

CHRIST COVENANT REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

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THE NADERE REFORMATIE

A BRIEF STUDY OF THE DUTCH FURTHER REFORMATION, ITS DOCTRINAL INTEGRITY, ITS PIETY, ITS MEN, AND ITS LITERATURE



Nadere Reformatie Lectures-Pastor Ruddell's Notes

1) The Name: Nadere Reformatie

- a) The name itself is a difficult term. It has been translated as:
 - i) Second Reformation: As a name, the second reformation has something to be said for it, but it may give the impression that it is something separate from the first reformation, it denies the continuity that would have been confessed by its adherents.
 - ii) Further Reformation: This is the term that is popular with Dutch historians who specialize in this movement. This term is preferred because it does set forth a continuity with the past, and with the Protestant Reformation as it came to the Netherlands. Its weakness is that it may seem to imply that the original Reformation did not go far enough—that there ought to be some noted deficiency.
 - iii) The movement under study has also been called "Dutch Precisianism" as in, a more precise and exacting practice of godliness or piety. The difficulty here is that there are times when that term "precisionist" has been used pejoratively, and historians are unwilling to place a pejorative name upon a movement so popular with godly Dutch Christians.
 - iv) There are times when the movement has been referred to as "Dutch Puritanism". And, while there is much to commend this name as well, Puritanism also carries with it a particular stigma, which might be perceived as unpopular. Further, there were some significant differences between British Isles Puritanism and the Dutch Nadere Reformatie. More on those similarities and differences later.
 - v) The last name sometimes used to describe this movement is Dutch Pietism. Several objections come to mind in this designation.
 - (1) First, pietism as a movement did not truly come into its own as a bona-fide movement until later, in Germany. That is not to say that there were not some precursors to it before that, and even in the Netherlands during this time there were pietistic elements. It might also be said that some of the later pietists were influenced by Nadere Reformatic ministers—this cannot be denied. But there are some very important differences.
 - (2) Second, and more importantly, as we will see in more detail later, there is a decided minimizing of doctrinal content in pietism, because it is sacrificed on the altar of "inwardness", feelings, etc. the practice of devotion, even at the expense of sound doctrine. This is not true of the Nadere Reformatie. There was a strong emphasis on the past progress of sound doctrine won during the reformation, and this was thought as the foundation for the Godly living, and practice of godliness emphasized in this movement.
 - (3) The third point is that pietists often had the reputation of being "dissenters" in the sense that they minimized, or even eliminated the necessity of the established Church, and maximized, or even exclusivized personal devotion, and sometimes small group devotion apart from Church direction. It might be well to understand here that every group under the wide title of Christianity has had such movements as these, where there is an importance placed on the devotional life, and also which downplays the ecclesiastical life. The Nadere Reformatie did not do this.
 - vi) The word Nadere means nearer, or even more intimate. The thrust of this movement was an intimate conformity to the doctrines and practices of the Scriptures and confessions of the Church as they represented both a doctrinal precision, and in inward practice of that religion, in all areas of living, and at least at the beginning, including the reformation of the individual, the family, the Church, and the society, recognizing in the end, that perhaps even the government itself would be modeled after the Scriptures and the Law of God.
 - (1) Dr. Beeke, in his writing and lecturing about the movement itself has changed his terminology. Formerly he used the term "Second Reformation" to describe the movement, because this has much to commend it.
 - (a) First, it was used by the men themselves. Jacobus Koelman (1632-1695) used the term. He called it a second reformation, or a second purging.
 - (b) Second, it came in time after the first reformation, which was essentially a doctrinal movement, away from the doctrinal errors of Rome, especially surrounding soteriology and ecclesiology.
 - (c) It was a reformation not of doctrine, but of vital living in Christ.
 - (d) Objections to this name is that it creates too great a separation from the beginnings of the reformation.
 - (2) He has changed his terminology, and in doing so, given assent to the Dutch Theologian/Scholars who have pressed the name "Further Reformation", because the term Nadere means "further, nearer, closer, more intimate" and is descriptive not only of the closer conformity to the Scriptures in

describing a vital, heart religion, but because in it the believer himself draws nearer, closer, more intimately toward the Scriptures, and also unto the Lord.

- vii) There is a Documentary Society in the Netherlands today that has taken up the task of preserving the NR, by preserving and publishing the writings of those divines, and also by writing, in Dutch of course, about it, from the standpoint of historiography. Established in 1983, here is their definition:
 - (1) This movement within the "Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk," while opposing generally prevailing abuses and misconceptions and pursuing the broadening and progressive advancement of the sixteenth-century Reformation, urges and strives with prophetic zeal for both the inner experience of Reformed doctrine and personal sanctification, as well as the radical and total sanctification of all spheres of life.
 - (2) This definition was updated 1995: The Dutch Second Reformation is that movement within the "Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk," during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, as a reaction to the declension or absence of a living faith, made both the personal experience of faith and godliness matters of central importance. From that perspective the movement formulated substantial and procedural reformation initiatives, submitting them to the proper ecclesiastical, political, and social agencies, and/or in conformity therewith pursued in both word and deed a further reformation in the church, society, and state.

Notes:

2) The Period of Time

- a) Luther and Calvin were both, in their reformation efforts, 16th century men. The cardinal doctrines of the reformation, the 5 solas, were hammered out in that century. By the close of the 16th century, we have several wonderful Church confessions that codified and standardized those doctrines.
 - i) The Heidelberg Catechism was received by the Dutch Reformed Church at the synod of Wessel in 1568
 - ii) The Belgic Confession was penned by Guido de Bres is the 1550's, revised by Francis Junius in the 1560's and received by the Belgic and Netherland Churches in synods held in the latter part of the 16th century.
 - iii) The First and Second Helvetic Confessions, also reformed, were in use in Switzerland, the 2nd adopted in 1562-3.
 - iv) So, by the close of the 16th century, there had been great gains in sound doctrine granted to the Church by her Lord—He had given the 5 solas back to His Church in a new and powerful way—a fresh breeze of sound doctrine had begun to blow—the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, so long kept alive by a few candle bearers through the middle ages, now burst forth onto the Church as the sun. Truly, it was a revolutionary time.
- b) This brought about a backlash of sorts, or a negative reaction on the part of some in the Reformed Churches. There was a doctrinal push-back not only on the part of Rome, but even from within the Protestant Churches themselves. The most well known leader of this push back was Jacobus Arminius. Although he died before the Synod of Dordrecht, it was his doctrines, and his ideas that formed the basis of 5 doctrinal complaints, and those of you who know your Church history understand that the so-called 5 points of Calvinism were written as counter-arguments to these 5 points of "remonstration" by the party called the "Remonstrants", who complained against those Reformation doctrines. So, at the city of Dordrecht in the Netherlands, in 1618-1619, the Synod of Dordrecht met, engaged and, in our understanding of Scripture, defeated the arguments of the Remonstrants and gave us what we now call the 5 points of Calvinism—as we help ourselves to remembering them by that acronym T-U-L-I-P, especially because of the popoularity of that flower in the Netherlands.
- c) With that as a backdrop, we ought to see the Nadere Reformatie stretching from late in the 16th century all the way down to the middle-to late 18th century.
 - i) Now, think about that a moment—that is a period in the Netherlands of almost 200 years! This is quite a lengthy movement, longer than even what we might call the first and second reformations in the British Isles.
 - ii) Even if we go all the way back to the Act of Succession and Henry the 8th's marriage to Anne Boleyn in 1533, it is only 115 years until the completion of the Westminster Standards.
 - iii) What this tells us is that it was a movement that has relevance past its own temporal boundaries, for it speaks of needs in every age of the Church—any movement that can sustain for 200 years is really not bound to those times.

Notes:

3) The Importance or Thrust of the movement

- What we have described in the past as the tendency of the "Three Generations" Dr. Beeke describes as "Second Generation syndrome". I prefer three, because I think it more accurately describes the phenomenon. At any rate, it speaks of a declining commitment to the standards and successes of the past generation, the children of those who were committed and successful tending to ride on those successes apart from the same conviction. Those who speak of the Nadere Reformatie often speak of this tendency.
- b) The doctrinal advances of the 16th century were, as we described above, earth shattering—revolutionary. But they were first and necessarily doctrinal—and it was right and fitting that they should have been—this was the error to be combatted in that day. Remember Luther's famous quotation: "If I profess with loudest voice and clearest exposition every portion of the truth of God except that little point which the world and the Devil are at that moment attacking, I am not confessing Christ, however boldly I may be professing Christ. Where the battle rages, there the loyalty of the soldier is proved, and to be steady on all the battlefield besides, is mere flight and disgrace if he flinches at that point."
- c) Note however, that having these doctrines settled was not enough. There were ministers who, in their pastorates and professors who in their teaching looked out over the spiritual landscape of their congregations and students and were quite displeased and discouraged with what they saw.
 - i) They saw carnal living
 - ii) They saw a lack of spirituality, spiritual vitality in the lives of the people
 - iii) They saw those who professed religion, came to Church, formally embraced the confessions and catechisms, but in the end, lived during the rest of the week as those who did none of those spiritual exercises.
 - (1) Sabbath desecration was common
 - (2) Carnality, as seen in excessive recreation, gaming, etc. One divine, very prominent in this movement forbade "such practices as visiting public houses, playing with dice, the wearing of luxurious clothes, dancing, drunkenness, revelry, smoking and the wearing of wigs."
 - (3) Spiritual exercises—family prayer, personal Scripture reading and study, etc. was not widely practiced.
 - (4) While we may recoil some at this description, let us remember that it was a different age, and these things became habitual, rather that occasional, and were certain signs of growing carnality.
 - (5) Further among the Dutch, some indulged in a belief of presumptive regeneration for Church members that did not press the Biblical doctrine of conversion to Christ, believing that being born in the Church, and raised in her bosom was all the testimony one needed. This led to a dual kind of life—a compartmentalized life of Church and everything else, and so the claims of Christ were not pressed to all areas of life, neither to all areas of the heart.
 - iv) The other emphasis was for the positive side:
 - (1) Personal and family Bible reading and study
 - (2) Personal and family prayer
 - (3) A growing understanding and practice of godliness, "perfecting holiness in the fear of God".
 - (4) Confession of sin, repentance, and works meet for repentance.
- d) Hear Dr. Graafland: In summarizing the movement, Graafland addresses the following contours: election, regeneration, sanctification, the family and the congregation, the church, creation and natural theology, eschatology, and theocracy. Through promoting a pious lifestyle and a theocratic concept of all social relationships based on family worship, the parish, and the church as a whole, the Second Reformation aimed to establish and enforce moral and spiritual discipline in all spheres of life. Second Reformation sermons addressed all of these mostly active themes, but simultaneously stressed the fall of Adam, the natural man's inability to aspire to good, the absolute sovereignty of divine predestination and grace, dependence upon God, the necessity of adequate conviction of sin, the experience of conversion, and the simplicity of true worship.
- e) As you can see, there are many points in common with Puritanism in the British isles here.
- f) It is important to note that there was not central organization to the NR—it was held together by ministers and seminary professors that held a common understanding, and affection for this kind of vital religion. The ministers saw the need in their own congregations and parishes, and worked in that sphere. And, as we will see, their efforts were tireless.
- g) Later scholarship on the NR has identified movement or differences over the course of the 200 or so years within the movement itself.
 - i) The first period was much like the puritanism in America—it was hoped that there would be that city on a hill set in Western Europe, to which the devoted would come to live out their faith, and live in a country that in its society, government, church and family life reflected the teaching of Christ and the Scriptures.

- ii) There were also differences in the movement itself
 - (1) There were those who tended more toward pietism and shied away from sound doctrine
 - (2) But there were also those who were confessional, even scholastic, such that they were able to have the most minute discussions of theology, as our study will show a bit later. There were those who sought to reform in that more urgent fashion, and others who looked for the longer more lasting reforms. It would be incorrect to call the movement monolithic—but it would also be incorrect to call it broad. It was truly a movement with different shades of the same color.
 - (a) A strong emphasis on vital religion, while not forgetting or leaving behind a commitment to sound, confessional doctrine.
 - (b) The application of that vital religion to all areas of life, subduing all things to the Kingdom of Christ—not in that Kuyperian common grace way, but in the way of maintaining strong churches, sound, searching and convicting preaching, emphasizing repentance, and 7 day a week Christianity.
 - (c) Living a life of holiness, moderation, Sabbath keeping, catechizing, etc. All these things were the warp and woof of the Nadere Reformatie in the Netherlands Reformed Church. And while at times the pendulum would swing to emphasize one of these things and not another, still, the movement itself lived within these bounds.
- h) There was a movement early in the days of the NR that had the potential perhaps to derail, to move the NR off of its theological and ecclesiastical moorings, called Labadism. This movement was named after a Frenchman, Jean de Labide, born in 1610 who began his theological career as a romanist. After several other affiliations, he became a Calvinist in his soteriology, and went to Geneva where he began gathering conventicles and home bible studies, for which he was censured, because his ecclesiology was separatistic, and dismissive of the visible Church. He moved to the Netherlands, to a French speaking Church in Amserdam. The main tenets of Labadism were:
 - i) Separatism
 - ii) Priesthood of all believers, in the same way as the brethren churches understand this, such that all are able to speak in gathered meetings
 - iii) Common goods, distinctive clothing
 - iv) Emphasis on "spirituality" sometimes bordering on mysticism

4) The Men of the Movement

- a) The Nadere Reformatie as was said above, was not an organized movement, but was gathered around preachers and ministers having these common concerns, and pressing these concerns in the spheres of their ministries. The following is a list of some of the lights of the NR, and some of their writing. Please allow me to introduce you to them.
- b) The early Men:
 - i) There are two men normally understood as being the "fathers" of the NR. The first of these is Jean Taffin, and the second is Willem Teellink.
 - ii) The men in the middle period, known as the Pastor/Theologians: Gispertius Voetius, Wilhelmus A'Brakel, Herman Witsius
 - iii) And the closing era of the movement was blessed with Theodore van der Groe, and Alexander Comrie.
 - iv) These above are the "big names", very influential. There are others that we will not make the time to study, but are here for your further reference.
 - (1) Wilhelmus Saldenus, Johannes Hoornbeek, Wilhelmus Schortinghius, Godfriedus Udemans, Jocodus van Lodenstein, Jacobus Koelman

Notes:



The Sabbath as Taught and Practiced by Dutch Reformed Theologian Wilhelmus à Brakel

CCRPC Winter Reformation Conference



The Sabbath as Taught and Practiced by Dutch Reformed Theologian Wilhelmus à Brakel

Wilhelmus à Brakel, or "Father Brakel" as he came to be known in the Netherlands, was a leading figure of the Nadere Reformatie. Born 2 January 1635 and living until 30 August 1711, à Brakel understood the imperative of practicing the professed doctrines of the Reformation. Indeed, like the best minds of England, Scotland and the Netherlands during the Second Reformation period, à Brakel focused his ministry upon the principle that the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit naturally reflected the principle living out one's faith, with growth in Godly living accompanying the necessary growth in Biblical doctrine.

The *magnum opus* of à Brakel was *The Christian's Reasonable Service* (short title; see footnote for full title). Originally published in three massive volumes, the recently translated English version is contained in four large volumes. *The Christian's Reasonable Service* is a systematic theology of sorts, but goes far beyond the scholastic foundation by emphasizing a genuine Christian ethic. "The uniqueness of à Brakel's work lies in the fact that it is more than a systematic theology. À Brakel's intent in writing is inescapable: he intensely wishes that the truth expounded may become an experiential reality in the hearts of those who read. In a masterful way, he establishes the crucial relationship between objective truth and the subjective experience of that truth." It becomes readily apparent to the reader, therefore, that for à Brakel and those like him during the Nadere Reformatie, just like the English Puritans and Scottish Covenanters, the Word of God is far more than a mere guide to religious profession. Indeed, the Word directs every aspect of private and public life in the home, the Church, and society in general. Hence, if one truly believes the Scriptures and is genuinely regenerated by the Holy

¹ Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson. *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints*. Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006. Page 749.

Spirit having been justified by the Father as a result of the Son's salvific cross work, then that believer will grow experientially as he grows in the knowledge of objective truth.

Of course, this very crucial understanding of the Christian life and ethic is most closely associated with seventeenth-century English Puritanism. What few in Reformed Presbyterian circles realize, however, is that there is a close relationship between Puritanism and Further Reformation thought in the Netherlands. Through the writings of the seventeenth-century English, Scottish, and Dutch Reformed divines, one can easily discover the logical and natural progression of Reformation thought from the sixteenth-century Reformation of doctrine and the seventeenth-century Second Reformation of practice and polity. This close tie between the English Puritans and Dutch Reformed divines is summarized in the following quotation.

"The obvious similarity between à Brakel's writings, which represent the cream of Dutch Second Reformation literature, and Puritan literature is highly significant. It proves that the Puritans and the Dutch Second Reformation divines (sometimes referred to as the Dutch Puritans) were essentially cut from the same cloth. It will be difficult to find essential differences in Christian experience between à Brakel and such English Puritans as John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, and John Bunyan. The divines of the Dutch Second Reformation have translated literally hundreds of English Puritans into Dutch, recommending them warmly to their congregations. The Dutch Second Reformation was greatly indebted to English Puritanism for a wealth of sound experiential material."

Beyond the close ties between the English and Scottish Puritans and those of the Continent is the essential importance of their work. The writings of the great divines of the seventeenth-century, including eminent Dutch Reformed divines such as à Brakel, clearly profess the importance of living one's profession of faith. It is insufficient and, indeed, hypocritical to claim to believe a

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² Wilhelmus à Brakel. *The Christian's Reasonable Service in which Divine Truths concerning the Covenant of Grace are Expounded, Defended against Opposing Parties, and their Practice Advocated as well as The Administration of this Covenant in the Old and New Testaments.* Volume I. Translated by Bartel Elshout. Edited by Joel R. Beeke. Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011, 1992. Pages xxi-xxii.

thing that one refuses to practice! This lesson is frequently repeated by à Brakel in his writings and it was displayed in his life and ministry.

It is evident from the history of the times that, in the Netherlands as well as England and Scotland, there was a strong rebellion against the idea that one's daily walk should be strictly reflective of one's profession. Truly remarkable is the fact that such a rebellion against experiential religion remains a hallmark of the Christian Church in the modern era, including (and one might say, especially) within the paradigm of the Reformed Church. Even more pronounced in an age where antinomianism is the primary tenet of the professing Christian Church and where "two kingdom" theology dominates the Reformed world is the noted rejection of the applicability of the moral Law of God. The translation and availability of à Brakel's work, along with so many like it, therefore, is a timely and important boon to modern Christendom because of its sound Biblical imperative upon the continuing importance of the Law, particularly the "third use" of the Law. In *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life*, Beeke and Jones explain the historic Reformed understanding of the continuing applicability and importance of the Moral Law.

In their view of the law, the Reformers spoke of three distinct "uses" or applications of the law. The first use of the law is *civil*: it is a guide for the civil magistrate in rewarding good and punishing evil (Rom. 13:3-4; 1 Tim. 2:1-2). On this use of the law, the Protestant Reformers were in complete accord. Martin Luther wrote, "The first understanding and use of the Law is to restrain the wicked.... This civic restraint is extremely necessary and was instituted by God, both for the sake of public peace and for the sake of preserving everything, but especially to prevent the course of the Gospel from being hindered by the tumults and seditions of wild men." John Calvin concurred, saying, "The...function of the law is this: at least by fear of punishment to restrain certain men who are untouched by any care for what is just and right unless compelled by hearing the dire threats of the law."

The second use of the law is *evangelical*: it drives sinners away from their own righteousness to trust in Christ alone (Gal. 3:10, 24). Here, too, Luther and Calvin were in accord. [...Calvin states...] [The law] warns, informs, convicts,

and lastly condemns, every man of his own righteousness.... After he is compelled to weigh his life in the scales of the law, laying aside all that presumption of fictitious righteousness, he discovers that he is a long way from holiness, and is in fact teeming with a multitude of vices, with which he previously thought himself undefiled.... The law is like a mirror. In it we contemplate our weakness, then the iniquity arising from this, and finally the curse coming from both—just as a mirror shows us the spots on our face.

The third use of the law is *directive or normative*: it serves as a didactic "rule of life" to guide believers in ways that are pleasing to their God and Savior....

Calvin fleshed out the doctrine that the primary use of the law for the believer is a rule of life. "What is the rule of life which [God] has given us?" he asked in the Genevan Catechism, then answered, "His law."I. John Hasselink correctly says that, for Calvin, "the law was viewed primarily as a positive expression of the will of God.... Calvin's view could be called Deuteronomic, for to him law and love are not antithetical, but are correlates."

The Puritans continued Calvin's emphasis on the law as a rule of life for the believer which arouses heartfelt gratitude, and, in turn, promotes genuine liberty rather than Antinomian licentiousness. Anthony Burgess (d. 1664) condemned those who asserted they were above the law or that the law written in the heart by regeneration "renders the written law needless."

The Spirit's teaching results in Christians being made "friends" with the law, Rutherford quipped, for "after Christ has made agreement between us and the law, we delight to walk in it for the love of Christ." That delight, grounded in gratitude for the gospel, produces the greatest measure of liberty. Samuel Crooke (1575-1649) put it this way: "From the commandment, as a rule of life, [believers] are not freed, but on the contrary, are inclined and disposed, by [their] free spirit, to willingly obey it. Thus, to the regenerate the law becomes as it were gospel, even a law of liberty."

The Westminster Larger Catechism, composed largely by Puritan divines, provides the most fitting summary of the Reformed and Puritan view on the believer's relationship to the moral law:

Q. 97. What special use is there of the moral law to the regenerate?

A. Although they that are regenerate, and believe in Christ, be delivered from the moral law as a covenant of works, so as thereby they are neither justified nor condemned; yet, besides the general uses thereof common to them with all men, it is of special use, to shew them how much they are bound to Christ for His fulfilling it, and enduring the curse thereof in their stead, and for their good; and

thereby to provoke them to more thankfulness, and to express the same in their greater care to conform themselves thereunto as the rule of their obedience.³

Hence, this "third use" of the Law lays the groundwork for the Biblical mandate that believers become more Christ-like in their daily lives through the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit using the Law as the plumb line for the believer's life as reflecting the holiness of God.

It is to the "third use" of the Law that à Brakel focuses his attention in his *magnum opus*. It is insufficient to have a right understanding of the Word of God. One must also put that doctrine into practice. For à Brakel, as with the other leaders of the Nadere Reformatie, as well as with the leaders of English Puritanism and Scottish Reformed Presbyterianism, a right understanding of God's Word, and of the "third use" of God's Law in particular, will necessarily result in experiential piety of life. In other words, the *objective* Truth of God will necessarily result in the *subjective* experience and life in the whole man of the genuine Christian. "The rule for holiness is the law of God," noted à Brakel.⁴ Notice must be taken, however, of the fact that this piety is understood to be the *result* of one's conversion, rather than the *cause* of it. Second Reformation *piety* is, therefore, directly opposite of, and necessarily opposed to, the earlier error of Romanist monasticism and the later error of German *pietism*.

À Brakel goes on to note the following:

The law is the rule of life given to man by God, the only Lawgiver, to govern the disposition of his heart, thoughts, words, and conduct thereby.

If we view the law as a condition of the covenant of works, it carries with it the threat of death to transgressors and the promise of life to those who observe it perfectly. If, however, we view it in the context of the circumstances and the objective with which it was declared at Mount Sinai, then the true partakers of the covenant can indeed perceive what their transgressions do merit and what the consequences of perfect obedience would be. The punishment due upon them has been taken away by the Surety, however, and by their continual commission of

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³ Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones. *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life*. Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012. Excerpts from pages 556-560.

⁴ Wilhelmus à Brakel. *The Christian's Reasonable Service*. Volume III. Page 35.

offenses they readily perceive that they cannot perfectly keep the law nor obtain salvation by the law, but only through the Surety, Jesus Christ. They also understand that upon their transgressions God chastises them as a Father and that He graciously rewards their sincere efforts.⁵

Further, à Brakel states:

[The law] was given:

- (1) To convict the unconverted of sin, of the continual breaking of the covenant of works, and of the curse and worthiness of condemnation due to transgression.
- (2) To cause the unconverted, who have been made acquainted with the covenant of grace, to look away from the covenant of works as not being able to give life, and to urge them to truly enter into the covenant of grace and to receive Christ by true faith unto justification. This is the purpose for the multiple repetitions of the demands of the covenant of works and the dreadful circumstances accompanying the giving of the law. In this respect the law is a schoolmaster, guide, teacher, and director to Christ (Gal 3:24).
- (3) With the objective of being a steadfast rule of life for the partakers of the covenant of grace, to show them the way in all its purity, and to stir them up to enter into and persevere in this way, and to guide them in this way.

 —Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? by taking heed thereto according to Thy word (Ps 119:9). In reference to this the law is called: *the way of the Lord, pathway*, and *path* (Ps 119).

Hence, à Brakel continues in the tradition of the Reformers and agrees with the understanding of the Second Reformation divines of England and Scotland as he emphasizes the "third use" of the law as the paradigm for believers to follow.

With this brief background in mind, it is now appropriate to turn to the Fourth Commandment and consider à Brakel's exposition of it. He emphasizes the fact that this—of all the other Commandments—is the one that is most often ignored, or explained away, by men. The assault on the Fourth Commandment is one that has raged since the Lord God first gave it prior to the Fall and was one of the first publicly broken after the giving of the written Law at Sinai. À Brakel rightly insists that this Commandment, along with the other nine, comprise, in summary form, the whole moral duty of man. He divides the contents of the Commandment into

⁵ Ibid, page 36.

⁶ Ibid, page 42.

three sections: (1) a short exhortation; (2) a declaration; and (3) incentives for observance. First, under the heading of a short exhortation, the Commandment states: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," (Exodus 20:8). Observes à Brakel: "'Remember,' that is, see to it that you do not contradict, reject, or forget this commandment. Remember it prior to the arrival of that day in order that you may order your affairs in such a manner that northing will hinder you; prepare yourself for this day ahead of time. Be exhorted and be warned." He goes on to explain that this Sabbath rest necessarily includes the cessation of one's daily labors, desisting from worldly activities, and the refreshing of oneself after one's labor. "The activity being commanded relative to this day is *being sanctified*, that is, *to be set apart* for sacred use (Exodus 13:2). There must also be preparation (Exodus 19:11), a holy and lawful use (1 Timothy 1:8), and a regarding of this day (Romans 14:6)."

Second, under the *declaration* of the Commandment, à Brakel explains the time of the observance of the Sabbath, the manner of observance, and the persons called to its observance. With reference to the time of the observance, he states:

The commandment conveys that it is the seventh, which follows upon six days of labor. "Six days shalt thou labor." This is not a command to work (which belongs to the second table), but a stipulation as to how long one may work, and a direction when one must cease to labor and when the Sabbath begins. It says as much as that whatever we are under obligation to do must be performed in six days, for the seventh day is a time of rest; it is the Sabbath of the LORD thy God. God rested on the seventh day and has thus given us an example. He has set this day apart for sacred purposes and has commanded man to hallow this day to the glorification of His Name. Secondly, the manner in which this day is to be hallowed is as follows: "Thou shalt do no manner of work." We are enjoined to serve God in the First Commandment, and this encompasses all our activity of soul and body at all times, during both day and night. The Fourth Commandment, however, requires the service to God in the full sense of the word, that is, with cessation of labor.

⁷ Ibid, page 139.

⁸ Ibid, page 140.

⁹ Ibid, page 141.

With reference to the manner in which the Sabbath is to be observed, à Brakel understands both the essential command to cease from the daily labors which are to occupy the other six days of the week as well as the simultaneous command to occupy oneself throughout the whole day in religious worship as required by God in His Word. He states: "... [Doing] no manner of work and religious worship must be conjoined as being one injunction. Doing no manner of work must be understood in a spiritual sense, so that it refers to the manner of religious engagement, and thereby is distinguished from religion in the general sense of the word as it is enjoined in the First Commandment. It is not rest which is commanded, but rather, a holy rest." 10 Yet à Brakel is careful to distinguish between one's daily labor as forbidden and works of necessity and mercy that are permitted. Religious labors (i.e., "...when ministers preach in the sweat of their brow..."11), works of absolute necessity, and works of mercy are all lawfully performed on the Sabbath. With reference to the persons included in this Commandment, à Brakel makes the most important point that all men, without distinction, are required to observe an holy resting on the Sabbath. He says, "...All men without distinction are forbidden to work. It is not sufficient that we rest ourselves, but we must also permit our children and servants to rest, and we must even oblige strangers who dwell or stay with us to rest. ...God thus wishes to have complete silence upon the entire face of the earth."¹²

Third, with reference to the *incentives* added to this Commandment, à Brakel promotes three. The first incentive is the very Example of God Himself Who rested the seventh day after creating the entire universe and declaring all that He had made "very good." The second incentive is the good that the observation of the Sabbath does to mankind. Because the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, says à Brakel, "...it is a promise of blessing made to the conscientious

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¹⁰ Ibid, page 142.

¹¹ Ibid, page 142.

¹² Ibid, page 142.

observers of that day; that is, the receipt of comfort, joy, and holiness for the soul, and to render the physical labor of the six workdays to be more prosperous and profitable. For everything is dependent upon the blessing of the Lord, and without this all our labor is in vain (Psalm 127:1-2)."13 The third incentive is in the very nature of the Sabbath as ordained by God because, in that He hallowed the Sabbath day, man must keep the Sabbath for the simple fact that God set it apart for the holy use of worshiping Him in the congregation of fellow believers, as well as in the home, throughout the entirety of the day.

Father Brakel, in good Puritan fashion, turns then to the sins prohibited and the duties enjoined in the Fourth Commandment. He begins with seven sins prohibited in the Fourth Commandment. "First," states à Brakel, "we sin when we do not, with joyous approbation, set the Sabbath apart from the other days, and when we fail to acknowledge that this day has been set apart by God by virtue of His example and command, having appointed it to be a day of rest, refreshment, and glorification of God. This sin consists in disobedience and a despising of privileges."¹⁴ To this prohibition, he adds the sins of turning the Sabbath into a workday like any other, transforming the day into a "market day" for shopping, filling the day with worldly pleasures, spending the time in idleness, as well as speaking against the observance of the Sabbath and mocking or condemning those who do. Of particular interest is the sin of turning the Sabbath into a "day of sin." Within this prohibition, à Brakel includes wearing "hideous, worldly garb...drinking in bars and inns, where one can hear the violin...and playing of drums...having cold buffets in one's yard, elaborate meals in the home...[and] this pertains to going courting.... In one word, we sin if we spend this day in all manner of looseness and

¹³ Ibid, page 143. ¹⁴ Ibid, page 143.

licentiousness. Such sins are double in measure—yes, we provoke God in an extraordinary manner."15

À Brakel divides the virtues enjoined in the Fourth Commandment into three subheadings: preparation, observance, and reflection. Preparing for the Sabbath involves having a knowledge of one's obligation to hallow the day, having a spiritual desire for it, praying for strength to observe it, ceasing one's daily labors in sufficient time to prepare for it, and providing for the necessary sustenance in order that no shopping be done on the Sabbath and the minimal amount of time be required for cooking.

In the matter of Sabbath observance, à Brakel begins by stating, "Observation not only consists in resting—as if that were the whole or part of its observance. It also does not consist in serving God in a more spiritual manner than on other days. Neither does it consist in a narrowminded 'touch not and taste not,' nor in asking, 'May I do this or may I do that?' The Sabbath is not a snare, but rather a day of delight—not, however, for sinful flesh. Those who are spiritually minded will almost always know what either favors or impedes the spirituality of the Sabbath and the hallowing of this day." ¹⁶ Thus, he continues, proper Sabbath observance involves a focusing on the commandment and example of God accompanied by obedient subjection and a love to imitate it, and spending the day withdrawn from one's regular daily labors in order to spend the whole day in the joyful worship of God. One must occupy his time by beholding God's works of creation and providence and meditate upon Christ's redemptive work. Furthermore, faithful attendance to the public gatherings of the Church (note the plural "gatherings"!), visitation of the sick and destitute, Godly fellowship with the saints, and making contribution to the Church and poor, are all integral parts of right Sabbath observance.

¹⁵ Ibid, page 144. ¹⁶ Ibid, pages 145-146.

Turning then to the need for reflection at the close of the Sabbath, à Brakel directs the Christian to consider how the day was spent and note particularly the ways in which he did *not* properly observe it (joining with this recognition the prayer of confession and seeking forgiveness from God with a determination to better keep the day in the future by the grace of God). To this honest self-examination, one must add the good manner in which the Sabbath was kept (though it be so little in comparison to the way in which it was violated), thankful acknowledgment to God for His blessings in the Church on that day, and a deeper yearning for the eternal Sabbath to come.

To all of this, à Brakel adds incentives for keeping the Sabbath—both negative and positive. Negatively, one should consider the way in which God views the violation of the Sabbath and the manner in which He punishes them (and here, à Brakel recommends the following passages for meditation: Leviticus 26:2, 14-16; Nehemiah 13:17-18; Jeremiah 17:27; Ezekiel 20:15-16; and Amos 8:11-12). Positively, one should contemplate the Biblical promises of blessing to those who keep the Sabbath and consider it a delight (Psalm 92:1-2; Isaiah 56:2, 4-7; 58:13-14; as well as Christ's particular stamp upon the day, as seen in His post-resurrection appearances (John 20:1, 19, 26) and His Revelation to John upon the Lord's Day (Revelation 1:10)).

Having opened up this Commandment, à Brakel next turns to a series of objections raised against it. One notes with interest the strong controversy regarding the keeping of the Sabbath that lay in the background. The struggle between strong, Reformed Scholasticism combined with warm, experiential piety in the life and work of Gisbertus Voetius (3 March 1589-1 November 1676) and his successors (including à Brakel) on the one hand, and the move toward compromise in the thought of Johannes Cocceius (9 August 1603-4 November 1669) and his

successors on the other, spills out into à Brakel's defense of the Sabbath and Sabbath-keeping. It is to Cocceius and his successors that the "Continental Sabbath" can be directly attributed. Not so with à Brakel! On the other hand, one finds in à Brakel's view of the Sabbath a very clear agreement with the best Puritan and Reformed Presbyterian divines. Following in the footsteps of the Reformers and early Church Fathers and in keeping with Christ and His apostles, à Brakel understood that the Fourth Commandment is moral, rather than ceremonial, in nature. It was this very point that Cocceius rejected, claiming that the Fourth Commandment was ceremonial in nature and therefore is no longer binding since Christ perfectly fulfilled, and thus abrogated, the whole of the ceremonial law. Rejecting this idea (as well as the notions of Jews, Socinians, Anabaptists, and Antinomians), à Brakel states: "The Church of all ages has been opposed to these propositions. We therefore maintain that this commandment is of the same moral nature as the other nine and does not typify Christ in the least. This commandment not only enjoins public worship, but also the hallowing of the seventh day following six workdays, and that this day be spent in holy resting." 17

To further prove the moral and perpetual nature of the Fourth Commandment, à Brakel shows from Scripture that this Commandment, having been instituted prior to the Fall of man, cannot be ceremonial (Genesis 2:1-3; Exodus 31:17). This is perhaps the strongest Biblical argument against those well-meaning individuals who consider the Fourth Commandment to be abrogated. [Conversely, of course, those who wish to do injury to the Law of God will continue in their rebellion, regardless of the Biblical proofs brought to bear, unless the Lord changes their hearts.] Furthermore, since the commandment to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" is clearly given as the Fourth of the Ten Commandments, it follows that this commandment *cannot*

¹⁷ Ibid, page 150.

be part of the ceremonial law since it was given as part of the moral law. "Whatever commandment is a commandment of the moral law, is not ceremonial, but belongs to the eternal rule of holiness, obligating all men. The *fourth* commandment is a commandment of the moral law, however, and it thus follows..." that the Sabbath is not ceremonial. Again, quoting Matthew 5:16-19, à Brakel continues his defense of the moral and perpetual nature of the Fourth Commandment by contending that, as a part of the Moral Law summarized in the Ten Commandments:

The objective of the Lord Jesus in this passage is to demonstrate that by His coming, conscientious godliness was not abolished. The reference here to the moral law can be determined for the following reasons:

- (1) It is that law which is the rule for good works and thus for a holy life (vs. 16).
- (2) It is that law which Christ did not come to disannul, since He did come to disannul the ceremonial law.
- (3) It is that law which Christ has fulfilled (vs. 17), so that by His obedience we are made righteous (Romans 5:19).
- (4) It is that law which will endure as long as the earth will remain (vs. 18).
- (5) It is that law which one was not permitted to break upon the coming of Christ, but which one was obliged to do and teach (vs. 19).
- (6) It was that law in which murder, the false and unnecessary swearing of oaths, revenge, and adultery are forbidden, and in which generosity and sincere love (even toward enemies) are commanded, this being evident from what follows in this chapter. However, this is the moral law—the law of the Ten Commandments. Thus, the reference here it to the moral law. Now, neither jot nor tittle of this law will pass away as long as the heaven and the earth endure. Therefore, since the *fourth* commandment is a full-fledged commandment of that law, also this commandment will remain and not pass away. Consequently, this commandment is not ceremonial, but an eternal rule of life, as is true of the other commandments.¹⁹

A Brakel continues his defense of the perpetual and binding nature of Sabbath observance as a commandment of the moral—rather than the ceremonial—law by proving from the Scriptures that Christ, His apostles, and the entire early Church faithfully kept the Sabbath

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¹⁸ Ibid, page 158.

¹⁹ Ibid, pages 159-160.

Day. There was, however, one distinct difference; namely, the institution by Christ at His resurrection, and by His and His apostles' examples, of the *first* day of the week—rather than the seventh day—as the Christian Sabbath, also known as the Lord's Day. Quoting such familiar passages as John 20:26 (where the Lord Jesus appeared to His disciples on the first day of the week), Acts 20:6-7 (where Paul observed the Christian Sabbath on the first day of the week), I Corinthians 16:1-2 (where Paul enjoins the bringing in of the collection into the Church upon the first day of the week), and Revelation 1:10 (where the ascended Christ reveals the Revelation to John on the first day of the week, which is the Lord's Day), à Brakel sets forth the Biblical principle of the perpetuity of the Sabbath Day with the change from the seventh to the first day of the week following the resurrection of Christ. He then adds to the Biblical testimony the witness of early Church fathers including Irenaeus, Basilius, Epiphanus, Athanasius, Eusebius, Augustine, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, and Constantinus Magus. His conclusion of this section is that the commandment itself, being given before the fall (and therefore not ceremonial), having been codified with the other nine in the Ten Commandments (and thus necessarily moral) which Christ declared could not pass away so long as the earth endures and therefore remains binding upon all of His people, having been faithfully observed by Christ, His apostles, and the early Church, must, of necessity, remain an integral part of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ throughout every age. "How can anyone therefore reject this day with good conscience? Ought not everyone to be convinced of the eternal duration of the Sabbath, be ashamed over his unsteadfastness and grieve over its desecration, and furthermore, be stirred up to a conscientious observance?",20

²⁰ Ibid, page 164.

À Brakel concludes this chapter on the exposition and defense of the Fourth Commandment by answering various other objections, but sufficient evidence exists to conclude that he was in complete agreement, in doctrine and practice, with the best and most devout minds of the First and Second Reformations. What à Brakel clearly teaches in his exposition is in perfect harmony with the summary statements of the Westminster divines.

- 7. As it is the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so, in His Word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men, in all ages, He hath particularly appointed one day in seven, for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto Him: which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which, in Scripture, is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian Sabbath.
- 8. This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe and holy rest, all the day, from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments, and recreations, but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of His worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.²¹

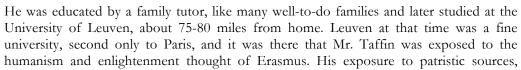
It is of central importance to Christians today—especially in such an age of rampant and rabid antinomianism, even within Reformed circles—to learn from our Godly forbears to obey God and His Word in order that we might glorify Him and faithfully advance the Kingdom of our great Kinsman-Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, through the display of genuine love to Him; for, "If ye love Me, keep My Commandments."²²

²¹ Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter 21, paragraphs 7-8.

²² John 14.15 (Authorised Version).

Jean Taffin (1529-1602)

Mr. Taffn was born into a wealthy Roman Catholic family in present day Belgium to his father, Denis, a prominent lawyer and chief magistrate, and his mother, Catherine. He had four brothers and two sisters, for a total of 7 in all. The city of Tournai was a "Walloon" or French-speaking city in Wallonia, that southern area of present day Belgium





(remember "ad fontes") was quite broad and deep, and he possessed a command of the Christian fathers. After his time in Leuven he traveled to Italy, and attended the University of Padua and from there in 1554 became secretary and librarian to Bishop Antoine Perrenot who was later to become Cardinal Granville, for a three year term, during which time, due in part to his exposure to many prominent members of the nobility and politics, and due also to his studies, he converted to the Reformed Faith.

Upon his conversion he resigned his position, returned to his native Belgium and began ministering to a Church in Antwerp. However, persecution in the lowlands intensified, and he and others fled to Strasbourg, where he spent time with Bucer and Capito, and then from there to Geneva, where he studied under Calvin and Beza, 1558-1559. He would continue correspondence with these two giants long after his departure from Geneva in 1560. He traveled to the French city of Metz, just south of Luxembourg, and there, with three other pastors, enjoyed great success, such that the city was divided into 4 parishes. It was there he also married Miss Quintine, and the couple had one son, Samuel, (1564) who died young.

His first pastorate, he soon developed a reputation as a sound preacher, organizer, and established association with Guido de Bres, author of the Belgic Confession. In 1564 he was involved in efforts to consolidate the Lutheran and Calvinistic efforts against the then-militant and repressive Roman Church, and in 1566 tried unsuccessfully to avert the Iconoclastic riots in the Low Countries, called the Beeldenstorm in Dutch, while he served in Antwerp (1556-7). Returning to Metz in 1567, he ministered for a couple of years more, but then even the tide turned in that city against the Calvinists, and Reformed worship was forbidden by the Magistrate. He moved his family to Heidelberg Germany, where he pastored a small refugee Church from 1570-73. As a Churchman, he was assigned various duties, attending Synods in 1571, 1574, 1578, and 1581, often appointed recorder or secretary. His manner was mild, and he refused strong polemics.

The next phase of his ecclesiastical career was Chaplain to William the Silent, or the First of the House of Orange, 1573, a position he held for more than a decade. He and fellow ministers led daily worship services, provided pastoral counsel and helped with cases of conscience for the Prince and his family. He was instrumental in arranging the marriage of William to Catherine of Bourbon, although his first wife was yet alive, but was an adulteress. He showed his sagacity by involving a council of ministers, granting time for discussion and objections, and when all questions were settled, only then moving forward, 1575. That same year Taffin's wife died, and two years later he married Nicole Castelin, and they had two sons. The Prince chose to reside in Antwerp, and so Mr. Taffin returned to that city. However, after the Prince's policy became tilted toward the magistrate's control over the Church, and other political forces prompted him to move south to Delft, Taffin resigned his chaplaincy, (1583) remaining in Antwerp, ministering to a congregation there. But in 1585 Antwerp fell under Spanish-Catholic control, and once again our friend found himself a refugee. Fleeing to Emden, it was here he wrote the most famous of his works, "The Marks of God's Children" a treatise on how believers ought to cope with affliction. The advance of Hapsburg Spain drove our Preacher still further north, to a Walloon Church in Haarlem where he served from 1585-87. From there, he went to Amsterdam, accepting a pastoral call to the Oudezijdskapel where he ministered along side Jacob Arminius, and thus was involved in the beginning of the Arminian controversy. Interestingly, although the relation between the two men had cooled toward their later years, Taffin's funeral procession left from Arminius' home, because Taffin's was under quarantine—his wife had the plague.

Taffin authored several books. The one we will focus on is called "The Marks of God's Children", a treatise on suffering and the Christian's response to it (translated into English in 1590). He also wrote on the errors of the Anabaptists, Almsgiving, and a book called "The Contrite Life".

Willem Teellink (1579-1629)

The other so-called father of the Nadere Reformatie, and perhaps even more worthy of that title, is Willem Teellink. Willem was born to a prominent family on the island of Duiveland, in southern Netherlands, or Zuiland (Zeeland). His father, Joost, served as Mayor of Zerikzee, and died when Willem was 15 years of age. His mother, Johanna de Jonge survived her husband by 15 years, but not in good health for most of that time. Well educated, Willem studied Law at St. Andrews in Scotland, and at Poiters, where he graduated with an earned doctorate in 1603. The following year Mr. Teellink spent 9 months with a Puritan community in England, with a godly family in Banbury. There for the first time he experienced that Puritan lifestyle of family worship, private prayer, sermon discussion or "godly conferences", Sabbath observance, spiritual fellowship, self-examination, heartfelt piety, and the strong encouragement to good works, and he was profoundly impressed. Banbury was a godly town, Psalm singing could be heard in the streets every Sabbath from



the private homes. For his part, Teellink would say that he was converted to Christ during this time of his life. After a day of prayer and fasting, and weeks of consultation with theologians in England, he decided to study theology, and to enter a life of ministry. He crossed the channel and went to Leiden, where he studied under Trelcatius, Gomarus, and Arminius. However, before he left for the continent, he met Martha Greendon, a young puritan woman from Derby, who shared his love for the Praxis Pietatis. Their first son, Johannes, died in infancy, and they later had three others, all of whom grew up to become Gospel ministers. They also had two daughters, one of whom married a Gospel minister, the other a political official at Middleburg. Teellink's family life was hospitable, philanthropic, as might be expected of one with Puritan conviction. Accompanying this was a commitment to spiritual discussion, family fasting once or twice a year, and simplicity in clothing and furnishing. He was ordained as a minister of the Word and Sacraments in 1606.

His first pastorate was on the island of his birth, Duiveland, where he stayed for 7 years. He found village life difficult as a pastor, and minutes of classis show much work in discipline, endeavoring to combat the Sabbath desceration, alcohol abuse, fighting, carnival attendance, disorderliness, etc. He wrote in favor of wholesome laws of the commonwealth to combat the evils he saw in the village life. He looked to the magistrate to enforce a Biblical morality with the power of the coercion. He visited England and preached to the Dutch congregation in London while renewing ties with his former mentors, and in 1612 was a delegate to the National Estates General Synod to resolve the growing problems associated with Arminianism. He pastored in Middleburg from 1613 until his death in 1629, a flourishing city that had 6 Reformed Churches—4 Dutch, 1 French, and 1 English. Christians were drawn to his pastorate by his Godly demeanor, sincere conversation, searching pulpit ministry, selfless demeanor, and his practical writings. He developed a mystical tendency in his later life, and emphasized in his writing a preaching an emphasis upon affections and feelings, rather than upon sound doctrine as the basis for these affections. Dr. Beeke writes, of this later period, "Feelings and emotions are accentuated more than faith".

As a Preacher he was practical, and doctrinal. He focused on the necessity of repentance often, and the practice of godliness. He rebuked sin, pronounced God's impending judgments, and at the same time drew people into the love of God wooing them to Christ. He taught them their need, and drove them to Christ. Sometimes uncomfortably coarse, he despised trivialities in his preaching. He also spoke of current events, and added eternal perspective to them. When national blessing and riches increased, he spoke of the "true riches". He was sometimes criticized as legalistic for preaching against Sabbath desecration, overindulgence in meat and drink, neglect of discipline and fasting, but these were only a part of what he considered his duty. He deplored what he perceived to be "spiritual deadness" in some professors of religion, and sought to awaken his hearers to a living and active faith. He is sometimes called the "William Perkins" of the Nadere Reformatie for that same kind of Puritan foundation he provided. He sought to move the Reformation beyond doctrine into Reformed life and practice.

As a writer he was prolific. In all 127 manuscripts, 60 of them printed, and 20 of them full length books. His writings are divided into 5 categories: Exegetical, Catechetical, Edificatory, Admonitory, Polemical. In these works, common themes arise: Sanctification, Sacraments, Devotion, and Sabbath keeping. Our sample is "The Path of True Godliness", his major work on sanctification. Divided into 9 "books" and each divided book into 9 subheads, was originally called "North-Star, Showing the right Direction of True Godliness".

Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676)

He has developed the reputation as the "John Owen" of the Nadere Reformatie for his great intellect and intricate argumentation in the cause both of Theology and Philosophy, as well as his efforts to wed sound theology to practical piety as the doctrines of Christianity are lived out in daily life. Although largely ignored by English speakers, he is a household name among those who study the Nadere Reformatie. Dr. Beeke writes, "Voetius serves as proof that historically the expression "dead orthodoxy" is a misnomer, for such orthodoxy has never been orthodox. Orthodox Reformed Scholastics like Voetius have always resonated with a vital warmth and heartfelt piety."



He was born in Huesden in the Netherlands, abut 40 miles inland, east of Dordrect and Zuidland. His family was reformed. His Grandfather died in a Spanish prison for the sake of the Gospel, and his father was imprisoned as well. He was released however, but died 8 years after Gisbertus was born, fighting for Prince Maurice against the Spaniards. He studied theology at Leiden from 1604 to 1611. He also studied under the orthodox Gomarus and the not-so-much Arminius. He would later write, "I shall be Gomarus' grateful disciple to the end of my life". He was appointed lecturer in Logic, and taught Reformed Orthodoxy. His however was a departure from the standards of his day, in that the logic he taught was the newly embraced Aristotelianism, rather than the more standard Ramist logic that was then in use by the Reformed and Puritan writers. Remember the brief time we spent with William Ames, who was Ramist.

He read Thomas a Kepmis, "The Imitation of Christ" and was deeply impressed at its striving for a devotional life, and this book profoundly affected him in his own desire for piety. 1610 saw a temporary triumph in the Netherlands for the Arminian party, and so his hopes for an academic career were disappointed. Gomarus was forced from the faculty at Leiden, and Voetius was put out of the dormitory and forced to take up lodging with friends. Being denied by the magistrates from Heusden to travel abroad for study, he accepted a call from a small unorganized group of Reformed believers at Vlijmen, being recommended by Gomarus, not too far from Heusden and the city of s'-Hertogenbosch. In the late summer of 1611 he was ordained to the Gospel ministry, and organized the saints of Vlijmen into a Congregation with Elders and Deacons. The Church remained small during his 6 years of ministry—the town itself was predominantly Roman Catholic. During this pastorate he continued his studies: He mastered Arabic, studied William Perkins, battled Arminianism, and married his wife with whom he would live for 64 years, Deliana van Diest, the Lord blessing them with 10 children during the course of their years together. In 1617 he moved his family back to Heusden, where he began a pastorate there that would last 17 years.

In 1618-19 he served, even as a young man, at the Synod of Dordt. There he defended Maccovius and his supralapsarian views, appealing to William Ames. Also, he developed many close ties to the English puritans in attendance at that worthy Synod. He gained in stature with men after his time at Dordt, being given oversight of the archives of that Synod, serving on a commission to purge Leiden of Arminianism, and helping with the rise of anti-ecclesiastical conventicles that rose up around Anabaptism and Arminianism. He also, during his 17 years at Heusden, gained a reputation as a competent theological writer, and scholastic theologian. He wrote against the errors of Arminianism, and also a treatise called "Meditation on the True Practice of Godliness or Good Works". Here we see his doctrinal and polemic excellence, as well as his longing for piety in the Church.

In 1634 he accepted a position at the Academy of Utrecht, where he taught for the rest of his earthly life, 42 years, until 1676. In his inaugural address, he argued that theological knowledge and Christian piety are not to be separated. This was the driving paradigm of his ministry, and tenure at Utrecht. The "Illustrious School" was founded at Utrecht, and Voetius was appointed its rector. In typical fashion, he sought that the school would be a seedbed to train the youth of the Church in knowledge and piety. In his theological lectures, he taught logic, metaphysics, Semitic languages, and dogmatic theology. His texts were the works of Ames, Gomarus, Maccovius, and of course Calvin's Institutes. For 36 of his 42 years at Utrecht, he kept a half time schedule of preaching and pastoring as well, visiting the sick, and catechizing orphaned children. He published a 700 page work, "The Exercises and Library of a Studious Theologian" which was an introduction to the theological literature of the day and a four year program of theological study, and again, formulating a means in integrating theological knowledge and practice. He published his 5 volumes of selections from his debates, an outgrowth of his Saturday Seminars, in which he would choose a topic, instruct debaters on how to defend the orthodox view, and then invite questions and opposition. These volumes contain the notes on some 358 debates. At his funeral in 1676, he was called a "giant among trailblazers". McKlintock and Strong have said of him, "Few men have in any age exercised greater influence over the Church of their time and country".

Wilhelmus A'Brakel (1635-1711)

The next theologian in our study is Wilhelmus A'Brakel, one of the most widely read and beloved of the Dutch Churches. He was born in 1635 in Leeuwarden, in the North of the Netherlands, the only son among 5 sisters, to Margaretha Homma and Theodorus A' Brakel, who was a Reformed Pastor of great piety known for his treatise, "The Steps of Grace in the Spiritual Life". Raised in a godly home, Wilhelmus was converted as a boy. In 1654, at age 19 he entered the academy of Franeker. His studies included languages, philosophy, history, and especially theology. He was admitted by the Classis of Leeuwarden in 1659 as a minister, but there was a lack of vacancies, so he traveled to Utrecht and studied under Voetius and Essenius. He served as a minister in the National Church of the Netherlands, in five pastorates, for nearly 50 years. He served in Exmorra, Friesland 1662-65, where he met and married his wife Sara Nevius, a widow. Interestingly,



after her first husband died, Sara attended the Utrecht conventicles under the teaching of Voetius. The congregation there was small, and the labors difficult due to a widespread religious indifference. His second pastoral charge was at Stavoren 1665-70. It was here that he first met the French separatist minister, Jean de Labadie. After this he was called to Harlingen, a flourishing port city 1670-73, and accounts are that his ministry there was very fruitful. He returned to his home town of Leeuwarden in 1673-83, and ministered there to a very large Church, with 5 other ministers and thousands of members. In 1683 he accepted a pastoral call to Rotterdam, and left his home-land of Friesland, traveling south, to "Zuid-Hollande" or "South Holland, across the Zuiderzee. It was here that he served until his death in 1711.

There were several controversies that burdened our preacher. In the 1670's First, at Stavoren, he founded several conventicles, the goal of which was spirituality, an intimate time of speaking to one another about the Word of God, etc. The difficulty was that the consistory of the Church opposed the conventicles, believing that they would become "churches within churches" and foster a separatist mindset, and would ultimately lead to schism in the Church. The classis of Leeuwarden admonished A' Brakel for his instrumentality in starting the conventicles. Historically speaking, such conventicles were already in use, and had troubled the Church. They are also discouraged in the Westminster Directory for Family Worship. A second controversy had to do with another Nadere Reformatie divine, Jacobus Koelman. Koelman was a fiery preacher, and especially in renouncing sin. He also rejected the Church liturgy, such as forms for baptism, the Lord's Supper, and for prayers, believing that they "quenched the Spirit". He was deposed by the government as a minister for his views, and this angered A' Brakel, for he believed that the government should not be the administrator of the Church's affairs. However, Koelman was also deposed by the consistory. However, then Koelman visited A' Brakel in Leeuwarden, (1677) he was rebuked by the classis, and came into conflict with the government. He himself was thus suspended from all ministerial duties for four weeks, but refused to stop his work. Ultimately he signed a statement in which he promised to honor the government and to teach the same. His strong stand increased his fame throughout the Nederlands. A third controversy in Friesland had to do with another Reformed Minister, David Flud van Giffen. Van Giffen was the author of some new teaching which disparaged Systematic Theology in favor of a new method, what we now know as Biblical Theology, only van Giffen's use was far beyond reason, positing as the first use of the OT a prophetic use, rather than an exegetical use for the historical milieu into which it was spoken. He was a student of Jacobus Cocceius, but had taken his ideas in a more radical direction than Cocceius himself. As an example, he preached a sermon in response to a neighboring minister on Psalm 8, that the Psalm was a prophecy about the birth of Christ, even when penned by David originally. A' Brakel then took up the pulpit the following Lord's Day and preached the classical position, that the Psalm was the expression of holy amazement at the psalmist concerning the wondrous care of God over His people, and over all the earth. The fourth and final controversy for our study is the Labadarian controversy, named after its founder, Jean de Labidie, which took place while A' Brakel was at Rotterdam. Although at one time sympathetic to their cause, he saw that the views of de Labadie led inexorably to separatism, mysticism, and finally to a weakening of one's views of the Scripture and Church, and an exaltation of the mystical inclinations of the Spirit of God. This sect taught that the Church was corrupt, full of unbelievers, was impure, and needed purifying. Later however, the group believed that the institutional Church was irreparably damaged, and must be forsaken for their small conventicles. They instructed their followers not to attend churches, not to take the Lord's Supper, (which was to throw off their membership) and instead to follow the leading of the Spirit, not needing a Church or ministry. A' Brakel wrote and taught against this sect he had once entertained.

His master-work, The Christian's Reasonable Service was read by a majority of families as part of their worship, and he came to be known as "Vader (father) Brakel" for that work. In three parts, it is a Systematic, Ethical, and Historical treatment of Christian doctrine and life. Used in family worship, the family would read a "stukije van Vader Brakel".

Herman Witsius (1636-1708)

Witsius was born in Enkhuisen, in North Holland, north-west of Amsterdam on the coast, to God-fearing parents. His father, Nicholas, served as an elder in the Church for more than 20 years, as well as a member of the city council. He was also a writer of devotional poetry. His mother, Johanna, was daughter to Herman Gerhard, pastor for 30 years of the Reformed Church in Enkhuisen. He was named after his grandfather in hopes that he would follow his godly example. He began his Latin studies at age 5, and was tutored by his uncle, Peter Gerhard at age 8, the latter noticing the excellent gifts in the young lad. Coming to study Theology at Utrecht at age 15, he was already fluent in Latin, could read Greek and Hebrew, and had memorized many verses of Scripture in the original. He studied Syriac, Arabic, and Theology at Utrecht under such lights as Leusden, Hoornbeeck, Essenius, whom he called his father in the Lord, and of course, Voetius. Leaving Utrecht he traveled to the university at



Groningen, where he studied homiletics under Maresius. Returning to Utrecht in 1653, he was greatly influenced by the local minister Justus van der Bogaerdt, such that under his teaching he learned to understand the difference between theological knowledge and communion with the Holy Ghost, through love, prayer, and meditation. He believed he was converted in Utrecht. In his own words, he was delivered "from the pride of science, taught to receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child, led beyond the outer court in which he had previously been inclined to linger, and conducted to the sacred recesses of vital Christianity." He was declared a candidate for ministry in 1656, at the age of 20 and ordained in 1657, and began ministerial work at Westwoud near his childhood home. His catechetical work there bore great fruit, but there were medieval superstitions as well, and he was troubled at the membership of the church which still prayed for the dead, etc. Here he published his first tract, "The Sorrowing Netherlands". He married Aletta von Borchorn, daughter of a merchant, who himself was an elder in the Church. They were blessed with 24 years of marriage, 5 children, two of which were sons who died young, and three daughters. In 1661 he accepted a call to pastor the Church at Wormer, one of the largest Churches in Holland, and ministered there with his friend Petrus Goddaeus. They taught classes during the week to defend the truth, and to inculcate godly practice. Eventually, they were standing room only. The lectures were printed, and titled "The Practice of Christianity". In 1666 he accepted a call to Goes, where he labored for two years with three other ministers, and Witsius speaks of this time as a very rewarding, and peaceful time. He was called to pastor at Leeuwarden in 1668, where he served for 7 years. He served with A' Brakel for the last 2 years of his tenure there. Then in 1675 he accepted a professorship at Francker (1675-80) then at Utrecht (1680-98) and finally at Leiden, where he finished his career (1698-1707). He was awarded a doctorate in theology at Francker.

He is best known for his work on covenant theology, titled, "The Economy of the Covenants Between God and Man, Comprehending a Complete Body of Divinity". It is a masterful work on the covenants, in which Witsius attempted something of a reconciliation of the Cocceian and Voetian parties of his day. Voetius representing the more orthodox understanding, systematizing the entire Scriptures into a unified whole, and Cocceius dividing the Scriptures unnecessarily, separating the working of God into various distinct and unfolding plans. It will be remembered that Cocceius eventually in his teaching denied the moral perpetuity of the Sabbath and 4th commandment, relegating that observance to a past age. In this work, which by all accounts is not a complete body of divinity but a treatise on the covenants, Witsius uses the "method of Cocceius, but the doctrine of Voetius. For a complete body of divinity from Witsius, one should add his exposition of the Apostles' Creed.

At Utrecht, he was honored twice as the head of the university. He was appointed in 1685 as a delegate to represent the Dutch Government at the coronation of James II in England, and to serve as chaplain at the Netherlands embassy in London. While there he studied the English Puritans, became acquainted with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was called upon to mediate disputes between the antinomians and neonomians. He also facilitated translation of Goodwin, Cave, and Gataker into Dutch. While at Utrecht he also opposed a strange mixture of Cocceianism and Cartesian philosophy propounded by Herman Roell, believing that it undermined the authority of Scripture. He argued that reason must serve faith, and not vice versa, because even in the regenerate the capacity of reason was fallen. Reason must give way to Scripture as the foundation of all knowledge. At Utrecht he finished what has come to be known as his "trilogy": Exposition of the Apostles's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and his Economy of the Covenants. At 62, he accepted a call to serve at the University of Leiden as a professor. He was in ill health the last 6 years of life, but labored in spite of his weakness. Near death, he told his close friend, Johannes A' Marck, that he was "persevering in the faith that he had long enjoyed in Christ".

Alexander Comrie (1706-1774)

Born in 1706 in Perth, Scotland, the son of Patrick Comrie, an attorney, and Rachell Vause. His parents desired that he would follow his great-grandfather, and mother's stepfather into the Presbyterian ministry. As a youth, he was catechized by no less than Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, and was greatly influenced by the writing of Thomas Boston. Postponing his studies due to financial difficulty, he traveled to Rotterdam and worked for a merchant there. Three years later he enrolled at Groningen and studied under Driessen and van Velsen. In 1733 he transferred to Leiden to study philosophy, and was awarded a Ph.D. for his critical work on the thought of Descartes. He was called as minister of the parish of Woubrugge, near Leiden, where he pastored for 38 years until 1773, one year before his death. Comrie married three times. His first wife, whom he married in 1737 died shortly after the birth of their first child, Rachel Cornelia. He married Maria van de Pijll in 1741. She died in 1764. Finally, he married Catharina



de Reus in 1766. His reputation was as an able, experiential preacher. He often focused on the doctrine of faith and its properties, proclaiming a free offer of grace to all his hearers. His applications at the end of his expositions are brief, pointed, and often divided to the believer, unbeliever, and seeker. The seeker is pointed to Christ, the unsaved warned, the strong believer is exhorted to godliness, and the weak believer is comforted with gospel promises.

He wrote four major works in which he attempted, like Voetius, to marry Reformed Orthodoxy with experimental piety. The first, a collection of transcribed sermons, was published in 1749. The second was a book on various scriptural terms that describe Biblical faith, called the ABC of Faith, a major work on the Scriptural properties of Saving Faith was published in 1744. Next, a commentary on the first 7 Lord's Day readings of the Heidelberg Catechism (1753) and finally an extended tract on the reformed doctrine of justification (1761). His writing on faith was quite scholastic, distinguishing between the habit and act of faith as the foundation for his understanding.

A great desire of his was also to promote Puritan Piety. To this end, he translated several English works into Dutch. The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification (Walter Marshall), The Covenant of Grace (Thomas Boston), Brief Exposition of the Twelve Small Prophets (George Hutcheson), among others. He was a polemic defender of reformed theology against neonomianism, Arminianism, and rationalism. He teamed up with Nichlaus Holtius and wrote against the efforts to reconcile Calvinism with Arminianism, pressing the Dutch Reformed Standards of the Church. He wrote against rationalism, and against ministers that were imbibing in those tainted and poisoned wells. In short, he was not afraid to stand for the truth against the errors of his day.

Comrie died in 1774, and at his request was buried in an unmarked grave at St. Janskerk in Gouda.

Theodorus van der Groe (1705-1784)

The next theologian in our study is Theodorus van der Groe one of the last of the Nadere Reformatie. He is also one of the best known in the Netherlands. He was born in Swammerdam, which I believe is in Zuid-Holland. He studied theology at Leiden upon the request of his father, who was also a minister. His two most influential professors were Johannes A' Marck and Taco Hajo van den Honert. He became a candidate for the ministry in 1729, and in 1730 was installed as a preacher Rijnstaterwoude, also in Zuid-Holland. His own testimony is that he was converted during this time in his first pastorate, at the age of 30, which profoundly affected his preaching. He began to preach on the death of Adam, and life in Christ, to count all but dung for the knowledge of Christ. Such preaching met with some resistance from the comfortable membership there in Rijnstaterwoude. In 1740 he received a call to pastor in Kralingen, where he ministered for



his remaining 44 years. He preached the Gospel, warned against sin, worldliness, and of divine judgment. As Dr. Beeke writes, "He was a watchman on Zion's walls, heralding forth law and gospel, breaking down the work of man and building up the work of God, separating saving faith from false forms of faith."

Van der Groe found himself at odds with some of his Nadere Reformatie brothers on the doctrine of assurance, believing that assurance was of the essence of saving faith, and that faith without full assurance was not truly saving.

In his 49th year, he married his only wife, Johanna Bichon. He was often sickly and weak, and wrote pastoral letters to his friends and Church members from his sick bed. He would write, "With Lodenstein, I feel I am merely a dead dog before God. But I lean on Christ and am carried by Him. All my guilt lies reconciled and satisfied through Christ. I cannot bring two words together to form a true prayer, but Christ is my all." He died in 1784, full of faith and assurance, embracing the promises of God.

His writings emphasized the need for a living, active faith, what the Puritans called an "experimental" faith—that is, standing up to the test of examination. His writings included a three volume commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, titled "The Christian's Comfort in Life and Death as Declared in the Heidelberg Catechism". He also wrote a treatise on faith titled, "Description of True, Saving Faith". Sermon volumes include "De genezing van de blinde Bartimeus" (The Healing of Blind Bartimaeus); a two-volume set of forty-eight sermons on the sufferings of Christ, a volume of seventeen sermons on conversion, and two volumes for Prayer Day containing thirty sermons in all. Perhaps is most famous work in English is his treatise called "The Publican's Prayer. This booklet clearly sets forth the stark contrast between the prayer of the publican and that of the Pharisee. The publican's humility is shown through his penitent feet, penitent eyes, and penitent hands, which is then contrasted with the Pharisee's pride shown through his bold feet, bold eyes, and bold hands. The publican is concerned about his relation with God; the Pharisee, his relation with man. The publican pleads upon God's character of mercy; the Pharisee does not really pray at all. The publican goes to his home justified; the Pharisee returns condemned. Here is vintage, experiential Puritan material. Here is an excerpt from that work: "This then is the great and blessed lesson which the Publican teaches us by his prayer: that a true and unfeigned repentance is never present without true faith. Through the one the sinner loses life in himself and through the works of the law, and through the other he finds life everlasting through mercy in Christ. When a sinner is truly penitent, then his heart is wholly laid low through a sense of the heavy burden of his sins and of God's righteous condemnation and terrifying wrath. This burden presses the poor man as it were down to the earth and he becomes completely exhausted under it. If he could not now have a view by faith of the merciful majesty of God in Christ, and could not with the serpent-bitten Israelites look upon the uplifted brasen serpent, the crucified Son of man, then the miserable and dejected sinner would utterly succumb and perish, for he finds no means whereby his life can be saved and reserved, apart from Christ and mercy. The hypocrite, in his hour of greatest need, when in danger of drowning, is always able to lay hold of a plank of selfrighteousness, and on that he floats along until he comes here or there to land at last. But a true penitent who is quite cast down under the burden of sins and God's anger, can find no salvation in tears or good desires, through sudden joy or vain delusion, nor through anything else. He sees and feels himself for all that, completely and eternally lost. There remains nothing for him than the Lord Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and God's pure mercy, promised freely to truly penitent and despondent sinners in the sacred Gospel."

The Spiritual brotherhood of the "Second" or "Further" reformation that existed between England and the Netherlands and America. This study concentrates upon the puritan fraternity between England and the Netherlands.

DUTCH PURITANISM-AN INTRODUCTION

THE PURITAN TRIUMVIRATE

Thomas Allie

DUTCH PURITANISM

AN

INTRODUCTION

I. BRIEF LOOK AT THE NETHERLANDS





A. Known as the **Dutch Republic from 1581** to **1795** under the

leadership of the <u>Protestant</u> **William I, Prince of Orange**, it broke away from the <u>Catholic</u> **Philip II** of Spain and set off the **Eighty Years' War.**

- 1. A portion of the **Low Countries** remained under Spanish control, which comprises all of modern **Belgium** and **Luxembourg**.
 - 2. The reasons for the revolt from **Philip II** were:
 - a. Philip's **centralization** of power which would result in the political demise of the local provinces
 - b. Philip's **persecution** of the Protestants.
 - c. Philip's high taxation.
- **B.** The Dutch became a powerhouse, developing a strong navy, mercantile trade, colonization, banking and the stock market trade through the establishment of the **Dutch East India Company.**
- **C.** The **Republic** consisted of **seven provinces** which had their seats at **The Hague** and consisted of **representatives** from each of the provinces.
- 1. There were significant struggles for power between the semi-hereditary **stadholders**, who were principally those who supported the **House of Orange**

(Calvinists) and the **Republicans** (Arminians) who were for more democratic principles of government.

2. These divisions played a determining role in the **Remonstrant schism** and ensuing **Synod of Dort (1618)**, both in the make-up of the delegates and in the enforcement of that synod's findings.

II. GENERAL TIME PERIOD OF DUTCH PURITANISM

A. It may be imperfectly illustrated that in the **First Reformation**, that epoch which was everywhere styled **Lutheran**, came *eating and drinking*-instructing the people in the doctrines of justification by free grace without works.

- 1. In that styled the **Second or Further Reformation**, they came as it were *fasting and praying*-admonishing the people against **Antinomianism** and that without holiness no man shall see the Lord.
- **B.** According to **Joel Beeke** and **Randall J. Pederson** in their book entitled **Meet the Puritans**, Dutch Puritanism begins with **Willem Teellinck** and ends with **Alexander Comrie** and **Theodorus van der Groe**; approximately **1600-1780**.
- 1. Interestingly, both **Teellinck** and **Comrie** were significantly influenced by Scottish and English Puritans.
- a. **Comrie** (besides having a Scottish ministerial lineage in **Andrew Gray** and **George Hutcheson**) was catechized under **Ebenezer** and **Ralph Erskine** and **Thomas Boston**.
- b. **Teellinck** was educated in the **University of St. Andrews** and resided for a time among an English Puritan community. This had a most powerful affect upon him and was instrumental in his conversion.
- B. The **Dutch Puritan** period begins and ends later than the puritan era of England, which is approximately **1560-1689** or from Thomas Cartwright to the Act of Toleration under William III (born in The Hague, in the Netherlands) and Mary II (daughter of James II) upon the Glorious Revolution. After this date puritan history fades into the history of **Dissent** at which time the strength, vigor, insight and vitality of puritanism is virtually over.
- 1. Within this **English Puritan** period there are <u>three divisions</u> simply put: the **early**, **middle** and **later** period.
- a. During this **middle** period, approximately the later years of **Elizabeth** and the entirety of **James I**, is the seeding period of the English puritan scion.
- b. It is during this period when the reform of the English church stalled that the ministers specially focused on <u>towns</u>, <u>parishes</u>, <u>families</u> and <u>individual souls</u>.

- c. Some ministers such as **Thomas Cartwright** migrated to the continent as **Presbyterians** and remained such, though sometimes because of circumstances acted in a <u>congregational</u> manner. Some went over as **Presbyterians** but became **Congregational**, though not <u>separatistic</u>, such as **William Ames**. Some went over **Congregational** and remained so such as **Thomas Goodwin**. Some went over as **congregational** or radical **Separatists** (or became such) or worse (the covenanted, the disciplined and the aloof sect from all others).
- 1) The device of the Congregationalist was the <u>church covenant</u> as at <u>Middelburg</u>, that "solemn and explicit covenant with God and one another or likewise at <u>Rotterdam</u>, "which everyone makes with the Church, when he is first admitted and received to be a member of it." These covenants even made it into some <u>Presbyterian</u> churches where there was a strong <u>congregational faction</u> (Compare Champlin Burrage, The Church Covenant Idea: Its Origin and Its <u>Development</u>, 1904).
- a] According to **Keith Sprunger** in his book entitled **The Learned William Ames, Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism**, whether the churches were **Congregational** or **Presbyterian** or **Separatists**, the **English-Scottish** churches devoted themselves to discipline and rigid standards of membership (pg.222). The **English-Scottish** churches in the **Netherlands** were especially concerned about admittance to the **Table.** It was the custom in **England**, said **William Perkins** that **"Many come to the Lord's Table, and yet will not brook reformation of life..." The churches in the Netherlands** addressed this looseness directly.
 - b] In these disciplined churches it was considered no unusual event to be suspended from the sacrament (especially Anglican ministers in good standing!). Some at Rotterdam complained "of the difficulty of the way to heaven here more than in England or the gospel" (Sprague, ibid. pg. 223). In some of the more separatistic churches this purifying of the church affected parents seeking to bring forward their children for baptism. The American Congregational churches will deal with this same conundrum with the resultant Half-way Covenant.
- 2) Since Puritan organization and structure was fluid and unsettled, many ideological **Presbyterians** often performed in a congregationalistic manner, and sometimes this step led to ideological **Congregationalism.** This jump often was small since: (1) they were absent from Anglican controls or almost any other authority. (2) They did not speak the language of the Dutch. And (3) the congregations were scattered throughout and there was a necessity to *go it*

alone. In these settings **congregationalism** became the special outgrowth of many of the English Puritans.

- 3) The **Congregationalists** were opposed to the emerging **Presbyterianism** which was **English puritanism**, thereby not only resisting the **Bishops** but the **Presbyterians** in **England** and in **Holland** as well. These warned Presbyterian ministers that to yield and submit to <u>presbyteries</u> and <u>synods</u> was tantamount to submitting to <u>bishops</u>. In their opinion, these authoritative assemblies were as equally removed from the people as the English Bishops, and would be correspondingly inclined to abuse the people.
- 4) Except for **Amsterdam** and **Leiden** the early English and Scottish congregations were under the **English Classis**, which for the most part were free from inspection and supervision from the **Dutch authorities**. This worked well for the **Congregationalists** since the English Classis rarely met.
- 2. Because of the gap of a generation or more, the **English-Scottish puritans** were generally parent to the **Dutch puritans**. This was particularly true in such a leading figure as the <u>Ramist</u> **William Perkins** whose works were translated into <u>Dutch</u> and prodigiously circulated in the **Netherlands**. His writings were greatly beneficial and helped form a bond between Dutch and English divines. **J. van der Haar** records **185** seventeenth century publications in **Dutch** of **Perkins** writingstwo times that of any other Puritan (**Meet the Puritans** e-book loc.1656).

III. THE PURITAN TRIUMVIRATE

- **A**. There developed a substantial, fraternal and practical relationship among the puritans of **England**, the **Netherlands** (sometimes simply called **Holland** although it was itself a separate province) and **America**.
- 1. From England the puritans might move <u>eastward to the Continent</u> or westward to America.
- a. America was virtually a lifetime commitment but a continental stay could easily be terminated.
- b. During the <u>Elizabethan period</u> <u>Middelburg</u> in the <u>Netherlands</u> was the main stay for puritans such as <u>Thos. Cartwright</u>. As the years passed other cities became more popular such as <u>Amsterdam</u>, <u>Rotterdam</u>, <u>Leiden</u>, <u>Delft</u>, and <u>Arnhem</u>.
- c. Communications and ideas flowed back and forth alike in the cross pollination between the **Netherlands**, **England** and **New England**.
- d. The **Remonstrant** strength would be centered in the provinces of **Holland** and **Utrecht**.

- 2. They offered and received mutual subsistence and support in times of need.
- a. Sometimes the Dutch would migrate to England to flee the Spanish tyranny but more often the English puritans found refuge among the Dutch.
- 3. Puritan ministers of opposing ecclesiastical stripes found a hospitable sanctuary here and did very well in ministering to the many English already living there.
- a. These settlers of the **Anglo-Scottish** believers were about 40 congregations and 350 ministers in almost every large town of the western Netherlands. These were allowed to form separate **presbyteries** or **classis** within the **Dutch Reformed Church**.
- b. Positions were found in ministering to the **English Merchant Adventurers** community and **English troops** stationed there. **William Ames** for example was <u>chaplain</u> to **Sir Horace Vere** (commander of English Forces) and <u>preacher</u> to the English inhabitants at **The Hague** for several years. One anti-puritan contemporary in **1632** counted twenty-five or thirty English churches in the Netherlands, mostly havens of *disorderly preachers* or Puritans.
- 1) The largest group of English-Scotch settlers were those of the <u>army</u> who received their pay from the **States General in Netherlands** in its war against Catholic Spain. Next to these were <u>merchant</u> and <u>craftsman</u> nearly all who petitioned the **States** to establish <u>churches</u> and obtain <u>ministers</u> who would usually be paid a stipend by the **States General**-i.e. they would be state-supported Reformed preachers to the English congregations.
- 2) The consequence was that those soldiers returning home along with the English youth being sent back to receive their education at Cambridge would return carrying a reformed worship with them. In the judgment of those returning, the government, worship and life of the English church erred significantly and the need for a complete reformation was petitioned, sought and demanded. Ritual and ceremony would not substitute for Biblicism, purity and sound preaching. This caused great debates and conflicts in the English Church.
- c. Thus the English and Scottish puritans influenced many of the Dutch with their practical divinity and sermons, which in the Netherlands had devolved into dry intellectualistic exercises. Reciprocally those who returned to the Nation of their mother tongue brought Dutch influences with them.
- 3. **Publishing** was impressively implemented by the puritans in the Netherlands. These works were sent back to England and sometimes to America for the further reformation of church and manners. More Reformed books were printed at this

time in the Netherlands than all other countries combined. Writing, printing and exporting were prodigious and very effective.

- 1) Many in **England** thought that they were well rid of the puritans when they took ship but others saw their influence being increased at home while they were abroad.
- 1) **Sprague** writes: When nonconforming **William Bridge** in 1636 fled from Norwich to Holland, **Charles I** curtly dismissed him, "Let him go, we are well berid of him." Quite the reverse, argued Edward Misselden, Anglican informant in Holland, for when the refractory Puritan escaped to Holland, his capacity for mischief was greater than ever. One of the means of mischief which, as Misselden styled it, was the puritan's proclivity for publishing. They printed books of all hues, generally abusive to the Church of England.
- 2) From Such Presses, especially in **Amsterdam**, came the writings of **Thomas Cartwright**, **Paul Baynes**, **William Twisse**, **William Ames**, **Walter Travers**, etc. Puritans of all stripes worked together to make the Bishops cruelty known to the entire world, and were applauded with back slaps all around.
- 3) It was not till **Archbishop Laud** that real and significant repressions came upon the refugees. His argument was threefold:
 - 1] An open Netherlands to the Puritans encouraged dissent at home.
 - 2] In Holland the puritans held important and influential posts which gave them a larger influence.
 - 3] The Low Countries became a **Seminary of and for Dissent** to leaven England.
- B. The Netherlands were considerably tolerant, especially for their times. Those usually tolerated were French and English Reformed, Brownists, Jewish
 Synagogues, Lutherans, Arminians and Anabaptists. The Puritan brethren themselves, once abroad, broke into ecclesiastical factions: Separatist, Presbyterian, and Congregational.
- 1. **Sprague** relates (ibid.pg. 33) that the Puritan nonconformists in the Netherlands were generally allowed to run free so long as they caused no particular disturbance.
- 2. As mentioned from here <u>ministers</u>, <u>soldiers</u>, <u>merchants</u> and <u>books</u> made their way back to the English speaking countries.
- 3. Against these Puritanizing influences, the English government pressed the Netherlander County and City magistrates to put a stop to these ecclesiastical outlaws. However in pre-Laudian days the English official canons were not so strictly enforced abroad by her representatives, since obtaining good and decent

men was difficult and they were better than not having any minister at all. This was particularly apparent when compared to the scandalous Anglican Clergy.

a. Still they were generally passed by and allowed to labor until the coming of **Archbishop Laud**. Ironically at the ascendency of Laud emigration from England burgeoned.

IV. THE SPIRITUAL BROTHERHOOD

A. The appellation "Puritan" has been difficult for historians to precisely define, and the historical context has an important bearing in properly defining it. What **Keith Sprunger** says rings true: *Puritans are made, not born*. Strictly it means that Calvinistic reform movement within the **Church of England** seeking to bring the English church into close conformity with the continental **Reformed Churches**, particularly the **Genevan** model. Loosely *Puritan* refers to that movement of *holiness to the Lord* in both <u>Church</u> and <u>State</u>; In every area of <u>Doctrine</u>, <u>Worship</u> and the <u>Personal Practice</u> of godliness from *faith* in Christ and *love* to God.

- 1. Some of the **dissimilarities** between the **English** and **Dutch puritans** are:
 - a. The **historical** context of their developments.
- 1) The English Puritans had to contend with <u>Bishops</u>, <u>vestments</u>, the <u>Common Prayer Book</u>, an <u>hostile magistrate</u> etc. This was not the case among the **Dutch** who had to contend with more subtle antagonists such as the orthodox yet mere **formalists** and heretics such as the **Arminians**.
- 2) In Holland the lifeless *status quo* was the order of the day. Yet when the **Further Reformation** began to take root downward and growth upward, they had fewer outward impediments than the English.
 - b. The **Method** of their progress and advancements.
- 1) The Dutch had little reason to contend with the ecclesiastical government and its worship. Moreover their theological teaching developed more scientifically than the more practically minded English puritans.
- 2) The Dutch Scholar **Van der Lande** noted that the Dutch reformation criticized and counteracted not the church *reformata* but rather the church *reformanda*. Not so much as what had been believed and practiced but how, in what manner and to what extent.
 - c. The antagonists that each part encountered differed.
- 1) As mentioned the English and Scotch had to deal especially with an hierarchical ecclesiastical government and generally an hostile magistrate.

- 2) On the other hand, the <u>Arminian Controversy</u> was one of the principal battle lines which the **Netherlands Reformed Church** fought in a singular and heroic way.
 - 2. Some of the **similarities** are:
- a. The <u>association</u> or **brotherhood** among them was a common spiritual heritage and influence, particularly the <u>English</u> upon the <u>Dutch</u>. However there was no integral structural organization setting policies of reform but instead intimate circles of ministers bound together in a cohesive spiritual outlook.
- b. The ultimate and striving **goal** among them—sound doctrine—pious living.
- 1) This must be sought not so much as from within or without, but according to one's calling whether in state, church, and family not to mention individually; thus multi-directionally.
- c. The <u>character</u> and piety of the ministers themselves gave <u>authority</u>, <u>strength</u> and <u>attentiveness</u> to their ministries. As they preached so they lived, and as they lived so they preached.
- d. Their <u>message</u> was virtually synonymous in their doctrines and applications—sound practical Calvinism and assiduous application in affectionate Christian living and obedience to Christ. <u>This must be noted carefully</u> as a very prominent portion of their ministries. They unflinchingly exhorted their flocks to make their calling and election sure; to be truly <u>converted</u> to the Lord and to certify this in the true <u>marks</u> of <u>regeneration</u> in all the faculties and powers of the soul. To <u>miss</u> this, <u>diminish</u> this or <u>deny</u> this regarding the <u>Puritans</u> is to fail significantly to understand them or to understand them at all!
- 1) In their message the <u>English-Scotch</u> held strictly to <u>Calvin</u>, <u>Knox</u> and the <u>Cambridge Puritan Patriarchs</u> such as that preeminent professor/preacher <u>Wm</u>. <u>Perkins</u>. The <u>Dutch</u> held strongly to the <u>Contra-Remonstrant doctrines</u> as codified at the <u>Synod of Dort (Dordrecht, 1618)</u>.
- e. They both had a **commitment** to <u>orthodoxy</u> and an opposition <u>heterodoxy</u>.
 - 1) **Contra** Pelagianism/Arminianism; **pro** Augustinianism /Calvinism.
 - 2) Both opposed anti-Sabbatarianism and propagated Sanctification of the Lord's Day.
 - 3) Both taught the necessity of Justification and Sanctification in every true Believer.
 - f. They both published their works in popular and practical editions.
 - 3. The essential elements among the English and Dutch puritans were:

- a. **Doctrine**, i.e. comprehensive Augustinian-Calvinism.
- b. Piety, i.e. sound, affectionate and discriminating Christian living.
- c. **Worship**, i.e. biblical, reverential, Trinitarian and multi-layered, i.e.
 - i] Corporate ii] Domestic iii] Personal
- **B**. The strong, searching and pertinent ministries of the puritans, both Dutch, English and Scottish, necessitated increasing **pastoral skills** and attention in dealing with many maladies of conscience.
- 1. Puritan Casuistry (The application of general moral principles to particular cases of conscience or conduct) had their origins in men like William Perkins and the English divines, but this need was also felt in the Netherlands as men like Teellinck preached the *marks* or as the Dutch perceived it, the *steps* of genuine vital faith. But Perkins, that able and skillful physician in soul-affairs, led the way.
- a. These <u>Pastor-Teachers</u> had, so to speak, to distinguish between the clean and unclean and to help their flocks discern how they stood before the Lord.
- 2. In this milieu of an authentic Christian living, the concept of **assurance** naturally arose. There was some difference of emphasis and method between the **English** and **Dutch** on this subject, though not of a substantial nature.
- a. They both taught that assurance was the **fruit** of faith and not of the **essence** of faith.
- b. Also they concurred in that assurance rests primarily upon the **promises** of God founded in the **covenant** and made in the person and work of Christ.
- c. Each affirmed that assurance varies in degrees and circumstances among true believers and must not be a matter of presumption but diligently sought. Together they taught both an **objective** foundation and a **subjective** experience in genuine Christian assurance.
- d. Still there generally were some differences of viewpoint among them. For instance, the **English-Scotch** divines focused on the **marks** of genuine and vital faith, whereas the **Dutch** divines saw it more as a progress, attainment or development -**steps** of grace.
- e. The <u>English-Scotch</u> puritans reasoned much from scripture in a <u>syllogistic</u> method to demonstrate the solid ground of a believer's assurance. The <u>Dutch</u> puritans seem to stress the <u>immediate</u> <u>internal</u> testimony of the Spirit's <u>bearing</u> <u>witness</u> with the believer that they are true sons.
- f. The <u>Dutch</u> therefore emphasized the **gift** and the rarity of it whereas the <u>English-Scotch</u> underscored the **duty** to obtain it and its **ordinary** rather than **extraordinary** aspects.

1) **Joel Beeke** says that where the English accentuated the *actus* of faith, the Dutch emphasized the *habitus* of faith; the English used **practical syllogisms**, the **Dutch** taught a **quasi-mystical event**. However this is general and each divine had their own mixture of the two more or less.

V. APPLICATION FOR TODAY

- **A**. Let us benefit from this old mine which still continues to yield precious ore.
- 1. We live in a day where there is an **open door** and **opportunities** to benefit from these old master-saints. We are presumptuous to imagine that this mine will always be open or that our opportunities will continually be at hand. This door may someday close, or very nearly be closed in some practical way.
- 2. The Puritans were comparatively **few** in number and **rare** in qualities. I presume to say that they would have us to embrace their doctrines and practices rather than polish and garnish their tombs.
- a. They held to a doctrine of the **remnant** or **ecclesiola in ecclesia**. Then let us, and especially the rising generations be warned not to crave to be like all the other churches. I believe the **remnant** idea to be biblical.
- 3. J. I. Packer said (Quest For Godliness, Logos pg.15) If our theology does not quicken the conscience and soften the heart, it actually hardens both; if it does not encourage the commitment of faith, it reinforces the detachment of unbelief; if it fails to promote humility, it inevitably feeds pride.
- **B**. Sometimes our circumstances and society becomes the greater teacher and instructor. This can be for good or ill depending upon our society.
- 1. Beware of a society that is founded upon a reactionary motive rather than a biblical one.
- 2. Beware the leavening influences of relative isolationism, distrust and embitterment from real or imagined past wrongs.

5) The Relationship of the Nadere Reformatie to English Puritanism—Similarities and differences

-) Seeing that Mr. Allie has covered much of this in his lecture, my comments will be brief.
 - i) There is, no doubt, great similarity between these two movements.
 - (1) First, doctrinal standards and precision.
 - (a) In both sides of the English Channel, these men loved the Lord in such a way that they desired to remain loyal to His self-revelation in Scripture. At a time in the world when there were those desiring to run back to Romish tradition, or to rush ahead into visions or mystical communion directly with heaven, The puritans in England, and the Nadere Reformatie divines were men of the Word, and believed that the Lord spoke to His Church in the Word of God. See Schortinghuis in his book of Catechisms.
 - (b) Second, both desired a warm evangelical piety. By this we mean a Gospel centered life of inward and outward thankfulness and love to God which manifested itself in an inner peace of conscience and joy in the Holy Ghost, and an outer conformity to the commands and counsels of Christ. Also, a humble reception of the Word of God as the rule of faith and life, and the humbling realization of what the Lord has done for us in Christ Jesus, such that the Christian "presents himself a living sacrifice". Hence, the preaching of the Nadere Reformatie ministers, as well as that of the of Puritans, was founded upon sound doctrine, pressing Christ and His Gospel, emphasizing conversion, the new birth, and a individual's partaking of saving faith.
 - (c) On the doctrine of assurance, it is interesting to note that while there were nuances of differences between the movements themselves, that when one considers the writings of the English and Dutch, certain "in house" differences emerge, such that even in their differences on this topic we might understand that there is a similarity in that divines on both sides of the Channel held varied and nuanced views.
 - (d) Another similarity was the belief that the state ought to be a father, protector, and provider for the Church, but not the administrator of the Church. We see this in Witsius, who drew himself into controversy for speaking out against the state for its deposition of ministers. In England as well, the Puritan movement sought to place each of those authorities in their own spheres.
 - (e) Another similarity is that this desire for warm piety often crossed ecclesiastical lines, such that there were in England what we might call Puritans in some sense that were not Presbyterians—there were Congregationalists, and even some Anglicans who sought this kind of devotional warmth. In the Netherlands, there was some seeking of this same kind of piety even in the older, Catholic writers such as Thomas a' Kempis, and Bernard of Clairveau.
 - (f) A final similarity between England and the Netherlands is the outbreak of iconoclasm. Both countries dealt with over-zealous crowds breaking into Churches and destroying the relics held there.
 - (i) In the Netherlands this was called the "Beeldenstorm".
 - ii) As for differences, there are several as well.
 - (1) First, the Puritans in England struck "high and low". In this, we mean to say that while there was great experimental emphasis placed in sermons and writing, this was also carried into spheres of authority—Church, and State. There was a stronger push in England, more than in the Netherlands, to reform the Church in her polity and practice, and in the Government by Covenants.
 - (a) Such desires in England gave rise to the vestments and prayer book controversies, the "Black Rubric" etc. in the Church, and the Covenanter controversy in the State.
 - (b) In the Netherlands these kinds of controversies did not obtain. The enemies were more subtle, such as a growing indifference to religion, etc.
 - (c) Ames found the Dutch "too intellectual" and sought a practical reformation of life among them.
 - (2) Finally in this portion, the doctrine of assurance of faith was generally nuanced differently in the Netherlands than in England.
 - (a) First, we must emphasize that this is a pastoral concern. Assurance of faith, and its preaching, is a multi-faceted topic. There are many kinds of Christians in a Church, all of which are rightly called Christians.
 - (i) There are those who are mature in their faith, warmly devoted to Christ.
 - (ii) There are also those who are in their infancy, yet also warmly devoted to Him.
 - (iii) There are those who have been in the Church many years, confess the truths of Christianity, but have no real devotional commitment—they are faithful in attendance, perhaps even in private exercise, but cold in all.

- (iv) There are those who confess the truths of Christianity, but in a nominal way, and most of their lives are lived with little difference from unbelievers.
- (v) There are those who come because of some reason other than faith—business, social status, family, etc. They are not truly believers.
- (b) In all of these characters there are varying levels of assurance of their salvation and union with Christ.
 - (i) Some are assured of their union with Christ, and that rightly so.
 - (ii) Some are doubtful, with a pious knowledge of their sins, and yet are truly Christ's.
 - (iii) Some have founded their assurance on the wrong foundation, such as their Church membership, Christian family, Baptism, their obedience etc.
 - (iv) Others have no just reason to believe themselves to be in Christ, they are carnal, and rest in carnal security.
- (c) The men on both sides of the Channel sought to deal with all of these kinds of members in the Church. Some, in their uses at the end of their sermons, addressed these kinds of folks individually. Comrie would be a good example of this kind of "use".
- (3) For the English, generally this effort was to provide assurance by means of some syllogistic reasoning, called the "practical syllogism".
 - (a) This was reasoning from sense perception, emphasizing the need for fruits of assurance. Remember WCF chapter 18, and the many propositions there concerned with the "infallible assurance", and yet that it is "not of the essence of saving faith".
 - (b) So, in order to help pastorally with assurance, the English Puritans reasoned from the fruits of faith manifested in self-examination. Perkins reasoned:
 - (i) **Major Premise:** He that believes and repents is God's child.
 - (ii) Minor Premise: I believe in Christ and repent: at the least I subject my will to the commandment which bids me repent and believe: I detest my unbelief, and all my sins: and desire the Lord to increase my faith.
 - (iii) Conclusion: I am the child of God.
 - (c) Note in this a more objective kind of self-examination—these are things that can be observed in the action, and in the heart, and that as based upon the infallible promises of God, who keeps His Word. (See Assurance of Faith, Beeke; p 160)
- (4) The Dutch were more inward, and imbibed in what is known as the "Mystical Syllogism".
 - (a) **Major premise**: According to the Scripture, only those who possess saving faith will experience the Spirit's testimony confirming inward grace and goodness, such that self will decrease and Christ will increase.
 - (b) **Minor premise**: I cannot deny that by the grace of God I may experience the Spirit's testimony confirming inward grace and godliness such that self decreases and Christ increases.
 - (c) **Conclusion**: Therefore, I may be assured that I am a partaker of saving faith.
 - (i) Note the focus here on inward experience, rather than fruits of faith.
 - (d) Now it cannot be said that the English were on one side of this debate and the Dutch on the other—it has been well argued that the English codified both in the Westminster Standards. These are only general comments.
- (5) Another difference on assurance is that the English emphasized the believer's duty to seek after it—that it was attainable, although not of the essence of saving faith.
- (6) Some of the Dutch, such as Comrie, stated that if there was no assurance, there was no saving faith.

6) The Literature of the movement

- a) It is beyond our scope here to speak of the Dutch writings. However, there are several period works translated into English for our edification:
 - i) Reformation Heritage Books has what is called there series on the Classics of Reformed Spirituality:
 - (1) Jean Taffin, The Marks of God's Children
 - (2) Jacobus Koelman, The Duties of Parents
 - (3) Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Hoornbeeck, Spiritual Desertion
 - (4) Willem Teellinck, The Path of True Godliness
 - (5) William Schortinghuis, Essential Truths in the Heart of a Christian
 - (6) Jodocus van Lodenstein, A Spiritual Appeal to Christ's Bride
 - (7) Guilelmus Saldenus and Wilhelmus. Brakel, In Remembrance of Him: Profiting from the Lord's Supper
 - (8) Godefridus Udemans, The Practice of Faith, Hope, and Love

ii) There are also the great works by Herman Witsius:

- (1) The Economy of the Covenants
- (2) Sacred Dissertations on the Lord's Prayer
- (3) Sacred Dissertations on the Apostles' Creed

iii) Also, there is the work by A'Brakel:

(1) The Christian's Reasonable Service

iv) Alexander Comrie:

- (1) The Publican's Prayer
- (2) The ABC of Faith

v) William Ames:

- (1) The Marrow of theology
- (2) Conscience, with the Power and Cases Thereof
- (3) Substance of the Christian Religion (Catechism)

7) Bibliography

a) Below are some later works that speak of the Nadere Reformatie that may be of interest:

) Books by Dr. Joel Beeke:

- (1) Assurance of Faith
- (2) Puritan Reformed Spirituality
- (3) Puritan Theology, Doctrine for Life
- (4) Meet the Puritans
- (5) The Quest for Full Assurance

ii) Histories and other Reference Works, with references and articles to the movement:

- (1) Albrecht Ritschl, History of Pietism
- (2) Heinrick Heppe, History of Pietism and Mysticism in the Reformed Church
- (3) Encyclopedia of Christianity, Volume 4
- (4) GC Berkhouer, Studies in Dogmatics, Divine Election

iii) Online Lectures:

- (1) Dr. Cornelis Pronk: http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=2810945173
- (2) Rev. Bartel Elshout: http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=103009105350
- (3) Dr. Joel Beeke:
 - (a) https://skydrive.live.com/redir?resid=6E1CA6A336D74CB9!3246&authkey=!AOJHVVdczhmhdVA&ithint=file%2c.mp3

iv) Websites:

- (1) www.abrakel.com
- (2) www.heritagebooks.org



