The experience of Methodism and of the Wesleyan/Holiness movements was significantly different in Belgium and the Netherlands than in areas of Europe where Methodism and the Evangelical Association established themselves at early stages in Methodism's development. For example, in Norway, Sweden, and Germany, Methodism developed a strong presence at a period when the Holiness Movement in American Methodism was strong. In all three areas there were strong emigration contacts with the United States and to a lesser extent with Great Britain. In Belgium and the Netherlands, however, Methodism did not establish a significant presence during the 19th century. The British Wesleyan Methodists had some missions and small congregations in Belgium, but these remained dependent on the English church for most leadership and financial support. The American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established a rescue mission in the ruins of Ypres in 1919 which rapidly passed from social work to evangelization. By the mid-1930s Methodists listed fifteen "worship and meeting points" in Belgium including three separate French, Flemish, and English groups meeting at one location in Brussels. Because the Holiness Movement had decades before been expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, there was little Holiness influence in the Belgian Methodist Church, despite the fact that the creed still affirmed a Wesleyan understanding of sanctification.1

This does not mean that there was not a larger Holiness and Methodist influence in Belgium and the Netherlands. There was, and is, a significant influence. It is merely more subtle. The method of this essay is to examine that influence in a variety of contexts leading up to the development of Pentecostalism in the Low Countries. It is argued that there is a clear lineage of networks as well as a distinct intellectual trajectory from the Wesleyan/Holiness evangelists of the 1870s.

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to Pentecostalism, and that the *Tendenz* did not develop in a vacuum. Reference will be made to *Réveil*, the Evangelical Alliance, the impact of Robert Pearsall and Hannah Whitall Smith, the Salvation Army and the development of Pentecostalism. It is also understood that all of these drew heavily, directly and indirectly, on understandings of Christian spirituality developed in the various pietist contexts and on a reading of early Christian sources (including the Bible) variously mediated from those same contexts as well as from the Carolingian revivals in England.

**The Réveil**

The *Réveil* began in Switzerland about 1810 and spread through France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. It had its roots in Pietism and the Swiss Reformations but was also heavily influenced by the Methodists and eventually by the Darbyists. The foci of concern varied from country to country and from decade to decade. However, the basic issues were the nature of the Church, the spirituality of the Church and its social witness. There was insistence on a personal conversion and a developing Christian life congruent with the leading of the Holy Spirit.

In the Netherlands, the *Réveil* flourished between 1817 and 1865. Under the leadership of its principle figures, Da Costa of Amsterdam and Groen van Prinsterer of the Hague, it sought to further both individual spirituality and social reform. Da Costa's Seminary in Amsterdam played a central role despite its political conservatism. After the 1860s, popular support for the movement declined and, looking around for allies internationally, the American Wesleyan/Holiness movement, as developing in the British context, was discovered. All the persons who attended the Oxford (1874) and Brighton (1875) meetings for the 'Promotion of Christian Holiness' from Belgium and the Netherlands were from the *Réveil*.

The historians of Belgian Protestantism have devoted less attention to the impact of the *Réveil*. However, a survey of the foundations and/or development of individual Protestant churches in Belgium makes clear that the primary impetus to growth and renewal came through the *Réveil*. However, the development of independent denominations of missions in both the Netherlands and Belgium were hindered by church establishment traditions. It was only after the 1870s in the Netherlands and the 1880s in Belgium that the legal restrictions were lifted, and the persecution of non-Catholics in many Belgian villages remained a fact of life through the 1960s.

Despite the lack of an imposing ecclesial community, within the Netherlands, France and Belgium, Wesley and Wesleyan theologians remained an important source for those who would, in a Protestant context, combine radical demanding personal Christian developmental spirituality with social activism. It is for that reason, for example, that Wilfrid Monod in his widely circulated historical theology of the *Réveil*, "La Nuit de Témoins", devoted significant attention to the "reform of the reformation" by John Wesley and William Booth. This appreciation of Wesleyan thought developed through contacts with American Wesleyan/Holiness tradition at an early stage, especially in the Netherlands, as immigrants to the United States returned for visits or sent literature. Contacts with British Methodists, such as William Arthur, author of the perfectionistic analysis of Wesleyan thought *Tongue of
fire, reinforced that relationship.\textsuperscript{5} When the campaigns of Dwight Moody, William Taylor, William Boardman, Asa Mahan, Hannah Whitall Smith and Robert Pearsall Smith began in England in early 1870s, they would find an open, informed, and eager audience for Wesleyan/Holiness ideas in the Réveil circles of France, Belgium, and, especially, the Netherlands. The American revivalists were initially accepted into a network of evangelical activists centered at Mildmay, London, under the leadership of William Pennfather.\textsuperscript{10}

**The Evangelical Alliance**

It was in the context of the Evangelical Alliance that individuals from the Réveil came to know each other on an international level. William Arthur, British Wesleyan Methodist, had been an influential participant in the founding meetings of 1846 and became a regular speaker at the British and international conventions as did the French pastor, Adolphe Monod. The emphasis on ecumenism (the nature of the church), the aversion to developing rationalism, the commitment to traditional forms of pietistic orthodoxy, and fear of a revitalized Roman Catholic Church united the Evangelical Alliance. The Evangelical Alliance was primarily a network of leaders of the various "higher life" traditions before 1880. Concern for radical spirituality had not yet been suppressed by the developing liberal consensus of the academic elite.\textsuperscript{11} The international meetings, the proceedings of which were nearly always published, allowed an exchange of ideas and provided an organizational basis for the American Wesleyan/Holiness revivalists to use in the 1870s. The Continental participants at "The Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness" at Oxford, August-September 1874, were active participants in the Evangelical Alliance, including T. Monod, M. Combes, G. J. Elout van Soeterwoude, J. van Loon, G. van Prinsterer, G. Monod, and F. Bovet from France and the Low Countries, and Germans such as V. von Niebuhr, Baron J. von Gunningen, T. Jellinghaus, O. Müller, and O. Pank.\textsuperscript{12} The tour by Robert Pearsall Smith of European cities before the Brighton "Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness," 29 May–7 June 1875, was organized, funded, and promoted within the structures of the Evangelical Alliance.\textsuperscript{13}

**The Robert Pearsall Smith Phenomenon in the Low Countries**

Reports of the English revivals led by Moody and Sankey as well as the efforts of R. P. Smith, William Boardman, and Asa Mahan in Britain had wide circulation in the Netherlands during 1873 and 1874.\textsuperscript{14} The Dutch press, following the lead of the British press, described in detail the theoretical structures as well as the revivalistic phenomena witnessed at the meetings. Dutch participants at the Oxford meeting recounted their experiences. These were understood by both the participants and the press to be part of larger evangelization effort and Moody encouraged the converted to go to the Smith meetings at Brighton to learn how to grow in spirituality.\textsuperscript{15} In April 1875, the first work by Hannah Whitall Smith was published in Dutch, a pamphlet entitled *Het inwonen in het land der Belofte (=Dwelling in the Land of Promised Onel).*\textsuperscript{16} This was reviewed positively in the press and sold widely. Thus, a ready audience existed for the visits of Robert Pearsall Smith to the Netherlands in 1875.
R. P. Smith visited the Netherlands as the guest of G. J. Elout van Souterwoude, founder of the Dutch Evangelical Alliance (Nederlandsche Evangelische Protestantsche Vereeniging), in the Hague. Meetings for the promotion of holiness were held in his home. Among those in attendance were Queen Sophia, Prince Frederik, and his daughter Princess Marie, as well as Groen van Prinsterer and Baron J. W. van Loon, a member of the steering committee of the Dutch Evangelical Alliance and a prominent supporter of the Reusli. These meetings went very well and many experienced the American Wesleyan/Holiness version of sanctification. After the meetings, van Souterwoude recruited pastors and academicians to attend the Brighton Convention and personally paid the way of many. Among those who attended were Abraham Kuyper, Gert van Wijk, Adama van Scheltema, and Baron van Boetzelaar. Frans Lion Cachet wrote an analysis of the meetings which interpreted the experience in enthusiastic tones to a wider Dutch audience.17

From this important Dutch presence at Brighton came several results: a periodical publication, an active translation program, several small denominations, and, eventually, second thoughts on the part of the leaders after the removal of Smith from the British evangelical scene for his perfectionist teaching. The periodical, Der weg ter Godzaligheid, was organized at a meeting held at the home of Abraham Kuyper in August 1875. Edited by A.H.L. de Bel, its intent was to spread the Wesleyan/Holiness ideal of "sanctification by faith through entire consecration."18 Meetings were held throughout the country and there was an active pamphlet campaign both for and against the concept.

The translation program to make available to Dutch readers the thinking of American Wesleyan/Holiness writers was significant. After the pamphlet of Hannah Whitall Smith mentioned above, her book, The Christian Secret of a Happy Life and Frank were both published in Dutch in 1875.19 The former, Des christsens heilgeheim, went through seven printings by 1909. These were accompanied by several volumes of Sankey's revival songs, Opwektingsliederen, which were published in Amsterdam between 1875 and 1887. Most importantly, two volumes by Asa Mahan were translated, Christian Perfection and The Baptism of the Holy Spirit.20 Both of these volumes achieved a wide circulation in the Netherlands. Other writers, including Wesley, would be translated and others, such as Andrew Murray, would write to develop similar ideas within a reformed theoretical framework. More recently, the most translated (into Dutch) Wesleyan/Holiness writers have been E. Stanley Jones, David Seamands, and Howard Snyder. The work of Seamands and Snyder have been translated and published by Pentecostal companies.

Kuyper became a primary mover behind the effort to develop a Free Church movement (congregational system) in the Netherlands. In 1880, he founded the Free University of Amsterdam. This resulted in ecclesiastical fragmentation in the Netherlands, without parallel in Western Europe. The smaller "holiness" churches were usually influenced by the American or British Wesleyan/Holiness teachings. Many of these either remained independent or joined with the Bond van Vrije Christelijke Gemeenten (Union of Free Christian Churches) founded in 1881.

Among those who had second thoughts was Kuyper himself. He became discour-
aged both by the "fall" of Robert Pearsall Smith and by an emotional breakdown probably caused by stress. Although he continued to reflect many of the values of the Wesleyan/Holiness traditions, he self-consciously developed his spirituality within a Reformed framework. He became convinced that the excesses perceptible in Smith's perfectionism were merely a clarified version of the Dutch liberal Arminian tradition which had already departed from the stable Calvinist tradition.23

The Belgian participation at Brighton was less extensive (Protestants formed only an infinitesimally small percentage of the population of this predominantly Roman Catholic country). At least five participants have been identified: K. Anet (Liège); A. Brochier (La Louvière), J. Nicolet (Liège); E. Rochedieu (Brussels, President of the Église Evangélique); and J. Hocard, fils, (Brussels) who was listed as a (British Wesleyan) Methodist pastor.24 It is certain that both French and Flemish readers had available the Wesleyan/Holiness tomes produced and/or translated in France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. As of the present, I have been unable to track with any certainty developments in Belgium resulting directly from Brighton.

Thus while the Brighton Convention received an enthusiastic participation from Dutch and Belgian Christians, there was little enduring structural institutionalization of the experiences. The ground was laid, however, for other developments, especially the advent of the Salvation Army in the Low Countries and, after the turn of century, Pentecostalism.

**The Salvation Army**

In 1867, William Booth founded the East London Christian Mission later renamed the Christian Mission and, eventually, The Salvation Army. Since then this British Wesleyan/Holiness group has become the largest Wesleyan/Holiness ecclesial body in the world. Despite its beginnings in Britain, it has been greatly influenced by the perfectionistic American Wesleyan/Holiness traditions. The Salvation Army established a regular presence in the Netherlands, holding its first meeting there in Amsterdam on 8 May 1887. Within one year there were eleven centers and 3,000 converts with more than 1,000 soldiers inducted. The Dutch Salvation Army newspaper circulation reached 14,000 per week.25 The liturgical innovations adapted from American and British revivalism were part of the success. However, The Salvation Army also reaped part of the harvest of the Brighton movement which had recently suffered from defection of key leaders such as Kuyper. When General William Booth visited Amsterdam in 1892, he was greeted by a crowd of more than 65,000 persons.26

In Belgium, The Salvation Army arrived in May 1889 when centers were opened first at Mechelen (Malines) and later in Ghent and Antwerp. In 1890, centers were opened at Brussels and other larger cities in French-speaking Belgium (Wallonia). In 1891, the first Belgians were inducted into The Salvation Army for training as officers. By 1902 there were about thirty officers, eleven centers and two social service institutions. These were combined with Salvation Army activities in Italy and France under a single command.27 The Salvation Army has become the eighth largest Protestant group in Belgium.28 It would appear that there was little contact with Methodists in 1919. However, both the theology and practice of The Salvation Army had a significant
impact, it would appear, on churches related to the Réveil and to the eventual Pentecostal communities. Salvation Army sources are frequently cited in the early Belgian Pentecostal periodicals. In both Belgium and the Netherlands, The Salvation Army has maintained a Wesleyan/Holiness presence.

**PENTECOSTALISM IN THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM**

It has recently, and definitively, been demonstrated that the Wesleyan/Holiness roots of Dutch Pentecostalism are to be found in the Salvation Army, the Dowie Movement and Brighton tradition.\(^{27}\) Polman, the founder of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands, was trained as a Salvation Army officer in Rotterdam. He served as a prominent officer until 1902. In October 1903 he and his wife joined the John Alexander Dowie center at Zion City, Illinois, U.S.A., where he studied and was ordained a deacon in July 1904. In January 1906, they were commissioned to the Netherlands where they started a ministry center modeled after that of Dowie. Another former Salvation Army officer, M. D. Voskuil, arrived at the Amsterdam center in October 1907 and reported that the “Baptism in the Holy Spirit” was to be accompanied with glossolalia. In April 1908, Polman began publication of the first Dutch Pentecostal periodical, *Spade Regenl*—The Latter Rainl. Pentecostalism in the Netherlands would retain many of the features of American and British Wesleyan/Holiness traditions, including the concern for the life of holiness, but for the most part, without the perfectionism of the American movement. The perfectionism retained, as in much of American Pentecostalism, was central to the theories of “baptism in the Holy Spirit,” not to eradicationism as taught during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the U.S.A.

The situation in Belgium developed quite differently. There were Pentecostal groups in Antwerp and in Brussels as early as 1909. However, it was not until the early 1930s that Pentecostalism began to develop as a major religious perspective in Belgium as well as in France. The leading center was Paturages in the coal mining region of southern Belgium, also a focus of Réveil and Salvation Army activity. There Henri Théophile de Worm, pastor of the protestant church, inspired by reports of revival in the Anglo-Saxon world and by memories of the high tides of the Réveil began to publish a revivalist periodical, *Son de nos cloches*. This was superceded by a remarkable cooperative effort, *Esprit et vie* (1932-1939) edited by de Worm and Louis Dalière, a young Harvard educated French theologian and philosopher who became the apologist and leader of the French and Belgian Pentecostal revivals before he withdrew to lead a prayer center at Charmes sur Rhône.\(^{27}\) Dalière and de Worm were both steeped in British and American Wesleyan/Holiness authors, as is revealed by their writings and the citations appropriate for the periodicals they edited.

The sources of Belgian (and French) Pentecostal thought were diverse. However, the two most cited groups in the early periodicals remain the Réveil writers and American and British Wesleyan/Holiness writers. This was reinforced by contacts with Norwegian and Swedish Pentecostal missionaries who were, and are, very active in Belgium.\(^{28}\) The Scandinavian Pentecostals were dependent upon the same sources for the framework of their spirituality.\(^{30}\)
CONCLUSION

The interaction between Methodists and the Wesleyan/Holiness traditions was less in Belgium and the Netherlands than in several other European countries. However, the Wesleyan/Holiness presence in the religious culture of both nations was important and has contributed significantly to the Protestant religious culture of both countries. In the present realities of Belgium and the Netherlands, the Pentecostal churches are the heirs and primary promulgators of the ideas which were first implemented in force on the Continent with the visit of Robert Pearsall Smith in 1875. In both contexts, they are also the heirs, along with continuing Réveil/Charismatic believers in the Protestant churches, of the Réveil of the early 19th century.

What is missing in Europe are the structures for cooperation among the different groups of Christians who have been nourished by the Wesleyan/Holiness traditions. It is to be hoped that Methodist scholars who have been reexamining the Holiness and Pentecostal traditions, and the Pentecostal scholars who have been reexamining their Wesleyan heritage in the context of the Conference on Pentecostal and Charismatic Research in Europe will find the occasion to meet together and explore the implications of their common heritage for religious life in Europe today. It is also hoped that European Wesleyan/Holiness scholars from throughout Europe could participate in such an event.

NOTES
See for example, the narrative of F. L. De Meester, Pionieren... Wat is dat? (n.p., 1976).
9. William Arthur, Tongue of Fire (London: William Hamilton, 1865) was accepted as a classic statement of Wesleyan/Holiness theology on both sides of the Atlantic. It was translated into French, Dutch, and Swedish. It became an important source for the early Pentecostal thought in the U.S.A., Britain, and on the Continent. It was frequently cited in early Pentecostal periodicals from Norway to Croatia. It remains in print in both Holiness and Pentecostal circles.
25. Wiggens, History, passim; Braekman, 150 Ans de vie protestante, 203-204.
26. Braekman, 150 Ans de vie protestante, 211.
27. Cornelis van der Laan, Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands (Studies in Evangelism, 11; Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1991). This is the slightly revised form of a dissertation directed by Professor W. Hollenweger at the University of Birmingham. Details about the life of Polman narrated below are taken from van der Laan. A Dutch translation of the English was published as: idem, De Spade Regen; Geboorte en groei van de Pentekonestrijd in Nederland, 1907-1930 (Kampen: J H. Kok 1989).
29. A. Sundstedt, Mad Nordensexpressen till Belgien (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1947); Belgien Kaltar; av fem författare red. av P. Gustafsson (Kumla: Filadelfiaföreningen, 1955); Petrus Gustafsson, Frihetsdrama i Konge (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1962); Bundy, Pentecostalism in Belgium.