owen, Brakel (concerning the Holy Supper) and Edwards (concerning regeneration and the affections).¹⁷⁵

Interesting is that in an age of Deism and Unitarianism, Zinzendorf uses his maternal pneumatology to exemplify a Trinitarian understanding of God. Zinzendorf wants to clarify the concept of the Trinity by using the maternal language for the Spirit. The word 'Spirit' itself would fail to communicate the personhood of the Spirit. Although the Holy Spirit is no goddess in ontological sense, 'she' can be addressed as mother because of her *operations*. We see here that Zinzendorf uses essentially the same strategy as Owen. The unity of God is carefully upheld, yet on the basis of the distinct *subsistence* and *operations* it is possible to come to very distinct description of the Holy Spirit. The maternal care of the Spirit extended into three fields: she was the Mother of Jesus, the Mother of Creation, and the Mother of the Church. Striking is the intimacy between Jesus and the Spirit that Zinzendorf thus makes visual – we have seen that exactly this aspect lacked in the pneumatology of Edwards. Of course, the accusation of heresy loomed over Zinzendorf's innovative pneumatology. He therefore stressed that the family terms in which he envisioned the Trinity reflected their relation to the faithful: the Father is our Father, the Spirit our mother, and the Son our Saviour – and Bridegroom.¹⁷⁶ The missionary and oecumenical zeal for which the Moravians were renowned also rested in Zinzendorf's specific pneumatology. As mother of the Church, the Holy Spirit worked to gather her children from all over the earth into a single, universal community under her care.¹⁷⁷

During Zinzendorf's lifetime, the maternal language on the Spirit was present in hymns, in his Gemeinreden, and in the establishment of the Mother Festival or *Mutterfest*, a festival to celebrate the enthronement of the Holy Spirit. After Zinzendorf's death, however, the mother-metaphor became seen as possibly dangerous, and most of all: obstructive to the oecumenical ideals that the Moravians held dear. The desire to be recognised by other protestant denominations as orthodox and noncontroversial was stronger than the love for the explicit

¹⁷⁵ Atwood, 'The Mother', 894

¹⁷⁶ Idem, 889-893

¹⁷⁷ Idem, 896

maternal language. In 1764, the Synod decided to drop the mother-metaphor completely. What was not lost was the typical intimacy with which the Moravians spoke about the work of the Spirit. According to Atwood, the mother language helped the Moravian community “to increase its devotion, sense of community, and commitment to a worldwide mission”.¹⁷⁸ In the following chapter, it will be shown how Krom took over these concerns, and included them in a sermon, held in 1799 at a meeting of the *Dutch Missionaries Society*.

2.7 Résumé

In this chapter we learned how the problem of the Spirit occupied Protestant theologians from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Together with Calvin the Belgic and Westminster Confession were the standard of reformed pneumatology. The Confessions could not prevent spiritualists or enthusiasts from separating the Spirit from the Word or Unitarians from dispensing the Trinity altogether, denying the godhead of Christ and the operations of the Spirit. Ever again in early modern Protestantism, the relation of the Holy Spirit to Christ, God, the Church, the Scriptures, the sermon and the human spirit had to be clarified again. It forced Protestantism into a process of understanding the consequences of its own pneumatological axioms. In the reformed tradition, the explanation and the defense of the operations of the Holy Spirit resulted in innovative pneumatological theologies similar to those of Owen and Edwards. Zinzendorf’s pneumatology was innovative too, be it not systematically argued but based on the experience of the faithful. Zinzendorf’s very particular experiential pneumatology reflected a more general turn to the subjective during the eighteenth century. In the Dutch context this turn was reflected by the experiential pneumatology of Wilhelmus à Brakel.

¹⁷⁸ Atwood, 'The Mother', 909

Chapter Three **Innovative Pneumatology in Dutch Evangelicalism**

In this chapter an attempt is made to investigate the works of Brem and Krom in order to decide to what extent it was featured by innovative pneumatology. Investigating the works of Brem and Krom on their pneumatological ideas and consequences will make possible a better understanding of the cultural shift in which Eijnatten locates Dutch evangelicalism. This chapter is the capstone of this essay.

In 3.1 the works of Brem and Krom are briefly discussed with the purpose of reviewing the topics that they wrote about, the genres they used, and the debates that they engaged in. Section 3.2 argues that Brem and Krom wrote from an innovative pneumatological scope. Their evangelical pneumatology was characterized by the key concepts of love, experience, and sanctification. The pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom enabled them to speak about new topics, all directly related to the operations of the Holy Spirit. These topics include: creation, mission and outreach, outpouring of the Spirit, history and eschatology, and ecumenism. These topics are discussed in sections 3.4 to 3.7.

3.1 Brem and Krom: works and debates

A full chronological list of the writings of Cornelis Brem and the works he translated was provided by Van Ekeris.¹⁷⁹ Between 1771 and 1803 Brem wrote nine books and nine prefaces in books translated from English. From 1761 onward, Brem also translated six works. As discussed in Chapter one, Brem also issued three series of Evangelical Magazines. These were filled with various texts, most of which were not written by himself. Therefore, the magazines are not included in the argument of this chapter. However, it can be assumed, that the information Brem selected for publication in his magazines resembled the topics in his own books.

As member of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, the first text Brem translated was from pastor Hugh Kennedy in 1761.¹⁸⁰ In Chapter one we learned that Kennedy was, at that time, the only author who placed the Nijkerk Awakening of 1749 in a grand pneumatological perspective. It is likely that Brem and Kennedy discussed the Awakening and its interpretation together, and that Brem learned to appreciate British evangelicalism from Kennedy. The second text Brem translated was from the English Calvinist Baptist Anne Dutton (1692-1765).¹⁸¹ Brem translated

¹⁷⁹ Ekeris, 'Ter bevordering', 88-89

¹⁸⁰ H. Kennedy, *God Die den godloozen regtvaardigt* (Rotterdam 1761)

¹⁸¹ A. Dutton, *Gods genade verheerlijkt* (Leiden 1761)

or prefaced four works of John Owen. Brem also prefaced books by Thomas Boston (1676-1732)¹⁸², Thomas Scott (1747-1821)¹⁸³; an Anglican pastor who described the story of his own conversion; one book by Jonathan Edwards¹⁸⁴; and no less than five by John Newton (1725-1807), the former slave trader and the author of the hymn ‘Amazing Grace’.¹⁸⁵ Brem also reissued one work of the Dutch author J. van Lodensteyn (1620-1677), because he thought it matched the content of the book by Jonathan Edwards that he prefaced during the same year.¹⁸⁶

Although he was a professor in church history and exegetics, Hermanus Johannes Krom wrote about a broader range of topics than theology alone.¹⁸⁷ He was particularly interested in physics and astronomy, about which he wrote three books.¹⁸⁸ In addition, Krom wrote a proposal for the improvement of public education.¹⁸⁹ As a theologian interested in physics, he wrote lectures on Genesis, concerning creation, laws of nature and the age of the world.¹⁹⁰

The religious writings of Brem and Krom can roughly be divided into three genres: systematic-theological, practical-pious, and apologetic. However, these genres overlap because polemical remarks are also found in the former two. In this chapter the works of Brem and Krom are therefore not quoted or referred to because of their genre, but as far as they clarify the subject that is treated. As mentioned in chapter one, the genre of apologetic works reflected the formation of the polite public sphere. They embodied the anxiety of orthodox authors about losing ground to heterodox ideas. However, apologetic works often contained new ideas and proposals as well.¹⁹¹ This was, indeed, the case for the apologetic works of Brem and Krom. As the Dutch society became more ideologically diverse from the 1770’s onward, Brem and Krom tried to formulate a reformed middle ground that provided new perspectives but remained faithful to its origins.¹⁹² In demarcating their own position, Brem and Krom found inspiration in Anglo-Saxon puritan and evangelical authors (Brem), and in the piety of the Moravians (Krom).

¹⁸² T. Boston, *De gemeenschap der heiligen* (Leiden 1775)

¹⁸³ T. Scott, *De kracht der Waarheid* (Amsterdam 1786)

¹⁸⁴ J. Edwards, *Verhandeling* (Amsterdam, 1788)

¹⁸⁵ On John Newton’s moderate evangelical Calvinism: D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids 2001) 159-168

¹⁸⁶ J. van Lodensteijn, *Geestlijke gedachten*, iii-v

¹⁸⁷ For a full bibliography of H.J. Krom, see: Quak, ‘Krom’, 229 and N.N., ‘Krom’, in: Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, 398

¹⁸⁸ Krom, *Kort ontwerp* (Middelburg 1791), *Betoog* (Middelburg 1793), *Waarde der horoscoopkunst* (Middelburg 1795)

¹⁸⁹ Krom, *Verhandeling* (Middelburg 1781)

¹⁹⁰ Krom, *Godgeleerde uitlegkunde* (1796)

¹⁹¹ Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 318-319, 324-326

¹⁹² Bosma, *Woorden*, 389-390

Brem and Krom wrote in reaction to five fronts. First, like Jonathan Edwards, they had to relate to classic orthodoxy and ward off any suggestions or accusations of enthusiasm. Second, Brem and Krom rejected the tendency of contemporaries to embrace a ‘natural’ religion or the theologies of the German New Reformers. It prompted them to advocate an ‘evangelical’ religion instead. The adjective ‘evangelical’ became a means to differentiate - much like Luther had used ‘evangelical’ to preach to dissociation from ‘Roman’ teaching.¹⁹³ At the radical end of natural religionists were foreign Deists, like Thomas Paine (1737-1809). Krom wrote in reaction to Paine. Third, Brem engaged in a discussion with the novelist Rhijnvis Feith. At stake was the preparatory work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. Fourth, Krom wrote in defense of missionary Van der Kemp. This will not concern us here but is mentioned hereafter in 3.4. Five, Brem and Krom also engaged in a discussion with the debate caused by the alternative theology of J.J. le Sage ten Broek (1742-1823). This debate is not of direct importance for us.¹⁹⁴

3.1.1 Enthusiasm

Brem and Krom initially had to relate to the concept of ‘enthusiasm’. Enthusiasm relates to the fourth and fifth problem of the Spirit and its relation to the Word and to the human spirit, as formulated by George S. Hendry. These topics are present in Brem and Krom’s discussion about enthusiasm. They were not accused of enthusiasm. However, the Hernhutters in the Netherlands had previously been accused of this. After the itinerary of Zinzendorf in the Netherlands in 1736, the Amsterdam consistory had published the tract ‘*Plain enthusiasm of the Hernhutters discovered*’, which sealed the fate of the Moravian brethren for several decades as meetings were forbidden.¹⁹⁵ It was professor Krom who provided a public and authorized rehabilitation of Moravian piety in 1793. In his preface of the translated work *Ratio disciplinae Unitas fratrum* by J. Loretz, Krom wrote that the Moravian teaching “is very pure in the essential chapters of the Christian religion (..) such as: the great mystery of the venerated Trinity, the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, and of the H. Spirit.”¹⁹⁶ Since Krom was inspired by the Moravian piety and their zeal for mission, he wanted to state that the Moravians “seek to evince that for them, true godliness does not consist of words, but of ability,

¹⁹³ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 1

¹⁹⁴ On the controversy caused by Sage ten Broek, see: M. van Rhijn, ‘Ds. J.L. Verster en zijn vrienden (1745-1814)’, *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 30 (1938) 129-131

¹⁹⁵ Gerardus Kulenkamp, *Naakt ontdekte enthousiasme der Hernhutters* (Amsterdam 1739), referred to by H.J. Krom, *Grondschets van de inrichtingen der Evangelische Broeder-Gemeenten*. (Dordrecht 1793) lxi. On the rejection of the Hernhutters and the polemics around 1739: Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 54-55; Exalto en Karels, *Waakzame wachters*. 39-60

¹⁹⁶ Krom *Grondschets*, xix

not of plain outward appearance, or some unreasonable agitations - like some have sometimes made the Brother-Church appear as a bunch of Quakers, Tremblers, or rotten Mystics - but in doing, in practicing.”¹⁹⁷ It had partly been the eccentric Mother-language about the Holy Spirit (and the blood-and-wounds lyricism about Christ) formulated by Zinzendorf that had raised suspicions in the Reformed Church.¹⁹⁸ Since it was Krom’s purpose to get the Hernhutters accepted, he did not mention the maternal pneumatology explicitly, but only referred to “expressions in the teaching, especially concerning the important doctrine of the H. Trinity”, that had now been abandoned.¹⁹⁹ The Hernhutters had even altered their hymnal. Krom compared this revision with the introduction of the new reformed psalmody of 1773 and so normalized the case. Had the old Datheen psalmody not also been a source of misunderstanding, once the lines were literally read? No, in their current state, the Hernhutters gave far less reason to speak of enthusiasm than some of the reformed pious, who in their fanaticism caused sensible naturalists to take offense to the church.²⁰⁰ The Dutch translation of *Ratio disciplinae* with Krom’s preface was officially approbated by the Synod of Zeeland, which made the book a significant step in the acceptance of Moravian piety and teaching in the Netherlands.²⁰¹ Like Krom, Brem also distanced himself from enthusiasm. He wrote about false spiritual life as “some fanatic raptures, conceived by superstition and affected brains, that like waterless clouds does not contain the dew or rain of true grace of the Spirit”²⁰² and, like Luther once did also, even described it as “deception by Satan”.²⁰³ In contrast, Brem asserted that real spiritual life brought concrete enjoyments. In *De Beginzelen*, he described four enjoyments: community with the Trinitarian God, the fullness of God in the heart, happiness and peace in mind, and the pledge of assurance by the Holy Spirit.²⁰⁴ From chapter one we know the important role of the pledge of assurance within evangelicalism. How in Brem’s thought assurance followed out of experience and sanctification referred to later in this chapter.

3.1.2 Natural religion

Another concern that is reflected in the work of Brem and Krom is *natural religion* and *moral philosophy*. For the Reformed Church during the later decades of the century, natural religion

¹⁹⁷ Krom *Grondschets*, xix-xx

¹⁹⁸ Akker, ‘Nieuwlichterij’ 29; Exalto en Karels, *Waakzame wachters*, 215-219

¹⁹⁹ Krom *Grondschets*, lxxviii

²⁰⁰ Idem., lxvii-lxix, lxxvi, lxxiv-lxxx

²⁰¹ Quak, ‘Krom’, 229

²⁰² Cornelis Brem, *De Beginzelen en Wys van Beoefening van den Euangelischen Godsdienst, Briefsgewyze voorgedragen aan een Vriend* (Rotterdam 1799) 52

²⁰³ Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 124

²⁰⁴ Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 52

was a bigger concern than enthusiasm, because it ranked revelation by nature above revelation by Scripture. Not all theologians tried to harmonize Scripture with science, as Krom did in his books on astrology and physics.²⁰⁵ The upcoming phenomenon of natural religion brought up Hendry's fourth pneumatological problem – the relationship between Spirit and Word – in the midst of actuality. Brem and Krom's works reflect the concern for the integrity of the Gospel. Krom used the upcoming trend of naturalism in his defense of the good character of the Moravians. After all, Moravians had “not bent their knees for the Baal of our times: which is the so called new reform or refined *naturalism*; what they [the naturalists] would gladly introduce as replacement for the pure teaching of divine revelation.”²⁰⁶ Brem was concerned because naturalism only referred to Jesus as a moral example and tended to keep silent on the Holy Spirit and his operations. “Anyone having the slightest love for Christ and his Gospel is annoyed and saddened when he sees how many moral writings are peddled daily under the mark of Christian moral philosophy, in and outside our fatherland, promoted and sold by the publishers of periodic journals. Apart from our godly Redeemer being mentioned therein now and then, however sparingly, as excellent teacher and example of morality, and the H. Spirit is not being mentioned at all, or only as general divine help or influence; we say, these [writings] are just as strange and distant to the Gospel's true content, as are the moral writings of Socrates, Plato or Seneca different to the Holy Scripture.”²⁰⁷ Brem referred to the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* or *Society for Public Welfare* as a place where Jesus was not referred to as guarantor and mediator.²⁰⁸ Brem explicitly contrasted ‘natural’ religion with the ‘most sacred’ religion.²⁰⁹ Apparently, Brem observed a difference between the two religions that could be indicated by distinctive adjectives. ‘Evangelical’ would become the most used adjective, whereas John Newton and his contemporaries often used ‘gospel’ as a designation of a healthy type of Christianity.²¹⁰

The appetite for natural religion that was found among the members of the *Maatschappij* was nothing compared by the Thomas Paine's strong Deist language in *The Age of Reason* (1794-1795). Paine attacked classical pneumatology by explicitly rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity and questioning the possibility of divine inspiration of the biblical texts. Paine ridiculed

²⁰⁵ Quak, ‘Krom’, 230

²⁰⁶ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 115

²⁰⁷ Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 14, Also: Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 117

²⁰⁸ Cornelis Brem, *Ernstige en opwekkende aanprijzing ter oprichting van een genoodschap, ter opstelling en uitdeling van kleine geschriften, tot bevordering van den waren evangelischen godsdienst onder den gemenen man.* (Rotterdam 1800) 10

²⁰⁹ Brem, *De Beginzelen* 2. Also: *Kort Vertoog*, viii-x; Akker, ‘Nieuwlichterij’, 32, 35-36

²¹⁰ ‘Gospel clergy’, ‘Gospel sermons’ etc.: Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 1

and quoted an appendix to the Nicene Council, which stated that after prayer by the Church Fathers, the Holy Spirit threw the Apocrypha down from an altar on which all bible books had been laid. By doubting the integrity of the Nicene Council and suggesting that the canonical works were corrupted, Paine had made the pneumatological quality of the Scriptures a point of controversy again.²¹¹

In reaction to Paine, Krom wrote the preface of the book *Three Letters to Lucia*. In these 'letters' Lucia is reassured after she had been confused by reading Paine. The actual author of *Three Letters* is unknown – we only know that Krom and the author had a “close relation”, and that the author refers to Krom’s book on physics and astrology.²¹² A review of the literary journal *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* suggested that the author might be the son of Krom (Johannes Hermanus), who was a pastor in Loenen aan de Vecht.²¹³ Krom’s preface is rather short. In the letters itself, the author defends the Trinity against Paine’s accusation of polytheism. This is not done convincingly however, which is also noted by the reviewer. The author even acknowledges that “as you know, the word Trinity itself is actually not biblical; that three is one and one is three as Paine makes it appear, such an arithmetic system is not known to the Bible. The text 1 John 5:7 is regarded false by many Christians”²¹⁴ Certainly, in this book Deism was not refuted with a focus on the operations of the Holy Spirit. The author leaves Lucia with a rather poor defense of the Trinity and its biblical base. “The Bible speaks of a H. Spirit of the Father and Son, for whom *I* cannot deny divine knowledge and power.”²¹⁵ “I always adhere to biblical terms, and I reassure myself with this biblical teaching: *no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son; the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God*. We don’t know, how it actually is: -- at least, I don’t.”²¹⁶ Clearly, the author of *Three Letters* lacked the pneumatological scope that professor Krom himself exemplified when he wrote about mission, or eschatology, such as in his sermon *Groote Belofte*. It proved difficult for the anonymous author to convince Unitarians on rational grounds of a religious doctrine.

This is probably why in 1786 Brem issued and prefaced Thomas Scott’s *The Force of Truth* (1779), a bestseller among evangelicals in England. It proved that Unitarians could be re-

²¹¹ H.J. Krom, *Drie brieven aan Lucia, over de Eeuw der Rede van Thomas Paine* (Middelburg 1798) 45, 48-49

²¹² *Idem*, 2, 31

²¹³ ‘Drie Brieven aan Lucia’, *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (Amsterdam 1799). Consulted 28-7-2015: www.dbnl.org/tekst/_vad003179901_01/_vad003179901_01_0100.php

²¹⁴ Krom, *Drie brieven*, 14-15, 1 John 5:7: “*For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.*” Consulted 28-7-2015: www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1-John-Chapter-5/

²¹⁵ Krom, *Drie brieven*, 15

²¹⁶ *Idem*, 17

converted to classic doctrines. Thomas Scott, “who since his youth had been contaminated with the detestable and God-dishonouring heresy of the Socinians”²¹⁷ and who had been “an opponent of the true and constitutional godhead of our only Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ”²¹⁸, now confirmed the holy doctrine of the Reformed Church with his conversion and testimonial. Among British evangelicals, “experience counted for much”. Life is not a story about “ ‘books-I-have-read, but of how ‘providence and grace’ concur”.²¹⁹ Indeed, the conversion of Scott was seen by himself, and Brem as example of ‘the force of truth’.²²⁰

3.1.3 The pneumatological origin of conversion

The third debate with a pneumatological scope to be mentioned here was between Brem and the early romantic novelist and poet Rhijnvis Feith.²²¹ In 1785, Feith had published his *Diary of my Good Works, Charged by God, at the Day of General Reprisal*. In this book the sensible and often depressed Feith wrestled with Calvinist doctrines as election and reprobation. In Brem’s representation, Feith argued for an non-complicated and unlimited offer of salvation for all that could be accepted easily on basis of own responsibility and rationality. According to Feith, the gospel shouldn’t be preached to those who worry about their salvation – these people already have been saved. The gospel only needed to be preached to the indifferent and major sinners. It is important to note here that the issue of assurance emerges again. Feith wants to get rid of the problem of assurance by simply denying the need to be troubled with this. This goes to way too fast for Brem, who recognizes the influence of Pelagius and Leibnitz in Feith’s ideas. Feith may acknowledge reformed doctrines as the spiritual death of man and the need of enlightenment by the Holy Spirit, he did not, according to Brem, accept the *pneumatological quality and origin of life-giving faith*.²²² As Feith’s book seemed to neglect the work of the Spirit in soteriology, the scope of Brem’s reaction was strongly pneumatological in reaction. The spiritual character of rebirth and the importance of the subjective experience therein were at stake. To make differences clear, Brem staged a fictional conversation between ‘diarist’ and ‘friend’, the characters of Feith’s book, and ‘dr. Owen’, and ‘writer’, the latter representing Brem himself. The choice for John Owen was not arbitrary of course, as Brem needed a

²¹⁷ Brem, *De kracht*, 15

²¹⁸ Idem, 17

²¹⁹ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 51

²²⁰ Brem, *De kracht*, 14-17

²²¹ On Rhijnvis Feith, see: J.J. Kloek, ‘Rhijnvis Feith, het belang en de gevoelige lezer. Een receptie-esthetische problematiek avant la lettre’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 97 (1981) 120-145. Consulted online 29-7-2015: www.dbnl.org/tekst/kloe003rhij01_01/kloe003rhij01_01_0001.php?q=

²²² Brem, *De eer en leer*, 41-43, 53-54, 81-84, 107

powerful and authoritative character to voice a full pneumatological perspective on conversion and the practice of faith. Thus dr. Owen says: “When I preach the Gospel, I see it as an ethical means, only effective in the hands of God the Holy Spirit; and I carefully observe whether my hearers, as fruit of ministry, seem to experience something of His operations of grace. And if, to my happiness, I believe to detect this, I am anxiously concerned not to walk ahead of the Spirit. (..) I now seek to follow the Spirit by prayer, in order to carefully observe how He works, and by which truths He holds the minds of people.”²²³ Surely, the piety that Brem stages here clearly resembles the experiential and non-systematical piety of the Further Reformation, as represented by Jodocus van Lodensteyn and Wilhelmus à Brakel.²²⁴ As mentioned in chapter two, Brakel too advised the faithful not to walk ahead of the Spirit. Brem also gives a lengthy quote of Van Lodensteyn on the importance of the Holy Spirit and spiritual life. A wrong conception of salvation causes a retreat of the Holy Spirit and his operations. Nature will replace it, and the Church will change for the worse, leaving her members unspiritual and formalistic.²²⁵ Brem, indeed, was firmly rooted in the Dutch Further Reformation. This not prevented him, however, to enrich his thought with Anglo-Saxon evangelical authors in order to deal in a more adequate way with the pressing questions of his day. Krom in particular was open to foreign ideas, as evidenced by his admiration for the Moravians. Inspired by both classical and innovative theology and new practices of Christianity, Brem and Krom developed a distinct pneumatological scope that permeated their works. It was based on the key values of love, experience and sanctification. This will concern us in the next passage.

3.2 An evangelical pneumatological scope

As we have seen in chapter two, a pneumatological scope in theology means that classical topics are primarily viewed from the perspective of the distinct *subsistence* and *operations* of the Holy Spirit. Alternatively, one could take a Father-perspective (as judge, creator, or just Father), or Son-perspective (as redeemer, as King, as intercessor, or risen Lord). Both Owen, Edwards and Zinzendorf used a pneumatological scope. The transition to pneumatology was also constitutive of Brem and Krom’s thought. This transition was prompted, as we have seen, by the rise of natural religion, the ever looming accusation of enthusiasm, and inner-reformed debates. What are the reasons to call this transition innovative? After all, Owen, Edwards and Zinzendorf wrote their works much earlier. Two reasons concern us here. First, the comprehensive

²²³ Brem, *De eer en leer*, 63-64

²²⁴ On Brem and Sage ten Broek: Ekeris, ‘Ter bevordering’, 66-68, 76, 79

²²⁵ Brem, *De eer en leer*, 103

pneumatological scope was new in Dutch reformed theology. It followed Anglo-Saxon evangelicalism, as it became clear through Brem's translations of Edwards, Newton, and the repeated references to Whitefield in his 'Evangelical' Magazines and books.²²⁶ These authors had not been previously introduced to Dutch readers. Certainly, Brem and to a lesser degree Krom related to the native Dutch Pietist tradition.²²⁷ However, Brem and Krom's thought was featured by optimism and a belief in progress that was not found in the Further Reformation. One can say that, within the pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom, three fundamental concepts dominated: love, experience, and sanctification. Second, the results of Brem and Krom's pneumatological scope were new to the Netherlands. New horizons were opened as it became possible to practice and speak about mission and outreach, the outpouring of the Spirit, ecumenism, creation, and progress in history and eschatology. It was not coincidental that both Brem and Krom were initiators of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*. All of the themes described came together in the ideas and motives of this society, as was also the case with the *London Missionary Society*, after which the NZG was modelled.²²⁸

3.2.1 Love

The choice for a pneumatological scope and the motive of love are both most explicit in Brem's book *Brief Discourse on the Special Love of God the H. Spirit in the work of Salvation* (1798).²²⁹ In the flyleaf of this book, Brem quoted the dissertation of the young Dutch divine J. Clarisse (1770-1846).²³⁰ In 1795, the year the Batavian Republic was founded and French troops occupied Utrecht, Clarisse received his doctorate in the same city for a dissertation on the Holy Spirit. Clarisse defended the personhood of the Holy Spirit.²³¹ In 1799, Clarisse became involved with the NZG and eventually he became one of the directors. In 1814, he would be one of the founders of the *Rotterdam Bible Society*, the precursor to the *Dutch Bible Society*.²³² By quoting Clarisse, Brem expressed his delight with the dissertation, and the inspiration he drew from it. Three years later, Brem published his own book on the special love of the Holy Spirit. The connection between Brem and Clarisse is significant, because Clarisse seems to be

²²⁶ Brem, 'Voorrede', in: T. Scott, *De kracht*, 14

²²⁷ Akker, 'Nieuwlichterij', 32, 35-36

²²⁸ Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 34-35, 53-58, 158-162, 184-185

²²⁹ Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, (Rotterdam 1798)

²³⁰ Corrective to the remark of Van den Akker, who stated that Brem did not quote Clarisse, at least not in his Magazines. Cf. Akker, 'Nieuwlichterij', 33

²³¹ Brem, *Kort Vertoog* ii, J. Clarisse, *Verhandeling over den Heiligen Geest* (Utrecht 1795) 3, J. Vree, 'Clarisse, Johannes', in: D. Nauta e.a. (red.) *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme, deel 5* (Kampen 2001) 112

²³² F.A. van Lieburg, *De wereld in: het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap 1814-2014* (Amsterdam 2014) 42-43, Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 108

another example of how theological interest in the distinctive subsistence and operations of the Holy Spirit preceded concrete, innovative steps related to outreach and mission, such as the foundation of the bible society in 1814.

Because God is love, Brem observes in his own book that much has been written about the love of the Father and the Son. Much less though, has been written about the particular love of the Spirit. Thus, Brem set himself the task to do this. He began by cautiously arguing that John Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism fall short in acknowledging the special love of the personhood of the Holy Spirit. Brem's point of departure is St. Paul's plea "I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, *and for the love of the Spirit*, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me."²³³ Calvin, and others, explained this love as the love to God that the Holy Spirit generates (objectively) within man. Brem argued that was not what Paul actually meant. The Holy Spirit not only generates love, the Holy Spirit himself *is* love (subjectively). His *character* (subsistence) is love, and therefore love is the source of his *operations*. Similar to John Owen, Brem used the distinction between 'subsistence' and 'operations' to describe the Holy Spirit. With this purpose, Brem also drew a parallel to human psychology; the character and behaviour of man usually correspond, as do the character and the operations of the Holy Spirit.²³⁴ Brem also observed, respectfully, that the character of love of the Holy Spirit is not mentioned at all in the relevant but also "short" passage of the Heidelberg Catechism (Sunday 20, Q&A 53).²³⁵ Since Brem was a lay theologian, he offered only a suggestive remark. The question, whether the divine love of the Holy Spirit "is sufficiently noticed by all our exegetes, that I gladly leave to the decisive judgment of experts."²³⁶ It is clear, however, that Brem's personal answer would be 'no'. The rediscovery of love as a constitutive part of the character of the Holy Spirit is the first feature of the innovative pneumatology of Brem. The motive of love contributed to giving the personhood of the Holy Spirit the deeper relief it needed in times of a devaluation of the scriptures and the rise of natural religion and moral philosophy. The new scope was accepted ecclesiastically because his book received official approbation by the deans of the theological faculty in Leiden.²³⁷

Brem's *Brief Discourse* described the 'special love of the Spirit in the work of salvation.' This choice may not seem innovatory, as reformed soteriology had always featured the work of the Holy Spirit. However, the innovating aspect of this book is that Brem starts

²³³ Romans 15:30, KJB, Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 2-3

²³⁴ Idem, iii-v, 2-4

²³⁵ Idem, 5

²³⁶ Idem, 6

²³⁷ Idem, 2

with the love of the Spirit as a central focal point. His essay is not an answer to the following questions: ‘How can I be sure of my salvation?’ or ‘How do I know my experiences are from the Spirit?’ Rather, his essay answers the question: ‘Why is the Holy Spirit to be praised?’ This approach gives the book an optimistic tone. The praise of the Holy Spirit was, as we have seen, an important angle for Zinzendorf.

The optimistic tone of Brem also related his emphasis on the firmness of God’s promises. This created space to speak about sanctification and receive assurance out from that, instead of worrying about one’s ‘state’. These things are of concern to us further in this paper. First we investigate ‘experience’, the second key concept that featured the pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom.

3.2.2 Experience

Important to the work of Brem, is that operations of the Holy Spirit are *experienced* by the faithful. The love of the Holy Spirit is felt through the application of salvation and in the fruits of the Spirit. All fruits of the Spirit can be subjectively experienced. Spiritual enlightenment, the indwelling of the Spirit, spiritual strength, sanctification, and “evangelical comforts”, they all take place within the mind and soul of the believer. This experience generates a degree of reciprocity, allowing for affections and a degree of intimacy from the side of the believer.²³⁸ It truly concerns the language of the heart: the *Cardiphonia*, as Brem referred to the title of the book of John Newton that he prefaced.²³⁹ The intimacy of the indwelling of the Spirit, and the distinctive character of a spiritual life (over a ‘carnal’ one) become clear when Brem describes the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, which means “that He (..) inculcates and presses in our souls those hidden and spiritual things, who are included in his revelation and have their purpose in the spiritual and Heavenly Kingdom (..), in such a way as if they had an existence and presence in our heart; filling our thoughts and attaching our affections to them. And herein lies the big difference between man and man, whether he is spiritual or carnal.”²⁴⁰ Brem also elaborated on the comforting work of the Holy Spirit and how this is experienced by the faithful. This is illustrated with a quote from Job, who asked God for an explanation in his trials: “show me wherefore thou contendest with me.”²⁴¹ This quote testifies to how faithful experiences can also be painful.

²³⁸ Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 35, 88, 93, 108, 114, *De Beginzelen*, 23-24

²³⁹ Brem, ‘Voorrede’, in: Newton, *Cardiphonia*, 29

²⁴⁰ Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 88

²⁴¹ Job 10:2, KJV. Quoted in: Brem, *Kort Vertoog*, 138

During the second half of the eighteenth century, public appreciation of authentic experiences of faith matched the appreciation for authenticity in public debate. Van Eijnatten described the cultural shift from the 1760s onward towards a polite public sphere. Persuasiveness and authenticity became more important than referring to doctrinal truths. Experiential yet reasonable narratives and personal testimonials fit into this public sphere. In England this process had started decades earlier. In response to John Newton's autobiography *Authentic Narrative* (1764), Hindmarsh pointed to the cultural significance of the title's words. Originally, these words were used for profane sensational tracts only. During the eighteenth century they became used for titles of religious literature. Word clusters combining "authentic, genuine, faithful" with "sensational, remarkable, disputed" functioned to emphasize the authenticity and veracity of the spiritual content.²⁴² Cornelis Brem issued and prefaced Newton's autobiography in 1767, and used similar attractive words for the Dutch title.²⁴³ Hindmarsh' observation is an example of how religious and cultural trends often proceed together; in this case focused on underscoring the truthfulness of a testimonial. Brem would issue and translate two other English evangelical autobiographies, now inventing lengthy titles himself, stressing the "remarkable" but godly origin of the narrative.²⁴⁴

Surely, the experiential aspect of the pneumatology of Brem and the repeated use of the adjective 'spiritual' was indebted to Pietist Protestantism, and the Dutch Further Reformation in particular. In Chapter one we saw how experience, intimacy and authenticity featured the spirituality of the Pietists. In Chapter two, we referred to Wisse and Meijer who described the repeated use of the adjective 'spiritual' as a pneumatological innovation of the Belgic Confession. In addition, we discussed the Further Reformation authors Brakel and Lodensteyn, who wrote about the subjective side of faith and about the importance of tracing the operations of the Spirit carefully. Indeed, the affinity of Brem with the Further Reformation has been noticed by others.²⁴⁵

However, to align Cornelis Brem fully with the spirituality of the Further Reformation would be to overlook the Anglo-Saxon positive tone that flavours his work. Brem emphasizes

²⁴² Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 34-35

²⁴³ J. Newton, *Gods genade* (Amsterdam, 1767, 1784)

²⁴⁴ N.N., *Merkwaardig bericht, van de bekeering den godvrugtigen wandel en het zalig uiteinde van twee beroemde leeraers in de hoofdkerk van Engeland, onlangs overleden. Met eene voorafgaande leerrede over 1 Thess. 2 : 8 bij het overlijden van den eersten etc. (door J. Newton)*. (Rotterdam 1798), Alexander Stewart, *Zegepraal der godlijke genade, in de bekeering van Alexander Stewart, predikant te Moulin in de Hooglanden van Schotland, nevens een verhaal van de merkwaardige bekering van veele leden zijner gemeente, sedert, en door middel van, zijne veranderde predikwijze, als de vrucht en het gevolg zijner zalige gemoedsverandering* (Rotterdam 1801)

²⁴⁵ Akker, 'Nieuwlichterij', 32, 3; Ekeris, 'Ter bevordering', 76-77

the ‘enjoyments’ of the Spiritual life, rather than the ‘struggle’.²⁴⁶ This resembles the positive focus on enjoyment that was present (to a greater degree) by Jonathan Edwards. As referred to in chapter two, Edwards’ spirituality was featured by the glow of love and beauty rather than distress.²⁴⁷ Brem acknowledged the existence of “meaningful lamentations and tears of the saints. (..) [These are] things, surely, that open a wide and spacious field of spiritual inquiry, for those who take a firm interest in the knowledge of the spiritual life.”²⁴⁸ However, Brem did not want to linger on this topic, and therefore moved on to his next passage: “however, while they choose to walk thereon, we will continue our path, and advance in consideration. *The enjoyments of the spiritual life.*”²⁴⁹

Brem emphasized that the enjoyments of the spiritual life should not be kept to oneself, but should be shared with others. For this reason, Brem argued for the foundation of a society that would write and disseminate “short writings, for the promotion of the true evangelical faith among the common man”.²⁵⁰ In London, such an evangelical society already existed. Brem regarded spiritual edifying as an important gift of Holy Spirit, which was to be encouraged among lay believers.²⁵¹ By sharing the Gospel, the operations of the Holy Spirit could be extended to the hearts of others and to the real world. This was one of the main points made by Krom as well. The love of the Spirit is not only internally traceable. It is Gods promise that it will become visible in the real world as well, through the outpouring of the Spirit, mission, and outreach.²⁵²

The experiential and reciprocal character of the ‘true’ spiritual life of man is shown concisely in the following citation from Brem’s *De Beginzelen*. “This way he also practices his faith: according and reciprocal to revelation as her only model. Which means: he starts with faith in dependence on the grace of the Holy Spirit. And through this faith, he dedicates himself and his offering to Jesus Christ, as his sole High-Priest (..), he has access to God (..). Yes, the same faith offers strong testimony to him, when he, having the fruits of the Spirit, decides to the having of the Spirit. And out of having the Spirit, he [decides] to partake in Christ, and from that to the communion with God. Meanwhile, the Spirit seals this, and learns him to call with confidence: Abba Father!”²⁵³ This citation connects the pneumatological origin of faith with

²⁴⁶ As done by Van Ekeris: Ekeris, ‘Ter bevordering’, 76

²⁴⁷ Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 217

²⁴⁸ Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 51-52

²⁴⁹ Idem, 52

²⁵⁰ Brem, *Ernstige en opwekkende aanprijzing*, 3-11

²⁵¹ Brem, ‘Voorrede’, in: Newton, *Cardiphonia*, 1-5, 23-26

²⁵² Krom, *Groote Belofte* 9-25, Brem, ‘Voorrede’, in: Newton, *Cardiphonia* 12-13, 23-26; Ekeris, “Ter bevordering van kennis”, 75

²⁵³ Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 23-24

the sanctification and the assurance that follows from it. This, too, is the topic of Brem and Krom's key concept.

3.2.3 Sanctification

The third important concept in Brem and Krom's pneumatology was 'sanctification'. Both Van Ekeris and Van den Akker point to the importance of sanctification for Cornelis Brem. They correctly view it within the context of the Further Reformation, which held the "sanctification of all areas of life" as a central aim.²⁵⁴ Truly, this context should be considered when reading Brem and Krom. When the issue of sanctification is viewed as part of the integral pneumatological scope of by Brem and Krom, the cohesion of the problems that they dealt with becomes more clear. A holy walk of life was a major argument in Krom's defense of the Moravians. However, he used this observation to raise other issues that related to his pneumatological scope, such as mission, ecumenism, the progress of the Holy Spirit through history and future, and the coming Kingdom.²⁵⁵ As such, the exemplary walk of life of the Moravians functioned as a key that opened new ideals for Protestant Christianity. Krom regarded them as examples for the Dutch church and called them "other Apostles: for them, the command of Jesus given to the first youngsters is their calling and guidance (..). Above all we must admire their plain style of teaching and the wisdom granted to them in many cases. Their education is simple and clear (..) they preach a pure Gospel, like preached among us, and this without bookish learnedness, without any artificial verbosity (..). They leave differences among Christians untouched (..). Only the Bible shapes the language of their teaching; particularly, with an eye on Jesus and his Spirit, they seek their teaching to be scriptural teaching in the most actual sense."²⁵⁶ Note also, how skillfully Krom outlined his criticism of bookishness, verbosity, and partisanship within the Dutch church, without being disloyal or impolite.

Cornelis Brem also brought up the issue of sanctification within the debates he engaged in. The cultural attention to duties and virtues during the late eighteenth century prompted evangelical authors like Brem to pose 'true' morality (*ware zedekunde*) as opposite to 'natural' morality. Brem radically emphasized that true morality was based in sanctification as the fruit of the Spirit: "No other moral teaching is approved by God, than having her principle in the spiritual life, given by God to his elect by their spiritual renewal, which is continued and

²⁵⁴ Ekeris, 'Ter bevordering', 76; Akker, 'Nieuwlichterij', 31

²⁵⁵ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 2-17, 32, 53, 55, 91, 115; *Grondscheets*, 9, 19, 21

²⁵⁶ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 56

practiced in the evangelical sanctification, as work and fruit of the Holy Spirit, in the communion of faith with Jesus Christ as great High Priest, teacher and King of his Church.”²⁵⁷

According to Brem, assurance of faith itself is not a fruit of the Spirit, but something that can be concluded from the fruits, out of a holy walk of life.²⁵⁸ For Brem, therefore, taking the sanctification of life seriously was important. In this way one would be fully ‘assured’ by the Holy Spirit about one’s election. As we learned from Bebbington in the first chapter, the debate around assurance was an old one that originated from the English Puritans. Among evangelicals, the Puritan practice of recurring existential self-examination (am I truly reborn?) faded and was replaced by a focus on sanctification and concluding assurance thereof. For evangelicals like James Hervey, as well as the Moravians, assurance of faith was seen as something essential for the reborn believers. Jonathan Edwards ‘solved’ this issue by describing the distinguishing marks of the work of the Holy Spirit, and by treating the human senses with a Lockean optimism. Sure knowledge was attainable. Within the Dutch Further Reformation, the opinions about assurance varied.²⁵⁹ Brem and Krom did not dramatize the question of assurance. The pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom made them optimistic in tone. Brem recommended using the means of grace as sacraments, prayer and preaching because of the related promise of the Holy Spirit.²⁶⁰ The pneumatological scope helped Brem not to worry; rather, much like Jonathan Edwards, he trusted that sanctification is firmly secured by the Holy Spirit: “Besides the salvation by Jesus Christ, my soul marvels most about this work of the H: Spirit, in maintaining the seed and the principle of holiness in us, as a spark of living fire amidst the sea, against all corruptions and temptations that oppose it.”²⁶¹ Krom does not treat *personal* assurance as a separate topic. He expressed assurance when he regarded the promising signs of the times. Krom was high-spirited because he already saw of the promise of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit fulfilled in his own times: “If we recall how through monthly prayer-meetings the spirit of prayer was raised by so many, who beforehand hardly thought about the fulfillment of the divine promise. (..) What a change has come already ! (..) He, the hearer of prayers, is much quicker to give the Holy Spirit, than earthly fathers give outward goods to their children!”²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Brem, *De Eer en Leer*, 191

²⁵⁸ Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 35

²⁵⁹ Ekeris, ‘Ter bevordering van kennis’, 59

²⁶⁰ Brem, *De Eer en Leer*, 127, 157

²⁶¹ Brem, *De Beginzelen* 49; Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 202, 205

²⁶² Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 63-64

3.3 Innovative pneumatology: creation

In the second chapter we learned how creation was not originally an important locus of pneumatology in the continental reformed tradition. It was acknowledged formally as such, but it was not developed systematically. This changed with John Owen, who went beyond the pneumatology of Calvin and also the Westminster Confession by writing in detail about the perfecting work of the Holy Spirit in creation as much as in regeneration.²⁶³ This line of thought was further elaborated by Jonathan Edwards. According to him, creation stood in the context of Christ's work of redemption. The perfecting work of the Spirit in recreation will be visible in creation and in recorded history. The visibility of God's glory is the ultimate 'purpose' of creation.²⁶⁴

Brem was triggered by Edwards' *Dissertation Concerning the End for Which God Created the World* (1765). Since Edwards' book was a bestseller in England, and therefore sold out, Brem received the personal copy of the London Baptist minister Abraham Booth for translation. He issued and prefaced this book in 1788, the only book of Edwards that he would issue.²⁶⁵ Over against those who regarded the pursuit of happiness as the highest end of creation, Edwards argued that the ultimate end of creation was not human happiness, but God's own glory made visible. Brem expected that Edwards' book would be edifying for the Dutch. However, to complete the story of God's and man's happiness, Brem planned to reissue Van Lodensteyn's book *True Character and Nature of the Human Happiness* together with Edwards' book, because of the "lovely relation" between these subjects.²⁶⁶ By linking the content of both books in his prefaces, Brem created a theological diptych from American evangelicalism and the Dutch Further Reformation. This example summarizes Brem's position using both sources of Anglo-American evangelicalism and the Further Reformation.

Although professor Krom had a pneumatological scope and wrote extensively on Genesis and the history of creation, he could not be tempted to interpret Genesis 1:2 pneumatologically.²⁶⁷ Because Krom was skilled in Hebrew and interested in physics, he preferred, quite originally, to interpret 'spirit' in this verse as 'oxygen'. After all, the Hebrew word also meant 'breath'. However, he clarified that he was not against those who wanted to

²⁶³ Wisse and Meijer, 'Pneumatology', 492-493

²⁶⁴ Vlastuin, *De Geest*, 296-297, 313-315

²⁶⁵ Jonathan Edwards, *Verhandeling over Gods laatste einde in de schepping der weereld* (Amsterdam 1788)

²⁶⁶ Brem, 'Voorrede', in: Edwards, *Verhandeling*, *2r-2v, J. van Lodensteijn, *Geestlijke gedachten, over den waaren aart van 's menschen gelukzaligheid* (Amsterdam 1788)

²⁶⁷ "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.", KJV

stick to the Trinitarian explanation of this passage.²⁶⁸ Notice how the old problems of a biblical argument for the Trinity and the separate order of substance of the Holy Spirit shine through this passage. Not according to Krom himself, of course. In his view, the Bible provided “better” passages for defending the divinity of the Spirit and his place in the Trinity.²⁶⁹

3.4 Innovative pneumatology: mission and outreach

Mission and outreach were two of the most visible topics that Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom took interest in, as they were members and co-founders of the NZG. Brem issued his evangelical magazines with news about worldwide mission. Moreover, he referred in his books to the fact that many countries and peoples were still devoid of the Gospel.²⁷⁰ Krom was a friend of missionary Van der Kemp and acted as his patron.²⁷¹ The pneumatological motive behind this zeal for mission has been acknowledged by other authors. Van Ekeris wrote about Brem’s pneumatological motive, while Boneschansker wrote on this motive among the members of the NZG in general.²⁷² In the first chapter, we referred to Van den Berg. Van den Berg rightly credited both Anglo-Saxon evangelicalism and the Further Reformation for the pneumatological motive behind missionary activities in the Netherlands. There is reason, however, to sharpen Van den Berg’s remark that the pneumatological motive behind mission in the eighteenth century was a “continuation of the reformatory work of Calvin”.²⁷³ As evidenced by chapter two, it required a long period of doctrinal development to make it to this point. It also became clear, that the pneumatological axioms of the reformation provoked ongoing dynamics that led to the encompassing pneumatology of Jonathan Edwards. Brem and Krom may count as heirs and representatives of this tradition – both in continental and Anglo-Saxon form.

Earlier in this chapter we already learned how, for Brem and Krom, the pneumatological key-concepts of love, faith experience and sanctification functioned as impetus for mission. The love of the Spirit as personally experienced should be passed on to others. The holy walk of life of the Moravians functioned as an example of the possibility of it. Mission abroad and outreach at home were not categorically separated. Both groups had to be reached with the Gospel and

²⁶⁸ H.J. Krom, *De geschiedenis van de schepping opgehelderd en verdedigd in eene leerrede over het eerste hoofdstuk van Genesis* (Middelburg 1791) 184-188

²⁶⁹ Idem, 184

²⁷⁰ C. Brem, *De Beginzelen*, 6-7

²⁷¹ H.J. Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 66-71; I.H. Enklaar, *Life and work*, 22, 35, 54, 129, 173; M.H. Quak, ‘Krom’, 229-230

²⁷² Ekeris, “Ter bevordering van kennis” 75-76; Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 35, 56, 184

²⁷³ Berg, *Constrained*, 18, 79

both groups had to be ‘edified’ (*gesticht*). Brem opened his preface of *Cardiphonia* with the remark that edifying is a spiritual gift; one “best gifts” of the Holy Spirit.²⁷⁴ Note how the pneumatological scope serves the argument for reaching others with the Gospel. Edifying involves using one’s talents in writing, speaking or acting in a godly way for the spiritual benefit of others – either Christians or heathens. When the Holy Spirit added grace to the natural talents of man, the ability to edify developed. All Christians had received grace in addition to their natural talents. Brem therefore motivated his readers to edify each other, as it was more or less their duty. As an example of a good edifier, Brem used the English evangelical John Newton. He spoke the language of the heart, out of experience, as was also reflected by the title of his book.²⁷⁵ Fellow citizens or foreigners who were devoid of preaching could be best edified by devotional tracts. Brem argued for a Dutch society that served this purpose, after the example of the English. According to Brem, the English were granted with the national virtue of writing. When this national virtue was sanctified by the Holy Spirit, it resulted in excellent devotional tracts, such as those of James Hervey, or John Newton. This remark nicely provides a personal explanation of Brem’s choice to translate so many English works. He valued their devotional quality.²⁷⁶

In 1799 professor Krom preached for the general assembly of the NZG in 1799 on the text of Isaiah 44:3-5: “I will pour my spirit upon thy seed”²⁷⁷ Boneschansker typified Krom’s sermon *Groote Belofte* or *Great Promise* as redemptive-historical, which it surely was – this theme concerns us in the next passage.²⁷⁸ In fact, Krom’s sermon included *all* of the innovative pneumatological themes named in this chapter: mission, the outpouring of the Spirit, redemptive history and eschatology, and ecumenism. It makes Krom’s sermon a highly significant text and a landmark of pneumatological theology.

For this passage it suffices to point to Krom’s pneumatological argument for mission. Mission is based on trust in the promised abundance of the operations of the Spirit, and on his perfecting work. Krom opens his sermon by connecting the promise made in Isaiah (Old Testament) with its fulfillment at Pentecost (New Testament).²⁷⁹ This may seem an obvious connection. However, as Bosma found out, hardly any sermons written for Pentecost had been issued in print during the eighteenth century. It is also unclear whether this ecclesiastical

²⁷⁴ Brem, ‘Voorrede’, in: Newton, *Cardiphonia*, i

²⁷⁵ Idem., xxiii-xxiv

²⁷⁶ Idem., xxvii-xxviii; *Ernstige en opwekkende aanprijzing*, 3-11

²⁷⁷ KJV, cited in: Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 8

²⁷⁸ Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 53-55

²⁷⁹ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 2-10, 16-17, 25-26

holiday received attention at all within the sober reformed tradition.²⁸⁰ Krom's printed sermon on Pentecost was already innovatory, let alone how he based his explicit call for mission on the promise and fulfillment of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Krom used his speech to counter the sceptics about mission. They argued that at the time of Pentecost missionary work went together with the special gifts of language and miracles – which they currently lacked. Krom reminded his hearers of which places the Moravian missionaries and others had already visited for mission (America, the Russian Empire, Northern Asia, Persia, Astracan, Africa, China) and how this was a result of prayer-meetings in which an outpouring of the Spirit was begged for, and of how it was in line with the earlier disappearance of the Roman gods in Europe itself.²⁸¹ Therefore, argued Krom, “if we keep this in mind, if we work in dependence on that Spirit as promised by the Lord for his Church till the end of times (..), then we won't have to worry about the gifts of language and miracles.”²⁸² And further: “No, let us reckon the promise in this text and elsewhere, and let us just work among the heathens with this aim that they will be brought to the faith of the Gospel, through cooperative grace of the Lord's Spirit.”²⁸³

3.5 Innovative pneumatology: Outpouring of the Spirit, Progress in History, Eschatology

In Chapter one, we learned that when Van den Berg referred to the Holy Spirit in his study on evangelical motives for mission, it either concerned the ‘inner compulsion motive’ or the eschatological motive. In 2.1 we saw how eschatology indeed is a pneumatological issue. It is part of the first problem of the Spirit as formulated by Hendry: the relationship between Christ and the Spirit. Eschatology concerns the second coming of Christ, which in turn relates to the operations of the Holy Spirit in the world. In the same chapter it appeared that Jonathan Edwards was innovative and encompassing in his pneumatology compared to Calvin and John Owen. He wrote primarily about history and eschatology from a pneumatological scope. For Edwards, redemptive history was driven by the rhythm of the outpourings of the Holy Spirit. The works of the Holy Spirit could be traced in history, especially at the times of revivals – such as the Awakenings Edwards experienced in his own congregation.

Brem and Krom resembled much of Edwards' thoughts in this respect. They too, regarded history as salvation history, determined by the visible operations of the Holy Spirit.

²⁸⁰ Bosma, *Woorden*, 232

²⁸¹ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 49-51

²⁸² *Idem*, 73

²⁸³ *Idem*, 80

According to Brem, the spiritual gift of edifying others went together with the ability to see God's governance in the world and the church, and to reflect on that.²⁸⁴ Brem and Krom also recognized that history was driven forward by the rhythm of revivals, and believed they experienced the most recent one. Revivals pre-eminently show how the internal operations of the Spirit have an impact on the external world. When the reformed truth is preached in its purity, hearts will change internally, which becomes visible in society, too. "This has become clear in the neighbouring Kingdom of England; were the major doctrines of the Reformation have been dug up, as out of the ashes, by the famous late George Whitefield and offered to man; where through God the Realm of Truth has significantly expanded itself in the hearts of many."²⁸⁵

In his sermon, *Great Promise*, Krom elaborated on Isaiah's metaphor of heavy rains and the growth of lush vegetation as an image of the outpouring of the Spirit. In this way he set the tone for his exhortation. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit is something abundant and nourishing, causing growth in spiritual life as does rain in natural life; causing fruitfulness in the former "desert of heathendom".²⁸⁶ In another sermon Krom wrote that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Pentecost was an explicit confirmation of the truth of the Gospel, and most of all the divinely appointed mission of Jesus. In this way he underscored the relation between the Spirit and the Word, and the Spirit and Christ.²⁸⁷ Referring to the relation between the Spirit and the Church, Krom points to the fact that the Church began to grow after Pentecost, and not during Jesus' teachings. Krom described the decisive role of the Holy Spirit in history by summing up several moments when his cooperative grace caused a retreat of heathendom. For instance, the end of the cult of the Roman goddess Nehalennia, part of the antique history of Walcheren, the island where Krom lived himself. Krom describes the Moravians as one of the few groups who maintained a pure Christianity in medieval times. Subsequently there was the first great movement of the Spirit after a long time: the Reformation with Luther and Calvin.²⁸⁸

In his homily Krom answered the question: 'Why mission at this moment?' In this way he provided a rationale for the existence of the NZG. Again, his argument is historical. The developments in history, the dreadful too, are somehow part of God's plan to reach all man with the gospel. Krom seems to refer – without naming explicitly – to the chain of events, from the French Revolution to the recent Batavian Revolution (1794-1799) and the rise of Napoleon.

²⁸⁴ Brem, 'Voorrede', in: Newton, *Cardiphonia*, xxi

²⁸⁵ Brem, 'Voorrede', in: Scott, *De kracht*, 14

²⁸⁶ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 11-16

²⁸⁷ Krom, *Leerrede ter opening van den Bybel* (Middelburg 1793) 61

²⁸⁸ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 33

Krom delivered his sermon in 1799. In that year, Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was in full swing. From 1792 onward, Europe was in war with Napoleon. Krom suspected a meaningful relationship between these events at the one hand, and the revival of evangelical Christianity on the other. "And now brothers! We see again all of Europe, I would almost say: the whole world, in turmoil. What God intends with humanity I don't know. But could he possibly be on his way (..) to expand gloriously over all the earth the realm of truth and godliness at last? At least everything announces us great events; what is happening now in Europe, the *crisis*, if I may say so, which States and Nations find themselves in, can have remarkable consequences in the other three continents, too. (..) Would the LORD of the world set it in turmoil again, more than ever before, without the most magnificent purposes?"²⁸⁹ For Krom this was unthinkable, mainly because all recent historical developments pointed in the direction of a large scale mission. Krom mentioned the presence of Europeans in all parts of the world, made possible by developments in geography, astronomy, and seamanship. If the far ends of the earth could be reached for trade, this should be possible too when "driven by a more noble spirit."²⁹⁰

While worried about world politics, Krom clearly expected much for the future Kingdom of God. It was for this reason that Krom began his sermon by remembering the members of the NZG with the matching passage in the Lord's Prayer.²⁹¹ Brem, also, mentioned that one of the purposes of Christian morality was to abide the second coming of the Jesus Christ.²⁹² Before that moment, however, glorious things would visibly happen through the Holy Spirit: "What a theater of wonders we see opened in the perspective of future ages! A new outpouring of the Holy Spirit, but much wider than in early Christianity"²⁹³ The pneumatological perspective of eschatology taken by Krom in 1799 reminds us of the similar view of the Nijkerk Awakening in 1751 by the Scottish minister Hugh Kennedy, as discussed in chapter one. This testifies to how the theological climate in the Netherlands could change under the influence of British evangelicalism. Moreover, it illustrates the delay in time with which Dutch evangelical thought followed its Anglo-American counterpart.

²⁸⁹ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 42-43, also: 6-7. On Krom's use of the word 'crisis': Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 53

²⁹⁰ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 48-51

²⁹¹ *Idem*, 7

²⁹² *Idem*, 28

²⁹³ *Idem*, 91

3.6 Innovative pneumatology: Ecumenism

The pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom resulted in a new perspective on ecclesiology. In Chapter two, we learned that ecclesiology, or the relationship between the Spirit and the Church, is of particular importance because it concerns the problem of the division within Christianity. Brem and Krom's pneumatological scope helped them to overcome these divisions. Therefore, the last topic discussed in this chapter is *ecumenism*.

The choices and writings of Brem and Krom demonstrate how they arranged priorities. Above all, it mattered to them whether there was a sincere unity in the Spirit of Christ. Only second to that came the official reformed doctrines. These doctrines appeared different in importance. Infant baptism, for instance, ranked lower than faith-by-grace. As mentioned before, Brem befriended and cooperated with the English Baptist minister Abraham Booth. Furthermore, Brem and Krom chose to participate in the NZG, a society also backed by Remonstrants and Baptists. The NZG identified with the bible and the Apostles Creed only.²⁹⁴

According to Krom, the sincere unity in the Spirit should be pursued initially, as this concerned the true being of the Church. As he asked rhetorically in his sermon *Great Promise*: “Why then, could and should no heartfelt unity in the spirit take place between all those who truly love Jesus (..)? Why should the communion of saints restrict itself to a separate denomination? According to our own reformed confession, is the true Church on earth not composed of all Christ-believers, *without being confined, bound, or limited to a certain place or certain persons, but spread and dispersed throughout the entire world.*”²⁹⁵ Krom cited article 27 of the Belgic Confession here. It was this article that was hallmarked by Wisse and Meijer as innovative on ecclesiology respective to Calvin, as described in chapter two.²⁹⁶ In his defense of ecumenism in the spirit, Krom thus also drew on his native reformed tradition.

Out of such ecumenism of the heart, practical cooperation in mission is made possible. Probably through merging denominations, but by ecumenical societies like the NZG. In this way, exportation of partisanships among Christians could potentially be avoided. As we see, ecumenism for Krom was also a means of self-improvement of Christianity, as means to overcome structural errors within Christianity. Mission would be an effective method for practicing such a “universal Christianity, the main content of the Gospel, which has a direct influence on the salvation of immortal souls (..).”²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Ekeris, ‘Ter bevordering’, 64, 73, Boneschansker, *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*, 53, 57-58

²⁹⁵ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 86

²⁹⁶ Wisse and Meijer, ‘Pneumatology’, 483

²⁹⁷ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 81

To help his listeners get used to the idea of ecumenical initiatives, Krom referred freely to the activities of the Baptist Missionary Society. “How gratifying is the (..) message about the apparent blessing on the ministry of the missionaries of the Baptists’ Society among the Mohammedans. The Baptists! This name should offend nobody, they belong to the Christian society of the so called Mennonites or *Doopsgezinden*: they differ to us concerning infant baptism, but with us and the great Calvin they are fully dedicated to the doctrine of free grace. We know after all the dignified Booth, (..) who, - and how many other excellent Gospel servants! also belongs to that society.”²⁹⁸

The ideal of ecumenical cooperation and a focus on the main content of the Gospel was similar to the example provided by the Moravians. To reinforce his plea for an imitation of the Moravians, Krom cited the poet Hieronymus van Alphen: “Oh were the Netherlands their equal!”²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Krom, *Groote Belofte*, 53

²⁹⁹ Idem, 53

Conclusion

The writings of the Dutch authors Cornelis Brem (1721-1803) and Hermanus Johannes Krom (1738-1804) were featured by a strong orientation on the Holy Spirit, his work in the life of man and his work in the redemptive history of the world. Brem and Krom shared their orientation on the operations of the Holy Spirit in personal life with the Dutch Pietist Further Reformation movement.

However, the pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom was much broader and more innovative than the Further Reformation. Their interest in the concrete and traceable operations of the Holy Spirit in the redemptive history of the world was based on theological innovation as developed by the Anglo-Saxon theologians John Owen and Jonathan Edwards, and on the spirituality of Zinzendorf and the Moravians. What Owen, Edwards and the Moravians shared was the central place of the Holy Spirit in their theological thought. What they shared also was the innovative way with which they wrote about the Holy Spirit. In the cases of Owen and Edwards this meant that they elaborated greatly on the fundamentals of reformed pneumatology as they were once formulated by Calvin and the Belgic and the Westminster Confession. Owen particularly enabled the innovative development of reformed pneumatology by arguing that all outwards acts of God are directed by the Spirit, and that the Spirit concludes, completes and perfects all works of God. These axioms made it possible for Owen and Edwards to rewrite reformed theology in a distinct pneumatological sense. They enlarged and specified the position of the Holy Spirit in the doctrines of creation, Christ, salvation, the Church and eschatology. The innovative pneumatology of the Moravians was experience-based rather than systematic-theologically based. It led them to speak in affective maternal terms about the love and care of the Holy Spirit. This controversial phrasing was soon abandoned but the distinct pneumatological scope of the Moravian congregations remained vivid.

The new horizons opened by Owen, Edwards and by the Dutch Moravians living at Zeist were greeted enthusiastically by Brem and Krom. They incorporated it in their own texts. The pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom became apparent in three ways. First, in their works they repeatedly addressed innovative pneumatological themes, such as creation, mission and outreach, the outpouring of the Spirit, eschatology and the Kingdom of God, and ecumenism. It was innovating that Brem and Krom understood these issues as fundamentally related, and also wrote about them as such. According to Brem and Krom, these subjects belonged together because they shared their origin in the Spirit and their purpose in the salvation of man and in the glory of God.

Second, three other key notions were also fundamental for Brem and Krom's innovative pneumatology: love, experience and sanctification. The first two were most prominent in Brem's work. Concerning love, Brem followed Owen by arguing that the character of the Holy Spirit is constituted out of love, with the result that his operations are also driven by love. Brem emphasized these aspects of pneumatology as a correction on the reformed tradition formulated by John Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism. According to Brem, both fell short in acknowledging the special love of the Spirit. Experience was a key notion for Brem because the operations of the Holy Spirit take place within man, and can therefore be experienced. The emphasis on the subjective side of faith had been present in Pietism for a long time, but during Brem's lifetime authentic piety became a public virtue, too. Brem emphasized the concrete character of the spiritual enjoyments over against the vain affections of enthusiasm. Sanctification of life as worked by Holy Spirit figured in the works of Brem and Krom as opposed to plain moralism. Also, Krom pointed to the exemplary walk of life of the Moravians in his argument for mission and ecumenism. Both faith experience and sanctification can be regarded as the evangelical alternatives of the general cultural values of the later eighteenth century: authenticity and virtuousness.

The third way in which the pneumatological concern of Brem and Krom was reflected is through the three discussions they engaged in or related to. The first was the discussion around enthusiasm, understood as mystical faith that disconnected the relation between the Holy Spirit and the Bible. Brem denounced enthusiasm and promoted the enjoyments of 'real' spiritual life. Krom rehabilitated the Dutch Moravian community, as they were previously been branded as enthusiasts. The second front Brem and Krom argued against was natural religion, moral philosophy and radical Deism. Brem and Krom opposed the tendency of natural religion to be silent on the Personhood and the operations of the Holy Spirit. Krom prefaced a book written in reaction of Thomas Paine's assault on the Trinity and on divine revelation. The third debate concerned the pneumatological character of conversion and took place between Brem and the Dutch novelist Rhijnvis Feith.

The innovative pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom enables us to understand the character and origin of Dutch evangelicalism between 1770 and 1804. Dutch evangelicalism as voiced by Brem and Krom was characterized by an explicit and innovative theological interest in the Holy Spirit. Only after the person of the Holy Spirit became a leading principle in theology, evangelical subjects could gain attention within the church and in the public sphere. These subjects included mission, the outpouring of the Spirit, ecumenism, and eschatology, or the coming Kingdom of God.

The Nijkerk Awakening served as illustration of the crucial importance of theology as framework of understanding. Because the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities lacked a pneumatological scope by the time of in 1750, they actively thwarted the Nijkerk Awakening. How, at the other hand, innovative pneumatology was hugely motivational and was employed towards concrete action became clear from Krom's significant evangelical sermon *Groote Belofte* in 1799.

Van Eijnatten's thesis about the cultural shift from the 1760s onwards is complemented by our research. Van Eijnatten described Dutch evangelicalism as result of this cultural shift, and as adaptation to the new cultural values. This study showed that Dutch evangelicalism must be understood as a distinctive turn towards the Holy Spirit as leading principle in theology.

The innovative pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom enabled us to understand Dutch evangelicalism as part of eighteenth-century international evangelicalism at large. In the historiography of evangelicalism we have seen how a range of authors referred to pneumatologically related subjects in order to explain international evangelicalism. Our research to the explicit pneumatological orientation of Brem and Krom is has been a systematic confirmation of these explanations.

The innovative pneumatological scope of Brem and Krom also allows to understand Dutch evangelicalism as a part of the long term historical development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit within Christianity in general and in Protestantism in particular. Unitarianism and enthusiasm proved to be constant factors in history in their challenge of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. John Owen and Jonathan Edwards had reacted in defense, with as result elaborated pneumatologies and enhanced Protestant self-understanding. In this way they tried to solve the problem of the Holy Spirit as they encountered it.

Reading Brem and Krom's works we could say that, during the later decades of the eighteenth century, Cornelis Brem and Hermanus Johannes Krom were occupied with just that: solving the problem of the Spirit.

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Abbreviation

KJV King James Version