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THE PROTESTANT DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE PRESBYTERIAN THOUGHT OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY	2
	The Problem Stated	2
	Specific Problems	2
	Definition of Terms	3
	Delimitations	5
	The Need for This Study	9
	Related Studies	14
	Procedure in Collecting and Treating Data	16
II.	THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION TO THE TIME OF LUTHER	23
	The Doctrine of Vocation in Hebrew-Christian Scriptures	23
	The Doctrine of Vocation in the Patristic Period	28
	Monasticism and Vocation	31
	Scholasticism and Vocation	35
	Ideas of Vocation in the Late Middle Ages	43
	Luther's Doctrine of Vocation	47
	Summary	53
III.	JOHN CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF VOCATION	56
	John Calvin and His Times	57
	The Theological Basis of the Doctrine of Vocation	62
	The Doctrine of God	63
	The Doctrine of Man	66
	The Doctrine of Vocation	72

CHAPTER PAGE

The Practical Application of Calvin's Doctrine of Vocation 77

The Individual Aspects of the Doctrine 78

The Social Aspects of the Doctrine 83

The Economic Aspects of the Doctrine 87

The Educational Aspects of the Doctrine 93

Summary 96

IV. THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE BRITISH REFORMATION AND IN COLONIAL AMERICA 98

Social and Religious Factors in the Reformation Period in Great Britain 99

In Tudor Times 99

In the Seventeenth Century 103

The Doctrine of Vocation in the British Reformation . . 105

The Doctrine of Vocation in Tudor Times 106

The Doctrine of Vocation in the Seventeenth Century . 115

Social and Religious Factors in Colonial America 122

Colonial Times in General 123

The Beginnings of American Presbyterianism 126

The Doctrine of Vocation in Colonial America 130

The Doctrine of Vocation in Puritan New England . . . 130

The Doctrine of Vocation in Colonial Presbyterianism. 138

Summary 149

V. PRESBYTERIAN THOUGHT IN AN AGE OF ENTERPRISE 151

The Presbyterian Church in the Nineteenth Century . . . 152

Main Emphases in Presbyterian Theological Thought in the Nineteenth Century 169

Summary 179

CHAPTER PAGE

VI. PRESBYTERIAN THINKING ON THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 181

Implications for Vocation in Biblical and Theological Writing 181

Implications for Vocation in Social and Economic Writing 186

Implications for Vocation in Educational Writing 206

The Nineteenth-Century Concept of Vocation: An Interpretation 214

EPILOGUE: THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE LIGHT OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY EXPERIENCE . . 225

BIBLIOGRAPHY 232

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

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THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

The Problem Stated

At Protestant gatherings in recent years, denominational, interdenominational and international, a recurring topic for consideration has been the meaning and relevance of the concept of Christian vocation.[1] Admittedly the concept is not a new one, but a revival and fresh application of an idea advanced by the early Protestant Reformers.

The purpose of this investigation has been to study the Protestant doctrine of vocation as it is to be found in the Presbyterian writings of the United States of America during the nineteenth century, in order to ascertain the significance of the doctrine for the theological thought and religious life of the denomination during the period preceding the present century.

Specific Problems

Sub-problems pertinent to the subject of investigation have been:

(1) What doctrine of vocation, or calling, existed prior to the time of Calvin in the sixteenth century?

(2) What doctrine of vocation was developed in the sixteenth century Reformation, particularly in the writings of John Calvin?

(3) How was Calvin's doctrine of vocation extended or modified in later Calvinistic thought, especially in the theological system adopted by

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1. Vide below, "The Need for This Study."

Presbyterians in colonial America?

(4) What were the major developments in Presbyterian church life and theological thought during the nineteenth century?

(5) What consideration was given to the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation in the theological writing of the period, and what aspects of the doctrine were most stressed?

(6) How was the doctrine of vocation related to the economic, social, and educational writing of the church during the period?

Definition of Terms

(1) The connotation of the doctrine of vocation here referred to needs to be defined clearly in order to distinguish it from other prevailing usages of the term vocation. The following definition, taken from the New Oxford Dictionary, gives the sense in which the term is to be used: "The particular function or station to which a person is called by God; a mode of life or sphere of action regarded as so determined."[1] The dictionary then adds a derived sense which began to be used in the sixteenth century: "One's ordinary occupation, business or profession."[2]

The Protestant concept is to be distinguished from the second, derived usage of the term vocation without any necessary religious sanction. Although the primary definition cited above includes the idea of occupation or profession, it gives to vocation a divine reference. In John Calvin's words, "It has a relation to God as calling us."[3]

The Protestant doctrine is to be distinguished further from the Roman Catholic concept of God's call specifically and exclusively to the life of

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1. Article on vocation, A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Vol. X, Part II.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Commentary on the Epistles. . .to the Corinthians, I Cor. 7:20.

the priesthood or a religious order.[1] The Reformers rejected the idea which, by placing the monastic way of life on a higher plane than ordinary Christians, "set up two kinds of Christianity."[2]

Though vocation, or the interchangeable term calling, in the sense in which it is to be used grows out of the total concept of the relation of the person to God, it is to be distinguished further from the specifically religious usage of the term, also employed by the Reformers. This usage of the word meant God's summons to the individual to become a Christian and live a Christian life. It is commonly spoken of by Puritan writers as the general calling of the Christian, while his individual place in life is his specific, or particular calling.

(2) By the significance of the doctrine will be meant the degree of emphasis given it in the theological writing of the period and the relation it bears to the social, economic, and educational thought of the denomination.

(3) The term theological thought will be used broadly in this discussion to mean an organized body of religious teachings, including the concepts of God and of man's relationship to him together with the practical implications of those concepts for human life. Theological writing will refer to literature which deals with theological thought.

(4) The expression Calvinistic theology or thought will refer to the system of doctrine propounded by John Calvin in the sixteenth century, and to those later systems of thought which are derived in large measure from his theology, especially the doctrinal systems of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Holland, France, England, and Scotland. By some writers the term Puritan is loosely used as a synonym for Calvinistic, especially

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1. Cf. Article on "vocation," The New Catholic Dictionary.
2. Institutes of the Christian Religion, IV. 13. 14.

for those Calvinistic influences which reached America.

(5) Presbyterian will be used to designate those Protestant denominations which officially use the name. These churches hold a Calvinistic theology and embody the representative principle of democracy in their form of government. The denominations in America which use the name Presbyterian are those which are rooted historically in the Calvinistic movement in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and France, rather than those which stem from the movement in Holland and Germany (the Reformed Churches).

Delimitations

In order to make possible a more intensive study of one segment of Protestant thought in the United States of America, the time period and area of investigation will be limited in the following ways:

(1) The time span for the study of the doctrine of vocation is limited to the nineteenth century. This period has been chosen because it is a time which is important in the development of America from a group of rural, non-industrial states along the Atlantic seaboard, newly united, to a continent-wide, highly industrialized nation. Other studies have been made of the relation of the idea of vocation to economic and social changes, notably the studies of seventeenth and eighteenth century England by Weber[1] and Tawney.[2] Perry[3] has given some consideration to the place of the idea of vocation in the early development of America. No systematic attempt has been discovered, however, to trace the idea of vocation in the religious thought of nineteenth century America, the period in which the most far-reaching changes took place in the economic and social life of the nation.

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1. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (translated by Talcott Parsons).
2. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.
3. R. B. Perry, Puritanism and Democracy.

(2) The Protestant tradition which has been studied as a background for the investigation of the idea of vocation in nineteenth century American thought is that of Calvinism. Though the doctrine of vocation was held by most of the leading Reformers, there were varying emphases among the leaders of the Protestant groups. Luther is credited by Weber,[1] Holl,[2] and others with introducing the new concept of vocation, but Lutheranism is considered to be less aggressive than Calvinism in applying the doctrine to life.[3] The Anglican Church in general retained a traditionally conservative attitude toward the whole concept of vocation.[4] The early followers of Wesley also had a conservative concept of vocation.[5] Of the various systems of religious thought introduced by the early settlers, it was Calvinism which, in the judgment of Perry and others, contributed most "to the making of the American mind when the American mind was in the making."[6] The concepts which have been given careful attention in this investigation, as a background for the study of thought in nineteenth century America, are those of Calvin in the sixteenth century and those of later Calvinists in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, among whom Presbyterianism in America had its earliest roots.[7]

(3) The American Calvinistic thought of the nineteenth century which has been studied in detail is limited further to that of the larger branches of the Presbyterian denomination. This narrowing of the field eliminates

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1. Op. cit., pp. 207-210.
2. Karl Holl, Die Geschichte des Worts Beruf, pp. 19-29.
3. Weber, op. cit., p. 87.
4. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 162-163.
5. Cf. Kathleen MacArthur, The Economic Ethics of John Wesley, pp. 93-125.
6. Perry, op. cit., p. 81; cf. André Siegfried, America Comes of Age, pp. 33-37; R. H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, p. 31; H. S. Commager, The American Mind, pp. 162-168.
7. L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition, p. 1.

the Congregationalists who, though originally Calvinistic in their doctrines, deviated from that doctrinal position in the nineteenth century.[1] The limitation excludes the Reformed Churches of Dutch and German background, also, from the area of specific investigation. Like the Presbyterians, these denominations were Calvinistic in origin; but the doctrinal formula of these Calvinists is the Heidelberg Catechism,[2] rather than the Westminster Confession of Faith adopted by the English-speaking Calvinists. To include a different creedal statement in this study would have added complication without greatly increasing the value of the findings.

Limiting the study to the larger Presbyterian bodies excludes also the smaller Presbyterian groups of Scottish origin, the Associated Presbyterians, the Reformed Presbyterians, and the United Presbyterians. Their divisions grew out of differences in Scotland, and in America they have retained an existence separate from other Presbyterians.[3] Because they have been apart from the larger stream of Presbyterianism in America, they have been omitted from this study. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which separated from the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in 1810, has been studied only in relation to the educational and doctrinal differences which caused the division.[4]

Thus the detailed study has been limited to the largest branch of Presbyterianism in America, known since 1789 as the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Old and New School divisions between 1837 and 1869), and the second largest, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the southern body which separated from the parent organization in 1861.

Several factors contribute to make the Presbyterian Church a suitable

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1. Cf. F. H. Foster, A Genetic History of New England Theology.
2. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 549.
3. R. E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, pp. 75-78.
4. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

Protestant body to be the subject of this investigation of the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation in America:

(a) Presbyterianism may be considered a leading exponent of Calvinism.[1]

(b) Because of its closely-knit, representative government and its adherence to a common creedal statement, the official positions of the Presbyterian Church can be studied more precisely than those of congregationally organized or non-creedal bodies.

(c) The Presbyterian Church was already a dominant denomination at the beginning of the nineteenth century,[2] and its adherents spread into the frontiers early in the period, so that it was not confined to any one region.[3]

(d) Admittedly the Presbyterian Church has been a denomination of the middle class.[4] Although this fact eliminates the possibility of studying a cross-section of society, it makes possible the study of a representative group of the class among whom the concept of vocation has been assumed to be most influential.[5]

(e) The Presbyterian Church has had an educational influence considered to be out of proportion to the size of its constituency.[6] The educational efforts of the denomination provide an opportunity for investigating possible correlation between the doctrine of vocation and educational activities.

(5) The literature which has been examined systematically in this study will be limited to the theological writing specified in the procedure. Much

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1. A. C. Zenos, Presbyterianism in America, pp. 170-178.
2. W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, Vol. II, p. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 92-93.
5. Weber, op. cit., pp. 176-181.
6. G. W. Johnson, Our English Heritage, pp. 176-177. Cf. D. G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War.

popular writing of the period doubtless influenced public thinking about vocation — as, for example, the famous McGuffey Readers — but this literature is only peripheral to the central problem of studying the doctrine of vocation in the theological thought of a selected denomination. Though eliminated from the main line of investigation, such writing has been considered as a relevant part of the social context of nineteenth century theological thought.

The Need for This Study

Contemporary interest in the idea of vocation, or calling, was aroused by the German sociologist, Max Weber. His essay on Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus,[1] which appeared early in the present century, presented the thesis that there was a causal relationship between the Protestant doctrine of vocation and the rise of capitalism. His essay stimulated a great deal of writing,[2] both in attack on his position and in defense of it. Some of the literature of this discussion is listed in the next section under Related Studies.

More recently, Erich Fromm has provoked another discussion of the psychological effect of the concept of vocation on individuals, by his book, Escape from Freedom. In his book, The University and the Modern World, Arnold Nash has pointed out a relationship between the Protestant attitude toward work and the rise of the modern scientific spirit. R. B. Perry has dealt with the sense of vocation as a Puritan characteristic in his study of American culture, Puritanism and Democracy.

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1. Published in Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, Vols. XX, XXI (1904, 1905). English translation, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.
2. See Tawney, op. cit., "Preface to 1937 Edition," pp. 3-9, and notes, pp. 237-238.

In the field of religious thought, there is evidence of the recognition of vocation as a vital element in Protestant tradition. Such recent books as A Primer for Protestants, by J. H. Nichols, The Protestant Era, by Paul Tillich, and The Heritage of the Reformation, by Wilhelm Pauck, emphasize the concept of vocation. Several symposia[1] written in recent years by denominational or theological groups suggest a revived interest in the doctrine of vocation as a part of re-assaying their Protestant background. Among books in the field of applied Christianity which make a significant place for vocation are Christianity and Society, by Nels S. F. Ferré of Vanderbilt University, and Basic Christian Ethics, by Paul Ramsey of Princeton. In the section on Related Studies a number of books on the Christian approach to vocation are listed, all of them written within the decade.

This interest in a theological approach to vocation can be seen in European writing as well as American. Emil Brunner's Divine Imperative has a lengthy section on the subject, as does his more recent volume of Gifford Lectures.[2] Continental thinking on the subject is seen in a number of the publications of the World Council of Churches.[3] From the British point of view, the late Archbishop Temple's Gifford Lectures[4] are full of references to the idea of vocation. A recent collection of addresses[5] by Sir Stafford Cripps deals with the subject, as does Creed or Chaos, by Dorothy Sayers, who has entered the field of serious religious writing.

In considering the Church's responsibility toward society, the

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1. W. K. Anderson, editor, Protestantism; G. F. Thomas, editor, The Vitality of the Christian Tradition; J. F. Fletcher, editor, Christianity and Property; Members of the Faculty of Union Theological Seminary, Our Protestant Heritage.
2. Christianity and Civilization, Part II.
3. E. g., Contributions to a Christian Social Ethic (Papers of the Ecumenical Institute, No. IV).
4. William Temple, Nature, Man and God.
5. God In Our Work.

leaders of contemporary world Protestantism have expressed the need for a renewed sense of vocation. That need was voiced at two international gatherings of Protestants in recent years, the World Conference on Church, Community and State, at Oxford, England, 1937; and again at the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, Holland, 1948. Both the preliminary studies and the official reports for the meetings[1] considered the subject of vocation. The Study Committee of the World Council of Churches has taken the problem of Christian vocation as a continuing task for research. It is to be one of the topics for consideration at the 1954 Assembly of the Council.[2] The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. in 1951 established a Department of Christian Vocation.

Attempts have been made, also, to work out the implications of vocation for practical economic and social situations. A number of such experiments have been reported in Europe,[3] notably the Iona Community in Scotland and, on the continent, independent projects as well as conferences and study groups under the sponsorship of the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches at Bossey, near Celigny, Switzerland. These are largely lay groups. In the United States, three study conferences have been held on the subject of Christian responsibility in economic life, one in Pittsburgh in 1947, a second in Detroit in 1950, a third in Buffalo in 1952.[4] Though sponsored by the Department on the Church and Economic Life of the National

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1. J. H. Oldham, editor, The Oxford Conference (Official Report); Christian Faith and the Common Life (An Oxford Conference Book); W. A. Visser t'Hooft, editor, The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Official Report); The Church and the Disorder of Society (Vol. III, Amsterdam Assembly Series).
2. Cf. pamphlets, Christian Action in Society and The Meaning of Work; also J. H. Oldham, Work in Modern Society (Study Document).
3. Cf. Professional Life as Christian Vocation: A Report on Laymen's Institutes and Groups, 1947-1948. Ecumenical Institute, Switzerland, 1949; also, "The Idea of Christian Vocation," Information Service, Federal Council of Churches (Saturday, June 10, 1950), Vol. XXIX, No. 23.
4. Reports of National Study Conferences on the Church and Economic Life, The National (formerly Federal) Council of Churches, 1947, 1950, 1952.

Council of Churches, these conferences were largely made up of laymen who represented a variety of occupational groups. In September, 1950, the Department on the Church and Economic Life announced plans for a three-year research project, financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, to explore the relation of Christian ethics to economic life.[1]

The problem of vocation is of particular concern for Christian young people. It has been given a place in the programs and lesson materials provided for youth by various Protestant denominations; it has also received attention by interdenominational groups of young people. The United Christian Youth Movement, an interdenominational agency of church youth organizations, is stressing Christian vocation as a major area for Christian action.[2] The study material provided in advance for the Interseminary Conference, a gathering of theological students in 1947, included as one of the topics for study "The Vocation of the Christian Today."[3] In 1950, the World Student Christian Federation devoted an entire issue of its quarterly journal to problems of Christian vocation, under the general title, "A Holy Calling."[4]

Historically, the doctrine of vocation has been allied closely with education. The basic premise that all men, not only the clergy, are called by God to serve through their daily occupations leads logically to the conclusion that all men, not only the clergy, should be educated for effective service. McNeill writes:

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1. A. D. Ward, "Three Year Economic Study Gets Underway," Federal Council Bulletin (October, 1950), Vol. XXXIII, No. 8, pp. 9-10.
2. Cf. J. O. Nelson, Christian Youth and Christian Vocation: A Guide to Youth Action (pamphlet).
3. E. G. Homrighausen, in The Gospel, the Church, and the World, K. S. Latourette, editor. (Vol. II, Interseminary Series).
4. The Student World, Second Quarter, 1950. Geneva: World Student Christian Federation.

> Calvin aimed to train lay leaders as well as ministers to contend for the kingdom of God. No Christian was exempt from responsibility in this social combat. Calvinism educated not only heroic leaders but devoted followers (simplices et quieti homines) in the cause of bringing in the kingdom, as in heaven so on earth.[1]

Wherever Calvinism went, in Europe and in America, it expressed a strong sense of social responsibility, particularly "for a diffusion of knowledge and the training of youth 'in the knowledge of God and his ways' and in 'gainful occupations.'"[2] After the Revolutionary War, the groups who made the greatest contribution to the establishment of education on the advancing frontiers were the Congregationalists and Presbyterians.[3] A sub-problem of this thesis has been to discover what relationship may exist between the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation and the nineteenth century Calvinists' educational efforts.

The study of the Protestant doctrine of vocation in Presbyterian thought in nineteenth century America has been undertaken in the light of the revived interest in the historical concept of vocation as a sociological, psychological, and theological factor; the evidences of concern on the part of contemporary Protestantism to re-interpret the Reformation principle of vocation for the problems of today; and the historical relationship between the doctrine of vocation and education. By tracing one factor of religious motivation, this study has sought to provide a clue to better understanding of an aspect of American life during the nineteenth century. It has undertaken to give an historical background to the current attempt to find the

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1. J. T. McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, p. 112.
2. H. D. Foster, "Calvinists and Education," Cyclopedia of Education, Paul Monroe, editor, Vol. I, p. 493.
3. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, pp. 309-312; cf. Tewksbury, op. cit.

meaning of vocation in relation to present economic problems; and finally, to call attention to the potential effect of the concept of vocation on education, in the primary religious sense of the word vocation.

Related Studies

As has been pointed out already, there is a considerable body of literature dealing with the Protestant doctrine of vocation. Karl Holl has traced the changes in the meaning of the word from the writings of the New Testament to the writings of Martin Luther in his monograph, Die Geschichte des Worts Beruf. Max Weber, in the book already referred to, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, has given an extended study of the origin of the concept in Reformation writing and of its later influence, especially in seventeenth-century English Puritanism. Among those who have submitted his thesis to critical examination are R. H. Tawney, in Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, and H. M. Robertson, in The Rise of Economic Individualism. Ernst Troeltsch's two volume work, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, traces the concept of vocation through early, medieval, and modern periods. None of these studies gives more than passing attention to the doctrine in America, however. In a later essay, which has been published recently in a translated collection,[1] Weber applies his theory to some aspects of American life, but makes no systematic study.

Weber based his discussion of Calvinistic ethics entirely on the writings of later Calvinism and seems to have made no study of the works of Calvin himself. Georgia Harkness has studied Calvin's ethics in her book, John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics. In it she discusses his concept of

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1. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.

vocation, but not as a major point in the treatment. In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, A Study of John Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life, John H. Leith has given the theological setting of Calvin's doctrine of vocation.

R. B. Perry, in Puritanism and Democracy, has given some attention to the idea of vocation as far as the Puritan element in American is concerned. In Economic Virtues in the United States Donald McConnell makes a study of business ethics and general moral sanctions in selected periods of American history, but the religious motivation lies outside the immediate sphere of his research. In his book, The Background of the Social Gospel in America, a European observer, W. A. Visser t'Hooft, commented in 1928 on the scarcity of historical studies dealing with the social movement in American Christianity.[1] His book was an attempt to supply the lack. Since he wrote, a number of studies have made contributions in the same area, among them the following which are based on doctoral dissertations: James Dombrowski, The Early Development of Christian Socialism in America; C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism; A. I. Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900; H. F. May, The Protestant Churches and Industrial America. All are indirectly related to the field of research of the present study.

Mention has been made in the preceding section of several European studies on the doctrine of vocation. In American writing, the most comprehensive and scholarly treatment is God and the Common Life, by R. L. Calhoun of Yale. A number of brief, more or less popular studies on various aspects of the doctrine of vocation have appeared within the present decade: R. L. Calhoun, God and the Day's Work; Douglas Horton, W. E. Lampe and E. F. Tittle, Christian Vocation; Alexander Miller,

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1. P. S.

Christian Faith and My Job; B. Y. Landis and James Myers, Christianity and Work; R. N. Mould, Christianity Where Men Work; J. O. Nelson, Young Laymen - Young Church; Elton Trueblood, The Common Ventures of Life; T. O. Nall and B. H. Davis, Young Christians at Work; P. M. Limbert, College Teaching and Christian Values; C. P. Hall, The Christian and His Daily Work; J. O. Nelson, Christian Youth and Christian Vocation. All these studies approach the question from a philosophical or a practical point of view rather than an historical one. For the purposes of this research they serve mainly to call attention to the contemporary interest in the subject of vocation.

A doctoral dissertation, recently completed at Yale, deals with the subject, The American Gospel of Work and the Protestant Doctrine of Vocation, by Robert S. Michaelsen. It was available too late to be of help in the preparation of this study; but though his emphasis is different, the major findings of the writer on the nature of the Protestant doctrine of vocation agree in general with those of the present study.

Procedure in Collecting and Treating Data

(1) In order to provide a background for American Presbyterian thought the following procedure has been used:

(a) Selected writings have been examined, from the Bible through the Patristic, Mediaeval, and early Reformation periods, to discover the prevailing ideas on vocation prior to the time of Calvin.

(b) Particular attention was given to the writings of Calvin to determine the original, Calvinistic concept of vocation. In addition to his Institutes and commentaries the volumes of the Corpus Reformatorum (Johannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia) have been consulted.

(c) To bridge the gap from Calvin to nineteenth-century

Presbyterianism, writings of British Puritans and Puritan and Presbyterian colonists in America were examined. Any deviations from the original Calvinistic doctrine of vocation were noted in the context of the period. In addition, standard church and general histories were consulted.

(2) Primary source material used in studying theological thought among Presbyterians in America in the nineteenth century were: (a) The official records of the Presbyterian Church; (b) Files of journals published by the denomination; (c) The basic works on systematic theology by the leading Presbyterian theological teachers.

(a) The official records of the Presbyterian Church during the period. These include the annual Minutes of the General Assembly (the highest governing body in the Presbyterian Church) and Board Reports, particularly reports of the Board of Education. The minutes of the Assemblies contain the records of all official actions on church doctrine, polity and discipline.

(b) Files of journals published in the denomination during this period, particularly the quarterly publications. Mott's A History of American Magazines was consulted in making the selection of journals. All quarterly publications issued under Presbyterian auspices during the period were included. The importance of religious journals for the purpose of studying American theological thought is suggested by Howard Mumford Jones, who observes, "There is no history of American theological thought as such," but advises that examination of characteristic denominational magazines "would reveal an important phase in American intellectual development."[1]

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1. Ideas in America, p. 278.

(c) The basic works in systematic theology of the leading Presbyterian theologians of the period. The theologians studied are the six deemed most important in their field by a consensus of American church historians.[1] Each of the six was a professor at a Presbyterian theological seminary. The theological teachers and the seminaries at which they taught are: Charles Hodge, Princeton; A. A. Hodge, Western and Princeton; H. B. Smith, Union, N. Y.; W. G. T. Shedd, Auburn and Union, N. Y.; J. H. Thornwell, Columbia, S. C.; R. L. Dabney, Union, Va. The basic work of each was determined by reference to the sources cited below (n. 2) and to J. F. Hurst, Literature of Theology: A Classified Bibliography of Theological and General Religious Literature.[2] Their works serve to indicate the main emphases in theological teaching.

The foregoing sources were surveyed to discover the theological subjects and ideas which, by the frequency of their occurrence and the degree of stress given them, seem to be dominant. These dominant ideas were tabulated chronologically, and note made of changes in emphasis in different periods of the century as well as differences among the Presbyterian Church divisions and sections of the country. Conclusions are drawn from these findings in regard to the major theological ideas in Presbyterian thought in the nineteenth century. There is no attempt to make an exhaustive study, for the findings are intended only to give a theological context for the primary study of the doctrine of vocation during the period.

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1. Cf. Bacon, op. cit., pp. 378-381; C. A. Briggs, History of the Study of Theology, Vol. II, p. 199; Thompson, op. cit., pp. 144, 145, 211; Zenos, op. cit., p. 86.
2. Section IV: "Systematic Theology," pp. 439-443.

(3) To discover the doctrine of vocation in the theological thought of nineteenth century American Presbyterianism, the sources listed in the foregoing section were used: viz., (a) official records, (b) denominational journals, (c) theological writings.

(a) In the Minutes of the General Assembly, those discussions and actions were noted which relate to some aspect of the doctrine of vocation. Reports of the Presbyterian Board of Education were examined for references to vocation.

(b) The files of the selected denominational journals were examined for articles pertinent to the field of investigation; the articles were studied carefully, and attitudes and ideas noted. Attention was given also to notices of books which are relevant to the subject of vocation. As far as possible, books so noted were examined for what they have to say on vocation.

(c) In the case of the theological writings, those emphases were sought which bear most directly on the concept of vocation, particularly in those doctrines which concern man's relationship to God and to his fellow-man.

Secondary sources to relate Presbyterian theological thought and vocational ideas to the setting of nineteenth century America included standard books both on church history and on the American culture of the period. The resources of the following libraries were available for research: Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia; Virginia State Library; Union Theological Seminary, New York; the New York Public Library. In addition, the archives which Sweet considers[1] the two best repositories of American Presbyterian history were available: The Department of History of

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1. W. W. Sweet, "Church Archives in the United States," Church History, Vol. VIII (1939), pp. 50-51.

the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., Philadelphia; and the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina.

The data obtained from the study of the primary sources were organized chronologically, particularly the findings from the denominational records and periodicals. This organization of material indicates the periods during the nineteenth century at which the concept of vocation was given the greatest attention in the theological thinking of Presbyterians.

The data thus organized by periods within the century were then subjected to a qualitative study to determine the content of the idea of vocation held at each period. Any explicit definitions of the meaning of the term vocation were noted. In other cases, in which the meaning is assumed but not stated, the context was examined for the implied meaning of the term. In still other cases, in which the idea of vocation is presupposed without being expressed, the writer's line of reasoning was studied to discover the implied concept of vocation upon which he predicates his conclusions.

The content of the concept of vocation held at these several periods during the nineteenth century has been compared with the content of Calvin's concept of vocation (Section 1-a). All changes in emphasis were considered in the light of the contemporary theological context (Section 2) and the prevailing culture described in the works cited above.

(4) In the examination of official church records, particularly the annual reports and other publications of the Board of Christian Education, and the denominational journals, especial note was made of references to the educational efforts of the denomination. References include the promotion of both theological and general education under denominational auspices. Particular attention was given to any appeals to the doctrine of vocation for the purpose of encouraging educational efforts or of guiding

educational policies. The findings were examined in the setting of their chronological periods to discover the content of the concept of vocation, explicit or implied, in the official educational policies of the Presbyterian Church in the nineteenth century.

(5) The data on vocation obtained in the study of primary sources (Section 3) were studied to discover those cases in which practical application of the doctrine has been made for the purpose of motivating conduct or social attitudes. These practical references to vocation were studied in terms of the periods of the century in which they occur, and careful note made of the kind of conduct or attitude which is encouraged. All these practical applications of the doctrine were viewed in the setting of the prevailing culture and the dominant Presbyterian thought of the period (Section 2). This use of the doctrine of vocation in the nineteenth century was compared with the practical application of it made by Calvin (Section 1-2).

Finally, the findings were brought together under the following categories: (a) The frequency of references to the doctrine of vocation in the theological writing of the century and their location by period (Section 3); (b) Adaptations in the content of the concept of vocation during the periods noted (Section 3); (c) Practical application of the doctrine during the successive periods to encourage education or to motivate conduct or attitudes (Sections 4 and 5). From this synthesis of findings, conclusions were drawn as to the existence of trends in Presbyterian thought on the doctrine of vocation during the nineteenth century.

By definition of significance as used in this study, the findings on the place of the doctrine of vocation in theological thought and the use made of it to encourage education and to motivate conduct and social attitudes indicate the significance of the doctrine of vocation in Presbyterian thought in nineteenth-century America.

CHAPTER II

THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION TO THE TIME OF LUTHER

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Though the doctrine of vocation was given a fresh and positive emphasis in the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation, that emphasis can be understood only against the background of the doctrine as it was held in preceding centuries. In this chapter the prevailing concepts of vocation will be examined briefly, beginning with those of the Hebrew-Christian scriptures, and continuing through the ideas of the patristic and medieval periods, to the concept as expressed in the Reformation writings of Martin Luther.

The Doctrine of Vocation in Hebrew-Christian Scriptures

The leaders of the Protestant Reformation believed, not that they were introducing something new, but that they were recovering the truth of primitive Christianity long buried beneath the accretions of Roman Catholic tradition.[1] They derived the concept of vocation, which was an integral part of the total structure of Protestant thought, from the teachings of the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures.

Basic to the idea of vocation in the Hebrew, or Old Testament, tradition is the concept of the relation between God and his world, especially between God and man. "God, the Lord; man, the servant - this," says Wright, "is the basic motif behind the terminology of Israelite religion."[2] Yahweh, the Lord, is supreme, both as Creator and as Ruler.

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1. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, "Dedication to Francis I," Vol. I, pp. 23-26.
2. G. E. Wright, The Challenge of Israel's Faith, p. 39.

The Hebrew idea of the relation of God to the created world differs from the Greek idea in several important respects. Yahweh, the God of Israel, is present and active in the affairs of life, no mere subject for abstract speculation.[1] He reveals himself through history; and the theatre of his self-revelation, the material world which he created, must be good, not evil.[2] "The confrontation of Hebrew persons with God," says Muilenburg, "is the confrontation with an absolute demand."[3] The call of this dynamic God is primarily a summons, not to contemplation, but to active service.[4]

Thus, throughout the Old Testament, the call of God is a summons to an active response on the part of man; as in the case of Abraham, of Moses, of the prophets, the call is directed toward a specific task. The people of Israel are called to become "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."[5] Their covenant relationship to Yahweh requires on their part loyal obedience to his ethical demands.[6]

As a consequence of God's active participation in history and his demand of active service as token of his people's loyalty, the daily life becomes a religious concern. The Hebrew attitude toward work is different from the Greek idea that labor is degrading.[7] Although man's labor is cursed with "thorns and thistles" after Adam's disobedience in the Eden story,[8] work itself is not a curse; for even before his fall, man was given the task of dressing and keeping the garden.[9] "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work,"

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1. G. F. Thomas, editor, The Vitality of the Christian Tradition, pp. 14-15.
2. A. D. Ritchie, Civilization, Science and Religion, pp. 53-54.
3. James Muilenburg, in Thomas, op. cit., p. 20.
4. John Hutchison, "The Biblical Idea of Vocation," Christianity and Society, Vol. 13, No. 2.
5. Exodus 19:6.
6. Wright, op. cit., p. 74.
7. G. L. Dickinson, The Greek View of Life, pp. 137-139.
8. Genesis 3:17-19.
9. Genesis 2:15.

is as definite a command in the Decalogue as, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy."[1] Both injunctions are supported by the same example: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day. . ."[2] Work is expected in God's well ordered world.

Prosperity as the result of labor is considered therefore as the blessing of Yahweh. The material successes of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, for example, are regarded as evidence of the favor of God.[3] Deuteronomy repeatedly promises prosperity as the result of loyalty to Yahweh, and just as certainly indicates material loss as the result of infidelity.[4] The prophets are full of similar references to the consequences of loyalty and of disloyalty in terms of abundance and want.[5] Such prosperity is not to be won by placating a capricious deity, but rather is bestowed as a sign of Yahweh's favor.

The New Testament Church arose out of the background of the Hebrew tradition. The early followers of Christ found in him the one who fulfilled "the law and the prophets" of the Hebrew Scriptures.[6] Ecclesia, the Church, is a term carried over from the Old Testament, the holy community of those called out.[7] In the letter commonly designated as Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, the first three chapters describe in eternal and cosmic terms what for the Christian "is the hope of his calling, what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints."[8] This calling, foreordained by God, draws together into the fellowship of the ecclesia both Jews and

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1. Exodus 20:8, 9.
2. Exodus 20:11.
3. Genesis 24:35; 26:12; 33:11; 39:2, 23.
4. E.g., Deuteronomy 8:6-20; 28:1-24; 30:15-20, etc.
5. E.g., Amos 4:6-9; Micah 4:1-5; Isaiah 1:2-9, etc.
6. Matthew 5:17.
7. E. F. Scott, Man and Society in the New Testament, p. 113.
8. Ephesians 1:18.

Gentiles. In the fourth chapter this lofty theology is brought to focus on practical life: "I. . .beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation [calling] wherewith ye are called."[1] That worthy life is to include right relationships with all the Christian community - the ecclesia - and with the non-Christian community.

The word klesis, or calling, occurs repeatedly throughout the Pauline writings. Always the call is God's summons to a life lived in relationship to Christ. In only one place does the term refer specifically to the merely temporal condition of the Christian.' In writing to the church at Corinth about their status as married or unmarried, circumcised or uncircumcised, slave or free, "as God has distributed to every man," Paul advises them not to seek to change their state, but instead, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."[2] The thought is that the outward circumstance is insignificant in comparison with the inward condition of union with Christ.

In the early Church there seems to have been no clearly articulated idea of vocation like that which was to develop later. Impelled by the new dynamic of their religious experience, they shared together in the common life.[3] Indeed, Scott declares that in the New Testament Church no distinction was made between a religious vocation and a secular one. He writes:

> Paul was at once a craftsman, a missionary and a theologian, and it never occurred to him that these were separate callings. It was he, indeed, who gave us the word "calling," and it meant for him that each man is called by Christ, to perform in his name whatever duty is laid to his hands. The practical and the religious duties, as he saw them, were all of a piece, in so far as in both of them a man placed himself at the service of Christ.[4]

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1. Ephesians 4:1.
2. I Corinthians 7:12-20.
3. Acts 2:44-45.
4. Op. cit., pp. 160-161.

Part of the life "worthy of the vocation" of Christians was the substitution of new, constructive habits for the old habits characteristic of the low moral practices of the late Graeco-Roman world. They were to set an example of labor in a culture which placed a low estimate on manual work. "Let him who stole steal no more," says the Epistle to the Ephesians, "but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."[1] This Hebrew emphasis on the dignity of work is found elsewhere in the Pauline writings.[2] In accord with the Hebrew tradition Paul himself had been taught a trade,[3] and in the passages cited he did not hesitate to point out his own practice for the other leaders of the Church to imitate.

It is clear that the early Christians did not conceive of their calling as one of social revolution. The extent to which their eschatological expectation of the early return of Christ limited their interest in earthly change is a question for theological speculation. Paul administered a severe rebuke to those who let their heavenly hope interfere with the performance of their earthly tasks. "If any would not work," he writes to the Thessalonians, "neither should he eat."[4] Cullman, in a recent work[5] dealing with "the primitive Christian concept of time and history," describes the early Church as living in an "intermediate period" between creation and the parousia, the second coming of Christ. Daily conduct for the primitive Christian was not determined by ethical rules; no such formula was attempted until the time of the Apostolic Fathers in the second century. Each believer made his

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1. Ephesians 4:28.
2. I Thessalonians 4:11; II Thessalonians 3:8, 10-12; I Corinthians 4:12; also, Acts 20:34-35.
3. Acts 18:3.
4. II Thessalonians 3:10.
5. Oscar Cullman, Christ and Time.

daily decisions, not by prescribed rules, but in the light of the "divine demand" of his experience with Christ.[1] All of life was to be lived in relation to Christ and every task done to his glory: "And whatever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him."[2]

The Doctrine of Vocation in the Patristic Period

In the post-apostolic teachings industry continued to be stressed. Ignatius pointed out the responsibility of Christian parents to teach their children a trade as one part of their religious nurture.[3] One of the first attempts to formalize the rules for Christian conduct was the Didache, or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, of the second century.[4] In this writing the importance of work is emphasized for the well being and good name of the Christian community: "If he [i.e., a newcomer] willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding, see to it that as a Christian he shall not live with you idle; . . ."[5] Justin Martyr wrote, "For he [Christ] was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes; by which he taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life."[6]

The very industriousness of the Christians helped to arouse the antagonism of their pagan neighbors.[7] That they lived normal, useful lives within the community is one of the arguments of the Christian apologists. The

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1. Ibid., pp. 224-230.
2. Colossians 3:17.
3. "Epistle to the Philadelphians," Chap. IV, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I, p. 81.
4. Cf. Thomas, op. cit., p. 310.
5. "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," Chap. XII, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VII, page 381.
6. "Dialogue with Trypho," Chap. LXXXVIII, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I, p. 244.
7. McNeill, Spinka, Willoughby, editors, Environmental Factors in Church History, p. 139.

unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus writes that Christians are not distinguished from others by "the customs which they observe" nor do they "lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. . .They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven."[1]

Nevertheless, there were many occupations which were forbidden to Christians for reasons of conscience. Cadoux writes that by the end of the second century there was great concern on the part of the leaders of the Church over members who engaged in occupations which required acts contrary to Christian conscience. Military professions, professions connected in any way with idolatry, occupations associated with vice and superstition - all these were prohibited to Christians.[2] Tertullian, in his writings, advocates stern measures toward members of the Church who compromised with idolatry,[3] and points out uncompromisingly occupations which were unlawful for Christians.[4]

But although they felt obliged to dissociate themselves from anti-Christian elements in the life of their world, the Church felt little call to try to change the world directly.[5] They worked rather as the leaven within society.[6] In the division of labor and in the daily occupations there was little sense of "calling" as it was to develop later.[7] In an age as transitory as most of the Christians of the post-apostolic period felt theirs to be, there was little urgency for a minority group to attempt aggressive social change.

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1. Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I, pp. 26, 27.
2. C. J. Cadoux, The Early Church and the World, pp. 147-149.
3. "On Idolatry," Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. III, pp. 62-68.
4. "Apology," ibid., p. 49.
5. Cadoux, op. cit., p. 231.
6. Matthew 13:33.
7. Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. I, pp. 120-124.

After Christianity received imperial recognition in the fourth century the sharp division between the Church and the world was broken down. To follow the formula introduced by Troeltsch,[1] the status of the Christian group was changing from that of a sect within a hostile environment, detached from the world, to that of a church, an organized institution which accommodated itself to its environment. Christians were more ready to set aside their former scruples and compromise in the matter of worldly occupations. It was in reaction to such accommodation and compromise that the ascetic idea developed strength, and increasingly the monastic life offered itself as an escape from the evils of the world.[2]

At the beginning of the fifth century, when Christians and non-Christians alike were faced with the collapse of Rome as a political state, Augustine, bishop of Hippo (354-430), wrote his famous City of God to provide "a new historical orientation, a new rationalisation of world experience."[3] In it he sets forth a philosophy of the present life in an eternal setting, a philosophy in which succeeding generations until the Renaissance were to follow him.[4]

Against the Manichaean view that material substance is evil, Augustine strongly contends that the natural world is the creation of God and that nothing in God's creation is evil in itself, only in its abuse.[5] He attributes to the creative and governing activity of God not only all of life and the

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1. Ibid., pp. 331-343.
2. Ibid., pp. 125-127.
3. J. T. McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, p. 19.
4. John Baillie, The Belief in Progress, pp. 96.
5. "The Nature of Good, Against the Manichees," Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. IV, pp. 357, 359.

beauty and majesty of nature, but human art and science as well.[1] His formula for the attitude of Christians toward earthly and temporal things is the distinction between uti and frui, that they are to be used rather than enjoyed, to the end that "by means of what is material and temporary we may lay hold upon that which is spiritual and eternal."[2]

Although Augustine held monasticism in high regard, he considered the mode of life as being of secondary importance. Among the several modes - "the contemplative, the active, and the composite" - the Christian may choose any "without detriment to his eternal interests" so long as "his faith is preserved." He must not, however, "overlook the claims of truth and duty. No man has a right to lead such a life of contemplation as to forget in his own ease the service due to his neighbor; nor has he any right to be so immersed in active life as to neglect the contemplation of God."[3]

Despite the fact that he set the earthly life in a new and eternal perspective, Augustine gives no evidence of considering the mode of life in terms of a divine vocation. Holl, in his carefully documented study of the history of the concept, states conclusively: "Es gibt keine Stelle in den altkirklichen Vaterschriften, wo vocatio soviel wie Stand bedeute."[4]

Monasticism and Vocation

On the other hand, from the fourth century on, vocation was acquiring a more restricted and specialized connotation. The ascetic ideal of world denial seemed to offer the only escape from the evils of the age. The word "vocation" came to be used, not for ordinary men who must live within the

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1. "The City of God," XXII. 24, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. II, pp. 502-504.
2. "On Christian Doctrine," I. 3, 4, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, Vol. II, p. 523.
3. "City of God," XIX 19, ibid., p. 415.
4. Karl Holl, "Die Geschichte des Worts Beruf," p. 10.

world and compromise with its evil, but for those called especially by God to a "religious" life, the life of hermit or monk. The analogy was made to Abraham's call to leave his old life and go forth into an unknown country; as "soldiers of Christ" those who had a "vocation" were to sever earthly ties and live lives of spiritual perfection. "This inward 'call' to perfection and, by transfer of meaning, the overt adoption and practice of the monastic life which it implied," writes Calhoun, "was what vocatio came to mean ordinarily in mediaeval parlance."[1]

Thus the Church sought to resolve its dilemma of the unyielding gospel requirement of absolute love to God and man on the one hand, and the recalcitrant evil in the human situation on the other. The Christian ethic was held to be applicable in its perfection in part for priests, fully only for monks and nuns.[2] Thomas Aquinas was to develop a rationale for this ethical dualism in the thirteenth century. The monk renounced the world; and in his vow to perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience, he rejected the threefold temptation of this life: "the lust [Vulgate: concupiscentia] of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."[3] The essence of monasticism was the vita contemplativa rather than the vita activa.[4] In his withdrawal from the world the monk was making a contribution to the life of the world by "showing forth the ideal in an intensified form," and "rendering service to others through intercession, penitence, and the acquisition of merit."[5] This was the monk's vocation.

Although monasticism stressed the contemplative life rather than the active, it made a positive contribution through its attitude toward manual

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1. R. L. Calhoun, God and the Common Life, p. 18. Cf. Holl, op. cit., pp. 2-10.
2. H. O. Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind, Vol. I, p. 372.
3. I John 2:16.
4. Taylor, Op. cit., pp. 379-380.
5. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242.

labor. As early as the fifth century Augustine had discussed the merits of work in his treatise, "Concerning the Work of Monks."[1] Condemning the unseemly idleness of the monastic community, he refutes the argument that, like "fowls of the air," they are to "sow not," nor "reap, nor gather into barns."[2] Instead, he cites Paul's injunction, "If any would not work, neither should he eat,"[3] and sets out to demonstrate "that the blessed Apostle Paul willed the servants of God to work corporal works. . .for the purpose that they should need food and clothing of no man, but with their own hands should procure these for themselves."[4] Moreover, those who have come from wealthy homes and those who have come from poverty should share alike in the manual toil, both as an antidote to pride and as a contribution to the common welfare of the monastic community.[5]

The Rule of St. Benedict (c. 530), which was to be the standard for Western monasticism, also required manual labor on the part of the monks: "Idleness is a great enemy of the soul, therefore the monks should always be occupied, either in manual labor or in holy reading. . .true monks should live by the labor of their own hands as did the apostles and holy fathers."[6] That this rule was not consistently held is evident from the fact that reform movements within monasticism sought to revive the ideal of manual labor. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) of the Cistercian Order carried on a running debate on the disciplinary value of monastic work with the head of the Cluniac order; for Cluny had grown wealthy through its earlier hard work and had abandoned the rule of toiling with the hands.[7]

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1. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Vol III, pp. 503-505.
2. Matthew 6:26.
3. II Thessalonians 3:10.
4. "Of the Work of Monks," chap. 4.
5. Ibid., chap. 32.
6. Thatcher and McNeal, A Source Book for Mediaeval History, p. 467.
7. G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, Vol. I, pp. 302-332.

The failure of the monasteries successfully to maintain the ideal of labor was a contributing cause of the rise of the mendicant Franciscan order.[1] Concerned over abuses by which the monks had become wealthy land owners and oppressors of the poor,[2] Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) founded an ascetic order which should take monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but live a life of service in the world. The disciplinary idea of work was expressed thus in his rule: "Those brothers to whom the Lord has given the ability to work shall work faithfully and devotedly, so that idleness, which is the enemy of the soul, may be excluded and not extinguish the spirit of prayer and devotion to which all temporal things should be subservient."[3] To avoid the temptation to wealth the rule stated that the brothers might receive as payment goods needed by the order, but not money.[4] Unfortunately the moral fervor of the founder was not sustained by his followers. By the end of the thirteenth century the friars had lowered their rigid standards, and manual labor as a practice of the order died early.[5]

Despite the weaknesses within the movement, weaknesses which were condemned by reformers from within as well as by critics from without, monasticism at its best set an example of manual labor which was not without its influence on the secular community. Benedict's double precaution against idleness, through reading and manual labor, helped to preserve learning as well as to encourage industriousness. During the Middle Ages the monasteries provided the only social work, established the only schools, and offered elementary training in agriculture to the laity.[6] Even though practice lagged

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1. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 12.
2. Ibid., Vol. II, chapters II-VI.
3. Thatcher and McNeal, op. cit., p. 501.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Coulton, op. cit., pp. 174-175.
6. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 162-163.

far behind the standard, labor was upheld as an ideal.

Important as its influence was, however, the monastic ideal of labor differs in at least two respects from the concept of ordinary daily work as a vocation. In the first place, the emphasis in both Benedictine and Franciscan rules was not on the productive and contributive value of the work, but rather on its disciplinary function as a prevention for dangerous idleness. The fact that the monasteries became socially and economically important was an incidental and unintentional consequence of their industry.[1] In the second place, the life of a monastic community was withdrawn purposely from the common life. Its ascetic standards were the consilia evangelii, the counsels of perfection for those who were devoted wholly to the spiritual life, not the spiritual and moral norm of ordinary men. The rule of labor was a part of the ascetic life, by which the monk's tendency to idleness was checked and his pride chastened; for, as Thomas Aquinas wrote, the vita activa might be a means of strengthening the vita contemplativa.[2]

Scholasticism and Vocation

In the disordered world of the early Middle Ages society found a new way of life in a return to an agrarian existence. In the feudal system which developed scattered settlements formed around an overlord powerful enough to afford protection. The people in return owed their service to their protector. The system was one of personal relationships and mutual obligations. The serf, bound to the soil with no right to change of domicile, was not a free man; but separated from the estate of his lord, he was déclassé, a pathetically displaced person.[3]

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1. Archibald Baker, editor, A Short History of Christianity, p. 87.
2. Summa Theologica, II-II. 108. 3.
3. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 249.

By the thirteenth century, although still predominantly rural, society was shifting toward the towns; and with new occupations, new community relations were developing. Moreover, the older intellectual thought patterns of the Church were no longer intellectually satisfying to the new bourgeois class. A new rationalistic philosophy was arousing their interest, a revived Aristotelianism which came to them by way of Arab thinkers. The social, intellectual and spiritual unrest called for some kind of synthesis to bring order. That synthesis was provided largely through the work of Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), a Dominican scholar who gathered together the conflicting elements into a consistent whole.[1]

The three sources of Thomas' system, writes Wünsch, were the social philosophy of Aristotle, the economic order of the Middle Ages, and the element of the Christian religion.[2] The Thomist universe is hierarchical and strongly influenced by Aristotle, whom Thomas baptized and claimed as an ally instead of a foe. A commentator writes that Thomas "made out the order of nature and divine providence on the principle of feudalism."[3]

This hierarchical or, as Troeltsch[4] calls it, this architectonic, way of thinking forms the consistent pattern of Thomas' view of all reality - God, nature, and man. As Gilson comments, his proof of the existence of God as Prime Mover "displays its full significance only on the assumption of a hierarchically ordered universe."[5] The unity of the whole, each order performing its designated function in the interrelation of parts, is ascribed to the wisdom of the divine Architect.[6] This is true in the world of nature[7]

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1. John Wild, Introduction to Realistic Philosophy, pp. 24-27; Étienne Gilson, Revelation and Reason in the Middle Ages, pp. 1-99.
2. Georg Wünsch, Evangelische Wirtschaftsethik, p. 311.
3. Joseph Rickaby, trans. and ed., Of God and His Creatures: The Summa contra Gentiles of St. Thomas Aquinas, p. 248.
4. Op. cit., Vol I, p. 275.
5. Étienne Gilson, The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, p. 78.
6. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 275.
7. Summa Theologica, I. 47. 2.

and in the world of men.[1] The social system of feudalism fits ideally into the hierarchically ordered universe.

God, as Prime Mover, executes his providence through secondary causes.[2] As Rickaby observes, "St. Thomas does not view causation dynamically, but statically."[3] From this hierarchical view of God's government, whereby lower orders are moved by higher, Thomas deduces a similar system among men: "In the same way we find order among men. For those who excel in intellect are naturally rulers, whereas those who are less intelligent, but strong in body, seem made by nature for service, as Aristotle says in his Politics."[4]

In his Questiones de Duodecim Quodlibet Thomas explains more fully the division of labor among men. Beginning with the question, "Si quis non vult operari non manducet," he points out from both natural and divine law the obligation that men should work. He uses the familiar Pauline figure of the body and its interdependence of parts. In the course of his argument he indicates how this division of labor takes place:

> Haec autem diversificatio hominum in diversis officiis contingit primo ex divina providentia, quae ita hominum status distribuit. . . secundo etiam ex causis naturalibus, ex quibus contingit, quod in diversis hominibus sunt diversae inclinationes ad diversa officia vel ad diversos modos vivendi.[5]

Thus the primary cause for the division of men into various duties is divine providence which assigns to each his designated status. The choice of a particular work or mode of life, however, is due to secondary, natural causes, whereby individuals have different inclinations. This distinction between primary and secondary causation accords with Thomas' view of the relation of God to his universe; it also accords with his explanation of status in the Summa: "State [status]. . .denotes a kind of position, whereby

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1. Contra Gentiles, III. 81.
2. Contra Gentiles, III. 77, 78.
3. Op. cit., p. 221.
4. Contra Gentiles, III. 81.
5. Questiones de Duodecim Quodlibet, VII, 17.

a thing is disposed with a certain immobility in a manner according to its nature. . .that alone seemingly pertains to a man's state which regards an obligation binding his person. . ."[1] However, "matters which easily exchange and are extrinsic to them" - presumably such matters as the specific officium of a man's choice - "do not constitute a state among men, for instance, that a man be rich or poor, of high or low rank, etc."[2]

Thomas answers the question of the relative value of the active and the contemplative life by acknowledging the importance of both but insisting that "the contemplative is simply more excellent than the active."[3] He supports this by several arguments from Aristotle, chiefly the contention that the "contemplative life is according to that which is proper to man, namely his intellect," whereas the active life requires the utilization "of lower powers also, which are common to us and brutes."[4] Ordinarily there is more merit in the contemplative life, for it is "concerned with the love of God," whereas the active life is directed primarily "toward the love of neighbors."[5] Elsewhere Thomas points out that the contemplative life is more perfect in that it requires fewer "earthly aids" than the active life, "its attention being given wholly to divine things."[6]

Both the life of withdrawal and the life in the world are functioning parts of the social organism, however; and ecclesiastical and lay groups each have their position, on various levels, in the Corpus Christianum, in which each performs his office according to the measure of his ability. Inequalities are a natural part of the system.[7] The high estimation in which the

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1. Summa Theologica, II-II. 183. 1.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Summa Theologica, II-II. 182. 1.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Summa Theologica, II-II. 182. 2.
6. Contra Gentiles, III. 134.
7. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242.

contemplative life is held indicates the correspondingly high level (gradus) which would be given the monastic office. It has been pointed out that the function of the monastic order consists in its benefiting vicariously the whole social organism by its piety and spiritual merit.

The rationale for the ethical dualism necessitated by this division of contemplative and active modes of life is provided by the concept of the counsels as distinguished from the commands of the gospel: "a command implies obligation, whereas a counsel is left to the option of the one to whom it is given."[1] The commandments, concerning matters "which are necessary to gain the end of eternal beatitude," are binding on all; the consilia evangelii, on the other hand, notably the three-fold vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, are designed to "render the gaining of this end more assured and expeditious." One may use the things of this world and still attain eternal happiness, provided he does not value them too highly; but he will attain that blessedness more speedily if he follows the evangelical counsels and renounces the things of the world.[2]

The choice of whether or not he will follow the counsels absolutely or in part, is left with the individual: "The aforesaid counsels, considered in themselves, are expedient to all, but because some people are ill-disposed, it happens that they are inexpedient to some of them, because their disposition is not inclined to such things."[3]

The secular life also had its function to perform in the Mediaeval social organism, and the scholastic ethical system sought to regulate it for the best interest of the whole. In Tawney's words, the Church of the Middle Ages, unlike the Church of the early centuries, "aspired to be, not

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1. Summa Theologica, I-II. 108. 4.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.

a sect, but a civilization."[1] Religion was regarded as pertinent to all of life.

For this reason the scholastic teachers of the Church laid down definite rules for various occupations. That men should labor, and that there should be a division of labor, the Thomist ethic held to be according to natural law.[2] Serfdom was seldom questioned, though setting a serf free might be an act of piety.[3] The status of an individual was ordained by God, and in that status he was to serve the corporate whole. Manual labor was to be performed by the lower orders, those not fitted by nature to rule.[4] Such labor was necessary and honorable.

Trade, however, was more questionable, and could be justified only when its "moderate profit" was used for the general welfare.[5] Theological economics found it difficult to control the rising tide of commerce in the late Middle Ages, or reconcile it as one of the mutually assisting elements of an organic society. Scholastic economic theory was compelled to accommodate itself somewhat to the changing times; the writings of Antonio of Florence in the fifteenth century were more complex than the economic teaching of Thomas in the thirteenth, though the basic premises were unchanged.[6]

Jarrett lists three fundamental principles of scholastic economic ethics, taken from the Summa Theologica of Antonio, Archbishop of Florence (1389-1459). The first principle was that "there was a limit to money-making imposed by the purpose for which the money was made." The second was that "trade or commerce must be carried on honestly and well." The third was

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1. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p. 24.
2. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 316.
3. Tawney, op. cit., p. 56.
4. Contra Gentiles, III. 81.
5. Summa Theologica, II-II. 77. 4.
6. Tawney, op. cit., p. 22.

that "there should be a just price at which articles should be sold."[1] It is a matter of record that standards of honest dealing and a just price were constantly flouted,[2] but the ideal remained. The doctrine of the just price and the prohibition of usury were "the two main pillars of the mediaeval theological economics."[3] Usury was categorically forbidden by Thomas Aquinas[4] and those who followed him, as opposed to the laws of nature and of God. Usury flourished during the late Middle Ages, even among churchmen; but though sometimes condoned, it was never sanctioned.[5]

The scholastic attitude toward property illustretes most clearly the organic social ideal. Though not a law of nature, private possession is a practical necessity for human well being; but the use of property is to be shared.[6] For the wealthy to divide their abundance with the needy is not an act of charity, but according to natural right (ex naturali jure). Moreover, it is not stealing for a man who is in need to take what is necessary if the more fortunate man does not share willingly.[7] To seek for more gain than is needed is to commit the sin of avarice, one of the seven deadly sins. A schoolman of the fourteenth century wrote:

> He who has enough to satisfy his wants, and nevertheless ceaseless labors to acquire riches, either in order to obtain a higher social position, or that subsequently he may have enough to live without labor, so that his sons may become men of wealth and importance - such are incited by damnable avarice, sensuality, or pride.[8]

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1. Bede Jarrett, Social Theories of the Middle Ages, pp. 157-160, passim.
2. Ibid., pp. 158-160.
3. William Temple, Christianity and Social Order, p. 31.
4. Summa Theologica, II-II. 78. 1.
5. Jarrett, op. cit., pp. 165-172; Tawney, op. cit., p. 33.
6. Summa Theologica, II-II. 66. 2.
7. Summa Theologica, II-II. 66. 7.
8. Quoted in Tawney, op. cit., p. 38.

In order that the work, whether craft or trade, be carried on for the welfare of the whole community, the schoolmen urged faithfulness in the task, in addition to honest intentions, integrity of workmanship, and fair dealing. Antonio catalogued minutely the various trades with the potential dangers and values of each.[1] In all this economic casuistry the Church was seeking, not economic reform, but the preserving of those standards of personal morality which were essential for maintaining a social order based on personal relationships.[2] "Society was interpreted, in short," writes Tawney, "not as an expression of economic self interest, but as held together by a system of mutual, though varying, obligations."[3]

In this ideal of social solidarity in which the labor of each contributes through "the officium or ministerium which is allotted to the individual member in relation to the whole," Troeltsch sees a "cosmos of callings."[4] A number of more recent scholars have taken issue with Troeltsch's interpretation at this point. Calhoun, for example, while acknowledging the advance made in St. Thomas' social theory of the contribution of various occupations to the common good, questions that he ever regarded such labor as a vocation.[5] Bainton, in a recent critique of Troeltsch's major work, calls attention to Holl's judgment that during the Middle Ages only monasticism could be recognized as a vocation. Mediaeval society, writes Bainton, "was marked at certain points rather by dominance on the part of the Church than by a thoroughgoing interpenetration of the Church and the world."[6]

It is true that laymen in the Middle Ages could toil devotedly for the

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1. Jarrett, op. cit., pp. 177-179.
2. Tawney, op. cit., p. 55.
3. Ibid., p. 24.
4. Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 143-144.
5. Op. cit., pp. 253-254.
6. Roland Bainton, "Ernst Troeltsch - Thirty Years Later." Theology Today, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 78.

glory of God, unmindful of personal recognition, in a task like the building of a cathedral. However, as Nash comments, such a task was a special act of devotion, not the common round of every day.[1] Hell sums up the prevailing attitude toward the daily work of ordinary men thus: "Die tätigen Stände haben einen Dienst, einen unentbehrlichen Dienst, einen Gottangeordneten Dienst, aber keinen 'Beruf' im wahren Sinne des Worts."[2]

Ideas of Vocation in the Late Middle Ages

Scholasticism could not control the centrifugal forces which pulled apart the mediaeval civilization. Despite wars and plagues, the rural population increased beyond the capacity of the land to support it. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a breaking up of the manors and a shift of population to the towns.[3] In the economic realm, the Black death, wars, and political realignments combined to bring the old order to a sudden end. An emerging capitalism, active particularly in Italy and in the Low Countries, broke through the conservative restraints of the guilds.[4] As Jarrett writes, "The Mediaeval Age is an age of groups and guilds; of communes; the ending of it passed into a period of intense personal self-development. Men no longer held, they owned."[5]

Scholasticism, says Ritchie, had provided "a vertical order of society which gave a place and a function to everybody".[6] What it failed to provide was a corresponding horizontal relationship between equals. When the old feudal pattern was broken, social and economic anarchy were the result.[7]

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1. Arnold Nash, The University and the Modern World, pp. 69-70.
2. Op. cit., p. 14.
3. Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol. VII, pp. 723-730.
4. Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, pp. 500-514.
5. Op. cit., p. 149.
6. Op. cit., p. 105.
7. Ibid., pp. 105-106.

Intellectually, as well as socially and economically, the old patterns were changing. The Renaissance, in Garrison's phrase, was characterized by a shift "in the center of gravity of men's interests."[1] This world rather than the next was given primary attention; and religion, as represented by the Church, was relegated to a secondary place of consideration.[2]

Randall[3] has pointed out the diverging streams of Renaissance humanism. That of the Italian Renaissance tended toward the enjoyment of this life. It gloried in its art and - unlike the Middle Ages - it glorified its artists. Its ideal was the gentleman typified by Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier. "This ideal of individual perfection is of necessity aristocratic and exclusive; it presupposes peasants and craftsmen to make it possible."[4] It is clear, therefore, that the Italian Renaissance, for all its awakened interest in human life, had no genuine sense of vocation. It knew nothing of the dignity of common toil; and its works of art were, as Tillich describes Titian's paintings, "representatives of the greatness, beauty and power of man"[5] rather than work done primarily to the glory of God.

On the other hand, nothern humanism, represented by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1558), found a dignity in the common life of the craftsmen and peasants who were necessary for the support of the gentleman-aristocrat. Though often critical of the Church as an institution, the movement was essentially religious. Its scholarly efforts were directed toward as study of the Hebrew and Greek scriptures rather than the Greek classics which preoccupied the Italian humanists. There was a mystical strain in northern humanism which

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1. W. E. Garrison, in McNeill, Spinka and Willoughby, op. cit., p. 280.
2. Loc. cit.
3. J. H. Randall, Jr., The Making of the Modern Mind, pp. 130-141.
4. Ibid., p. 136-137.
5. Paul Tillich, in H. P. Van Dusen, ed., The Christian Answer, p. 10.

found spiritual meaning in the daily life of ordinary men. The "Christian Renaissance" is the name which has been given to one of these mystical movements, known as the Brethren of the Common Life, which flourished in the lower Rhine Valley in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Erasmus was trained in the school conducted by the Brethren in Deventer.[1] The concept of vocation held by these mystics of the late Middle Ages will be considered below.

The late Middle Ages were marked by religious as well as social, economic and intellectual unrest. Because of the corruption of many monastic orders, the people were losing respect for a religion of withdrawal from the world. At the same time there was a new interest in religious movements which combined the active with the contemplative life. Although condemned as heretical by the Church, the Waldensian movement of the twelfth century and the Lollard movement of the fourteenth, which sought to bring the teaching of the Bible to the people, were expressions of religious concern among the laity.[2]

Underhill[3] has called attention to the recurrence of mysticism in the mediaeval period, often in opposition to the institutionalism of the Church. The later Middle Ages saw the phenomenon of group mysticism, expressed in such a movement as the mendicant order of Franciscans. The work of the friars differed from that of the monks in that they sought to live an ascetic life of poverty, chastity, and obedience in the world instead of withdrawing to a cloister. The preaching of the friars, at the beginning of the movement, aroused such enthusiasm on the part of the people that the Third Order was established, providing an opportunity for men and women to live holy lives

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1. Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol. VII, pp. 803-804.
2. Baker, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
3. Evelyn Underhill, in Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol. VII, p. 777.

while remaining with their families and retaining their old occupations. Though the irregularity of the Third Order was a source of embarrassment to the Church, the tertiaries demonstrated the possibility of expressing religion in everyday life.[1]

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, certain mystic movements arose along the Rhine which went even further in recognizing the spiritual possibilities in the life outside the cloister. Deeply concerned over the spiritual apathy which prevailed even in the monasteries, the mystics known as the Friends of God sought a genuine religious experience in the vision of God. Not all men are called to become friends of God in the same way, declared Meister Eckhart (1260-1327), in a sermon on I Corinthians 7:20. A man flailing grain or braking nettles could have a vision of God as surely as a monk in a cloister. Tauler (1290-1361) went even further: in a sermon on Ephesians 4, he stated that a man's occupation (Amt) might become a Ladung, a Ruf, as well as any inner call (innere Ruf).[2]

Groot (1340-84), leader of the Flemish Brethren of the Common Life, who may have come under the influence of the Friends of God,[3] expressed the mood of the late mediaeval mystics in these words: "To love God and worship him is religion, not the taking of special vows. If, therefore, one aims to live a religious life, his way of living becomes religious in God's opinion, and according to the judgment of our consciences."[4]

Through the preaching of German mystics like Eckhart and Tauler, the word Ruf passed into the vernacular in the sense of status (Stand), and

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1. Coulton, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 145-152.
2. Holl, op. cit., pp. 14-19; Weber, op. cit., pp. 207-208.
3. Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol. VII, pp. 803-804.
4. Quoted in Thomas, op. cit., p. 114.

had come into familiar usage by Luther's time. However, Holl cites Luther himself as his authority that the traditional Latin vocatio was reserved for strictly ecclesiastical use until Luther employed it in a broader sense.[1]

More important than the technical term, however, is the concept behind the word. Though the mystics saw every station in life as a possible gateway to God, and though they invested the common occupations with a new spiritual significance, they were not yet ready to discard the old distinctions between the active and the contemplative life. The calling was thought of as an individual matter. The vita contemplativa was still held to be superior, and the daily work was thought of more as a discipline than as a means of joyful service to one's fellow-man.[2]

Luther's Doctrine of Vocation

Martin Luther (1483-1546), leader of the Protestant Reformation, inherited the thinking of preceding generations on the value of this life and the importance of daily work. One student[3] suggests that in his concept of the "calling" Luther combined the organic idea of scholasticism with the teaching of the mystics that God's call is individual and personal. Even before he entered the monastery, in his legal studies at the University of Erfurt, Luther was indoctrinated with scholastic philosophy;[4] and he testified that in his later studies Tauler's sermons had a great influence on him.[5]

Whatever the forces which shaped Luther's thinking, his doctrine of vocation is inseparable from the whole pattern of his religious ideas. Through an agony of inner struggle he had received the insight which brought him

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1. Holl, op. cit., p. 19.
2. Ibid., pp. 17-18; Calhoun, op. cit., p. 19; A. E. Sokol, "The Concept of Calling in the German Literature of the Middle Ages," Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 9-10.
3. Sokol, op. cit., p. 12.
4. T. M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, Vol. I, p. 196-197.
5. Preserved Smith, The Age of the Reformation, p. 32.

peace, and thereupon he undertook to shape "a theology consistent with this experience."[1] Many of the statements of his convictions were wrought out in the subsequent controversies with Church and secular authorities.

The struggle of Luther's soul was to discover how a sinful man could make his peace with a righteous God. The answer came through his study of the Bible. He found the key in Paul's Epistle to the Romans 1:17: "The just shall live by faith." No merit of good deeds could save a man; "through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith." This passage of Paul's wriring, he said, "became to me a gate to heaven."[2]

Brunner[3] points out that Luther's discovery of the concept of vocation is an immediate consequence of his primary discovery, that of justification by faith. Only as the sinner can stand before God in the new relationship which is made possible by God's free grace can he serve God with a good conscience in a task which must be tainted with sin since all of life is so tainted. The dilemma of the tension between God's righteous standard and man's sinfulness has only two alternatives of escape: one is the acceptance of God's free grace, the other the mediaeval choice - monastic renunciation of the world or compromise within the world.

A tract entitled On Christian Liberty, addressed to Pope Leo X in 1520, was described by Luther in the accompanying letter as "a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass."[4] In it he sets forth the proposition: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one."[5] The liberty of the Christian consists in his being set free from the bondage

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1. J. T. McNeill, Books of Faith and Power, p. 3.
2. Roland Bainton, Here I Stand, p. 65.
3. Emil Brunner, The Divine Imperative, pp. 199-202.
4. Luther's Primary Works, Wace and Burkheim, eds., p. 255.
5. Ibid., p. 256.

of law and his living in a new relationship to God through faith. This leads Luther to his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers: "Nor are we only kings and the freest of all men, but also priests forever. . .;by that priesthood we are worthy to appear before God, to pray for others, and to teach one another mutually the things of God."[1] It is this priesthood which makes the Christian a ministering servant; he gives himself "freely and joyfully for the sake of others." In this service, "as our heavenly Father has freely helped us in Christ, so ought we to help one another by our body and works, and each should become to other a sort of Christ, so that we may be mutually Christs and that the same Christ may be in all of us. . ."[2]

In his Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, published in the same year, Luther states even more clearly how this concept of the priesthood of all believers leads to a new idea of vocation. Monks and priests, he says, differ from other Christians only in the function of their office.

> A cobbler, a smith, a peasant, every man, has the office and function of his calling and yet all alike are consecrated priests and bishops, and every man should by his office or function be useful or beneficial to the rest, so that various kinds of work may all be united for the furtherance of body and soul, just as the members of the body all serve one another.[3]

The idea of the priesthood of all believers, then, is not just the right of the individual to approach God without ecclesiastical intermediary; it is even more the responsibility of each Christian to render a priestly ministry to his neighbor. In breaking down the distinction between priest and layman, sacred and secular, Luther's teaching laid on all men the obligation of the life of love enjoined in the New Testament; he would have none of a casuistry which distinguished between binding commandments and optional counsels.[4]

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1. Ibid., p. 268.
2. Ibid., p. 283.
3. Ibid., p. 166.
4. Bainton, Here I Stand, pp. 226-227.

As McNeill says, for Luther vocation "is the Werkhaus of love of neighbor."[1]

Weber[2] has called attention to Luther's use of the word Beruf (calling) as the equivalent of status in his translation of the Bible. The most striking instance which Weber notes is in the translation of Ecclesiasticus 11:20, 21. There the Septuagent which Luther used gives the Greek words ergon and ponos; the Vulgate renders them as opus and locus. Luther, however, instead of using the natural German word Arbeit, translated both words as Beruf.[3] The widespread use of his Bible carried the idea abroad.[4]

Luther also helped to popularize the idea through his sermons. He was fond of pointing out how the work of various occupations resembled God's work; he delighted in magnifying the tasks which were commonly held in low regard - the carter, the milkmaid, the mother at her tasks. He stressed the dignity and the difficulty of both mental and manual labor.[5] Like Thomas Aquinas, Luther held a low opinion of trade and forbade usury.[6] He charged the traders, "But because thy selling is a work that thou performest to thy neighbor, it shall be restricted within such law and conscience that thou mayest practice it without injury to him."[7] Whatever the vocation, high or low, each had its temptations and each offered its opportunity for service. Every man must serve in the particular order of life in which God had placed him, whether it were the ecclesiastical, the political, or the domestic, which included the area of economics.[8] In his Smaller Catechism, Luther

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1. Christian Hope for World Society, p. 108.
2. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, p. 79.
3. Ibid., pp. 204-207.
4. Sokol, op. cit., p. 13.
5. Bainton, Here I Stand, pp. 233-236.
6. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
7. Quoted in ibid., p. 85.
8. Bainton, Here I Stand, pp. 235, 245.

provides a list of appropriate Bible texts "for divers holy orders and estates [allerlei heilige Orden und Stände], which may serve to admonish them respectively of their offices and duties" [Amts und Diensts].[1]

In all these social relationships in which the idea of vocation was to be worked out, Luther emphasized the necessity of a religious motivation. In commenting on the Ten Commandments in the Greater Catechism, he declares that the First Commandment, concerned with the priority of God, "is to shine forth, and cast its light over all the others. . .And throughout the following commandments, dealing with duty to our neighbor, everything is to be done by virtue of the First Commandment; and accordingly we are to honor father and mother, master and those in authority, and obey them, not for their sake, but for God's."[2]

There were both conservative and radical elements in Luther's doctrine of vocation. When he told the German nobility that "every man should by his office or function be useful or beneficial to the rest," he was making a statement which might have come from St. Thomas. Indeed, Troeltsch considers Luther's concept of vocation substantially the same as that of mediaeval Catholicism, except that "the duty of 'the calling' is now extended to all."[3] In his recent study of Luther, Bainton writes that Luther was conservative in the practical application of his basic principles of faith in Christ and love to neighbor. "His domestic ethic was Pauline and patriarchal, the economic ethic Thomistic and mainly agrarian, the political ethic Augustinian and small town."[4]

Though there was much social unrest in his time,[5] Luther had little

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1. Primary Works, p. 20.
2. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
3. Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 561.
4. Here I Stand, p. 232.
5. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 79-113.

patience with it. His sanction of stern measures to put down the peasants' revolt is well known.[1] In his Greater Catechism he indicates that it is a duty of the vocation of civil authorities to keep such disturbances in check.[2] It has frequently been pointed out that the tendency of Luther's ethic is toward subservience to authority.[3] Service within one's vocation, he thought, should lead to quiet contentment. He writes in his Table Talk: "It is much to be lamented, that no man is content and satisfied with that which God has given him in his vocation and calling. . .To serve God is for every man to remain in his vocation and calling, be it ever so mean and simple."[4]

The radical aspect of his doctrine lay in his daring to proclaim that all occupations might be vocations in which men and women could serve God through service to their neighbors. That part of Luther's statement to the German nobility which declares that "every man has the office and function of his calling and yet all alike are consecrated priests and bishops" goes further than even Eckart and Tauler had dared to go. By stressing the individual obligation of each calling, Luther replaced the collective ethical system of the Middle Ages with an "individual moral consciousness."[5] He set a value on work which it could not have by the scale of scholasticism or that of the Italian Renaissance, by raising the daily task to the level of the sacred; and in so doing, he invested the common life with new worth. Not only the life of the worker but the task which he performed took on new dignity. Since manual toil was no longer to be regarded as degrading, beneath the dignity of intellectual man, this changed attitude toward work

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1. Bainton, Here I Stand, pp. 278-281.
2. Primary Works, p. 75.
3. E.g., Tawney, op. cit., pp. 83-84; Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, pp. 81-84; Reinhold Niebuhr, The Destiny of Man, pp. 194-195.
4. Table Talk, p. 363.
5. Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, p. 254.

unconsciously opened the way for experimentation in the fields of science and industry.[1] Though, as Calhoun suggests, the radical potentiality of this concept was not fully realized at the time, the new doctrine of vocation

> was a fresh and authentic... approach toward reassertion of the ancient premise that worship and ordinary work belong together; that the adoration of God should be integral to, and not sundered from everyday life. Its intent, and in a measure its effect, was once more to make common things clean.[2]

Summary

The doctrine of vocation is rooted in the concepts of the Hebrew-Christian scriptures: that God is dynamically active in the universe as Creator and Ruler, and that he expects his people to serve him in all of life. The word "vocation" is a New Testament term, used primarily to refer to God's call to a life lived in relationship to Christ, but secondarily to the life so lived.

During the early centuries of the Christian era, the Church sought to maintain Christian standards of life while withdrawn from the pagan society in which it lived. By the fourth century these standards became more lax, following the change in status of the Church within the Roman Empire; and there developed the concept that to have a "vocation" was to live the contemplative life of a monk, withdrawn from mundane affairs. Throughout the Middle Ages the term was used in this restricted sense.

The mediaeval schoolmen developed an organic concept of society, based on a hierarchical idea of the universe and in accord with the mutual obligations of feudalism. Though the contribution of each member of the community had significance in its relation to the whole, such functional contributions were not regarded as being "vocations."

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1. Nash, op. cit., pp. 68-75.
2. Calhoun, op. cit., p. 20.

The late Middle Ages witnessed a fresh appreciation for the affairs of this life and a new awareness of the individual. Certain mystical movements in Germany and the Low Countries recognized the possibility of a call of God outside the cloister. In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther expressed the most fully articulated doctrine of vocation by applying the word "calling" to daily work and by declaring that all men might serve God through service to their neighbors.

CHAPTER III

JOHN CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF VOCATION

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There can be no more natural base-line for a study of Protestant thinking, particularly in the Reformed or Calvinist tradition, than the thought of John Calvin. However his theological system may be regarded, his influence cannot be questioned. Calvin's major work, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, as a recent editor of the book states, "is not only the first systematic presentation of Protestantism; it forms the doctrinal basis of the Churches of the Reformed faith."[1] This work, supplemented by such practical writings as his commentaries and sermons, provides resource material for a study of his teaching.

For a number of years Continental scholars carried on a debate on the contribution of Calvin's ethical system.[2] Ritschl and his school held that both Luther and Calvin belonged to the mediaeval rather than the modern period in their ethical thought. Weber challenged their position by his contention that Calvinism, through its concept of vocation, had introduced a new dynamic which helped to produce the modern spirit of capitalism.[3] Although Weber's thesis has been debated in turn,[4] the fact that he finds the Calvinistic concept of vocation a motivating force gives an added reason for studying its development.

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1. H. T. Kerr, Jr., ed., A Compend of the Institutes of the Christian Religion, p. iii.
2. Cf. E. Doumergue, "Calvin: Epigone or Creator," in Calvin and the Reformation, pp. 1-55.
3. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.
4. Cf. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, pp. 3-9.

It is true that Weber bases his conclusions almost entirely on an investigation of later Calvinism, with almost no reference to the writings of Calvin himself; and, as Tawney comments in his introduction to Weber's book, the Calvinism of the English Puritans was not necessarily that of its founder.[1] Such a difference would not limit the value of the present study, however; for the establishment of what Calvin's doctrine of vocation actually is will form a basis for determining to what extent his spiritual descendents followed their leader, deviated from his position, or found in his doctrine germinal ideas for further development.

A study of Calvin's social ideas has observed that they cannot be understood apart from his theology.[2] What Calvin has to say about the concept of vocation is rooted in his ideas of the nature of God and man. Moreover, his ideas must be studied in the setting of his times. This chapter will first review briefly Calvin's historical setting; it will then set forth the theological basis of the doctrine of vocation; and finally it will consider the practical application of the doctrine to various aspects of life.

John Calvin and His Times

John Calvin was born in Noyon, France, in 1509, twenty-six years after the birth of Luther. Unlike Luther, who was of peasant stock, Calvin's father belonged to the newly emerging bourgeoisie. His ambition for his son's advancement is shown by his procuring for him a small ecclesiastical

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1. Weber, op. cit., p. 9.
2. W. R. Matthews, in The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation, F. J. C. Hearnshaw, ed., p. 203.

appointment which served the purpose of a modern academic scholarship. When Calvin had completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Paris, his father persuaded him to change from the study of theology to that of law, because, as his son wrote, "he considered that the legal profession commonly raised those who followed it to wealth."[1] Calvin thereupon transferred from Paris to Orleans, where there was a stronger school of law.[2] Though the son did not share his father's ambition for preferment and wealth, the older Calvin's restless zeal shows something of the spirit of the new middle class.

Unlike Luther, Calvin belonged to the second generation of Protestantism. His work depended in large measure on the previous work of Luther and on the thought of Martin Bucer, of Strassburg.[3] Though Calvin never met Luther, he addressed him in his only recorded letter to the German Reformer as "my much respected father";[4] and in writing to Bullinger, a Swiss Reformer, Calvin says of Luther, despite the latter's harsh criticisms and seemingly unreasonable attitude, "I must acknowledge him to be an illustrious servant of God."[5]

The second generation Reformers were more influenced by humanism than Luther had been.[6] In his university years Calvin was closely associated with many leading humanists, both in study and in friendship. He carried the influence of this background away with him in a broad knowledge of the classics, an appreciation of independent judgment, and a refinement of taste.

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1. John Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, Vol. I, p. xl.
2. Williston Walker, John Calvin, pp. 26-47.
3. Ibid., pp. 146-149.
4. Calvin, Letters, Vol. I, p. 440.
5. Ibid., p. 433.
6. Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, pp. 348-349.

Humanism also influenced his educational plans for Geneva.[1]

Though he never became a priest like Luther, Calvin grew up in the Roman Catholic Church. The exact time and circumstances of his becoming a Protestant are uncertain. In a rare autobiographical passage introducing his commentary on the Psalms he speaks of a "sudden conversion,"[2] but the dating of that experience presents difficulties. He was associated with Protestant sympathizers during his student days and began an ardent study of the New Testament. In 1533 the inaugural address of Calvin's friend Nicholas Cop as rector of the University of Paris revealed such Protestant leanings that it brought down upon him the wrath of the ecclesiastical authorities; and Calvin was so closely associated with his friend in the incident that he, too, was forced to flee from Paris. Soon thereafter he seems to have become a leader among the French Protestants.[3]

The turning point in his career came when he was passing through Geneva in 1536, on his way to retirement for quiet study in Strassburg. Geneva had recently adopted Protestantism, but it was far from being reformed. William Farel, leader of the Genevan Church, laid on him with such force his duty in remaining there to help in the work that he consented against his natural inclinations, and began a ministry which was to last, with an intermission of three years, for the rest of his life.[4]

Shortly before his death, in his farewell to the ministry at Geneva, Calvin declared that when he first came to the city "the gospel was, indeed, preached, but matters were in the greatest confusion, as if Christianity had consisted in nothing else than the throwing down of images."[5] It was

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1. Q. Breen, John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism, pp. 146-158.
2. Commentary on the Psalms, p. xl.
3. Walker, op. cit., pp. 70-126.
4. Ibid., pp. 157-158.
5. Tracts Relating to the Reformation, Vol. I, p. lxxv.

his task to build a positive Christian community. As Fairbairn has observed, Calvin's problem was to determine how the Church could "be made not simply an institution for the worship of God, but an agency for the making of men fit to worship him."[1] In all the years of his labor in Geneva he held no other official offices than those of minister and teacher, but the influence he wielded in political, economic, social, and educational affairs, as well as ecclesiastical, was very great.[2] To those who envied him his power, he declared that he would gladly lay the burden on their shoulders instead of his.[3]

Calvin set out to make Geneva what he conceived to be a truly Christian city. After two years Geneva grew tired of the reform measures of "Master Calvin" and banished him and Farel; but three years later he reluctantly yielded to their invitation and the urging of his friends and returned to resume his work. Besides his regular preaching and lecturing on theology and his advisory responsibilities in civic affairs, he was constantly engaged in writing. The first edition of the Institutes was published before he came to Geneva. It was an apology for persecuted French Protestants, addressed to the French King, Francis I. The work was revised and enlarged in later editions as a systematic treatise "to train candidates in sound theology." The final edition of 1559 was five times the size of the first edition.[4] In addition to the Institutes, Calvin wrote commentaries, sermons, and minor works, and carried on an extensive correspondence with Christian leaders in all parts of Europe. His collected works comprise fifty-nine

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1. A. M. Fairbairn, in Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 364.
2. Walker, op. cit., p. 278.
3. Commentary on the Psalms, p. xlvii.
4. J. T. McNeill, Books of Faith and Power, pp. 29-35.

large volumes in the Corpus Reformatorum.[1] This literary productivity is the more remarkable because of the ill health which troubled him most of his life.[2] Harkness remarks that none of his exhortations to hard work is as effective as his own example.[3]

Calvin's teachings cannot be thoroughly understood apart from his times. Fairbairn has commented that all the crises of his career contributed something to his thinking.[4] Like all the Reformers, he saw the power of Rome as the greatest opponent; his own Protestant countrymen were enduring bitter persecution,[5] and Roman ecclesiastical authorities continued to try to regain power in Geneva.[6] He wrote while the Council of Trent was shaping plans for the Counter Reformation.[7] On the other extreme were the left-wing movements of the Reformation,[8] like the Anabaptists, some of whose extravagancies seemed likely to bring the Reformation into disrepute; there were dangerous teachers, like the free-thinking Servetus. Within Geneva Calvin was opposed by those who had no zeal for his reforms, who criticized his doctrines, and who resented his authority.

The social and economic conditions of Geneva were not without influence.[9] Luther had thought in terms of "the traditional stratification of rural society."[10] Calvinism, on the other hand, was largely an urban movement, and its constituents were concerned with trade and industry. The economic

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1. Johannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. by Baum, Cuntz, and Reuss. (Herein after cited as Opera; all original Latin and French quotations are from this source.)
2. Walker, op. cit., pp. 434-435.
3. Georgia Harkness, John Calvin: the Man and His Ethics, p. 172.
4. Op. cit., pp. 363-364.
5. Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, pp. 347-348.
6. Walker, op. cit., 250-251.
7. A. G. Baker, ed., A Short History of Christianity, p. 134.
8. Ibid., pp. 127-132.
9. Troeltsch, Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. II, p. 643.
10. Tawney, op. cit., p. 91.

problems of Geneva were aggravated by an influx of Protestant refugees from France and England for whom employment must be found.[1] Under these circumstances Calvin and his followers naturally presented their teaching within an industrial and commercial frame of reference. "It is not," says Tawney, "that they abandon the claim of religion to moralize economic life, but that the life which they are concerned to moralize is one in which the main features of a commercial civilisation are taken for granted. . ."[2]

In this setting Calvin wrought out his teachings - teachings which were designed above all to guide men in practical Christian living.[3] He died in 1564, at the age of fifty-five, leaving his followers to carry on the reforms which he had established.

The Theological Basis of the Doctrine of Vocation

After a careful analysis of Calvin's writings, Harkness has expressed the judgment that they contain very little on the idea of "worldly" vocation; and that the idea which they do contain is essentially the same as that of Luther.[4] This conclusion is all the more striking because of the emphasis already alluded to in the writing of Weber and his school, on the influential character of the Calvinistic concept of vocation.

Doubtless Harkness' judgment provides a useful counterbalance to Weber's theory. As has been noted, Weber himself largely ignores the writings of Calvin in making his study of Calvinism. However, an examination of Calvin's works, even in such a limited fashion as is here proposed, reveals sufficient reference to the place of vocation in the living of

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1. Walker, op. cit., p. 300.
2. Op. cit., p. 93.
3. Cf. Doumergue, Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps, Vol. IV, p. 26.
4. Op. cit., p. 210.

this life to justify more careful study of the concept. Moreover, the fact that Calvin gives no extended treatment to the idea by itself but treats it in the context of other ideas, may suggest, rather than its lack of importance, the inter-relatedness of the concept of vocation with Calvin's whole scheme of theological thought. In a detailed discussion of Calvin's teaching, especially in the Institutes, Wernle observes of the importance of the idea of calling, "Wer Calvin recht verstehen will, sollte an dieser Stelle nicht vorübergehen,"[1]

The relevant ideas of Calvin's teaching will be summarized broadly under three topics: his doctrine of God, his doctrine of man, and the doctrine of vocation which stems from the first two.

The Doctrine of God

Luther had concentrated on the doctrine of justification by faith. Calvin, too, stresses this doctrine; but he makes the starting point of his theological system the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, "a more generalized awareness of God's universal sway over all creation."[2]

In proclaiming God as Sovereign Calvin breaks sharply with the scholastic concept of the First Cause moving the universe through secondary causes.[3] From the static concept of St. Thomas he returns to a more essentially Hebraic idea of a dynamic God ruling directly in the affairs of his creation.[4] Such a God he sees as "vigilant, efficacious, operative, and engaged in continual action."[5] Thus God is to be known, not through

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1. Paul Wernle, Der Evangelische Glaube, Vol. III, p. 254.
2. J. H. Nichols, Primer for Protestants, p. 60.
3. John Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, translated by John Allen, I. xvi. 3-5.
4. T. F. Torrance, Calvin's Doctrine of Man, p. 29.
5. Institutes, I. xvi. 3.

contemplation of his essence, but by reverent recognition of his activity. Calvin writes:

> Cold and frivolous are the speculations of those who employ themselves in disquisitions on the essence of God [quid sit Deus], when it would be more interesting to us to become acquainted with his character and to know what is agreeable to his nature [qualis sit, et quid eius natura conveniat scire].[1]

Or, as he says elsewhere, man's concern with God is not "what he is in himself, but what he is to us" [non quis sit apud se, sed qualis erga nos].[2]

God can be known in the natural world which he has created;[3] but, as weak physical eyes can be helped to see by spectacles, so spiritual vision can be aided by the Scripture which, "collecting in our minds the otherwise confused notions of Deity, dispels the darkness, and gives us a clear vision of the true God."[4] Calvin therefore bases his teaching on the recorded revelation of God in Scripture.

Calvin's dynamic conception of God sees him not only as immediate Creator of all things, but as controlling events by his direct, providential activity.[5] God's governing of events, even the most minute, is not determined by fate - "a perpetual concatination and intricate series of causes" - but by his own wise purpose.[6] In setting forth his doctrine of God's providence, Calvin seeks on the one hand to rule out the possibility of mere chance, even though events may seem fortuitous "because the order, reason, end, and necessity of events are chiefly concealed by the purpose of God";[7] on the other hand, he denies just as emphatically that the

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1. Institutes, I. ii. 2.
2. Ibid., I. x. 2.
3. Ibid., I. v.
4. Ibid., I. vi. 1.
5. Ibid., I. xvi. 1.
6. Ibid., I. xvi. 8.
7. Ibid., I. xvi. 9.

doctrine of providence should lead to a fatalism which leaves men passive and irresponsible,[1] or that God should be regarded as the author of evil.[2]

Thus Calvin proclaims a transcendent God, infinitely above his creation and yet constantly active in governing its affairs according to his own wise purposes. He is the heavenly Father,[3] though the analogy of ruler often seems to overshadow the paternal one.[4] God is working out his holy designs within human history. Here is a point at which Calvin differs from Luther, as Bainton has pointed out. Luther, like the early Church, expected the imminent return of Christ. "Calvin did for Luther's view what Augustine did for the early Church. The end was indefinitely postponed and thus a vast vista was disclosed before ongoing life on earth."[5]

The hope of the transformation of all of life to a Christian pattern, which Calvin shares with Augustine, as opposed to other views of the relationship of Christ to culture, Niebuhr has called the idea of "Christ the transformer of culture."[6] Calvin always sees this conversion of human society into a Christian community as a divine transformation, however, not as the result of human effort or a merely natural development. The historical process is the medium through which the Lord of history is working out his purposes and making himself known.[7]

In one of his sermons on Deuteronomy Calvin imagines God speaking thus

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1. Institutes, I. xvii.
2. Ibid., I. xviii. 4.
3. Ibid., II. vi.
4. Cf. J. H. Leith, A Study of John Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life (an unpublished dissertation), pp. 29-32.
5. Roland Bainton, "Ernst Troeltsch - Thirty Years Later," Theology Today, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 87.
6. H. R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, pp. 206-218.
7. J. T. McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, pp. 111-112.

to men:

> Do not think that my divine being or the Name of God consists of I know not what idleness; rather, it is in the fact that I rule the world by my power, that all is guided by my wisdom; seeing that my justice reigns and I have the sovereignty of the world, so that it is necessary for everyone to come to account before me. . . That is how I will be known as God, when you perceive my wisdom and power and justice which belong to him. [Ne pensez pas que mon essence divine, ne que ce Nom de Dieu consiste en ie ne sait quoy d'oisif: mais c'est que ie gouverne le monde par ma vertu, que tout est conduit par ma sagasse; et puis que ma iustice regne, et que i'ay l'empire du monde, tellement qu'il faut que tout vienne à conte devant moy. . .Voila comme ie seray cogneu Dieu, quand vous sentires de ma sagasse, et vertu, et iustice ce qu'il appartient.][1]

The Doctrine of Man

Man can know himself only as he comes to know God, Calvin declares.[2] So it may be said that Calvin's doctrine of man can be understood only in relation to his doctrine of God; for the whole life of man has meaning only in its relation to the God who gives it.

As has been seen, history is significant because it is the theatre of God's activity. The life of man therefore is significant because of his place in the purpose of God.[3] The world itself "was made chiefly for the sake of mankind."[4] Weber's familiar phrase of "worldly asceticism"[5] suggests a false idea of Calvin's attitude toward the pleasurable things of this life. It behooves man "to receive a pious delight from the works of God, which every where present themselves to view in this very beautiful theatre of the world."[6] The Creator has "wonderfully adorned heaven and earth with the utmost possible abundance, variety, and beauty, like a

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1. Opera, XXIX: 49. (Translation by present writer.)
2. Institutes, I. i. 1, 2.
3. Cf. Bainton, loc. cit.
4. Institutes, I. xvi. 6.
5. Weber, op. cit., pp. 193-194.
6. Institutes, I. xiv. 20.

large and splendid mansion, most exquisitely and copiously furnished."[1] Calvin condemns as an "inhuman" philosophy" the kind of asceticism which deprives man of "the lawful enjoyment of the divine beneficence" and reduces him "to a senseless block."[2] At the same time, he warns against the wrong and excessive use of such pleasures. The check on such "licentiousness" is gratefully to recognize the Giver of the gifts.[3]

Calvin's dynamic conception of God requires that man's response to him be in terms of action rather than contemplation. Thomas Aquinas had declared, "Final and perfect happiness can consist of nothing else than the vision of the divine essence."[4] Calvin, however, in the Catechism which he prepared for teaching the youth of Geneva, sums up the proper response of man to God thus: "The chief end of human life" is "to know God by whom we were created. . .because he ordained us and placed us in the world to be glorified in us. . ."[5] "True and right knowledge of God" is "when he is so known that due honour is paid to him."[6] The method of honoring God duly is:

> To place our whole confidence in him; to study to serve him during our whole life by obeying his will; to call upon him in all our necessities, seeking salvation and every good thing that can be desired in him; lastly, to acknowledge him both with heart and lips, as the sole Author of all blessings.[7]

Such a dynamic response is the potential relationship of man to his God in Calvin's view. The actual human situation is far different. Sin entered the picture and broke the relationship;[8] it vitiated man's will[9]

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1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., III. x. 3.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Summa Theologica, I-II. 3. 8.
5. Calvin, Tracts, Vol. II, p. 37.
6. Ibid., p. 38.
7. Loc. cit.
8. Institutes, II. i. 5.
9. Ibid., II. ii.

and infected his whole life.[1] Like Augustine, Calvin sees a vast difference between "human nature in its original integrity" and "the miserable condition in which man is now involved."[2] Unlike Thomas Aquinas,[3] Calvin does not consider that man retained intact any of the original endowment of the imago dei after Adam's fall. Of the result of that event he writes, "although we allow that the divine image was not utterly annihilated and effaced in him, yet it was so corrupted that whatever remains is but horrible deformity."[4] The sin of Adam, which "commenced in disobedience,"[5] brought ruin not only upon him but upon all his posterity.[6] The consequence, original sin, Calvin defines as "an hereditary previty and corruption of our nature, diffused through all parts of the soul, rendering us obnoxious to the Divine wrath, and producing in us those works which the Scripture calls 'works of the flesh.'"[7]

Since, left to himself, man is utterly incapable of restoring the broken relationship, he must have a Mediator to effect the reconciliation. That Mediator is Christ.[8] Calvin stresses no less than Luther the conviction that men "have no means left of attaining salvation but through faith alone."[9] Not only is the justification before God an act of God's free grace, but those who are so justified are "elected" by God without any merit on their part.[10] This is Calvin's doctrine of predestination: "the

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1. Ibid., II. iii.
2. Ibid., I. v. 1.
3. Summa Theologica, I. 95. 1.
4. Institutes, I. xv. 4.
5. Ibid., II. i. 4.
6. Ibid., II. i. 5.
7. Ibid., II. i. 8.
8. Ibid., II. vi.
9. Institutes, II. xi. 1.
10. Ibid., III. xxi. 1.

eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in himself what he would have to become of every individual of mankind."[1] Calvin felt constrained by logic to set forth a double predestination, of both the elect and the reprobate;[2] though for the practical purposes of his preaching, this second aspect of predestination is hardly touched in his sermons.[3]

Even though the initiative of salvation rests with God, Calvin denies strongly that the doctrine of election should cut the nerve of right conduct. On the contrary, he says, "Paul declares the end of our election to be, that we may live a holy and blameless life. If the object of election be holiness of life, it should rather awaken us to a cheerful practice of it, than be used as a pretext for slothfulness."[4] Calvin's formula is that men are justified "not without works, yet not by works."[5]

Right living must not be motivated by any desire for merit, but by gratitude to God. Calvin emphatically rejects the scholastic position which distinguishes between the commands and the counsels of the gospel. "The Lord therefore commands us sincerely to think and consider with ourselves that our services to him are none of them gratuitous, but merely the performance of our indispensible duties,"[6] he writes. The law is all inclusive, for "we cannot imagine any thing pertaining either to the service of God or to the love of neighbor which is not comprehended in the Divine law."[7] Calvin stresses the moral law more than Luther did; for even though Christians should be free from anxiety about legalistic details, Calvin sees the law as serving to "remind them of their duty, and thereby excite them to the pursuit of holiness and integrity."[8]

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1. Ibid., III. xxi. 5.
2. Ibid., III, xxi, 7.
3. Cf. Emil Brunner, Man in Revolt, p. 76, n. 1.
4. Institutes, III. xxiii. 12.
5. Ibid., III. xvi. 1.
6. Ibid., III. xiv. 14.
7. Loc. cit.
8. Ibid., III. xix. 2.

The Christian life is to exhibit the fruits of repentance which are "the duties of piety towards God and charity towards men, with sanctity and purity of our whole life. . ."[1] It is a life of growth toward the goal of Christian perfection in which there can be no compromise with the standard, even though full attainment cannot be hoped for in this world.[2] However, the Christian can be free from anxiety for the present life and that which is to come, not because of his own merit, but because of the grace of God.[3]

Moreover, the Christian life cannot be solitary, for God's blessings are given to be shared with one's neighbors, all of whom are mutually dependent like the members of a body.[4] Charity is to be extended to all, even the unlovable, not on the basis of "the intrinsic merit of men" but out of consideration of "the image of God in them;"[5] and such service is to be rendered in the right spirit, "from a sincere principle of love."[6]

Christian growth takes place within a community, the Church, which is at once a fellowship (the Communion of Saints),[7] and a school.[8] Although only God knows who are the elect who make up the true Church, yet there are two external signs (notae) by which the true Church may be distinguished: the right proclaiming and hearing of the word and the administration of the sacraments.[9] Calvin condemns those who, out of pride or censoriousness,

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1. Ibid., III. ii. 16.
2. Ibid., III. vi. 5.
3. Ibid., III. ii. 38-40.
4. Ibid., III. vii. 5.
5. Ibid., III. vii. 6.
6. Ibid., III. vii. 7.
7. Ibid., Iv. i. 3.
8. Ibid., Iv. i. 5.
9. Institutes, IV. i. 9.

break up the unity of the Church.[1] For the right functioning of the Christian fellowship he adds a third characteristic, the discipline which "forms the ligaments which connect the members together, and keep each in its proper place."[2] It is in this body of the elect that character is forged and God's purpose is wrought out in the world. "Calvin was not hopeful because of any roseate picture of man," says Bainton,". . .but rather because the elect, even though imperfect, are nevertheless chosen by the Eternal to achieve a stupendous work on earth."[3]

The whole of Calvin's theology focuses on the Christian life.[4] Because of the nature and character of God and his dynamic relationship to man, religion must be expressed in life; or, as Doumergue declares, for Calvin religion and piety are the same thing (la religion, c'est la piété).[5] This is what Weber means by his somewhat misleading phrase, innerweltliche Askese, variously translated as "worldly asceticism"[6] and "intramundane asceticism."[7] He has reference to the demand for total obedience which the mediaeval Church taught was binding only on the monk, but which the Reformation made the obligation of every Christian. Whereas the monk withdrew from the world to live his life of total commitment, however, the Protestant is to live it in the world, expressing his obedience in all the affairs of life. The standard is not the performing of certain meritorious acts, but the dedication of the entire self to God's service.[8] Wernle has pointed out that the moti-

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1. Ibid., IV. i. 12.
2. Ibid., IV. xii. 1.
3. Roland Bainton, The Travail of Religious Liberty, p. 67.
4. Leith, op. cit., p. 4.
5. Op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 28.
6. Weber, op. cit., pp. 193-194.
7. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 607.
8. Weber, op. cit., pp. 59-128.

vating force of Calvin's ethics is in the tension between heaven and earth, between God's high requirements and the affairs of life.[1] It was this tension which gave Calvin his social drive; but as consideration was shifted away from God to the affairs of earth, Calvin's ethic was to shrink into a legalism quite foreign to the spirit of the founder.[2]

Calvin gives his summary of the Christian life in these terms:

> We are not our own; therefore neither our reason nor our will should predominate in our deliberations and actions. We are not our own; therefore let us not purpose it as our end, to seek what may be expedient for us according to the flesh. We are not our own; therefore, let us, as far as possible, forget ourselves and all things that are ours. On the contrary, we are God's; to him, therefore, let us live and die. We are God's; therefore let his wisdom and will preside in all our actions. We are God's; towards him, therefore, as our only legitimate end, let every part of our lives be directed. . .
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> Let this, then, be the first step, to depart from ourselves, that we may apply all the vigour of our faculties to the service of the Lord. . .[3]

The Doctrine of Vocation

It is in the context of his doctrine of the Christian life that Calvin introduces his doctrine of vocation into the Institutes. The section was not included in the short first edition of 1536; but in the succeeding editions, from 1539 to 1554, it was placed at the conclusion of the last chapter, "De vita hominis Christiani." In the final edition of 1559 the passage was enlarged and incorporated in Chapter X of Book III under the title, "The Right Use of the Present Life and Its Supports."[4] Calhoun comments that in the last edition the passage on vocation is moved to a more inconspicuous place;[5] but the shift seems to be intended only to carry

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1. Op. cit., p. 352.
2. Cf. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 608; Doumergue, op. cit., Vol. IV. p. 194.
3. Institutes, III. vii. 1.
4. Opera, I:li-lviii (a synopsis of editions of the Institutes.)
5. R. L. Calhoun, God and the Common Life, p. 256.

out the logical organization of the material, not to minimize the importance of the subject.

Following his discussion of the necessity of self-denial,[1] of cross-bearing,[2] and of a right valuation of this life in the perspective of eternity,[3] Calvin turns to a consideration of "The Right Use of the Present Life and Its Supports." The principles he suggests are (1) enjoyment of the good things of this life,[4] (2) moderation in the use of these gifts,[5] (3) a sense of stewardship,[6] and (4) regard for vocation.[7] This, then, is the context in which Calvin presents his doctrine of vocation in his major theological work. The whole treatment covers little more than a page in the English translation, but it sets forth some of his basic ideas very concisely. For additional light on the doctrine it is necessary to turn to some of his practical discussions in his commentaries and sermons.

By his own definitions, when Calvin refers to a man's vocation he implies a broader frame of reference than simply his occupation, although the occupation is an integral part of the vocation. In the Institutes he declares that God "has appointed to all their particular duties in different spheres of life. And. . .he has styled such spheres of life vocations, or callings."[8] Elsewhere he gives these definitions: "A calling in Scripture means a lawful mode of life, for it has a relation to God as calling us. . .";[9] "The word 'vocation' signifies every way of life, or estate established by God and

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1. Institutes, III. vii.
2. Ibid., III. viii.
3. Ibid., III. ix.
4. Ibid., III. x. 2.
5. Ibid., III. x. 4.
6. Ibid., III. x. 5.
7. Ibid., III. x. 6.
8. Institutes, III. x. 6.
9. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:20.

founded on his Word." [Le mot de vocation signifie toute maniere de vivre, ou estat estably de Dieu et fondé en sa parolle.][1] Among the duties which a man's vocation may include, besides his daily work, are his social obligations,[2] his responsibilities as the head of a family,[3] and his marital relations.[4] The vocation is the line of life assigned a person by God as his post of duty.

Calvin explains his concept of vocation largely by way of correcting false views. As has been suggested, controversy formed the framework of much of his writing. He sought on the one hand to refute the Roman Catholic theory of an exclusive monastic vocation, and on the other hand to answer the arguments of an antinomian sect known as the Libertines that any way of life could be a vocation.[5] A third false position which he wished to combat was that of the Anabaptists, the "left-wing" of Protestantism, who held rather anarchistic attitudes toward established law and order.[6]

A calling must be "profitable to the human race,"[7] not withdrawn from the common life in monastic fashion. It must be "honorable and useful";[8] and it must be lawful.[9] The Libertines held that any occupation which a man might choose to follow, even a useless or immoral one, was his divine calling.[10] Calvin declares that they have reversed the right order; first one must determine what is pleasing to God, and then, discovering that the occupation is his calling, he must abide faithfully in it.[11] Harkness

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1. Opera VII: 210. (Translation by present writer.)
2. Commentary on Genesis 2:18.
3. Institutes, IV. xiii. 16.
4. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:5.
5. Opera VII: 210-212.
6. Opera VII: 81.
7. Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:6-10.
8. Loc. cit.
9. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:20.
10. Opera VII: 210.
11. Loc. cit.

suggests that there is an "apparent contradiction" here between the ideas that God places men in their predestined callings and that some vocations are displeasing to him.[1] This is the dilemma of God's determination and man's responsibility which Calvin answered for his own satisfaction, if not that of all his readers. As far as the question of vocations is concerned, however, Calvin denies that an illegitimate occupation can properly be called a vocation. A genuine vocation, he declares, must be of benefit to one's neighbors. "If those trades which can have no other effect than to lead men into immorality were denounced by heathens - and Cicero among the number - as highly disgraceful, would an apostle of Christ reckon them among the lawful callings of God?"[2] We find our true vocation "not in choosing such a way of acting as seems good to us, but in following that which God approves, and keeping ourselves within the limits of his Word" [non pas en choisissant telle façon de faire que bon nous semble, mais en suyvant ce que Dieu approuve, et nous tenant entre les limites de sa parolle].[3]

Moreover, a vocation is to be found within the established social order. Calvin states that "it is owing to the providence of God that there are different ranks and stations [gradus et ordines] in the world," and enjoins proper regard for them.[4] He therefore contradicts the Anabaptists by declaring that princes and magistrates, even though they must use force, have a vocation which is lawful for Christians.[5] Such a calling, indeed, is "the principal part of human life"[la principelle partie de la vie humaine].[6]

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1. Op. cit., p. 212.
2. Commentary on Ephesians 4:28.
3. Opera VII: 210. (Translation by present writer.)
4. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:21.
5. Opera, VII. 81.
6. Loc. cit.

The fact that Scripture commands working with the hands does not necessarily mean manual labor for all, Calvin is careful to point out. If so, "it would be necessary for all to become husbandmen, nor would any place be given to mechanical arts; we must go out of the world to seek for clothing and other necessary conveniences of life."[1] The phrase is meant only as a figure of speech; "but there can be no doubt that he included every useful employment of human life."[2] Calvin stresses the fact that "there are different ways of labouring. For whoever aids the society of men by his industry, either by ruling his family, or by administering public or private affairs, or by counselling, or by teaching, or in any other way, is not to be reckoned idle."[3]

God's standard of judgment on the value of a man's occupation may be very different from man's standard.[4] It is "all one in the sight of God what a person's manner of life is in this world," says Calvin, "inasmuch as this diversity does not hinder agreement in piety."[5] The reason why Calvin does not discuss the merits of various occupations as Luther does may go beyond the difference in background and temperament. To him the value of the work is not in the work itself. Troeltsch quotes a statement by Arnold that "Calvin alone among the Reformers emphasized the fact that what makes work productive is not merely the physical and the intellectual effort, but above all moral force."[6] The important consideration is that a man shall be serving God in the post to which he has been assigned. In

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1. Commentary on Genesis 3:19.
2. Commentary on I Thessalonians 4:11.
3. Commentary on II Thesselonians 3:10.
4. Institutes III. x. 6.
5. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:24.
6. C. F. Arnold, Calvinreden, quoted in Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 912.

Lobstein's judgment, it is Calvin's view that "Christian perfection lies neither above [as in monastic theory] nor below [as in Libertine theory] a special Christian calling, but is to be gained, and work itself out, within the same."[1]

The tension of which Wernle wrote must be maintained, however, if the earthly task is to be the performance of a divine calling. In Brunner's words, the vocation becomes secularized when it is "severed from its eschatological base."[2] The worker cannot lose sight of the glory of God as the end of his labor. As Calvin declares, life "must be regulated in such a manner, that whatever we say or do may be wholly governed by the authority of Christ, and may have an eye to his glory as the mark."[3]

The Practical Application of Calvin's Doctrine of Vocation

Although the supreme good in Calvin's system of values is the glory of God, this highest good must of necessity serve other, relative values. Calvin's Catechism declares that the "chief end" and the "highest good" of man are one and the same: to know God so as to glorify and serve him.[4] For a man to seek God's glory through his earthly vocation will then promote his own well-being.

It is the purpose of this part of the chapter to consider the application of the doctrine of vocation held by Calvin to the practical affairs

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1. F. H. Foster, "Calvin's Ethics: An Abstract from the German of Lic. Theol. P. Lobstein," Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 47.
2. Emil Brunner, The Divine Imperative, p. 207. Cf. Troeltsch, Protestantism and Progress, pp. 139-140.
3. Commentary on Colossians 3:17.
4. Tracts, Vol. II, p. 37.

of human life as it relates to the individual, social, economic, and educational aspects of experience.

The Individual Aspects of the Doctrine

One effect of Calvin's concept of the dynamic relationship between God and man is what Calhoun calls a "ruthless slashing out of middle terms."[1] No longer was a man's vocation to be a place in a vertical hierarchy, contingent on secondary causes; instead, it was to be his personal response to the immediate call of God to him.

It is interesting to note a change in the use of the term *status* in the light of this concept of dynamic rather than static relationship. St.Thomas, writing in the thirteenth century, declares: "Duty [*officium*] implies relation to act; while grades [*gradus*] denote an order of superiority or inferiority. But state requires immobility in that which regards a condition of the person himself." [*Sed ad statum requiritur immobilitas in eo quod pertinet ad conditionem personae.*][2]

Calvin, however, in the sixteenth century, writes concerning Paul's injunction that a man should abide in his calling:

> . . .the Apostle. . .has simply in view to correct that inconsiderate eagerness, which prompts some to change their station without any proper reason [*ad mutandum statum sine iusta causa*]. . .men are not bound by a perpetual necessity, so as never to have it in their power to change their condition, if at any time there should be a fit occasion for it [*non adstringi hic homines perpetua lege, ne unquam fas illis sit mutare statum, si quando ita postulet iusta ratio*].[3]

Thus the status, which is an unalterable condition (*immobilitas*) for Thomas, becomes for Calvin a situation which can be changed for adequate reasons (*iusta causa, iusta ratio*). The difference lies in the fact that

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1. Op. cit., p. 52.
2. Summa Theologica, II-II. 183. 1.
3. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:20, 24.

in the Reformer's thinking a person is immediately and individually responsible to the will of God; in the thought of the Schoolman, a person serves the will of God through his functioning in a divinely ordered social organism.

It is evident that the Reformation point of view stressed the individual to a greater extent than mediaeval scholasticism had done. Calvin, however, repudiated irresponsible individualism. He declares that the Lord knows "with what great inquietude the human mind is inflamed, with what desultory levity it is hurried hither and thither, and how insatiable is its ambition to grasp different things at once."[1] It is for this reason that God has assigned men to different posts of duty (_status_) or callings (_vocationes_). Each one is to serve God "in the state in which he is called, and be content" [_en l'estat où il est appellé et s'en contente_]; he must not "desire to change" [_n'appete point de changer_], nor "meddle in the affairs of another" [_ne s'ingere point sur l'office d'un autre_], nor "perform his own duty reluctantly" [_ne s'acquite point à regret de son devoir_].[2] The vocation is that which gives purpose and stability to life, marking out the lines of a man's duty according to God's appointment.[3]

In the passage in the _Institutes_ which deals with vocation Calvin sums up succinctly what the doctrine means in the life of a Christian. The points which he makes here he elaborates elsewhere in his sermons and commentaries. First of all, the vocation puts an end to confusion and brings order to life when each one performs faithfully the duties of his calling.[4] The concept

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1. _Institutes_, III. x. 6.
2. _Opera_, VII: 210. (Translation by present writer.)
3. _Institutes_, _loc. cit._
4. _Institutes_, III. x. 6. _Cf. Commentaries_, I Thessalonians 4:11, II Thessalonians 4:12, I Corinthians 7:20.

of vocation holds out a standard of values for judging the worth of any mode of action, a standard often very different "from the sentence of human reason and philosophy."[1] It provides "the principle and foundation of right conduct,"[2] giving purpose to life and "regulating our life with that end in view."[3] In the duties and cares of any station in life the sense of vocation gives a man patience and contentment with his lot, since he knows that "in all these things he has God for his guide" and that his burden is "laid upon him by God."[4] A life lived in this spirit, Calvin points out in one of his sermons, is an expression of gratitude to God for all his blessings, both material and spiritual.[5] Finally, the concept of vocation gives meaning to every life, "since there will be no employment so mean and sordid (provided we follow our vocation) as not to appear truly respectable, and be deemed highly important in the sight of God."[6]

The question of how an individual is to be assured of God's will for his particular vocation is not one which Calvin explores very far. The science of vocational guidance is a modern one. Presumably in the sixteenth century the occupation, trade, or craft of a family would be the usual choice of a young person. Although he had broken with the static, mediaeval concept of society, as has been pointed out, Calvin frowns upon "that restlessness, which prevents an individual from remaining in his condition with a peaceable mind."[7]

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1. Institutes, loc. cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:6-10.
4. Institutes, loc. cit. Cf. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:17; Opera XXVIII:605.
5. Opera, LI:510-512.
6. Institutes, loc. cit.
7. Commentary on I Corinthians 7:20.

However, assuming that the individual has adequate reason to change from the occupation of his family, Calvin's writings offer at least some suggestions on finding God's will for one's vocation. Those who seek to find the plan of God for their lives will not sit down in idleness, but "will rather search the Scripture, to learn what is pleasing to God, that by the guidance of the Spirit they may strive to attain it."[1] A true vocation will be discovered only within the limits of God's Word.[2] Calvin rejects a mechanical use of the Scriptures, "like a parrot in a cage," as he says about the Ten Commandments, and urges a proper regard for "what they mean and whither they tend" [ce qu'ils emportent, et à quoy ils tendent].[3] The occupations chosen should be those "which yield the greatest advantage" to one's neighbors.[4]

Although little is said about discovering abilities and directing them into appropriate occupations, Calvin indicates that men's undertakings "ought to be regulated by that measure which the Lord prescribes to us, by what he has given us."[5] The context of this counsel is the propriety of assuming vows, especially those of a monk; but the teaching is not unrelated to the broader idea of vocation, for Calvin declares that vows may be lawful "if they are suitable to our calling, and if they be limited by the ability of grace [ad facultatem gratiae] which God has given us."[6]

It is characteristic that Calvin should designate natural abilities as gifts of God and, as such, a means for guidance in vocational choice. Human abilities alone cannot be trusted as a source of direction, however.

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1. Institutes, I. xvii. 3.
2. Opera, VII:210.
3. Opera, XXVIII:283. (Translation by present writer.)
4. Commentary on Ephesians 4:28.
5. Institutes, IV. xiii. 3.
6. Institutes, IV. xiii. 5.

Calvin writes elsewhere, "When, therefore, God marks out our life, he does not look to what we can do, but requires of us what is beyond our strength, that we may learn to ask from him power to accomplish it."[1]

Calvin is his own best example of what he means by regard for one's vocation. He was convinced that his work in Geneva was his divine calling, however repugnant it was to his temperament. As he struggled in his soul over the summons to return to Geneva from Strassburg, he wrote to his friend Farel that "no lesser tie would have been sufficient to retain me there so long, had it not been that I had dared not throw off the yoke of my calling, which I was well assured had been laid on me by God."[2] In the indecision of this crisis he turned for advice to friends like Bucer as "safe and trusty guides."[3] A short time later he wrote to Farel, "I submit my will and my affections, subdued and held fast, to the obedience of God; and whenever I am at a loss for counsel of my own, I submit myself to those by whom I hope the Lord himself will speak to me."[4] By both teaching and example, Calvin indicates that God through various means may reveal his will to an individual.

There is a difference of opinion on the effect of this rigorous doctrine on personality. In recent writing, for example, Bainton declares that Calvinism was "a faith that forged heroes," for it bade a man trust his life to God, forget his anxieties in that trust, and be about the business of implementing "God's program on earth."[5] Fromm, on the other hand, sees in the stern demands of Calvin's teaching both an expression and an aggravation of

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1. Commentary on I Thessalonians 3:20.
2. Letters, Vol. I, p. 213.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 261.
5. The Travail of Religious Liberty, pp. 67-68.

the loneliness, anxiety, and hostility of men emerging from the Middle Ages.[1] On Fromm's point of view a generally friendly critic observes: "For all his remarkable insight, Fromm does not seem to have grasped what religion means by the will of God and the necessity of men's coming to terms with it."[2] Allport writes of him: "He mistakenly assumes that a religious conscience, almost of necessity, is an authoritarian (immature) conscience."[3] Even allowing for a bias on Fromm's part, however, it can be recognized that a by-product of the Reformation was the intensification of individual isolation, particularly as individuals lost the sense of the immediate relation to God which was such a real and controlling experience for the Reformers.

The Social Aspects of the Doctrine

In Calvin's doctrine a vocation is a post assigned an individual by God; but it is a post in the world, a way of life to be lived in human relations. Calvin's emphasis on the vocation within the world was probably intensified by his antagonism to the monastic idea of a vocation of withdrawal: "It is not the part of Christian charity," he writes, "for a man to act as if he hated all mankind, withdrawing to the solitude of a desert, and abandoning the principal duties which the Lord has commanded."[4] He declares that it is a "common law of man's vocation. . .that solitude is not good."[5]

Probably distrust of the excesses of the Anabaptist wing of the Reformation led Calvin to stress the necessity for a stable, well ordered society, despite his allowing more mobility to the concept of status. Some students

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1. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, pp. 84-98.
2. R. H. Bonthius, Review of Psychoanalysis and Religion by Erich Fromm, Westminster Bookman, Vol. X, No. 4 (June, 1951), p. 28.
3. G. H. Allport, The Individual and His Religion, p. 91, note.
4. Institutes, IV. xiii. 16.
5. Commentary on Genesis 2:18.

see essentially the same position as that of Luther in his emphasis on submission to authority and contentment with one's lot.[1] Calvin, however, seems to stress to a greater extent than Luther the obligations which rest on each member within the social order. For example, in commenting in his Greater Catechism on the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," Luther severely condemns unfaithful servants and workmen, but has no corresponding judgment for oppressive masters and employers.[2]

On the other hand, Calvin, in treating the same commandment in his Institutes, urges that "every man consider what duties he owes his neighbors, according to the relations he sustains; and those duties let him discharge"; and thereupon he points out the responsibilities of governors, pastors, parents, and masters, as well as those over whom they have authority.[3] In a sermon on this same commandment Calvin indicates how, positively applied, it lays on members of the community the obligation to maintain justice "in order to render to each his rights" [pour rendre à chacun son droit], and judgment "in order that we may not consent to evil nor permit anyone to oppress the poor who have no means of supporting themselves" [afin de ne point estre consentans au mal, et de ne point souffrir qu'on foulle les povres qui n'ont nul moyen de se soustenir].[4] Calvin's concept of vocation, seen in its broader sense, lays civic responsibilities on the members of the social order.

Similarly, the daily work which a man does within his vocation is to be socially contributive. Each man, it is true, has his individual responsibility, but not "in such a way that each one should live apart, having no care

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1. Cf. Calhoun, op. cit., p. 256; Harkness, op. cit., p. 210.
2. Primary Works, Wace and Buckheim, eds. pp. 72-73.
3. Institutes, II. 8. 46.
4. Opera XXVI:358. (Translation by present writer.)

for others."[1] God has given men their vocations, writes Calvin, "in order that every one may lay himself out for the advantage of others."[2] A man who is not "profitable to the human race" or who is "a burden to others" is to be deemed a disorderly member of society.[3] The object of labor is not only that one may be able to provide for himself, but that he may have the means to be helpful to others as well.

> He is first required to labour, working with his hands, that he may not supply his wants at the expense of his brethren, but may support life by honourable labour. But the love which we owe our neighbour carries us much farther. No one must live to himself alone and neglect others. All must labour to support each other's necessities.[4]

So the youth of Geneva were taught in Calvin's Catechism to pray before beginning their daily work:

> If, however, it shall please thee to make our work prosper, wilt thou also give us the good will to provide for those who are in need, according to the ability which thou hast given us, keeping us in all humility that we may not lift ourselves up above those who have not received such gifts from thy bounty.[. . .que si neantmoins il te plaise de faire prosperer nostre labeur, qu'aussi tu nous donnes le courage de subvenir à ceux qui sont en indigence, selon le pouvoir que tu nous en auras donne, nous retenant en toute humilité à fin que ne nous eslevions point par dessus ceux qui n'auront recevu telle largesse de ta liberalité.][5]

Troeltsch has set in the context of community the distinction which Weber makes between serving God *in vocatione* and *per vocationem* to characterize the attitude of Luther and the more aggressive concept of Calvin.[6] Vocation to Calvin is not merely a station in which a man works to the glory of

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1. Commentary on I Thessalonians 4:11.
2. Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:6-10.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Cf. Commentary on Ephesians 4:28; Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:12.
5. Opera VI:137-138. (Translation by present writer.)
6. Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. II, p. 610.

God; it becomes a means through which to work out the purposes of the Divine Community. Geneva was the proving ground on which Calvin sought to realize the ideal of the commonwealth of God.[1] Tillich has indicated the nature of this community. The spiritual center is not "a common ground of universal authority," as in the older organic community of the Middle Ages; rather, it is "common devotion to particular aims for which it is necessary to fight."[2] "The person of Protestant humanism is a member of an active group united by common purposes - the defence of pure doctrine, the struggle against absolutism, the crusade for the establishment of the Kingdom of God."[3] A man's vocation is the means through which he contributes to this dynamic community.

Lehmann points to this concept of the Church as a community in partial answer to the charge of critics like Fromm that the Reformation left the individual in isolation. It is only a partial answer, for he admits that the Reformers themselves failed to realize the full potentiality of the concept.[4] In the thinking and the practice of succeeding Calvinists, the ideal of the fellowship and discipline of the Christian community was crowded aside by a growing individualism.[5]

In the thought of Calvin himself, however, the concept of community is integral to the concept of vocation. The members of the Christian fellowship are interdependent members of one body; every member is "a debtor to his neighbors, and. . .no bounds should be fixed in the exercise of beneficence towards them, except when his ability fails."[6] In a sermon on the text,

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1. Ibid., pp. 610-611.
2. Paul Tillich, in The Christian Answer, Van Dusen, ed., pp. 12-13.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Paul Lehmann, in Christianity and Property, Fletcher, ed., pp. 108-113, 120-123.
5. Cf. H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 101.
6. Institutes, III. vii. 7.

". . .walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,"[1] Calvin declares that Christians cannot walk alone in following their vocation. It is not enough that each singly do his duty, but "each of us must take the hand of his neighbor and his brother so that God may be served with one accord among us" [nous devons tendre la main en chachun à son prochain et à son frere, tellement que Dieu soit servi d'un accord commen au milieu de nous].[2] Such service requires mutual concern and mutual helpfulness for the sake not only of the Church, but of those outside the fellowship as well. Only in this spirit can men "walk worthy" of their calling.

Along with the idea of individual responsibility in Calvin's doctrine of vocation is the correlative idea of social responsibility. Tawney has observed, "Both an intense individualism and a rigorous Christian Socialism could be deduced from Calvin's doctrine. Which of them predominated depended on differences of political environment and of social class."[3] The pull of these two poles was to be felt in the later development of the concept of vocation.

The Economic Aspects of the Doctrine

It is evident from his writings that Calvin does not equate a man's vocation with his means of livelihood; rather, the vocation includes his occupation, together with all the other aspects of his divinely appointed station in life. The daily work, however, is such an important part of the vocation that as language changed, succeeding generations came to use the word in the more limited sense of occupation.[4]

There is no question that Calvin emphasized the importance of work.

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1. Ephesians 4:1. Opera, LI:510-514.
2. Ibid., LI: 512. (Translation by present writer.)
3. Op. cit., p. 99.
4. Cf. Harkness, ops cit., p. 213.

His concept of a God who acts requires the corollary idea that man should glorify him through service. Just as he repudiated monastic withdrawal from the world, so Calvin condemned the idle way of life which he associated with monasteries.[1] In commenting on the familiar command of Paul, "He that would not work, neither should he eat," Calvin declares that "it is certain that indolence and idleness are accursed of God. Besides, we know that man was created with this view, that he might do something."[2] Even before the fall man was placed in the world to work, "not to lie down in inactivity and idleness."[3] After the coming of sin into the world, man was condemned to "servile work," "in antithesis with the pleasant labour" in which he had engaged previously.[4] Yet Calvin recognizes that even under the sentence of hard labor, beset by thorns and thistles, still "something of enjoyment is blended with the labours of men."[5] God blesses those who labor, each within the lines of his calling.

The youth of Geneva were taught to pray that in the fulfillment of their calling they might seek rather "to follow thy laws than to satisfy the craving to enrich ourselves"[6] [de suyvre ton ordonnance, que de satisfaire à l'appetit de nous enrichir]. Calvin holds that it is in vain to seek for wealth by feverish industry, for such blessings come only by the grace of God.[7] In commenting on the petition for "our daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, he states:

> It is ours because our Heavenly Father freely bestows it on us for the supply of our necessities. The fields must, no doubt, be cultivated, labour must be bestowed on gathering the fruits of the

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1. Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:10.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Commentary on Genesis 2:15.
4. Commentary on Genesis 3:17. Cf. Opera, XXVI:296-297.
5. Commentary on Genesis 3:17.
6. Opera, VI: 137-138. (Translation by present writer.)
7. Opera, XXVI:627.

> earth, and every man must submit to the toil of his calling, in order to procure food. But all this does not hinder us from being fed by the undeserving kindness of God. . .[1]

Only by the blessing of God does a man truly prosper; but God, in his fatherly wisdom, may bestow abundance or adversity as he sees his children need.[2]

Man lives, then, by the constant and immediate providence of God. Though such a doctrine would seem to lead to inertia, Calvin strongly contends that it does not. The man who regards God's providence rightly, he declares, will follow his own best judgment but will also submit himself to divine guidance; he will use all available means as "legitimate instruments of Divine providence," but avoid putting his trust in external supports. "Thus Joab, though he acknowledges the event of the battle to depend on the will and power of God, yet surrenders not himself to inactivity, but sedulously executes all the duties of his office [quod suae vocationis est], and leaves the event to the Divine decision."[3]

God does not need men's efforts, but it is his will that they shall work if they are to fulfill their divine destiny as persons, not as "wooden stumps."

> For these two things are united: the Lord will bless you, yet he wills that you shall labor. It is true that God could provide for us if our arms were folded. . .but it pleases him to train us, that we may be concerned, that we shall labor, that each one in the place in which he is called shall apply himself to do what he sees to be his responsibility. [Car ces deux choses sont coniointes: le Seigneur te benera et neantmoins il veut que tu travailles. Il est vrai que Dieu pourroit bien substanter quand nous aurions les bras croisez . . .mais il luy plaist de nous exercer, que nous ayons solicitude, que nous travaillions, qu'un chachun selon son estat auquel il est appellé, s'applique pour faire ce qu'il voit estre propre.][4]

In all these exhortations to labor as the will of God, the present writer has been unable to discover any indication in Calvin's thought of the point of view which Weber has reported finding in the writings of succeeding Calvinists: namely, that one must prove himself of the elect by his industry

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1. Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists (Matthew 6:11), Vol. I, p. 325.
2. Institutes, III. vii. 9, 10.
3. Institutes, I. xvii. 9.
4. Opera XXVIII:379-380. (Translation by present writer.)

and that prosperity in one's labor is an evidence of the favor of God.[1] It is true that the fruit of a righteous life is the proof of a man's salvation;[2] but Calvin roundly repudiates the idea that anyone can merit that salvation by good works, or, as Weber expresses it, create "his own salvation, or. . .the conviction of it."[3] As has been seen, both prosperity and adversity are left to the direct providence of God. Released from anxiety about the outcome of his endeavors, the Christian is expected to turn his attention from himself and focus it on God, so that he may strive faithfully within his calling for God's glory alone.

Related to the question of work, and still within the broad scope of vocation, is the matter of property. St. Thomas, it will be remembered, had followed Aristotle in teaching that property is to be private in ownership but public in use.[4] Calvin reflects a different period and a stricter biblical interpretation in his teaching on the subject. He interprets the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," to mean that "as injustice is an abomination to God, every man may possess what belongs to him."[5] Since property is not distributed by chance, but by the immediate providence of God, to take what belongs to another is to sin against the divine Bestower as well as against one's neighbor. Thomas had permitted a man in want to take what he needed from another who was unwilling to share, but Calvin will not waive God's laws. Even when a man has been defrauded, Calvin does not permit him to break God's law to take what is rightfully his.[6]

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1. Weber, op. cit., pp. 114-125.
2. Institutes, III. xv. 8.
3. Op. cit., p. 115.
4. Vide supra, p. 41.
5. Institutes, II. viii. 45.
6. Opera XXVI:353.

The tendency toward extreme individualism, which an Anglican like Temple criticizes in the Continental Reformers,[1] is counteracted at least in part in Calvin's own teachings by his corresponding stress on moral responsibility. Theft is not simply an overt act, but any subtle injury to another's rights, any neglect of duty, any failure to advance the welfare of one's neighbor.[2] Calvin is especially severe toward the rich and powerful who oppress the weak; even though they keep within the letter of human law, he declares, there is a Judge who holds them accountable.[3] In his commentary on the Pentateuch, Calvin devotes a long section to the eighth commandment, treating in considerable detail various kinds of theft, including unjust treatment of employees and sharp business practices.[4] He interprets the commandment in a positive as well as a negative sense: "Moreover, that our attention should always be directed to the Legislator; to remind us that this law is ordained for our hearts as much as for our hands, in order that men may study both to protect the property and promote the interests of others."[5] Men were taught to pray, as a petition in the Geneva Catechism expresses it, "that we may work faithfully in our estate and vocation without fraud or deceit" [que nous puissions fidelement exercer nostre estat et vocation sans aucune fraude ne tromperie].[6]

Calvin's relaxation of the mediaeval restrictions on usury is related to his teaching on personal property: a man has a right to use that which is his. In this case Calvin interprets Scripture with somewhat greater freedom, declaring of the Mosaic prohibition on usury that "the law of Moses is political and constrains us no further than is demanded by equity and human reason."[7]

1. William Temple, Christianity and Social Order, pp. 29-30.
2. Institutes, II. viii. 45, 46.
3. Opera XXVI:346-349.
4. Commentary on Harmony of the Pentateuch, Vol. III, pp. 110-179.
5. Institutes, II. viii. 46.
6. Opera VI:137-138. (Translation by present writer.)
7. Quoted in "Calvinism and Education," Cyclopedia of Education, Monroe, ed., Vol. I, p. 491. (Opera X:246.)

Characteristically, he outlines restraints on the extent and manner in which usury is to be permitted, including the Golden Rule;[1] an English writer of the next generation said of him, "Calvin deals with usury as an apothecarie doth with poyson."[2] Once the principle of taking interest was admitted, however, it was difficult for the leaders who followed Calvin to keep it within his carefully prescribed bounds.[3]

Calvin's zeal for industry and sobriety was given practical expression in the laws which he persuaded the Genevan government to pass. Provision was made for such practical matters as sanitation and the inspection of food; low taverns were abolished; work was made compulsory; provision was made for the care of the sick and destitute, and mendicancy was forbidden.[4] It will be remembered that under the mediaeval code of ethics almsgiving was not an act of charity but a response to a natural right.[5] The Reformers believed that this attitude on the part of the Roman Church encouraged vagrancy and idleness and so undermined character.[6] Calvin's stern echo of Paul's injunction is frequently quoted: "He that would not work, neither should he eat." He tempered his sternness in his comment on a later verse, however, observing that however ungrateful and seemingly undeserving the needy may be, "we must strive, nevertheless, never to leave off doing good."[7]

Calvin was personally responsible for the introduction of the weaving

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1. Opera X:245-249.
2. Quoted in Tawney, op. cit., p. 94.
3. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 105-109.
4. Opera X:345-249. Cf. H. D. Foster, "Calvin's Program for a Puritan State in Geneva," Harvard Theological Review, Vol. I, No. 4 (Oct., 1908), pp. 426-429; Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. VII, pp. 516-517.
5. Vide supra, p. 41.
6. Tawney, op. cit., 98.
7. Commentary on II Thessalonians 3:13.

industry into Geneva as a means of employment for Protestant refugees. The cloth and silk were highly prized in foreign markets and added a great deal to the prosperity of the city. When the weaving industry of Lyons became a serious rival to that of Geneva, watchmaking was successfully introduced into the Swiss city.[1]

In all these economic measures, Calvin's concern was primarily character building rather than social reform as an end in itself.[2] The disciplined character which Weber labeled "intramundane asceticism" was intended to show the world that all the pursuits of life could be followed to the praise of God, with the daily prayer that "all my works may be to the glory of thy Name and the edification of my neighbors" [toutes mes oevres soyant à la gloire de ton Nom et edification de mes prochains].[3]

The Educational Aspects of the Doctrine

To look for a modern idea of vocational education in the works of Calvin would be to expect an anachronism. Calvin belonged to the sixteenth century, not the twentieth. What Breen calls the "precipitate of humanism"[4] shows itself nowhere more clearly in his thinking than in his educational ideas. Breen points out three humanist ideals in the Academy which was established in Geneva under Calvin's leadership: (1) beginning the training with early childhood; (2) grounding the education in arts and letters; (3) stress on the importance of language.[5]

The Academy of Geneva was established in 1559, but its educational program had been worked out years before by Calvin, aided by Cordier, his old

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1. Schäff, loc. cit.; Troeltsch, Social Teachings, Vol. II, p. 642.
2. Cf. Tawney, op. cit., p. 98; McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, p. 113.
3. Opera, VI:135. (Translation by present writer.)
4. Breen, op. cit., p. 146.
5. Ibid., pp. 157-158.

teacher, and Saunier, former head of the Geneva school. It had both a lower (elementary and secondary) and an advanced department. The school introduced a number of innovations: grading the pupils and using the mother tongue were relatively new ideas, as was offering education to all the citizenry.[1] Even the children of the very poor, the wards of the city, were to be taught "in good manners, elementary letters, and Christian doctrine" [en bonnes moeurs, et ès elemens des lettres et de la doctrine Crestienne].[2]

The reason for this general education is evident. If all men, not just the clergy, were to serve God through their daily lives, then all men, not just the clergy, must be trained for effective service. Calvin combined the Protestant belief in the priesthood of all believers with the humanist confidence in the effectiveness of education to develop persons. Nichols has remarked, "The Reformed did not merely believe in the capacities of all men; they took pains to develop them."[3] In their original program for education in Geneva, Calvin and his colleagues stated that "the Word of God is the foundation of all knowledge, and the liberal arts are props and aids to the full knowledge of the Word, and not to be despised."[4] Calvin makes the purpose of the educational system clear in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances which outlined the plans for the establishment of the Academy. Pointing out the primary importance of the study of theology, he continues:

> But since one cannot profit by such studies unless he be first instructed in language and humane sciences, and since also there is need for preserving the seed for the future in order that the Church may not be left naked to our children, it will be necessary to organize a college for instructing the children in order to prepare them for both the ministry and the civil government.[5]

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1. Opera X:65-90; Foster, op. cit., pp. 431-434; Doumergue, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 124-151.
2. Opera, X. 103. (Translation by present writer.)
3. J. H. Nichols, Democracy and the Churches, p. 27.
4. Quoted in Foster, op. cit., p. 432.
5. Quoted in ibid., p. 433. (Opera X:21.)

Doumergue declares that the purpose of education in Geneva was no less moral and civic than religious.[1] Calvin's intent was the development of morally disciplined, intelligent citizens. The humanist concept of education, Tillich suggests, is "reason as the principle of truth";[2] and Calvin shared both the rational method and the mind-set toward private judgment which characterized the humanists.[3] Full freedom of inquiry was not permitted in Geneva, as the celebrated case of Servetus testifies; yet Choisy states that in contrast to former authoritarian teaching the Reformation opened up the experimental method and gave a man freedom to think for himself.[4]

However later critics might regard the effectiveness of Calvin's educational curriculum, the purpose was undoubtedly to prepare young people for life, if not for specific occupations. Geneva became the educational center for Protestant leaders in all the countries to which the Reformed tradition spread.[5] The inaugural address of Beza, first rector of the Academy, has a strikingly modern sound. He reminds the assembled students that they have not come to the school, like the ancient Greeks, primarily for sports:

> but, instructed in the knowledge of the true religion and all liberal arts, that you may be able both to advance the glory of God and to be indeed an honor to your country and a support to your families. . . [sed ut veræ religionis et omnium bonarum artium cognitione imbuti, et Dei gloriam amplificare, et patriæ ornamento ac vestris etiam præsidio esse possitis. . .][6]

The end of education is summed up in another prayer from Calvin's Catechism:

> In whatever kind of study I engage, enable me to keep its proper end in view, namely, to know thee in Jesus Christ thy Son; and may

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1. Op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 151.
2. Van Dusen, op. cit., p. 15.
3. Breen, op. cit., pp. 147-156.
4. Eugene Choisy, Calvin, éducateur des consciences, pp. 102-104.
5. Walker, op. cit., p. 366.
6. Opera, XVII:546. (Translation by present writer.)

> everything that I learn assist me to observe the right rule of godliness. . .Finally, let the only end at which I aim be to qualify myself early in life, that when I grow up I may serve thee in whatever station thou mayest assign me [en l'estat et vocation laquelle il te plaira m'ordonner].[1]

Summary

Calvin's doctrine of vocation can be understood best against the background of his times and in the light of his leading theological ideas. It is rooted in his dynamic concept of the nature of God and of man's immediate and personal responsibility to him. Calvin was led to a more active concept of vocation than that held by Luther by his idea of God's purpose to transform society through the obedient efforts of his elect.

In Calvin's thinking, a vocation is a post of duty assigned a person by God. The daily occupation is only one concern of the vocation, but a most important one. The vocation affects the individual, social, economic, and educational aspects of life; all these aspects are secondary ends, however, relative to the primary end of the glory of God.

Calvin's austere standards for Christian living within the limits of one's vocation are saved from trivial legalism by his concentration on God to whose glory all of life is to be lived. The tendency toward individualism is balanced by his emphasis on moral responsibility. Man is responsible first of all to God; but that responsibility works itself out within the Christian community and in doing God's will in the world.

Within Calvin's doctrine of vocation are opposing tendencies toward anxiety on the one hand and trust on the other, toward individualism as opposed to social responsibility. Calvin himself seems to have kept these tendencies in balance; but in the shifting emphases of those who were to be influenced by him, the balance has not always been maintained.

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1. Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 96-97.

CHAPTER IV

THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE BRITISH REFORMATION AND IN COLONIAL AMERICA

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In his Sociology of Religion, Wach has raised the question without answering it, "Do certain religious concepts and attitudes necessarily imply or favor certain sociological consequences?"[1] As has been pointed out already, Weber and his school have assumed that the Puritan concept of vocation was strongly influential in the rise of capitalism. Although the scope of this study does not propose a final answer to Wach's question, an examination of the data advanced to support or refute Weber's thesis will indicate in its historical setting at least what the Puritan concept of vocation was as well as some of its possible consequences.

The study of Puritan thought is especially pertinent as background for the study of Presbyterian thought because the English Presbyterians were Puritans although, as Knappen explains, "all Puritans were not Presbyterians."[2] Moreover, recent historical research[3] has indicated a closer relationship between New England Puritans and American Presbyterians in the colonial period than church historians had previously recognized.

This chapter will review the social and religious background of the Tudor and Stuart periods in Great Britain and the colonial period in the English colonies in America. It will then survey the concept of vocation

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1. Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, p. 163.
2. M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 490.
3. L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition, pp. 15-37.

held during those periods, particularly among English Puritans and among Puritans and Presbyterians in America.

Social and Religious Factors of the Reformation Period in Great Britain

The interaction of social and religious forces is clearly discernable in British history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; which forces were more determinative, however, or the extent to which one influenced the other, lies outside the province of this study.

In Tudor Times

The Tudor period marked the passing of the Mediaeval era in England and the beginning of the modern age. There was a ground swell of unrest even in the early years of the Tudor regime, characterized by a revival of the teachings of Wycliffe and Bible reading among the poorer classes, the coming of Renaissance learning through such Continental scholars as Erasmus and Colet, and a spirit of anticlericalism.[1] Each of these developments helped to produce the English Reformation.

Henry VIII's break with Rome may be thought of as more political then genuinely religious. The tendencies toward a religious reformation were given an opportunity for expression during the short reign of his son, Edward VI, with the encouragement of Somerset and the guidance of Archbishop Cranmer. Though the writings of Luther had been smuggled into the country and read eagerly during Henry's reign, the influence of the Reformed branch of Protestantism now increased.[2] Zwingli's writings were especially influential,[3] and Bucer was tutor to the young king.[4] Thoroughgoing changes were made in

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1. G. M. Trevelyan, History of England, pp. 288-291.
2. Knappen, op. cit., pp. 74-79.
3. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 216.
4. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p. 122.

the theology, discipline, and worship of the English Church. The issue was not, as Knappen remarks, "whether the church should be Reformed or not, but how far it should be Reformed."[1]

The course of the Reformation in England was interrupted during the reign of Mary, who sought to reverse all the Protestant measures of her half-brother Edward. Some of the Protestant leaders were executed and others fled to the Continent. During the Marian exile the influence of Calvin was strengthened, for many of the refugees found a haven in Geneva. There was made the Genevan translation of the Bible which, with its controversial notes, was to be widely used by both English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians.[2]

When Elizabeth acceded to the throne she attempted a middle course between the religious policies followed by her brother and sister. The idea of a state church was questioned by very few, but she declined the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," assumed by her father, and took that of "Supreme Governor." Though Calvinism was unwelcome to Elizabeth herself, it was the prevailing doctrine of her time. Between 1548 and 1600 no other writer was the author of as many books published in England as Calvin, not to mention numerous other Calvinistic works.[3] Even Archbishop Whitgift, who opposed the church polity of Calvinism, accepted Calvinistic theology.[4] For the most part Puritanism was inside the Church, seeking from within to bring the Church of England more fully into conformity, in worship as well as in doctrine, with Reformed principles. The Presbyterian element sought to intro-

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1. Knappen, op. cit., p. 78.
2. Ibid., pp. 134-148; G. D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland, pp. 2-3.
3. C. D. Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England, pp. 65-66.
4. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 364.

duce the Reformed system of representative government into church polity.[1]

Anglican principles, as differentiated from Puritanism, were given clearest expression in The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, by Richard Hooker.[2] Northrop[3] has suggested that this work has influenced the whole British concept of social structure through the "theologically grounded, anti-laissez-faire, organic, hierarchical conception of the good state and the good individual which arose with Henry VIII and Elizabeth and which was made articulate" in Hooker's book.[4] Northrop sets this organic, Aristotelian idea of society over against the more individualistic tendency of the Puritan Reformers as co-ordinate principles in British culture.

From the economic point of view, Trevelyan writes, "The history of the change from mediaeval to modern England might well be written in the form of a social history of the English cloth trade."[5] Among the consequences of this developing industry were the dislocation of the rural population by the enclosure of farm lands for grazing purposes, growth of the weaving industry along domestic lines, and expansion of foreign trade.[6]

The new merchant class was particularly hospitable to Reformation ideas from abroad.[7] They were active in smuggling Tyndale's prescribed New Testaments into the country.[8] During the reigns of Edward and of Elizabeth a wave of Protestant refugees from the Continent brought their weaving skills as well as their Reformed religion to England.[9]

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1. William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, p. 19; Knappen, op. cit., pp. 490-493; Cremeans, op. cit., pp. 60-66.
2. Cf. J. T. McNeill, Books of Faith and Power, pp. 61-88.
3. F. S. C. Northrop, The Meeting of East and West, pp. 171-181.
4. Ibid., p. 172.
5. Op. cit., p. 279.
6. Ibid., pp. 279-282.
7. Ibid., p. 282.
8. Knappen, op. cit., p. 19.
9. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 280. Cf. F. A. Norwood, The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force, pp. 44-92.

During Tudor times the crown gained supremacy over its two mediaeval rivals, the Roman Church and the feudal nobility. Politically the crown became supreme, but not economically.[1] Of the new rival, the rising middle class, Tawney writes, "The future lay with the classes who sprang to wealth and influence with the expansion of commerce in the later years of the century, and whose religious and political aspirations were, two generations later, to overthrow the monarchy."[2]

Trevelyan has commented that "England approached the Reformation through the Renaissance; Scotland approached the Renaissance through the Reformation."[3] This was one difference between the Reformation movements in the two countries. The Roman Church authorities in Scotland were particularly corrupt and were associated in the popular mind with the French influence of Mary of Guise, Queen Regent. Under the leadership of Knox, with the assistance of an English army sent by Elizabeth, the Protestant revolt was carried out. Guided by Knox, who had spent a period of exile with Calvin in Geneva, a national Reformed church was established according to Calvinistic doctrine and polity. The First Scots Confession was adopted by Parliament; and the "Buke of Discipline," though rejected by Parliament because self-seeking nobles coveted the properties designated to support education, nevertheless influenced the life of the Church. In the contest between the Kirk of Scotland and Mary Stuart the young queen was the loser.[4]

The Protestant Church thus attained an autonomy in Scotland which it could not enjoy under the Erastian system established in England.[5] There was

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1. C. D. Kean, Christianity and the Cultural Crisis, pp. 16-17.
2. Op. cit., p. 150.
3. Op. cit., p. 331.
4. A. G. Baker, ed., A Short History of Christianity, pp. 123-125.
5. Trevelyan, op. cit., pp. 332-335.

a close relationship between the Protestant leaders in the two countries; indeed, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a remarkable degree of communication and unity among Reformed Protestantism in Great Britain and on the Continent.[1] Nevertheless, the stream of Calvinism in England and that in Scotland were modified in each case by conditions which prevailed. A national Presbyterian Church arose in Scotland, Calvinistic both in polity and in doctrine. The English Puritan stream of Calvinism, except for a short period, was only a protest party within the English Church, finding its expression in congregational groups rather than in a national church.[2] This difference, two centuries later, was to be reflected in ecclesiastical divisions in America.

In the Seventeenth Century

The Stuart regime, which began early in the seventeenth century, brought into conflict a magnified idea of the importance of royalty and a middle class which was growing in both self-consciousness and economic power. "The history of Stuart England," says Kean, "is the history of a struggle between the economic power of the new classes and the vested interests of the crown, centering around the crown's attempts to get revenue."[3] With the economic struggle was the ecclesiastical one, in which the attempt was made to strengthen Episcopacy in England and force it upon the Church of Scotland.[4] This struggle led to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, the execution of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

Though England prospered under the stern rule of Cromwell's Protectorate, the people were ready to restore the monarchy and the Anglican Church in 1660. Under the Act of Conformity which followed the Restoration the

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1. Cremeans, op. cit., chap. III; Henderson, op. cit., pp. 60-68.
2. Haller, op. cit., p. 84.
3. Op. cit., p. 17.
4. Baker, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

Puritans, or Dissenters as they were now called, were treated with great harshness.[1] In Scotland royal troops harried across the moors the Covenanters who had risen in defense of their National Covenants, their solemn pledge to defend Presbyterian principles.[2] After the Revolution of 1688, William and Mary gave freedom of worship to all Dissenters in the Act of Toleration.

During the time of religious controversy before the Civil War, many Puritans emigrated to America and many Scotsmen settled in Ulster, whence large numbers were later to come to the New World.[3]

Although economic forces played an important part in the seventeenth century, the reality of the religious factors cannot be overlooked. Clark, in The Seventeenth Century, has commented on the prevailing practice of referring in religious terms to what would now be regarded as secular commonplace. The explanation does not lie, he says, in "discrediting all theological terms. . .On the contrary, it is more often necessary to remind ourselves that these words were then seldom used without their accompaniment of meaning. . ."[4] It was an age which sought to express rationally the implications of the theological system which Calvin had sketched out "in broad and free strokes."[5] The classic statement of seventeenth-century Calvinistic doctrine is the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, wrought out by the Westminster Assembly between 1643 and 1647.[6] By a strange historical circumstance this doctrinal system, though prepared mainly by English theologians, found fuller acceptance among Scottish Presbyterians than among English Calvinists.[7]

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1. Baker, op. cit., pp. 175-176.
2. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 162-166.
3. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, pp. 23, 28.
4. G. N. Clark, The Seventeenth Century, p. 323.
5. Perry Miller, The New England Mind, p. 95.
6. Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IV, pp. 356-363.
7. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 96-99.

British religious fervor began to cool before the century was over. Trevelyan comments regarding the Restoration:

> The principal reason why the English witnessed the return of the old Church establishment with relief, was because it made less constant demands for professions of religious zeal upon the common occasions of life. The Puritans had made men "eat religion with their bread" till the taste of it sickened them.[1]

Increasing commercial activity also had its effects on religious zeal. Plum writes: "Both Conformist and Non-conformist suffered from this emphasis and neither understood clearly how this interest in commerce and trade were going to affect religious life."[2] Locke, whose defense of the "Glorious Revolution" has been traced to various Calvinist and Puritan influences,[3] also provided the rationale for the new commercialism. Kean has pointed out that his theory of governmental laissez-faire, coupled with Harrington's doctrine of economic determinism, furnished the philosophical grounding of the mercantile system which was to dominate the next century.[4]

After the Revolution in England the force of Puritanism as a movement was dissipated. Its influence might still be discerned, among Dissenters and Anglicans alike, in private devotional life and personal discipline.[5] Christianity seemingly had little to say, however, on economic matters and social relationships. After the Restoration, says Tawney, "The social teaching of the Church had ceased to count, because the Church itself had ceased to think."[6]

The Doctrine of Vocation in the British Reformation

The doctrine of vocation held during this period has been given a great deal of attention. Many of the citations which will be used in this section

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1. C. M. and G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, cited in Northrop, op. cit., p. 175.
2. H. G. Plum, Restoration Puritanism, p. 89.
3. H. D. Foster, "International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688." American History Review, Vol. XXXII (1927), No. 3, pp. 475-499.
4. Op. cit., pp. 18-20.
5. G. M. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 453.
6. Op. cit., p. 157.

of the study have been used in the debate either in support of or in opposition to Weber's thesis of the influential character of the Puritan doctrine of vocation. Robertson, who has attempted a thoroughgoing refutation[1] of Weber's position, calls attention to a basic fallacy in Weber's historical method, in that it assumes that the content of the doctrine of vocation has remained constant throughout its existence and undertakes to read back into early periods the concept held in the eighteenth century.[2] Even Perry, in his careful study of Puritanism in American thought, falls into the same fallacy when he attempts to define Calvin's concept of vocation by referring to Baxter's ideas a century later.[3]

The purpose of this examination, then, will not be primarily to assess the value of Weber's theory but to discover what doctrine of vocation was held in the Tudor period and how it may have been modified in the next century.

The Doctrine of Vocation in Tudor Times

The concept of vocation held by the early Reformers in Great Britain was essentially conservative, akin in many respects to that of Luther. Though Tyndale defied the authority of both Church and State in making his translation of the New Testament, he preached non-resistance to lawful government and supported an organic idea of society. "Let every man, of whatever craft or occupation he be of, . . .refer his craft and occupation unto the commonwealth,"[4] he writes in The Wicked Mammon. His view of the dignity of labor is similar to Luther's. Fox, historian of the martyrs, quotes Tyndale's critics as charging that he had said, "There is no work better than another to please God, to pour

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1. H. M. Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. R. B. Perry, Puritanism and Democracy, p. 314.
4. Quoted in J. T. McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, p. 115.

water, to wash dishes, to be a souter, or an apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God."[1] Tyndale had actually written, says Foxe, quoting The Wicked Mammon: "Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is a great difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching the word of God: but as touching to please God, none at all. . ."[2]

Latimer, the celebrated preacher who was to die at the stake in Mary's reign, proclaimed a similar doctrine of the dignity of labor and the duty of contentment within the calling. Pointing to Christ's example as a carpenter he says:

> Therefore let no man disdayne or thincke skorne to followe hym in meane liuynge, a meane vocation, or a common callynge and occupation. For as he blessed oure nature with takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doyng he blessed al occupations and artes. . .
>
> It is lucre inoughe, it is ventage inoughe to be content with that, that God sendes. The fayethfull can not lacke, the unfaythfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much.[3]

Latimer and other Reformers as well protested the eviction of the tenantry through the enclosure of lands and the appropriation of former monastic holdings by self-seeking individuals. For example, Lever condemns "the merchauntes of London" who, not "content with the prosperous welth of that vocation," seek to "bie farmes out of the handes of worshypfull gentlemen, honeste yoemen, and poore laboringe husbandes."[4] In An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the Oppressours of the Pore Commons of this Realme, Crowley appeals to the principle of stewardship in the use of wealth. Denying that he advocates communism in property he declares, "But with all myne herte I wysh that no man were suffered to eate, but such as soulde labour in their vocacion and callyng, accordynge to the rule that Paule gave to the Thessalonians."[5] If "the sturdy fall

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1. John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 575.
2. Ibid., p. 576.
3. Quoted in Robertson, op. cit., p. 10.
4. Quoted in H. C. White, Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century, pp. 100-101.
5. Ibid., p. 111.

to stealynge, robbyng, and revenge," he says, their exploiters are responsible. "God hath apoynted you stuards unto his householde in due seasone."[1]

Alarm over popular uprisings and reaction to the communist tendencies of the Anabaptists brought out a more conservative note in the writings of the Reformers. They stressed the duty of contentment within the vocation and pointed out the need for providing a Reformed clergy who would preach such duties.[2] Crowley concludes a long verse entitled The Voyce of the Laste Trumpet, . .calling al estats of men to the ryght path of theyr vocation with the stanza:

> For in the worlde there canot be
> More greate abomination,
> To thy Lorde God, than is in the
> Forsakeyng thy vocation.[3]

In a sermon Lever reviews "seuerally euery mans vocacion," the great and the lowly, and declares, "So euery man by doynge of hys dutye must dyspose vnto other than commodytye and benefyte, which is committed of god vnto them. . ."[4]

The Reformers sought to dissociate themselves from the radicalism of the Anabaptists in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion adopted by the Anglican Church (1553, 1571). The thirty-eighth article declares that "the Riches and Goods of Christians are not common as touching the right, title and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast."[5] Temple comments that the emphasis of the Reformers, as compared with mediaeval theory, "tended to shift from the communal restrictions upon private property to its exclusive rights and its moral responsibilities."[6] In the answer to the question in the Anglican Catechism, "What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?" individualism

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1. Ibid., p. 112.
2. Knappen, op. cit., pp. 402-403; White, op. cit., pp. 109-131.
3. Quoted in Robertson, op. cit., p. 13.
4. Quoted in Robertson, op. cit., pp. 7-8.
5. Phillip Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, Vol. III, p. 513.
6. William Temple, Christianity and Social Order, p. 30.

is blended with an organic sense of society:

> . . .To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters:. . .To be true and just in all my dealings. . .To keep my hands from picking and stealing. . .and not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, And to do my duty in that estate of life unto which it shall please God to call me.[1]

An Anglican writer has recently characterized this as the expression of the Renaissance man and contrasted it with the mediaeval man's "submission to that state into which it had pleased God to call him."[2] In its deference to authority, however, it maintains for the doctrine of vocation the conservative setting of social solidarity and obligation.

Weber[3] has credited Cranmer's official translation of the Bible, the so-called Great Bible (1539), with introducing the word "calling" into English usage in the sense of position in life. This version first so translates the word in I Corinthians 7:20 which Tyndale had rendered "state"; though Wycliffe, in 1382, had used the word cleping, the equivalent of calling. If pushed consistently this study of the use of words is not favorable to Weber's general thesis on the Puritan emphasis on calling, for "state" replaced "calling" in the Geneva Bible of 1557 which became the Puritan Bible. Nevertheless, the concept is introduced into the marginal notes in this Bible in the comment on II Thessalonians 3:10: "Then by the worde of God none ought to live idly, but ought to give himselfe to some vocation, to get his liuing by and to doe good to others."[4]

Increasingly Martin Bucer's influence on the English as well as the Continental Reformation is being recognized.[5] His relationship to Calvin has

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1. Schaff, op. cit., p. 520.
2. Max Warren, The Christian Mission, p. 23.
3. Op. cit., p. 210.
4. The Holy Bible (Geneva Version).
5. Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation, pp. 67-68, 177-192.

already been noted. The last years of Bucer's life were spent in England at the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer. His last work, De Regno Christi (1551), was dedicated to Edward VI. A recent study of his influence on the English Reformation calls attention to his "stress on practical and moral reform, which is one of the main characteristics of the English Reformation compared with the doctrinal and more theoretical stress made by the Continental Reformers."[1] A newly published edition of his first work (1523), translated for the first time into English, contains one of the earliest statements of the Protestant doctrine of vocation. Declaring that "the best, the most perfect and blessed condition on earth is that in which a man can most usefully and profitably serve his neighbor,"[2] he warns against self-seeking in governmental, ecclesiastical or business positions. Such occupations as agriculture or cattle-raising "are the most profitable to the neighbors and cause them the least trouble."[3] His summary of the need for brotherly love in daily living is as follows:

> That, according to the order and commandment of the Creator, no one should live for himself, but each man should out of love for God live for his neighbor and by all means be of service to him in matters pertaining to both the spirit and the body;
>
> that this obligation rests above all on those who were called and established to promote public utility, both spiritual and secular;
>
> that God could not send us a greater plague than men seeking their own advantage;
>
> that the more a profession is useful to the needs of the general neighborhood and furthering the profit of the whole community, the more that profession is honorable and Christian and should be cheerfully entered or accepted by each.[4]

The Elizabethan Puritans more nearly suggest Calvin's position on the doctrine of vocation than did their predecessors. Greenham stresses the need

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1. Constantin Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation, p. 103.
2. Instruction in Christian Love, p. 30.
3. Ibid., pp. 31-40.
4. Ibid., p. 40.

of selecting the vocation, not to gratify pride, but to serve God and benefit one's fellowmen.[1] Like Calvin he expressly denies that wealth is necessarily a sign of God's favor or poverty an indication of his displeasure.[2] Smith, the most famous preacher of the Elizabethan period,[3] preaches the obligation to labor laid on all men:

> If the Apostles rule were kept, they which doe not worke should not eate. . . .Although I know there be divers workes, and divers giftes and divers callings to worke in; yet. . .[thou] shalt gette thy living as Adam thy father did: or else thou doest avoyde the curse, and a greater curse shall follow: that is, they which will not sweate on earth shall sweate in hell.[4]

Still maintaining the duty of labor within one's calling, Smith yet asks sympathy for the hard lot of the husbandman who is forced to toil under great disadvantages. "Why," he asks, "should the greatest payne yeeld the least profit?"[5] Sibbes contends that particular callings are "sanctified by God to subdue the excess of corruption. Men without callings are exceedingly vicious, as some gentlemen and beggars."[6] He declares that common acts performed "with an eye to God" are "good and religious actions. For the Grace of God is a blessed Alcumist, where it toucheth it makes good, and religious."[7]

The first systematic study of the doctrine of vocation seems to be "A Treatise of the Vocations"[8] by William Perkins of Cambridge whom White calls the greatest Puritan divine of the sixteenth century.[9] Under his preaching John Cotton, first generation leader of the New England Puritans,

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1. Cited in Knappen, op. cit., p. 379.
2. Cited in White, op. cit., p. 248.
3. Knappen, op. cit., p. 389.
4. Quoted in White, op. cit., p. 253.
5. Quoted in ibid., pp. 247-248.
6. Quoted in McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society, p. 194.
7. Quoted in Haller, op. cit., p. 125.
8. William Perkins, Workes, Vol. I, pp. 747-779.
9. Op. cit., p. 272; cf. Haller, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

was converted;[1] and his works accompanied the Pilgrims to the New World in the library of Governor Brewster.[2]

Perkins defines a "vocation or calling" as "a certaine kinde of life, ordained and imposed on man by God, for the common good."[3] He points out the distinction between the general calling "which is common to all that live in the Church of God" and the special calling to some particular office.[4] Every person "without exception must have some personall and particular calling to walke in."[5] "Every man must joyne the practice of his personall calling, with the practice of the general calling of Christianity."[6] Perkins classifies the various kinds of callings and points out the characteristics of the right calling; children, he believes, should be guided in making the proper choice.[7] Not only the choice but the performance of the vocation as well is significant: "It is not sufficient for a man to doe the proper workes of his calling, but he must doe them in a good and godly manner."[8] Elsewhere Perkins writes:

> And the ende of a mans calling is not to gather riches for himself, for his family, for the poore; but to serve God in serving man, and in seeking the good of all men, and to this ende men must apply their lives and labors.[9]

Crowley and Latimer had been concerned over the effect of greed on the poor; Perkins is more concerned for the effect of greed on the self-seeking person.[10] There is no question as to what motive to sin in the relation of man to his fellow-man the sixteenth-century Puritan divine put first, White

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1. Knappen, op. cit., p. 390.
2. G. F. Williston, Saints and Strangers, p. 33.
3. Perkins, op. cit., p. 750.
4. Ibid., pp. 752-754.
5. Ibid., p. 756.
6. Loc. cit.
7. Ibid., pp. 758-759.
8. Ibid., p. 766.
9. Quoted in White, op. cit., p. 253.
10. White, op. cit., p. 193.

writes: "It was greed, the greed for wealth."[1] In a time of expanding commercialism he sought to check the acquisitive spirit of man by setting human affairs in the larger context of life lived to the glory of God.[2] Perkins' teachings on vocation are very close to those of Calvin. Where Calvin laid down broad principles, however, Perkins has spelled out the implications in meticulous detail. He belongs to a succession of Puritan casuists. Nearly a century later Baxter was to state at the head of a list of casuistical writers, "Perkins began well."[3]

Despite concessions to the practice of usury by Continental Reformers, the sixteenth-century English Puritans almost unanimously opposed it.[4] A Discourse on Usury (1572), by Wilson, gives an instructive summary of the current arguments on the subject in a dialogue between a clergyman and his parishioners. Though the defendants of usury are brought to the orthodox position in the treatise, the arguments they advance reveal as much of the thinking of the times as does the victorious argument of the minister.[5] That against which the preachers inveighed may be as clear an indication of the trend of the times as the doctrines expressed in their sermons. An incident related by a late sixteenth-century writer furnishes a commentary on the mood of the times and the relaxing religious sanctions in the concept of vocation. A man who had come to wealth and sent his son to the university learned that his son had preached a sermon against usury. Complacently the father remarked:

> "I cannot justly blame my Sonne for that he hath done, for it is as well for his profession, to speak against usury, as it is for my occupation to follow it, otherwise he might want matter to speake on, and both my selfe and my Sonne might want money to live on. . ."[6]

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1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., pp. 233-243.
3. Richard Baxter, Practical Works, Vol. I, p. 4.
4. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 130-137; White, op. cit., pp. 189-223; Robertson, op. cit., pp. 111-132.
5. White, op. cit., pp. 219-222.
6. George Phillips, The Life and Death of the Rich Man and Lazarus, in ibid.,p.222.

Commercialism did not advance as rapidly in Scotland as in England, though a recent article[1] has suggested that the middle class of traders had more to do with encouraging the Reformation in that country than has commonly been supposed.

Knox' First Scots Confession sets forth the works which please God as being of "two sorts: the one are done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours."[2] Among the duties in the second category is that of dealing "justly with all men."[3] His "Buke of Discipline" is more explicit in the matter of human relationships and economic obligations. In a nation whose civil government was weak and ecclesiastical government strong, it devolves upon the Church to punish those who are "oppressors of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying or selling by wrong mete or measure."[4] Each "kirk must provide for the poore within the self," though "idle beggars" are not to be encouraged.[5] Knox pleads for the poor who had been exploited by numerous exactions, "Have respect to your poor brethren, the laborers and manurers of the ground."[6]

One noteworthy inclusion in the Buke of Discipline is in regard to education. The plan, which was thwarted by the nobles, provided for a system of education for rich and poor, from elementary schooling through university.[7] The purpose of the education, of course, is religious. Among the subjects to be included in the curriculum, however, is "that study in which they intend to travail for the profit of the Commonwealth."[8]

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1. W. S. Reid, "The Middle Class Factors in the Scottish Reformation," Church History, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 137-153.
2. John Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II, p. 263.
3. Ibid., p. 264.
4. Ibid., p. 306.
5. Ibid., p. 290.
6. Ibid., p. 303.
7. Ibid., pp. 295-302.
8. Ibid., p. 297.

The Doctrine of Vocation in the Seventeenth Century

Robertson has suggested that the prudential idea of vocation which Weber considered characteristic of Puritans belongs instead to the latter seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[1] A change can be felt in the religious climate by comparing the Anglican Catechism with the Westminster Catechisms, written a century later to express a summary of seventeenth-century English Calvinist doctrine.

The Westminster Confession of Faith, phrased in terms of the Covenant theology held by both English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians of the period, declares that men are saved under the Covenant of Grace which superseded the Covenant of Works;[2] yet believers are to glorify God by good works,[3] done in obedience to the moral law which is summed up in the Ten Commandments.[4] The Westminster Larger Catechism states these duties in more detail. Like the Anglican Catechism of the preceding century it stresses in regard to the Fifth Commandment the obligations of personal relationships;[5] but the exposition seems to suggest the mutual obligations of individuals rather than the duty of conformity to an organic society. In the requirements of the Eighth Commandment the idea of vocation as an occupation is explicitly introduced as a religious duty:

> . . .truth, faithfulness, and justice in contracts and commerce between man and man; . . .giving and lending freely, according to our abilities, and the necessities of others; a modification of our judgments, wills, and affections, concerning worldly goods; a provident care and study to get, keep, use, and dispose of those things which are necessary and convenient for the sustentation of our nature, and suitable to our conditions; a lawful calling and diligence in it; frugality; . . .and an endeavour by all just and lawful means to procure, preserve, and further the wealth and outward estate of others, as well as our own.[6]

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1. Op. cit., p. 14.
2. Confession of Faith, Chap. VII.
3. Ibid., Chap. XVI.
4. Ibid., Chap. XIX.
5. The Larger Catechism, Question 126.
6. Ibid., Question 141.

The "contrary sins" which are forbidden in the next question include various kinds of theft and unjust business practices; "unlawful callings" — a contradiction in terms by Calvin's connotation — "and all other unjust or sinful ways of taking or withholding from our neighbour what belongs to him, or enriching ourselves"; "covetousness"; and "idleness."[1] The catechism begins with the broad, Calvinistic proposition, "Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God and fully to enjoy him forever."[2] The Larger Catechism, as Schaff comments, serves "as a valuable commentary on the Confession, especially on the ethical part of our religion"; but in developing its initial proposition "it is over-minute in the specification of what God has commanded or forbidden in the Ten Commandments, and loses itself in a wilderness of details."[3]

Robertson suggests that the development of the prudential concept of the doctrine of vocation can be studied in three manuals of Christian conduct which were influential in their respective periods: The Whole Duty of Man (1657); Richard Baxter's Christian Directory (1673); and the New Whole Duty of Man (1744).[4]

The first of the three, though it appeared during Cromwell's Protectorate, was probably not written by a Puritan but by the Royalist, Richard Allestree, who also wrote The Gentlemen's Calling and The Ladies' Calling.[5] Not only was The Whole Duty of Man influential in England; it was used as a text in Scottish universities,[6] and was given a place of honor in the libraries of such New World leaders as Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin.[7] The Whole Duty

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1. Ibid., Question 142.
2. Ibid., Question 1.
3. The Creeds of Christendom, Vol. I., p. 786.
4. Robertson, op. cit., p. 15.
5. J. T. McNeill, A History of the Cure of Souls, p. 236.
6. Henderson, op. cit., p. 122.
7. A. M. Schlesinger, Learning How to Behave, pp. 6, 9.

of Man, Laid Down in a Plain and Familiar Way for the Use of All is, as McNeill says, "packed with moral advice and casuistic solutions."[1] The author presents as the condition of human happiness "the hearty, honest endeavour of obeying the whole will of God."[2] Such obedience, however, he feels needs to be particularized, and so he lists in detail the several virtues to be cultivated and vices to be avoided. The counsel is quite conventional and conservative. Man is expected to live in dependence upon God; "Yet I do not mean by this that we should so expect it from God, as to give up ourselves to idleness and expect to be fed with miracles. No, our honest industry and labour is the means by which God ordinarily gives us the necessaries of life."[3] God's natural gifts are to be improved "by employing them so, as may bring in most honour to God, most benefit to our neighbours, and may best fit us to make our accounts, when God shall come to reckon with us for them."[4]

Baxter's voluminous Christian Directory,[5] containing counsel on all phases of the Christian life, is the fruit of an unusual pastoral ministry among the middle-class weavers and tradesmen of Kidderminster.[6] An examination of his teachings on the doctrine of vocation indicates changes in thinking from the times of Calvin and Perkins. His very definition of calling narrows the term to the meaning of daily work: "A calling is a stated ordinary course of labour."[7] Like the writers of the Larger Catechism he is able to refer to "an unlawful calling."[8] Nevertheless, the glory of God

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1. A History of the Cure of Souls, p. 236.
2. Allestree, The Whole Duty of Man, p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 54.
4. Ibid., pp. 136-137.
5. Richard Baxter, Practical Works, Vol. I.
6. Tawney, op. cit., p. 183; cf. C. F. Kemp, A Pastoral Triumph.
7. Baxter, op. cit., p. 376.
8. Loc. cit.

remains the determining factor in the choice of a vocation and in its performance:

> Choose that employment or calling (so far as you have your choice) in which you may be most serviceable to God. Choose not that in which you may be most rich or honourable in the world; but that in which you may do the most good, and best escape sinning.[1]

> Be diligent in your callings, and spend no time in idleness, and perform your labours with holy minds, to the glory of God, and in obedience to his commands. . .[2]

Baxter sanctions the profit motive, though not in as unqualified a fashion as he is sometimes reputed to do. He writes:

> If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other,) if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept his gifts, and use them for him when he requireth it; you may labour to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin.[3]

In the context, this looking "at the commodity of your calling" comes in the third order of importance, "after the public good, and after your personal good of soul and bodily health."[4] McNeill writes of him that in economic matters Baxter "never strays from his principle of 'the public good of Church and Commonwealth'. . .and he has this in his mind in his permission of interest on money turned to productive use no less than when he condemns the oppression of greedy landlords."[5]

If Baxter condemns sloth and exhorts to industry,[6] he also warns against the sin of covetousness and love of riches.[7] Even more than Perkins in the preceding century Baxter is addressing parishioners already involved in a com-

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1. Ibid., p. 114.
2. Ibid., p. 254.
3. Ibid., p. 377.
4. Loc. cit.
5. A History of the Cure of Souls, pp. 265-266.
6. Baxter, op. cit., pp. 378-386.
7. Ibid., pp. 214-222.

mercial culture and an expanding capitalism. As Robertson observes, rather than exhorting to diligence in business, he seems to be attempting to demonstrate "that there are other things than business in which diligence pays; . . .Baxter was trying to show to good business men the importance of being also good Christians."[1] Appealing in commercial terms he writes, "study to do good and make it the trade and business of your lives."[2]

In The Tradesmen's Calling (1684), written in the next decade, Richard Steele evidences still further the accommodation of Puritan ethics to the life of trade. Like Baxter Steele was a Puritan minister evicted from his charge by the Act of Conformity. "Prudence and piety were ever very good friends," he declares. "You may gain enough of both words if you would mind each in its place."[3] Diligence in business has become, not only a means to an end, but a virtue in itself: "Next to the saving of his soul, [the tradesman's] care and business is to serve God in his calling, and to drive it as far as it will go."[4] The Complete English Tradesman, by the Dissenter Daniel Defoe (1728), follows in the same succession; but, writes Tawney, "it has reduced Christianity to even more innocuous proportions."[5]

McNeill points out that in this blessing of the marriage of business and religion there is no intention "to relax economic obligation in the line of mere expediency. . .The Puritan view that we should make the most of two worlds is not a suggestion that we should serve God and mammon, but that we should serve God and man."[6] There is no question, however, that a change had taken place in the Puritan spirit. As Plum notes, after the Revolution

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1. Op. cit., p. 19
2. Baxter, op. cit., p. 114.
3. Quoted in Tawney, op. cit., p. 203.
4. Ibid., p. 204.
5. Ibid., p. 268.
6. Christian Hope for World Society, p. 25.

there was a new emphasis placed upon commerce which had an unforeseen effect on the religious life of the middle class. "Not that men were putting religion aside," he says; "rather, they were adding a new interest that was bound to affect the nature of their religious life."[1]

The book which Robertson designates as the most representative of the later "prudential" concept of the calling appeared in the eighteenth century, in the reign of George II, and is Anglican rather than Puritan.[2] This anonymous work, The New Whole Duty of Man, bears the sub-title, "Containing the Faith as well as the Practice of a Christian, made easy for the Practice of the Present Age. . ." Commenting that The Whole Duty of Man of the previous century was now outmoded by changed conditions, the writer sets forth a code of conduct applicable to a mercantile society.[3] His doctrine of the calling is clearly of the prudential nature:

> . . .the man that serves God by continual application to the duty of his calling and state of life, besides the comfort of a good conscience, which is of all others the greatest happiness, such an honest and industrious labourer may entirely depend upon the goodness of God, that he will always take care of him: God will bless and prosper him in the work of his hands. . .[4]

An examination of quotations cited by writers on both sides of the debate over Weber's theory on the relation of Puritanism to capitalism suggests that a clear division cannot be made between Puritan and Anglican on the doctrine of vocation. After noting the fervent condemnation of idleness in Holy Living (1650) by the Anglican Jeremy Taylor, McNeill comments: "For seventeenth century religion, Puritan or Anglican, the soul must never loiter,

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1. Op. cit., p. 89.
2. Robertson, op. cit., p. 25.
3. The New Whole Duty of Man, pp. i-vii.
4. Ibid., p. 363.

but press with vigor on."[1] It can only be conjectured whether this similarity of attitude is an evidence of the perseverence of Puritan influence in British character to which Trevelyan refers, or whether moral ernestness is a trait of British piety of whatever school. As to the question of the relation between the doctrine of vocation and the rise of capitalism, Robertson comes to the conclusion that the reverse of Weber's theory is true: that the doctrine of the calling did not produce capitalism, but rather that "the spirit of capitalism was responsible for a gradual modification and attrition of the Protestant doctrine."[2] It may well be, as Calhoun points out,[3] that each movement influenced the other.

The effect of the Puritan doctrine of vocation on education, like its economic influence, has elicited some debate. It is certain that the Puritans did encourage education. Denied entrance to Anglican schools, they founded their own. During the Commonwealth education flourished.[4] Merton[5] believes that Puritanism gave an impetus to scientific study through its doctrine of vocation and its positive valuation of manual labor. Knappen[6] denies this; he points to the spiritual preoccupation of the Puritans and contends that they could have given no more than indirect encouragement to science. Butts, after calling attention to the Puritan schools in England, summarizes the case by saying, "The Reformation at least expressed the doctrine that education should fit children for the active pursuits of life, and this took the form of a demand for a more practical and vocational education."[7]

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1. A History of the Cure of Souls, p. 235.
2. Op. cit., p. 27.
3. R. L. Calhoun, God and the Common Life, p. 24.
4. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 431; Plum, op. cit., pp. 98-99.
5. R. K. Merton, "Puritanism, Pietism, and Science," The Sociological Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 1-30.
6. Knappen, op. cit., pp. 466-478.
7. R. F. Butts, A Cultural History of Education, p. 269.

It is clearly evident from this examination of the records that the doctrine of vocation prevailing in the late seventeenth century was not the same as that held by Calvin and his Reformed contemporaries. The change seems to have taken place in two directions. Miller has commented:

> The great difference between Calvin and the so-called Calvinists of the seventeenth century is symbolized by the vast importance they attached to the word "method." Systematic organization of the creed had indeed been of great concern to Calvin, but never the obsession it was to his followers.[1]

So the seventeenth century felt impelled to regulate in casuistic fashion the implications of the doctrine of vocation. "The brave objectivism of the early Puritans which demanded only that God's will be done," says Niebuhr, "is turned into febrile subjectivism which evermore asks whether the heart of the doer is good."[2]

The other change has to do with the weakening of the restraints of social responsibility and group sanction. Niebuhr comments again:

> But under the subtle influence of the business interests which the church had welcomed into its fold the restrictive regulation [of the older Calvinism] soon lost its force, while the commendation of the commercial life as a sphere of divine vocation and the religious invigoration of individual activity remained effective. So, in discipline more than in doctrine, there was substituted for the collective authority of the church the equally orthodox authority of individual conscience.[3]

Thus the nature of the doctrine of vocation changed as it lost in an introspective legalism the sense of a single devotion to God's will characteristic of the early Reformers, and as individualistic enterprise broke down the restraints of social responsibility.

Social and Religious Factors in Colonial America

Perry has remarked that Calvinism was one of the influences which

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1. Op. cit., p. 95.
2. H. R. Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, p. 171.
3. H. R. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 101.

contributed most "to the making of the American mind when the American mind was in the making."[1] Nevertheless, as has been indicated already, the Calvinism of Calvin was not the same as that of the English Puritans; and it is safe to assume that through the interaction of influences in the New World, the Calvinism of American Presbyterians would undergo further modification. In studying the thought of American Puritans Miller has cautioned against "construing the ideas of any Englishman after 1640 as wholly synonymous with those of New Englanders,"[2] as well as the danger of reading "history backwards, to interpret something that was by what it ultimately became, particularly when it became several things."[3]

This section will give the background for Puritan and particularly for Presbyterian thinking in order to discover what the doctrine of vocation "ultimately became" in eighteenth century America.

Colonial Times in General

It is commonly considered that Calvinism entered America through the settlers at Plymouth and at Massachusetts Bay. The influence was more widely diffused through the English colonies than in this popular conception, however. Both church and secular historians[4] point out the fact that the early settlements were made while Puritans were still a part of the established Church, and that Puritans were to be found in the Virginia colony. A Pilgrim Father commented on them: "It is reported that there are many men gone to that other plantation in Virginia, which, while they lived in England, seemed very religious, zealous, and conscionable; and now have lost even the sap of grace,

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1. R. B. Perry, Puritanism and Democracy, p. 81.
2. Perry Miller, op. cit., p. x.
3. Perry Miller and T. H. Johnson, The Puritans, p. 5.
4. E. g., L. W. Bacon, A History of American Christianity, pp. 42-48; C. A. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, pp. 109-111; R. B. Perry, Characteristically American, pp. 98-101.

and edge to all goodness; and are become mere worldlings."[1]

Nevertheless, it was in the New England colonies that the attempt was made to establish a community regulated by Puritan principles. The story of the Puritan theocracy has been told repeatedly by both friends and foes.[2] The government by the saints was officially brought to a close in 1691 by a royal charter, but their rule had been weakened for a long time. The scarcity of saints was demonstrated by the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant in 1662, permitting unregenerate but sincere parents to bring their children for baptism. This act, Sweet observes, "marks the passing of the founders of New England and the beginning of the domination of the second generation."[3] Cotton Mather bewailed the changing times in his Magnalia: "I saw a visible shrink in all orders of men among us, from that greatness, and that goodness, which was the first grain that our God brought from three sifted kingdoms into this land, when it was a land unsown."[4] The sons and grandsons of the Founding Fathers were becoming preoccupied with trade and the lure of new settlements.

In Virginia the cultivation of tobacco was dominant. The land-owners were not English gentry, but yeomen who had come to wealth in the New World. Wertenbaker[5] points out a significant social and economic change in Virginia and Maryland between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the earlier period the soil was tilled by a free yeomanry who had come over either as poor freemen or as indentured servants; by the eighteenth century the work was done almost entirely by Negro slaves.

The middle colonies, with their mixture of Dutch, English, Swedish, Scotch-Irish, and German, really formed the American melting pot. Here, too,

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1. Robert Cushman, "Discourse," Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 253.
2. E. g., T. J. Wertenbaker, The Puritan Oligarchy.
3. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, p. 87.
4. Magnalia Christi Americana, Vol. I, p. 228.
5. T. J. Wertenbaker, The First Americans, pp. 34-35.

was a diversity of religious backgrounds: Reformed, Quaker, Moravian, Puritan, Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Anabaptist. The hospitality of William Penn to persecuted groups encouraged the settlement of his Woods; and from Pennsylvania restless Germans and Scotch-Irish moved on into the valleys beyond the Blue Ridge, down into the Carolinas and Georgia.[1]

As Wertenbaker observes,[2] there was a cultural line drawn at the Blue Ridge between the "Tuckahoe" of the Tidewater and the "Cohee" of the Valley. The one culture was that of plantations worked by slave labor; the other, that of small farms worked by the owners themselves. The frontier beyond the mountains was settled by thrifty Germans, aggressive Scotch-Irish, and men of English lineage from over the mountains. "In the end, the strange triangular battle of civilization in the Blue Ridge was won. . .by the melting pot."[3] This was a different culture from that of the Tidewater; in Adams' words, "it was as though a green curtain had fallen, which was to separate them from the busy, half-mercantile life of seaboard town and farm."[4]

During the eighteenth century a similar social cleavage developed in the more commercialized northern colonies. Here the distinction was between the mercantile interests of the coastal towns and the interests of the frontier. At the close of the French and Indian wars there was rapid expansion of both sections.[5]

Some of these same colonial interests came into conflict with British mercantile imperialism. Nevins and Commager[6] list among the causes of discontent which led to the Revolution the various parliamentary acts restricting colonial trade, the Proclamation Act which checked appropriation of lands beyond

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1. Wertenbaker, The Middle Colonies.
2. The Old South, pp. 196-218.
3. Ibid., p. 218.
4. J. T. Adams, Provincial Society, p. 192.
5. Ibid., pp. 222-257.
6. Allan Nevins and H. S. Commager, America: The Story of a Free People, pp. 73-79.

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the Appalachian Range, dissatisfaction with the established Church, and the ferment of equalitarian ideas, both doctrinaire and practical.

The century closed with independence won, a new nation emerging, and a vigorous westward movement of the population. The newly autonomous churches were faced with the task of establishing themselves and at the same time meeting the needs of the growing young nation.

The Beginnings of American Presbyterianism

In his recent study of Presbyterianism in colonial America, Trinterud[1] has described the two main strands which went into the making of the Presbyterian Church in the New World in its formative period. Those two were New England Puritanism and Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism. Each of the two strands had already been modified by the process of transplanting Puritanism from old to New England, and Ulster Presbyterianism from Scotland to North Ireland. Among these main strands were to be intertwined smaller strands from Holland, France, Wales and Germany; and the whole was to be affected by the influences of the American frontier. As a consequence, American Presbyterianism was to come forth as something different from any of its constituent parts, yet colored by each of them.

The exact beginning of Presbyterian history in the colonies is difficult to determine since Puritanism and Presbyterianism were not clearly differentiated at first. The tendency of Massachusetts Puritans was toward Congregationalism; but in Connecticut and on Long Island traces of a rudimentary Presbyterianism could be found. Though he was not actually the founder of Presbyterianism in America, Francis Makemie took the lead in its organization.

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1. L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition, pp. 1-2.

He was sent as a missionary to America from Northern Ireland in 1682. For a number of years he was an itinerant preacher along the coast of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, and in Barbados. In 1707 he was arrested and imprisoned in New York for preaching without a license from the royal governor. In his trial he took his stand on his British rights under the Act of Toleration.[1] In 1706, the year before his arrest, Makemie brought together six other Presbyterian ministers to form the first presbytery. In 1716 a synod was formed comprising four presbyteries.[2]

In about the third decade of the century men from Ulster, harrassed by economic and religious restrictions in Ireland, began to swarm to America. These "bold and indigent strangers," as Penn's secretary called them, came first to New England, then in larger numbers to Pennsylvania, and thence into the frontier across the mountains. The problem of meeting the needs of these new settlers was a difficult one for the young Presbyterian synod, lacking as it was in both funds and trained ministry. To help fill the educational vacuum William Tennant established his Log College which sent out a small stream of earnest, evangelistic young men into the ministry.[3]

Very early in the history of the synod the differences between the two main strands, Scotch-Irish and Puritan, began to be felt. Essentially the difference concerned the nature of the Church.[4] Wertenbaker has commented, "No doubt these good men would have been more conciliatory had they realized that their own views and the views of their opponents were but the result of

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1. A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers and Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie One of Them. . .By a Learner of Law and Lover of Liberty.
2. Trumterud, op. cit., pp. 20-35.
3. W. W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, pp. 245-270.
4. Trumterud, op. cit., pp. 16-20.

fate, a fate which gave to the Scottish Calvinists a strongly centralized form of Church government and denied it to the Calvinists of England."[1] The Scotch-Irish stressed the institutional, corporate nature of the Church and insisted on creedal conformity. In 1729, reflecting a position taken by the Scottish and Irish Presbyterians, they succeeded in requiring of all members of the synod subscription to the Westminster Confession and Catechisms "as the confession of our faith," though the Adopting Act contained some reservations.[2] The Puritans, on the other hand, emphasized the individual nature of religious experience and the necessity of personal conversion. When the Great Awakening reached the middle colonies, led by the Log College men, the New Englanders in the Presbyterian synod aligned themselves with it.[3]

Prior to the Great Awakening in the mid-century the colonies had become spiritually inert. The New England manifestation of the revival, led by Jonathan Edwards, did not immediately affect the Presbyterians.[4] In the middle colonies, however, graduates of the Log College, especially the sons of William Tennant, were among the leaders. The awakening received added impetus from the visit of George Whitefield, an associate of the Wesleys. The fervor of the revivalists carried them into Virginia and the Carolinas. In Hanover, Virginia, Samuel Davies established a particularly effective work, though it declined after he was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey.[5]

Differences over the revival methods of the Great Awakening, aggravated

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1. Wertenbaker, The Middle Colonies, p. 180.
2. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 38-52; R. E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, pp. 25-28.
3. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 53-85.
4. C. H. Maxson, The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 40.
5. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, pp. 272-301; Maxson, op. cit.; W. M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia.

by other differences, led to a division of the synod into the Old Side and the New Side in 1741. The two parties were re-united in 1758. The New Side, with its greater evangelizing zeal, had prospered more than the Old Side during the division. Under the terms of the reunion most of the positions of the New Side were conceded, though the more vehement of the revival preachers retracted some of their harsh strictures of their conservative brethren.[1]

The Log College, which was parent to a number of log colleges and academies, was succeeded by the College of New Jersey, later named Princeton. In 1768 John Witherspoon, a Scottish minister, accepted the call to become president of the college, apparently a compromise selection of Old and New Sides. Philosophically Witherspoon brought to the college the Scottish "common-sense" realism which was to characterize its teaching for many generations. Theologically his influence was conservative. Politically he was a Whig and aligned himself with the cause of the Revolution.[2]

With the exception of a settlement of Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina, the Presbyterians gave their ardent support to the Revolution. Witherspoon was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the only clergyman in the group; but a recent study indicates that at least thirteen of the signers were Presbyterians.[3]

The close of the war found the Presbyterian Church in many ways in the strongest position of any Protestant group.[4] Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were in the van of the westward movement which followed immediately after

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1. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 109-165; Thompson, op. cit., pp. 32-44.
2. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 212-227; H. W. Schneider, A History of American Philosophy, pp. 247-248.
3. T. C. Pears, Jr., "Presbyterians and American Freedom," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, p. 83.
4. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, p. 288.

the war.[1] In 1788 the Presbyterian General Assembly was organized, with the Westminster Standards as its creed and an official Form of Government and Discipline.[2] The American Presbyterian Church had come of age.

The Doctrine of Vocation in Colonial America

The study of the doctrine of vocation during the colonial period in America will be based on New England Puritan writings, primarily in the seventeenth century, and Presbyterian writings, primarily in the eighteenth century.

The Doctrine of Vocation in Puritan New England

The concept of the calling was introduced into Puritan thinking in New England in the context of the Covenant idea which colored all the community relationships, with God and with each other.[3] The Puritan colony at Salem in 1628 wrote into their initial agreement: "We resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular callings; shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards."[4] The emphasis is on the duty of members of a covenanted community to contribute to the welfare of the group through work in their callings.

Similarly in the Plymouth colony, in a sermon on "The Sin and Danger of Self-Love,"[5] reputedly preached in 1621, Robert Cushman quotes Paul's condemnation of "such as were negligent in their labors and callings"; but the

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1. W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier: The Presbyterians, p. 25.
2. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 279-306.
3. Cf. Miller, The New England Mind, pp. 365-462.
4. Mather, Magnalia, Vol. I, p. 67.
5. Cited in Olive Day, "Capitalistic and Socialistic Tendencies in the Puritan Colonies," Annual Report of the American Historical Society for 1920, p. 229.

point of his exhortation is that the members of the community should be diligent in order to be able to contribute to those in need.

> Here is the difference between a covetous worldling and an honest, thrifty Christian; it is lawful sometimes for men to gather wealth and grow rich, even as there was a time for Joseph to store up corn; but a godly and sincere Christian will see when this time is, and will not hoard up when he seeth his brothers and associates in want.[1]

Cushman stresses the same theme in his "Discourse," already alluded to, in which he points out that the weakness of the Virginia colony is due to self-love and warns that if the Plymouth colony is to prosper it must have public spirit and mutual help.[2]

John Cotton, first generation leader in Boston, declared in his debate with Roger Williams over the relation of church and community that a man should be removed from the church - the covenanted community - who "either walks inordinately without a calling of idly or negligently in his calling."[3] Cotton wrote an exposition of "Christian Calling"[4] which might have been delivered by Perkins or Sibbes, two English Puritans who influenced his thinking. Referring in usual Puritan terms to the general calling of all Christians and the particular calling in which each Christian is to live his daily life, he makes an odd comparison to the "cleane beasts" in Leviticus who "divide the hoofe into two."

> It shewes you, then, that it is onely a cleane person, that walkes with a divided hoofe, that sets one foot in his generall, and the other in his particular calling; he strikes with both, he serves both God and man, else he is an uncleane beast, if he have no calling but a generall, or if no calling but a particular, he is an uncleane creature; . . .[5]

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1. Loc. cit.
2. Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 251-268.
3. Cited in Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. I, p. 38.
4. Miller and Johnson, op. cit., pp. 319-327.
5. Ibid., p. 320.

As soon as a man "begins to looke towards God, and the wayes of his grace, he will not rest, till he find some warrantable Calling."[1] That particular calling is "warrantable" in which "we may not onely aim at our own, but at the publike good"; "when God gives a man gifts for it"; and "when it is attained to be warrantable means."[2] In following his vocation a man will perform inglorious tasks contentedly, draw his strength from God, and trust the outcome to God. Moreover, "we live by faith in our vocations, in that faith, in serving God, serves men, and in serving men, serves God."[3]

The formula for the right relation of the general and particular callings, Cotton suggests elsewhere, is "diligence in worldly business, and yet deadness to the world."[4] The Christian man, he says, takes

> all opportunities to be doing something, early and late, and loseth no opportunity, go any way and bestir himselfe for a profit, this will he do most diligently in his calling; And yet bee a man dead-hearted to the world. . .though he labour most diligently in his calling, yet his heart is not set on these things, he can tell what to doe with his estate when he hath got it.[5]

That this formula worked successfully, at least as far as worldly profit is concerned, is attested by William Byrd of Virginia. Early in the eighteenth century he made this observation concerning the Plymouth Colony whose population had been swelled by "large detachments of independents and Presbyterians":

> Though these people may be ridiculed for some pharisaical peculiarities in their worship and behavior, yet they were very useful subjects, as being frugal and industrious, giving no scandal or bad example, at least by any open and public vices. By which excellent qualities they had much the advantage of the southern colony, who thought their being members of the established church sufficient to

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1. Ibid., p. 319.
2. Ibid., p. 320.
3. Ibid., p. 321.
4. Cited in Miller, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
5. Ibid., p. 43.

> sanctify very loose and profligate morals. For this reason, New England improved much faster than Virginia, and in seven or eight years New Plymouth, like Switzerland, seemed too narrow a territory for its inhabitants.[1]

In principle this industry and frugality were to be employed for the benefit of the convenated community. In a paper presented before the American Historical Society in 1920, Day[2] reported on a study which he had made to discover the extent to which the doctrine of the calling had been used in the Puritan colonies to encourage economic individualism. He based his research primarily on Puritan sermons. References to the doctrine, he found, were surprisingly infrequent; and exhortations to industry and thrift which he discovered were intended mainly to encourage social solidarity rather than individualism, to urge each member to contribute to the group through his labor.

Morison[3] points to the economic restraints of the Puritans to refute Weber's contention that Puritanism promoted economic individualism. An incident related by Winthrop[4] is a case in point. Robert Keaine, a Boston merchant, was charged with demanding unfair prices. While the case was being considered by the magistrates, Cotton took advantage of the occasion to propound Christian principles of trade. Denying Keaine's false premise "That a man might sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can," Cotton declared that "a man may not sell above the current price"; that if he sustains the loss of his commodity, either through his own fault or through some Providential act, he must not "lay it upon another"; and he "may not ask more for his commodity than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham:

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1. William Byrd, A Journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers, p. 16.
2. Day, op. cit., pp. 225-235.
3. S. E. Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, pp. 160-162; cf. Dorfman, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 44-46.
4. John Winthrop, Journal: History of New England, 1631-1649. Vol. I, pp. 315-318.

the land is worth thus much."[1]

However, in New England as in old, the fact that Puritan ministers found it necessary to denounce covetousness and lay down specific rules to control greed suggests the real presence of self-love and of hearts set on worldly things. Cotton's formula of "diligence in worldly business and deadness to the world" did not always work out in practice. Day concludes from the fact that Puritan sermons did not exhort to seeking wealth that "the preacher had found that self-interest was sufficient stimulant to urge men to economic exertion; and he sought to divert men's minds to things above them rather than to things around them."[2]

Not all the settlers were brought to New England by religious motives. Mather tells the frequently quoted story of a minister, preaching to a congregation in the north-east region, who urged them to continue "a religious people from this consideration that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness; whereupon a well-known person, there in the assembly, cryed out, Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay: our main end was to catch fish."[3] "Truly 'twere to have been wished," Mather sadly observes, "that something more excellent had been the main end of the settlement of that brave country."[4] Even those who were supposed to be the saints, however, were growing cold in matters of religion. One minister declared: "In Wares, Merchandize and Trading, a Gaining what they can possibly, as if justice had set them no bounds, but to gain what they can is their professed justice; and their gain is their godliness."[5]

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1. Ibid., pp. 317-318.
2. Op. cit., p. 231.
3. Magnalia, Vol. I., p. 62.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Quoted in Miller, op. cit., p. 473.

Yet the ministers were not altogether critical of business enterprise. Cotton Mather himself wrote a book in defense of New England business men entitled Lex Mercatoria, or the Just Rules of Commerce Declared.[1] In A Compleat Body of Divinity, a collection of lectures on the Shorter Catechism published in 1726, Willard commends diligence in one's particular calling:

> God hath given to men their Estates for their outward Benefits. . . It is true, our Prosperity depends upon God's Favour, but we are to seek it in the use of Man's and that is by Improvement. . .that merely to advance our Estate by the turning of it, is not in itself a Sin, but a Duty to Endeavour it, and that there is an honest way so to do and this may be in a lawful Calling.[2]

Willard condemns any attempt to rise beyond one's station. There should be no leveling spirit, but men "should have food and raiment, suitable to the order in which God's providence has placed them."[3]

A change had come about in the character of New England by the close of the seventeenth century. As people "moved further into the frontier, they became more absorbed in business and profits than in religion and salvation, their memories of English social stratification grew dim."[4] Parrington[5] has distinguished two types as "two halves of the New England whole": the Puritan and the Yankee. "The Puritan was a contribution of the old world, created by the rugged idealism of the English Reformation; the Yankee was the product of native conditions, created by a practical economics."[6] He finds in the diary of Samuel Sewell, the honest, practical, unimaginative Salem judge, the record of the transformation of an English Puritan into a New England

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1. Dorfman, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 120-121.
2. Samuel Willard, A Compleat Body of Divinity, quoted in Day, op. cit., p. 280.
3. Ibid., quoted in Dorfman, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 117.
4. Miller and Johnson, op. cit., p. 17.
5. V. L. Parrington, Main Currents of American Thought: The Colonial Mind, pp. 3-4.
6. Ibid., p. 4.

Yankee.[1] Haller[2] detects such a transformation a generation earlier in the history of William Bradford of Plymouth. As he encountered the problems and practical details of the settlement, his writing changed, says Haller, from the mood of Pilgrim's Progress to that of Robinson Crusoe: "in a word, the Yankee begins to emerge out of the Puritan saint."

The fact that the Puritan economic controls were not able to hold individualistic enterprise in check and that later Puritanism in some measure sanctioned that enterprise should not be interpreted as hypocrisy, Niebuhr declares.[3] The Puritans simply were not able to foresee the way in which laissez-faire capitalism would grow. Moreover, religious restraints became less effective as men found themselves so self-sufficient in an expanding frontier that God seemed hardly necessary except for special acts of providence.

As was the case in late Puritanism in England, religion itself was becoming increasingly legalistic. In Two brief Discourses, One Directing a Christian to his General Calling; Another directing him to his Personal Calling,[4] Cotton Mather sets forth the Christian's duty in terms of vocation. The personal calling is "a certain Particular Employment by which his usefulness in his Neighbourhood is distinguished." It is to be practiced earnestly and diligently, but not in such a way as to interfere with the religious duties of the general calling. Mather employs the figure of a rowboat in which a man must ply both oars of the two callings faithfully to reach the port of heaven. Religion thus becomes largely a matter of the methodical

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1. Ibid., p. 86.
2. Haller, op. cit., p. 191.
3. The Kingdom of God in America, p. 86.
4. Cited in Day, op. cit., p. 231.

performance of religious acts. In Mather's Essays to Do Good,[1] which Niebuhr calls "a classic example of inverted moralism,"[2] the reader is advised to ask himself, "What good may I do in the world?" and various occupations are examined for opportunities in them by which a man can essay to do good to his neighbor. The horizons of life had contracted, says Parrington, "to a narrow round of sermons and chores."[3] In a concentration on the performance of right acts, religious and moral, the unifying idea of God's sovereignty over all of life was lost to view.

Benjamin Franklin declared that Mather's Essays to Do Good had been a great influence in his life. Whether that acknowledgement is to be taken seriously[4] or regarded as having been spoken with tongue in cheek,[5] there is no question but that the Poor Richard philosophy of benevolence and economic virtues was frankly rid of any religious sanctions which Mather might have employed. In tracing the influence of the idea of calling, Weber selected Franklin, not too happily, as the epitome of Puritanism.[6] Schneider classifies him among the "ungodly Puritans." "Franklin reasserted the stern Puritan morality," he writes, "but divorced it from the theocratic aims which it originally served."[7] In Mather's generation the doctrine of vocation had become largely a moralistic doing of good deeds with heaven as the reward. Franklin advocated doing good, but dispensed with the idea of heaven. As a final step, Schneider suggests, Franklin's virtues of thrift and industry

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1. Cotton Mather, An Essay Upon that Good which is to be devised, etc.
2. The Kingdom of God in America, p. 171.
3. Op. cit., p. 88.
4. E. g., Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 73.
5. E. g., Schneider, op. cit., p. 40.
6. Op. cit., p. 48.
7. H. W. Schneider, The Puritan Mind, p. 255. Cf. ibid., pp. 237-256.

later were "divorced from his benevolence" and "hardened into the stuff of unbridled competition and sordid business."[1]

So, as the general calling of a man's service to God and the particular calling of his daily occupation became separated, the concept of vocation was tragically bifurcated. On the one hand there developed a religion which had nothing to say about the daily life so long as a man was moral; on the other, a zealous business enterprise which made its own rules and regarded religion as completely irrelevant.

The Doctrine of Vocation in Colonial Presbyterianism

Colonial Presbyterians left no such complete record of their thinking as their Puritan relatives. Those sources which are available have not been subjected to thorough research, as Trinterud's breaking of virgin ground in his recent study[2] evidences. The examination of the doctrine of vocation in colonial Presbyterian thought, therefore, will be based largely on isolated but fairly representative examples: Makemie in the early years, Davies during the time of the Great Awakening, and Witherspoon during the Revolutionary period.

Makemie himself, in his itinerating along the Atlantic coast, combined various kinds of work with that of Presbyterian minister. Lord Cornbury, the governor of New York, charged him with being a "Jack-of-all-trades: . . . a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counselor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments."[3] He also had a concern for public affairs. The decentralized life of the Maryland and Virginia plantations, he thought, was resulting in a stagnant society; and

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1. A History of American Philosophy, p. 42.
2. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 7-9.
3. Cited in W. W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, p. 258.

he encouraged the establishment of towns to promote not only economic, but moral and spiritual welfare.[1]

The only available sermon by Makemie is the one which he preached in New York in January, 1607, on "A Good Conversation."[2] The fact that he preached without the governor's permission, not the substance of the sermon, was the cause of his arrest. Because of the circumstances of the arrest and the fact that only a few had heard the sermon, Makemie had it published, adding additional material to the sermon as preached.[3] The theme of his discourse is the nature of the Christian life. Thompson comments that it notably reflects "the theocratic element in the life of the Reformed Church."[4] The "only regular conversation" or way of life is a "conversation agreeable to First Table Commands and Second Table Commands, and to Gospel Precepts."[5] This life is not one of mere moralistic self-help, however, for it is distinguished "from merely moral life" by being one "wherein the Gifts and Graces of the Renewing Spirit of God are legible."[6] As to the place of vocation, Makemie writes:

> A Well-Ordered Life and Conversation consists, in being answerable to the various Stations, Capacities and Relations, whereunto we are called, and placed of God in the world; whether as Superiours, Inferiors, or Equals. For we must look upon all Christians in a two-fold Capacity; first, in respect to their General Calling and Vocation as Christians, which is common to all, and calls for a Walk and Conversation suitable thereunto, as you have heard. Next, we must look upon them, in a more limited Capacity, as related to one another in a more Particular Calling; . . .And it is the superlative fullness of the Scriptures, that there are Duties for all Ranks and Stations, prescribed and taught there; . . .[7]

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1. Trinterud, op. cit., p. 29.
2. Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1870, pp. 411-453.
3. Ibid., p. 411.
4. E. E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, p. 38.
5. Makemie, "A Good Conversation," p. 429.
6. Loc. cit.
7. Ibid., pp. 431-432.

Makemie thus sees men's lives as related to each other under the sovereignty of God. A person discharges the duties of his particular calling when he performs the obligations laid upon him by the position in life and the special abilities assigned him by God.

Incidentally, Makemie comments that such well ordered living "would be highly advantageous to our Estates" and would have a salutary effect on health, reputation, and posterity;[1] but these prudential considerations are quite subordinate. The main stress is on a man's immediate responsibility to God in all of life. In the practical application at the close of his sermon Makemie draws this conclusion:

> That the Life and Conversation of a Christian should be answerable to his Gifts and Graces, suitable to his Station and Vocation in the world. . .Therefore it is not sufficient that we do as much as others do, that we are as holy and righteous as our neighbours; but is our walk and life answerable to the rule, suitable to the obligations we are under to God, his gifts and graces bestowed upon us; and answerable to the calling and station we are placed in of God?[2]

In the mid-eighteenth century religious life was at a low ebb in the American colonies. Even if the churches had not already been rendered impotent by formalism,[3] the land-hungry new immigrants and the scattered settlers on the raw frontier would have presented a problem. Conditions were ripe for a new and dynamic preaching of the Christian gospel. A Presbyterian historian describes the situation in this way:

> It was a period of migration. Families left their homes for a forest. Untried paths and unthought-of embarrassments wrought amazing and rapid changes in the energies and the plans of the new settlers. Daring ventures, hazard of life, and want of old restraints, good influences, and holy privileges, shaped the spirits of the people after another pattern than that which was shown to Moses on the mount. They sought excitement rather than instruction, and wearied of the customary methods, so venerable

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1. Ibid., pp. 449-450.
2. Ibid., p. 448.
3. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, pp. 272-273.

> in the meeting-house standing amid their fathers' sepulchres. . . They desired to enjoy a sensible impression on their hearts; and comfort to be swallowed, as an exhilerating cordial. . .[1]

These were the people to whom the Great Awakening ministered. They were men set free from the restraints of their old life in Europe. The Scotch-Irish in particular were aggressively asserting their independence in disregard of prior land titles. It "was against the laws of God and nature," they declared, "that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise bread."[2] A French observer, writing a few decades later, describes the spirit of the new American: "Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labour; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurement? . . .Here religion demands but little of him. . ."[3] It was "this temper of practical individualism or of 'Yankee rationalism' rather than the Arminian theology or Deistic philosophy of the time," writes Niebuhr, which "challenged the Christian movement in America."[4]

The revival preachers, therefore, had no need to stir their congregations to greater industry. In a sermon on "The Necessity and Excellence of Family Religion" Samuel Davies points out the obligation of providing for one's own family and dependents and quotes the familiar verse "that if any would not work, neither should he eat."[5] Then he continues:

> "This," some of you will say, "is an excellent doctrine, and this is our favorite text, which we often descant upon to justify our eager pursuit of the world. This commandment we have kept from our

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1. Richard Webster, A History of the Presbyterian Church in America, p. 132.
2. Quoted in Adams, op. cit., p. 188.
3. Michel de Crevecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer, in H. S. Commager, Living Ideas in America, p. 21.
4. The Kingdom of God in America, p. 100.
5. Sermons on Important Subjects, Vol. II, p. 43.

> youth up; and, as we exert ourselves to provide estates for our children, we are not chargeable with any guilt in this case."[1]

But, inquires the preacher, have they made similar provision for the spiritual needs of their families?[2]

Essentially the traditionalists of the Old Side Presbyterians and the revival preachers of the New Side shared the same theology.[3] Niebuhr declares of the revivalists that "faith in the divine sovereignty was the platform on which they stood as they preached the kingdom of Christ."[4] Indeed, Gilbert Tennant, the most vehement of the New Side preachers, raised one of the few real theological questions to come before the colonial synod when he charged a brother minister with equating human happiness with the primary glory of God.[5] The differences between the Old and New were matters of emphasis. Thompson charges that the Great Awakening "rearranged the theology of Protestantism in a new perspective of doctrines, with reference to the conversion of sinners, laying stress upon those points only which seemed to contribute to that end."[6] He finds greatest fault with what he regards as a one-sided emphasis on individual conversion, to the neglect of Christian nurture.[7]

> The resultant type of Christian experience was one isolated from the relationships and relative duties of life in a very un-Protestant fashion; and the energy of attention was concentrated upon the succession of inward emotions and feelings. . .[The] direct application of Christian principle to the whole life of Christian society, and the realization of God's kingdom in this present world, were hardly contemplated as Christian duties.[8]

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1. Ibid., p. 48.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 170-195.
4. The Kingdom of God in America, p. 102.
5. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 185-186.
6. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 79.
7. Ibid., pp. 37-38; cf. L. B. Schenck, The Presbyterian Doctrine of Children of the Covenant, pp. 53-79.
8. Thompson, op. cit., p. 38.

Trinterud takes issue[1] with Thompson and other critics of the New Side, particularly in their appraisal of the revival as overly introspective and indifferent to social duties. In regard to social consequences of the Awakening he is supported by other historians of the period. "The evangelicals held their followers to a rigorous moral code and greatly promoted the sobriety industry, and moral progress of the people";[2] from the revival "sprang many forces which made for betterment of society."[3] Andrews, a contemporary Old Side leader, charged that the New Side "avoid preaching up moral duties";[4] but Benjamin Franklin, a member of his congregation, accused him of the same fault, declaring that his sermons seemed intended "rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens."[5] The preaching of the New Side in reality, says Trinterud, urged on men the obligation of obedience to God's will.

> No area of life fell outside the realms that God controlled and desired to use for his own purposes. Consequently, wherever the Christian's work found him in that vocation he was to serve God. To be without "Publick Spirit" was to be without God. . .Out of this conviction came the interest of the New Side in education, in civil government, and in all public affairs. "Brethren, we were born not merely for ourselves, but the Publick Good! which as Members of Society we are obliged pro virili to promote."[6]

Davies' sermons bear out this argument that the revivalists were concerned about social relations. "You can no more be a good man without loving your neighbor, than without loving your God,"[7] he declares: ". . .unless you conscientiously observe the duties of social life, you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven."[8] In the same sermon, based on the Golden Rule, he refers

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1. Op. cit., pp. 170, 335, 336.
2. Maxson, op. cit., p. 147.
3. Gewehr, op. cit., p. 262.
4. Webster, op. cit., p. 179.
5. Ibid., p. 317.
6. Trinterud, op. cit., p. 194.
7. Davies, op. cit., p. 70.
8. Ibid., p. 74.

to one of the problems which vexed the disciplinary procedures of local church elders[1] - that of unfair business practices. Using such sharp bargaining as an example of self-interest, he charges, "Men seem to make this their rule, to get as much for what they sell, and give as little for what they buy, as they can."[2] The relationship of men to each others is to be governed by this same "rule of equity," the Golden Rule: "As there is a great diversity in the stations and character of men, there is a proportionable diversity in the duties which they own one to another; and self-love may make a man very extravagant in his expectation and desire about the conduct of others towards him."[3] Like the early Puritan preachers, he decries self-love as a ruling motive in life: "Men seem to act as if they were entirely detached from one another. . .or were not at all concerned to promote each other's interest. Self-interest is their pursuit, and self-love their ruling passion."[4]

Davies makes clear in these sermons the moral responsibility of Christians to be concerned for the welfare of others and to participate actively in those things which make for the good of the community. Business interests must not be allowed to hurt the interests of a neighbor nor to interfere with a man's own performance of his religious duties. However, there seems to be no clearly articulated idea of vocation in the traditional Reformed sense. Indeed, Niebuhr observes that in the area of the social application of Christianity the revivalists "thought more in terms of man's nonprofessional relations to his fellow men than to those of his calling."[5]

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1. Guy Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 121-122.
2. Davies, op. cit., p. 75.
3. Ibid., p. 63.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
5. The Kingdom of God in America, p. 113.

It appears to the present writer that Trinterud has not entirely refuted the charge that the Great Awakening tended too much toward individualism. To say this is not to deny that a revival of personal religion was needed nor to discredit the debt which the American Church owes to the revivalists. Conceding that the Great Awakening "saved America from irreligion and barbarism"[1] and fathered many social reforms, Thompson contends that it lent a new sanction to individualism by "making true religion chiefly a matter of isolated personal emotion."[2] In so doing it seems to have contributed in at least two ways to the neglect of the Calvinist doctrine of vocation. First, intensified by the isolated character of frontier life, it cultivated individual religious experience at the expense of the concept of Christian community which is complementary to it in Reformed tradition.[3] It is in the sense of Christian community that the Calvinist doctrine of vocation has its horizontal orientation. In the second place, the stress on a cataclysmic conversion experience seemed to make the daily experiences of life pale in comparison. In thinking of man's relation to God in terms of emotional crises it became more difficult to conceive of that relationship as the sovereignty of God over all of life - the concept in which the doctrine of vocation is vertically oriented.[4]

Following the Great Awakening the two sides of the Presbyterian Church formed an uneasy union and a period of rather arid orthodoxy set in.[5] The continued immigration of Ulster Presbyterians kept alive the need for more

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1. Op. cit., p. 297.
2. Ibid., p. 296.
3. Cf. R. H. Nichols, "The Influence of the American Environment on the Concept of the Church in American Protestantism," Church History, Vol. XI. No. 3, pp. 185-186.
4. Cf. J. O. Nelson, The Rise of the Princeton Theology (unpublished dissertation), pp. 106-158.
5. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 144-165.

ministers, a need met chiefly by the college of New Jersey which became, in Wertenbaker's words, "the religious and educational capital of Scotch-Irish America."[1] In the decade before the Revolution John Witherspoon set his stamp upon Princeton. He continued as head of the college until near the end of the century and participated at the same time in the Continental Congress and the post-war organization of the Presbyterian General Assembly.[2]

Witherspoon's importance lies not so much in the originality of his thinking as in the far-reaching influence of the philosophical system which he introduced into Princeton. The Scottish "common sense" realism which he brought into the college became "the official academic belief" of the nineteenth century.[3] Witherspoon was a leader in the patriotic effort which gave to the Revolution practically the sanction of a Christian calling among the Presbyterians.[4] His best remembered sermon is one preached at Princeton in May, 1776, on the theme, "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men."[5] In a restrained and reasonable manner he calls upon his fellow citizens to give their support to the cause of freedom, urging them to greater zeal for the glory of God and the good of men. Those who were not called to the field should contribute by their industry and frugality at home.

Under Witherspoon's presidency at Princeton "common sense" realism replaced any philosophical idealism which may have come in during Jonathan Edwards' brief tenure of office. Here was a philosophy which was "at one and the same time moralistic, theistic, and rationalistic."[6] With it the

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1. The Old South, p. 209.
2. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 218-221, 242-257, 292-293.
3. H. M. Jones, Ideas in America, p. 131.
4. Trinterud, op. cit., p. 252.
5. John Witherspoon, Works, Vol. III, pp. 17-46.
6. Perry, Characteristically American, p. 47.

Scottish president met the deism and skepticism of the day. Theologically he opposed the "New Divinity" advanced by New School disciples of Edwards.[1]

Witherspoon sets forth a doctrine of God's sovereignty that is "common sense" and rational. The divine sovereignty, he holds, is not one of mere will, but is characterized by justice, holiness, and, above all, wisdom.[2] Without attempting to explain them he professes no difficulty in holding to the twin ideas of "God's purpose and the free agency of the creatures. Nor does my being unable to explain these doctrines form an objection against one or the other."[3]

In his Lectures on Moral Philosophy[4] Witherspoon elaborates the duties which are incumbent on men under the sovereignty of God. Duty, he declares, is self-evident.

> [We] ought to take the rule of duty from consciences enlightened by reason, experience, and every way by which we can be supposed to learn the will of our Maker, and his intention in creating us such as we are. And we ought to believe that it is as deeply founded as the nature of God himself, being a transcript of his moral excellence, and that it is productive of the greatest good.[5]

Duty, not self-interest, he contends, is the primary obligation of virtue.[6] In opposition to the New Divinity idea of disinterested benevolence as the sum of virtue he declares, "Benevolence. . .ought not to be considered as the whole of virtue, but it certainly is the sum and principle of that branch of duty which regards others."[7] Witherspoon insists on the individual right to property,[8] but also on the community's right to every man's labor,

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1. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 223-225.
2. "Introductory Lecture on Divinity," Works, Vol. IV, pp. 82-91.
3. Ibid., p. 91.
4. Works, Vol. III, pp. 367-472.
5. Ibid., p. 388.
6. Ibid., p. 389.
7. Ibid., p. 405.
8. Ibid., pp. 421-424.

"to the discovery of useful inventions," and to "such things as belong to the dignity of human nature."[1]

At the end of two related sermons on "The Danger of Prosperity" and "The Danger of Adversity" the philosopher-preacher gives his idea of the doctrine of vocation:

> From what hath been said, you may see what an inseparable connection there is between true religion and your employments and state in this present world. They have a mutual, strong, and constant influence upon one another. It is a fatal, though a common error to separate them; entirely to confine religion to the times and places of immediate worship, and suppose that it hath nothing to do with the maxims of trade and commerce, or other worldly callings.[2]

Thus, in the setting of a reasoned, orderly system, under the wise sovereignty of God, he declares the moral duty to labor, "as a man must eat,"[3] and the importance of recognizing the relevance of religion to all of life, including the daily occupation.

This system of ideas became widely prevalent in the following century because of the prominent part played in education by Presbyterian clergymen.[4] Perry Miller writes of "the Scottish realism, which, emanating from the later Princeton, became for vast numbers of Americans a rigor mortis of the mind."[5] Revulsion from the excesses of the French Revolution led to a conservative reaction in America;[6] and the "common sense" philosophy provided a rational framework for presenting conservative Christian doctrines and morals. Curti states:

> It was, in short, admirably suited to the needs of conservative-minded intellectuals recovering from the hysteria that deism and

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1. Ibid., pp. 468-469.
2. Works, Vol. II, p. 246.
3. Works, Vol. III, p. 468.
4. Perry, Characteristically American, p. 47.
5. Jonathan Edwards, p. 309.
6. Jones, op. cit., p. 129.

> Jacobinism had aroused and from the vicissitudes of life in a period devoted primarily to the hardheaded tasks of consolidating the existing order and promoting commercial and industrial enterprises.[1]

It was inevitable that such a conservative mood should have a narrowing effect on the doctrine of vocation, stressing those elements which would restrain social changes while encouraging individual enterprise.

Summary

The Calvinistic doctrine of vocation was considerably modified in its transition from the original formulation in sixteenth-century Geneva to the concept held by American Presbyterians at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The early British Puritans held a concept of the calling similar to that advanced by Calvin. Through the interaction of religious and economic influences, however, the idea gradually changed to a more individualistic and legalistic form; and by the eighteenth century it had lost most of its original religious meaning and become identified with business enterprise.

Similar changes occurred in the American colonies. The idea of vocation among the Puritans was first conceived in the religious context of the covenant community. As the community ideal broke down under the pressure of individualistic trade and frontier conditions, an ever widening cleavage was made between the affairs of religion and matters of economic enterprise. Among the Presbyterians the early teaching of a divine vocation under the sovereignty of God became modified by the individualism of the Great Awakening, intensified by the atomistic influences of frontier life, and by the social conservatism fostered by the "common sense" school of philosophy which prevailed in American thought into the nineteenth century.

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1. Op. cit., p. 236.

CHAPTER V

PRESBYTERIAN THOUGHT IN AN AGE OF ENTERPRISE

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The nineteenth century was a period of remarkable change within the United States. The new republic developed from a group of rural, non-industrial states along the Atlantic seaboard to a continent-wide, highly industrialized nation. It would be an impossible task to give a complete picture of a Protestant denomination over a century, particularly in a hundred years as crowded with events and changes as the last century in America. For this reason the area of investigation has been limited to the official records of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church during the nineteenth century and to the ideas expressed in the quarterly publications of the denomination and in the basic writings of its leading theologians. This narrowing of the field necessarily excludes popular thought among the Presbyterians; but the actions of the General Assembly may be regarded as representative of the thinking of the Church at large since the Assembly is a delegated body, made up of lay leaders as well as clergy.

The Minutes of the General Assembly provide an annual record of the questions which were of greatest concern to the Church. Throughout the century the practice was followed of preparing an annual Narrative of the State of Religion, based on reports sent in from the presbyteries of the denomination. These narratives afford considerable insight into contemporary thought on matters which affected the spiritual welfare of the Church and nation. The story of the Presbyterian Church in America will be told primarily from these official records of the General Assembly.

Following the suggestion of Howard Mumford Jones that in the absence of any adequate history of American theological thought denominational journals "would reveal an important phase in American intellectual development,"[1] the quarterly journals published by Presbyterians during the century[2] have been examined for the theological questions of greatest interest. In addition, the leading theologians of the Church were ascertained from a consensus of church historians,[3] and the contents of their chief theological works were studied to discover main emphases. From these theological journals and texts the theological thought of the century has been determined.

The Presbyterian Church in the Nineteenth Century

The history of the Presbyterian Church during the nineteenth century is largely the record of a race between the westward moving frontier and the expanding population on the one hand and the missionary forces of the Church on the other. The story of the home mission enterprise has been told by denominational historians.[4] Both the nature and the extent of the missionary work were modified by the refusal of the Presbyterian Church to compromise its educational qualifications for the ministry.[5]

The General Assembly in 1800 listed the following as subjects which "deserved consideration" in their deliberations: "the gospelizing of the Indians"; "the instruction of the negroes, the poor, and those who are

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1. Ideas in America, p. 278.
2. Cf. F. L. Mott, A History of American Magazines.
3. L. W. Bacon, A History of American Christianity, pp. 378, 381; C. A. Briggs, History of the Study of Theology, Vol. II, p. 199; R. E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, pp. 144-145, 211; A. C. Zenos, Presbyterianism in America, p. 86.
4. C. M. Drury, Presbyterian Panorama; E. T. Thompson, Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States.
5. E. T. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 84-87.

destitute of the means of grace in various parts of this extensive country"; distributing Bibles and other books "calculated to impress the minds of those to whom they go with a sense of their duty, both to God and man"; and "the provision of a fund for the more complete instruction of candidates for the gospel ministry."[1] These subjects were destined to continue to receive their consideration, in one form or another, throughout the century.

In 1801 the Second Great Awakening was hailed with joy. In the Narrative on the State of Religion the Assembly declared, "The wilderness already begins to bud, and it is hoped, will soon blossom as the rose."[2] They also expressed gratification over the decline of the post-Revolutionary wave of deism:[3] "Infidelity does not assume that bold and threatening aspect"[4] which it had shown earlier.

At the same Assembly a plan was introduced to strengthen the missionary endeavors on the frontier by uniting the efforts of Presbyterians and Congregationalists.[5] The proposal, called the Plan of Union, was unanimously adopted the following year.[6] The union, entered into in good faith by both denominations, helped to establish many churches in western New York, the Western Reserve in Ohio, and other parts of the western frontier. These churches, which compromised between Presbyterian and Congregational polity, were often referred to as "Presbygational."[7]

In 1802 the Assembly continued to rejoice over the revival which was stirring the Kentucky frontier.[8] The next year they still felt gratitude

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1. Minutes of the General Assembly, 1800, pp. 195-6. (Herein after referred to as MGA.)
2. MGA, 1801, p. 223.
3. Cf. H. M. Morais, "Deism in Revolutionary America," International Journal of Ethics, Vol. XLII, No. 3, pp. 432-453.
4. MGA, 1801. p. 222.
5. MGA, 1801, p. 212.
6. MGA, 1802, p. 237.
7. W. W. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 99-102; R. H. Nichols, "The Plan of Union in New York," Church History, Vol. V, No. 1, pp.29-51.
8. MGA, 1802, pp. 260-261.

for the spiritual renewal but expressed concern over the excesses which were characterizing the revival meetings,[1] a concern which was reiterated the following year. In answer to an inquiry from "Father" Rice, the Presbyterian pioneer in Kentucky, the Assembly of 1804 reaffirmed the necessity for an educated ministry.[2] The Assembly's attitude toward revivalistic excesses and their uncompromising stand on ministerial education were factors in the separation in 1810 of the Cumberland Presbyterians of Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. This frontier body stressed evangelistic zeal rather than educational refinements and modified the Westminster Confession of Faith on the doctrines of predestination and election to make it conform better with their evangelistic position.[3]

Other controversies were born of the enthusiasm and partisanship of the revival. A group known as the "New Lights" rejected the tenets of Calvinistic theology and avoided a heresy trial by withdrawing from the church. Later, abandoning formal ecclesiastical organization and all creeds but the Bible, a number of dissenting groups united under the name of "Christians." The division brought on a pamphlet warfare between the two sides. Some of the seceders fell away to the Shakers; but the main body formed the vanguard of the denomination to be known as the Disciples of Christ.[4]

As they viewed the rapidly advancing frontier, the leaders of the Presbyterian Church were faced with a dilemma involving their lack of ministerial candidates to carry the gospel to destitute regions and their own high

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1. MGA, 1803, pp. 273-276.
2. MGA, 1804, pp. 299-301.
3. W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier: The Presbyterians, pp. 82-94; R. V. Foster, A Sketch of the History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (American History Series, Vol. XI), pp. 259-309.
4. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 219-221; Religion on the American Frontier, pp. 2-8.

educational qualifications for such candidates. In 1805 the chairman of the Standing Committee on Missions, Ashbel Green, submitted an overture to the Assembly calling attention to the needs:

> It is a melancholy fact, which required no confirmation with those who are acquainted with the state of our church, that not only her welfare in particular, but the general and substantial interests of vital goodness, and of the Redeemer's kingdom, are suffering for the want of a greater number of able and faithful ministers of the gospel of our denomination. "Give us ministers," is the cry of the missionary regions; "Give us ministers," is the importunate entreaty of our numerous and increasing vacancies; "Give us ministers," is the demand of many large and important congregations in our most populous cities and towns.[1]

At the next Assembly a resolution was adopted exhorting greater endeavors to encourage young men of the Church "to devote their talents and their lives to the sacred calling."[2]

During the early years of the century the need was frequently expressed for a theological seminary. In 1812 the hope was realized with the establishment of a seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, separate from the College of New Jersey. Archibald Alexander was called as the first professor of theology; he was joined on the faculty the following year by Samuel Miller.[3] In 1827 the church established Western Seminary at Alleghany Town (Pittsburgh). The synods having been given the freedom to establish their own seminaries, Union Seminary (1812) was founded in Virginia, supported later by North Carolina as well; Auburn (1818), in New York state, in Plan of Union territory; and Columbia (1828), in South Carolina.[4] Sweet writes that with one exception "the first real seminaries in the west. . .were all Presbyterian and Congre-

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1. MGA, 1805, p. 341.
2. MGA, 1806, p. 366.
3. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 183.
4. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 83-84; Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 178-181.

gational."[1] During the first three decades these two denominations also led in the founding of colleges, the Presbyterians establishing sixteen and the Congregationalists five.[2]

Various attempts were made during this period to keep the need for ministerial candidates before the churches, and funds were raised, chiefly through independent educational societies, for the education of "poor and pious youth." In 1819 a more aggressive step was taken to strengthen and coordinate the efforts being made, in the establishment of the Board of Education.[3] The Board was reorganized and made more effective in 1831.[4]

In the early years and, indeed, throughout the century, the Assembly viewed with gravest concern three particular social evils. As the Assembly of 1812 declared, "Profane swearing, drunkenness, and Sabbath breaking, appear to be the crying sins of our land."[5] In particular they decried the practice of carrying the mails on Sunday; in 1812 and again in 1814 and 1815 they sent a memorial on the subject to Congress.[6] Their motives were not entirely legalistic, for they believed that the Christian Sabbath was the keystone of all morality. They declared:

> When the word of life is not statedly preached, and the ordinances of the gospel administered, the Sabbath will be profaned; and experience proves that idleness, intemperance, gambling, and ungovernable licentiousness both in principles and in conduct are the inevitable consequences.[7]

The protesting of Sunday mails, in which other denominations shared, was one

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1. Ibid., p. 180; cf. Jesse Johnson, "Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies," Papers of the American Society of Church History, second series, Vol. V, pp. 121-130.
2. Ibid., p. 165.
3. MGA, 1819, pp. 714-715.
4. Constitution and Laws of the Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1831.
5. MGA, 1812, p. 498.
6. MGA, 1812, pp. 513-514; 1814, p. 566; 1815, p. 601.
7. MGA, 1814, p. 571.

element in what has been called the "Protestant Counter-Reformation."[1] Leaders in the churches were usually to be found on the conservative side of social issues. They distrusted the radicalism of the Jacksonian era and many within the liberal movements in turn distrusted the churches. The issue of the Sunday mails was regarded as an unwarrented interference on the part of the churches with the affairs of the state. When Ezra Stiles Ely, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, proposed in a Fourth of July sermon "a Christian party in politics," the anti-clerical forces felt that their fears were about to be realized.[2]

The church took its most vigorous action against the various "ultraisms," as they were called, both religious and social, by supporting religious and benevolent societies. The early part of the century saw the rise of organizations to promote Sunday schools, distribute Bibles and tracts, encourage education, missions and temperance, and oppose slavery.[3] These activities were supported by church people but were officially independent of the denominations. From about the first decade through the third the Narratives of the State of Religion are full of references to the work of these societies. In 1817 a pastoral letter to all the members of the Church urged upon them:

> Embrace every opportunity, to the extent of the ability which the Lord has given you, to form, and vigorously support missionary associations, Bible societies, plans for the distribution of religious tracts; and exertions for extending the benefits of knowledge, and especially of religious knowledge, to all ages and classes of persons around you. . .Endeavour by your example and your influence to discourage the unnecessary use of spiritous liquors, to promote the sanctification of the Lord's day; to guard against a criminal conformity to the world; . . .[4]

As business enterprises increased after the War of 1812, there was a

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1. J. O. Krout, and D. R. Fox, The Completion of Independence, p. 247.
2. A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, pp. 136-140, 350-360.
3. Krout and Fox, op. cit., pp. 252-265.
4. MGA, 1817, pp. 662-223.

heightened interest in popular education to combat radical trends among working people. Libraries were established and books written to encourage good habits and right attitudes in the new working class.[1] The financial panic of 1819, which followed the too rapid business expansion, was the occasion for a greater concern for social welfare; but in the conservative east where industry was beginning to develop that concern took the form of private philanthropy rather than public relief.[2]

The continued westward expansion filled the Assembly with a constant sense of urgency. In 1823 they declared:

> New settlements, unfurnished with a Christian ministry, are forming in the west; while the demands of the east are not diminished. The wave of emigration rolls further and further onward; and, unless God interpose, by some special movements of his people in their favour, it would, really, seem that our children are likely to settle on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, without the Christian religion.[3]

However, missionaries under the Plan of Union were pushing the Church's frontier westward. Despite controversies and the continuing need for more ministers, the Presbyterian Church made rapid gains in membership during the first third of the nineteenth century.[4] About 1825 a new revival began in western New York, led by C. G. Finney, an evangelist whose theology was to be frowned upon by the conservative Old School Presbyterians. His work was followed by a wave of revivalism, some of which was of a very fanatical kind.[5] In 1832 the General Assembly, while heartily in favor of religious revivals, felt it necessary to caution the Church against excesses and irregularities in their evangelistic enthusiasm.[6]

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1. Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. II, p. 698.
2. Kraut and Fox, op. cit., pp. 215-217.
3. MGA, 1823, p. 83.
4. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, p. 99.
5. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 283-285; cf. G. H. Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, pp. 3-16.
6. MGA, 1832, pp. 377-380.

The design of the Plan of Union was to unify, not to unite organically, the efforts of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. As each body increased in denominational self-consciousness there was a growing friction between the groups. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries New Englanders had emigrated in large numbers to western New York and the Western Reserve, bringing their yankee industry and their Congregational ideas of church government. In this Plan of Union territory their ideas came into conflict with those of stricter Presbyterians. Wertenbaker comments that the "bitter clash between Scottish Presbyterianism and Congregational principles, occurring thus in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, is a striking illustration of the persistence of Old World traditions."[1]

There were other differences than those of church polity, however. The more conservative party had long been uneasy about the influence of New England theology on their brethren who were in closer contact with the Congregationalists. In particular they were concerned about the influence of Nathaniel Taylor who had become professor of theology at Yale. Two men whose alleged heresies were storm centers during the 'thirties were Albert Barnes of Philadelphia and Lyman Beecher of Lane Seminary. Barnes, who had just been called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, was charged by Old School leaders in the Presbytery of Philadelphia with being tainted with Taylorism. His case was appealed to the General Assembly in 1831 where he was cleared of heresy charges;[2] but the question continued to be agitated in presbytery and synod and came up before the Assembly again in 1836, where he was exonerated again. Beecher, who had won fame in Boston as the opponent of Unitarianism, was charged with heresy before the Presbytery and then the Synod

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1. T. J. Wertenbaker, The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies, p. 186.
2. MGA, 1831, pp. 325-329, passim.

of Cincinnati in 1835, soon after he had accepted the call to the presidency of the new Lane Seminary in Cincinnati. He was acquitted by the synod, but his chief prosecutor was prevented only by circumstances from appealing the case to the General Assembly.[1] Princeton Seminary was persuaded to take the side of the Old School; and in 1836, the New School party established Union Seminary in New York as a Plan of Union institution.[2]

With all this growing friction and distrust, it is not surprising that a division took place. Sweet gives this summary of the causes of separation:

> With all these existing controversial matters before the church. . .: the creeping in of loose discipline and the tearing down of strict Presbyterian polity, as the result of the working of the Plan of Union; the growing missionary rivalry between societies controlled by the Presbyterian church and the great voluntary societies; the doctrinal controversies; and last of all the cleavage arising as a result of the rabid anti-slavery propaganda largely fostered by the New School Presbyterians; in the light of these facts, the bisecting of the church by the General Assembly of 1837 becomes fully understandable.[3]

In 1837 the Old School party met before the convening of the Assembly and planned their strategy. For the first time in several years they had a clear majority at the Assembly. They first succeeded in passing an action which abrogated the Plan of Union as unconstitutional; then, decreeing that the abrogation was retroactive, they excised the synods which had been added under the Plan of Union. The expelled New School men met in convention at Auburn, N. Y., and there drew up the "Auburn Declaration" as their doctrinal defence, repudiating the errors ascribed to them. At the Assembly of 1838 in Philadelphia they tried to gain recognition; but when their credentials were refused, they withdrew to Barnes' church and there constituted themselves

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1. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 102-112; Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, pp. 95-125.
2. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 113-114.
3. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, p. 119.

as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.[1] Thus for thirty years there were two bodies, each claiming to be the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The two decades between 1830 and 1850 were a time of controversy throughout the churches of America.[2] The period has been given the name of "the stammering century"[3] from the numerous emotional and fanatical sects which arose.[4] The Old School Assembly in 1838 decried the restlessness of the age:

> This. . .is certainly an age of excitement and innovation - an age in which many appear to think themselves called upon to question and unsettle principles and practices which have received the enlightened sanction of centuries - to contest the propriety of things held most sacred - to uproot and destroy the deep foundations of all order, social, political, and religious - and to keep the mind of society in a constant state of excitement and change.[5]

In 1840 they declared the state of the country to be like a "boiling cauldron," and "every earthly, every sacred interest" touched with the "demoniac wand" of discord.[6] Throughout the next two decades both Old and New Schools registered concern over the growing strength and influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Beecher used as an argument for missions in the Mississippi Valley the rapid advance of Catholicism there.[7] Both schools were concerned over worldliness within the Church and a growing spirit of covetousness as business enterprise increased.

An examination of the minutes of the two Assemblies suggests that although both sides followed revival methods, the New School was more

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1. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 115-119.
2. Ibid., p. 102.
3. Gilbert Seldes, The Stammering Century.
4. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 285-300.
5. MGA (O.S.), 1838, p. 56.
6. MGA (O.S.), 1840, p. 211.
7. A Plea for the West.

revivalistic than the Old. It was also more active in matters of moral and social reform; the minutes refer repeatedly to questions of temperance and worldly amusements. Sweet suggests that the influence of New England "disinterested benevolence" was at work in the New School concern for reform organizations.[1] The Old School in 1848 decreed that temperance societies "and all other secular institutions for moral ends" must make their appeals to the church members as individuals, not to the Church as an organization.[2] Thus the Assembly freed itself from the entangling alliances with voluntary associations which had been a source of trouble before the division.

The Old School met the problem of what seemed to be a growing secularization of education by the establishment of a system of parochial schools.[3] The Board of Education assumed a new role in addition to that of encouraging theological education. Throughout the period from 1846 to the Civil War the elementary schools, academies, and colleges met with a fair degree of success; but during the war years and after they declined, and the plan was abandoned as an Assembly project in 1870.[4]

Sweet has pointed out the fact that the issue of slavery played a larger part in the division of 1837 than church historians have generally recognized. Both parties had anti-slavery elements, but the New School, with its New England influence, was far more active in the cause of abolition. Lane Seminary had already been split on the question, and the evangelist Finney was vigorously preaching abolition. The issue was avoided at the time of the division in order to prevent a split in the Old School side.[5]

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1. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 234-281; cf. Barnes, op. cit., pp. 17-28.
2. MGA (O. S.), 1848, pp. 58-59.
3. MGA (O.S.), 1846, pp. 216, 227-232; Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1846.
4. Cf. L. J. Sherrill, Presbyterian Parochial Schools, 1846-1870, esp. pp. 1-68.
5. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, pp. 111-119; cf. E. A. Moore, "Robert J. Breckinridge and the Slavery Aspect of the Presbyterian Schism of 1837," Church History, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 282-294.

In 1787, even before the organization of the General Assembly, the Presbyterians had gone on record as opposing slavery. In 1818 the General Assembly adopted a strong pronouncement against slavery[1] which was prepared by southern as well as northern leaders. In it they declared that slavery "is inconsistent with the law of God" and that "it creates a paradox in the moral system."[2] In 1819 activities toward Negro colonization were reported to the Assembly.[3]

A changing economic condition, however, was reflected in the thinking of church leaders. The development of cotton mills in the north encouraged the plantation system for the growing of more cotton in the south. As Niebuhr has observed, "Again the interests of economic class bent to their will the ethics of the Christian church and it was unable to speak a certain word on the issue of slavery."[4] The year 1831 marks a divide in slavery sentiment in America. In that year Garrison first issued his abolitionist paper, The Liberator. This "new abolitionism" was much more uncompromising and violent than the anti-slavery sentiment of the earlier period. The Beards comment on the changed attitude:

> It was an easy thing, however, to dislike slavery, and to hope that in some manner it might pass away. It was possible to give up one's own human chattels and feel more comfortable in consequence. It was really revolutionary to demand the wholesale and instant extirpation of slavery, root and branch.[5]

The activities of the abolitionists put the south on the defensive. The issue for and against slavery was drawn more sharply along regional lines,[6] and church sentiment became increasingly sectional.

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1. MGA, 1818, pp. 691-694.
2. Ibid., p. 692.
3. MGA, 1819, p. 710.
4. H. R. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 24.
5. C. A. and M. R. Beard, A Basic History of the United States, p. 261.
6. Ibid., pp. 258-263; cf. I. S. Mill, "Presbyterian Attitude Toward Slavery," Church History, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 101-104.

In 1845 the Old School Assembly adopted a resolution which refused either to approve or to condemn slave-holding.[1] The Assembly maintained this moderate position until the outbreak of the war, largely under the leadership of Charles Hodge, professor of theology at Princeton. While he did not favor slavery he took issue with the scriptural arguments of the abolitionists.[2]

The New School Assembly, however, had a much stronger anti-slavery element. Resolutions were regularly passed on the subject condemning slavery as an evil institution. In 1857 the Assembly adopted a resolution which censured sharply members who were slave-holders.[3] The southern members, finding themselves branded as sinners, protested to the Assembly.[4] When their protest was rejected the six southern synods withdrew and formed the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church.[5]

The division of the Old School Assembly came in 1861. Hostilities had already broken out when the Assembly convened in Philadelphia, and feeling ran high. In the fervor of the hour the body passed the "Gardner Spring Resolutions," pledging the loyalty of the Church to the Federal government. The southern commissioners protested, and when their protest was denied, they withdrew. In December of that year the southern branch of the Church organized the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States, at Augusta, Georgia.[6]

In the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth,"[7]

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1. MGA (O.S.), 1845, pp. 16-18.
2. A. Y. Lloyd, The Slavery Controversy, pp. 168-169; Kull, op. cit.
3. MGA (N.S.), 1857, pp. 401-406.
4. Ibid., p. 406.
5. Ibid., pp. 408-409; R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 135.
6. MGA (O.S.), 1861, pp. 315-317, 321-330, 336-344; L. G. Vander Velde, The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, pp. 4-26.
7. MGA (Confederate States), 1861, pp. 51-60.

the southern Assembly affirmed that "in our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery." They took their stand on the concept of the spirituality of the Church, clearly marking the separation of the functions of Church and state. In 1864, however, beset by invading armies, the Assembly declared:

> The long-continued agitation of our adversaries have wrought within us a deeper conviction of the divine appointment of domestic servitude, and have led us to a clearer comprehension of the duties we owe the African race. We hesitate not to affirm that it is the peculiar mission of the Southern church to conserve the institution of slavery and to make it a blessing both to master and slave.[1]

Both southern and northern Assemblies made strongly partisan statements during the war and in the years immediately following. The southern Assembly sought in 1876 to explain and modify their most extreme statements like the one on slavery.[2]

In 1864 the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, the southern branch of the New School, united with the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States on the basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith.[3] In 1869, after discussion over a period of years, the Old School and the New School in the north were reunited.[4]

Between 1865 and 1873 was a period of industrial prosperity for the north. Railroads were laid, new industries flourished, fortunes were made.[5] The Report of the Board of Domestic Missions declared in 1866, "The loyal states have become richer by war, industry has been stimulated and resources evoked."[6] The mushrooming of towns along the railroads produced new problems.

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1. MGA (Confederate States), 1864, p. 293.
2. MGA (Presbyterian Church, U. S.), 1876, pp. 285-298.
3. MGA (Confederate States), 1864, pp. 271-273.
4. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 172-183.
5. Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, pp. 31-74.
6. MGA (O.S.), 1866, p. 143.

"The civilization which Christianity creates and promotes," said the Narrative on the State of Religion in 1869, "in turn seeks to overthrow the sacred power to which it owes its existence and its vigor." In the new towns "sin and grace. . .at once come into conflict."[1] New moral problems faced the Church. In addition to the old sins of intemperance and Sabbath breaking the Assembly noted infidelity, denial of the supernatural, materialism, luxury, and the inordinate pursuit of wealth.[2]

In the south the Church was confronted by defeat, destruction and poverty.[3] In 1865 they adopted the new title of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.[4] While the two Assemblies in the north were eagerly proposing to send missionaries into the south, the southern body, smarting from defeat, warned its people against any who "may come among us to sow the seeds of division and strife."[5] The Assembly noted with regret the "falling away of the colored population" from church attendance since they had received their freedom, but declared that the altered status of the Negroes had not changed the responsibility of the Church for their spiritual welfare.[6] Faced with the lack of ministers after four years of war had drained off the Church's young men, the Assembly in 1867 urged their people to provide financial aid for the education of candidates lest "any promising young men will be compelled to turn their attention to other callings."[7]

Revivals continued to play an important part in the religious life of the Church. In the fall of 1857, after a serious business depression, a

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1. MGA (O.S.), 1869, p. 951.
2. MGA, 1873, pp. 571-572.
3. Nevins, op. cit., pp. 1-30.
4. MGA (U.S.), 1865, p. 357.
5. Ibid., p. 359.
6. Ibid., pp. 380-386.
7. MGA (U.S.), 1867, p. 164.

revival began in New York state and spread to other areas.[1] Both Old School and New School Assemblies the following year expressed gratification for the event in their Narrative on the State of Religion. The New School narrative was devoted entirely to the progress of the revival. One new characteristic which was remarked was the activity of laymen in the evangelistic activities.[2] During the war revivals were noted on both sides, the southern Church particularly commenting on conversion experiences in the army. Revivals on college campuses were a regular feature in the reports of the Board of Education. Though it was not given much attention in the Assembly Minutes, the Moody revival which began in 1868 influenced Presbyterians as well as other denominations. The depression of 1873 stimulated rather than checked the revival movement.[3] Five years later the southern Assembly expressed regret that financial reverses had not as formerly led to spiritual renewal.[4]

The Church recognised new opportunities for the Christian gospel in the rapid increase in immigration, industrialization, and urbanization which marked the last quarter of the century. It was slow, however, in adapting to new methods demanded by the new conditions. The Narrative on the State of Religion of the northern Church in 1876 deplored the fact that the new immigration was transporting to America not only people but ideas which were foreign to the "Presbyterian ideas" of the founding fathers.[5] In the late 'seventies work among foreigners was noted in the Domestic Missions report, but the emphasis was on the need for home missionaries to minister to the Great West. Throughout the 'eighties the need for city evangelism was stressed.

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1. L. W. Bacon, op. cit., pp. 342-345.
2. MGA (O.S.), 1858, pp. 302-305; MGA (N.S.), 1858, pp. 610-619.
3. W. E. Garrison, The March of Faith, pp. 73-77.
4. MGA (U.S.), 1878, pp. 670.
5. MGA, 1876, p. 92.

The urban churches, however, with some outstanding exceptions, had little understanding of the social problems of the crowded cities. "American Protestantism, theproduct of a rural, middle-class society," Schlesinger comments, "faced a range of problems for which it had neither experience nor aptitude."[1] The Presbyterian Church especially lagged in social awareness.[2] May says of the Presbyterians, "Though the General Assembly fairly often discussed city evils, radicalism and strikes as menaces to society, it showed little effort to formulate suggestions for improvement."[3] Even in the early 'nineties "the only references to social problems were appeals to evangelism to overcome the radical threat."[4]

The intellectual as well as the social conservatism of the Presbyterian Church was demonstrated during the closing decades of the century. The cause célèbre of the southern Church was the case of James Woodrow, professor at Columbia Seminary, who was dismissed from office on the charge of teaching evolution. After much debate his appeal of the case was denied by the General Assembly in 1888.[5] In the north the cases which acquired most fame were those of Professor Charles Briggs of Union Seminary, New York, and Professor Preserved Smith, of Lane Seminary. Briggs was charged, among other things, with denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the unity of the book of Isaiah, and in consequence was suspended from the ministry. After much litigation in the presbytery, the case was heard by the General Assembly in 1893 and the sentence sustained. As a result of this action Union Seminary withdrew from the control of the Presbyterian Church. Smith had been suspended from the ministry for

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1. A. M. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, p. 330.
2. C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, pp. 16-17.
3. H. F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, pp. 192-193.
4. Ibid., p. 193.
5. MGA (U.S.), 1888, pp. 388, 399-401, 408-409.

denying the verbal inerrancy of the original scriptural documents, and his sentence, in turn, was sustained by the Assembly.[1]

During the last decade of the century the northern Assembly debated the idea of revising the Westminster Confession of Faith, the creedal standard of the Church.[2] No changes were made during the century, though the agitation led to moderate revisions in 1903.[3]

Schlesinger has referred to the last quarter of the nineteenth century as "a critical period" in the religious life of the nation.[4] The apparent challenge of scientific theory to biblical validity and the inability of the Church to hold the new urban population were pressing problems not only for Presbyterians but for Protestantism generally. The social movement within the churches had only begun and was not to reach its crest until the second decade of the twentieth century.[5] A number of events were to take place in the life of the Church before World War I which would have relevance for the doctrine of vocation, but they lie outside the area of this study which closes arbitrarily at the end of the nineteenth century. Though Presbyterians, north and south, remained on the conservative side of Protestantism, they were not unaffected by changes in their world.

Main Emphases in Presbyterian Theological Thought in the Nineteenth Century

Though Presbyterianism is Calvinistic, its immediate descent is to be traced not to sixteenth century Geneva but to the seventeenth-century Puritanism of the Westminster Confession of Faith. From its earliest beginnings the

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1. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 261-274.
2. Ibid., pp. 243-260.
3. A. C. Zenos, Presbyterianism in America, pp. 102-103.
4. A. M. Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. LXIV, pp. 523-547.
5. A. S. Nash, ed., Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century, pp. 125-131.

Presbyterian Church in America has subscribed to this document as its creedal standard. As has been indicated earlier, the Westminster Confession is an example of covenant or federal theology; that is, the system whereby later Calvinists sought to explain more rationally and less arbitrarily the doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty. God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, is conceived to have entered into a covenant of works with Adam, the federal head of the race. When Adam disobeyed, bringing ruin on himself and his posterity, God in his mercy entered into a covenant of grace by which he determined to redeem those who were his elect.[1] The interpretation of these basic doctrines is at the center of most of the theological discussions of the nineteenth century.

Although the division into Old School and New School parties was not actually made until 1837, rifts in the thinking of the two sides had been evident long before. Two main strains of theology ran through the Church. That of the Old School was a literal and conservative acceptance of the Westminster Standards, typified by the doctrinal position maintained at Princeton Seminary.[2] There a strict theological orthodoxy was combined with the conservatism of "common sense" philosophy. Through the influence of Princeton and such conservative Old School leaders as James H. Thornwell, the teaching of the south was largely affected by Old School ideas. A recent historian declares, "If there be such a thing as a Presbyterian type of mind, Southern college boys were brought into close contact with it in the early nineteenth century."[3] The New School strain, through its closer association with

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1. Cf. G. P. Fisher, History of Christian Doctrine, pp. 349-350.
2. Ibid., pp. 444-445.
3. C. S. Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, p. 69.

Congregationalism, was more or less influenced by New England theology which stemmed, in considerably modified form, from the ideas of Jonathan Edwards.[1]

The various shades of difference in doctrinal thinking were set forth, not in books, but in the theological journals of the period.[2] The main vehicles for theological debate were the quarterly reviews. The first of these was The Biblical Repertory, published at Princeton and elsewhere, and known throughout its long history by various names: for the longest period as The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. It was first published in 1825; until his death Charles Hodge of Princeton Seminary was the guiding spirit. There is no comparable New School publication; for one reason, the New School Presbyterians were associated in their writing, as in other matters, with the Congregationalists. In 1838 The American Biblical Repository[3] came under the editorship of Absalom Peters, a leader in the New School. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review[4] was edited jointly by professors of the New School seminaries. In 1863 it was united with the American Theological Review to form The American Presbyterian and Theological Review,[5] under the editorship of H. B. Smith, professor of theology at Union Seminary. In the south The Southern Presbyterian Review[6] was presided over until his death by Thornwell as the Princeton Review was by Hodge. The Presbyterian Quarterly[7] was established by southern Presbyterians late in the century. After the reunion of Old and New Schools in the north, The Presbyterian Review[8] replaced the earlier

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1. F. H. Foster, A Genetic History of New England Theology, p. 433.
2. Zenos, op. cit., p. 80.
3. The American Biblical Repository, Second Series, Vols. I-XII, New York: 1838-1844.
4. Philadelphia, New York: 1852-1862.
5. New York: 1863-1871.
6. Columbia, S. C.: 1847-1885.
7. Atlanta: 1887—.
8. New York: 1880-1889

journals; it was succeeded in the last decade of the century by The Presbyterian and Reformed Review.[1]

In addition to articles on theology the journals display a remarkable degree of interest in social and cultural matters. The book reviews of contemporary publications frequently afford the reviewer the occasion to write an essay on his own views on the subject. To some extent the journals kept their readers abreast of what was happening in the world at large, particularly in theological and philosophical questions.

The articles on contemporary theological affairs reflect strikingly the questions which were agitating the Church. Though the Biblical Repertory opposed infidelity, Unitarianism, and the various sects of the mid-century, it addressed itself chiefly to correcting what it regarded as New England errors in New School theology. The Biblical Repository on the other hand and the Presbyterian Quarterly Review vigorously defended their own orthodoxy. The latter journal in its first issue declared editorially that "a petrified sneer best represents the attitude of the Biblical Repertory towards American Presbyterianism."[2] In the extended debate over slavery, the New School quarterlies characteristically condemned the institution on ethical and religious grounds; the Southern Presbyterian Review defended it on the same grounds; and the Princeton Review took a mediating position. The question of reunion of the Old and New Schools provoked much discussion. At the time of the various heresy trials after the Civil War the journals carried articles on the biblical idea of creation and the authorship and inspiration of the Scriptures. The proposal to revise the church standards evoked numerous articles. Almost

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1. Philadelphia: 1890—.
2. Vol. I, No. 1, p. 9.

until the time of his death Hodge was carrying on a debate in the Princeton Review with Professor Park of Andover Seminary, one of the last representatives of New England theology.

Thompson has commented that until "after the division of 1837, American Presbyterianism made no important addition to the literature of theology."[1] Doubtless the sharpening of issues in controversy evoked more clearly defined doctrinal thinking. Alexander, the first professor of theology at Princeton, wrote voluminously but he left no published work on theology. The text book which he used without following it slavishly was the Latin work of the sixteenth century Swiss theologian Turretin, a representative of scholastic Calvinism.[2] The elder Hodge, his successor, did not publish his Systematic Theology until after his retirement as professor of theology in Princeton. In it he gathered up the work of his long teaching career. His four volumes deal in the order of the Confession of Faith with the traditional subjects of theology: theology proper, anthropology, soteriology, etc. In expounding federal theology Hodge laid especial emphasis on the relationship of Adam to the race as the federal head or legal representative, and the immediate imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity: that is, by virtue of his official headship. He stressed the idea of the literal inspiration of the original manuscripts of the Bible, which Bacon calls a new Princeton doctrine of Scripture.[3] His son A. A. Hodge, though an original thinker, in his Outlines of Theology admittedly presents the theological system of his father in a more concise form.[4]

Thornwell, who exerted such a powerful influence on the thinking of the southern Church,[5] was not able to gather his theological system together before

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1. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 143.
2. J. W. Alexander, Life of Archibald Alexander, pp. 368-369.
3. Bacon, op. cit., pp. 380-381.
4. "Preface to First Edition," pp. 5-8.
5. Sydnor, op. cit., p. 294.

his death. He died suddenly in 1862 leaving many theological lectures and articles which were collected and edited by his colleagues of Columbia Seminary. In the three volumes of his collected writings his system of theology is logically arranged. His manuscript lectures were used in the seminary classes even after his death.[1] While Thornwell was at one with Hodge in most respects, he differed from him in questions of church organization and in the matter of the relation of children of believers to the church. His great concern was not so much to declare what truth is as to indicate clearly what it is not.[2] In common with other Old School theologians he stressed the doctrine of original sin. He declared, "The central principle of all theology is justification."[3]

Robert L. Dabney, who taught theology at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, shared the general positions of the Old School. His Syllabus and Notes of the Course of Systematic and Polemic Theology is just what the name implies. His topical arrangement is that of the Confession of Faith and his arguments for his doctrinal positions are strongly rational. Dabney expressed little interest in the merits of the argument over the immediate or the mediate imputation of Adam's sin, but he was none the less sure of the doctrine of original sin. More than some of his contemporaries, Dabney was interested in the ordering of society in accord with dogmatic principles.[4]

The New School was less prolific in its writing than the Old. William Adams Brown declared that what the Old School men objected to in the New "was not so much their attitude toward any specific doctrine as the temper and

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1. MGA (Confederate States), 1864, p. 273.
2. P. L. Garber, "James Henry Thornwell: Presbyterian Defender of the Old South," Union Seminary Review, Vol. LIV, No. 2, p. 116.
3. Collected Works, Vol. I, p. 580.
4. Cf. F. B. Lewis, Robert Lewis Dabney: Southern Presbyterian Apologist (unpublished dissertation).

spirit which animated them."[1] Part of the New England inheritance of the New School was the spirit of individualism and freedom in their attitude toward ecclesiastical and doctrinal control. A few years before the reunion a New School leader wrote that the differences were "in philosophy, not in faith."[2] The doctrinal differences, he declared, "relate mainly to the theories of human depravity, involving the imputation of guilt and original sin, regeneration, the agency of the Holy Spirit, the atonement of Christ, justification by faith, human ability, and the sovereignty of God in the salvation of sinners."[3]

A century before, Edwards had opposed the growing Arminian sentiment which stressed man's free agency, by reaffirming the sovereignty of God. His successors sought to support this doctrine, in the face of a growing anti-Calvinistic movement in New England, in such a way as to defend God's justice and man's responsibility.[4] Those who adhered more strictly to the Westminster standards feared these New England "improvements" as tending toward a semi-Pelagianism - the belief, as charged at the time of the excision in 1837, "that regeneration is the act of the sinner himself."[5]

In the Auburn Declaration[6] the New School denied the charges made against them by the Old School and stated in contrast what they deemed to be true doctrines. In these they stood on a middle ground between the New England and the Scottish traditions.[7] Although an Old School minority, including

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1. "Changes in the Theology of American Presbyterianism," American Journal of Theology, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 387-411.
2. George Duffield, "Doctrines of the New School Presbyterian Church," Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. XX, No. 79, p. 571.
3. Ibid., p. 576.
4. For differing accounts, see Foster, op. cit., and Joseph Haroutunian, Piety versus Moralism.
5. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 361.
6. Ibid., pp. 357-362.
7. Duffield, op. cit., p. 575.

Charles Hodge, opposed the reunion,[1] it was effected on the same basis as the union of Old School and New School parties in the south - "on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards."[2]

Some elements of New England theology might be discerned in the writings of such men as Barnes and Beecher.[3] In the outstanding theological teachers of the New School, however, the influence was not so strong. Henry B. Smith, professor of theology at Union Seminary, brought to his teaching a wider knowledge of the history of doctrine and of European thought than had been in the possession of other theological teachers of the century.[4] His System of Christian Theology, like Thornwell's Collected Writings, had to be edited posthumously by others. His lectures are assembled according to the outline of the subject which he gave in his inaugural address, around the concept of redemption. "To Christ as Redeemer all parts of theology equally refer,"[5] he declared. Smith held to an organic unity of the race, rather than the unity of the federal headship of Adam. He held to a general, not a limited atonement. In these respects he reflected New England theology; but, Foster declares, it was modified by Westminster theology.[6]

William G. T. Shedd, who succeeded Smith at Union Seminary, published his Dogmatic Theology in two main volumes and one supplemental volume. In Shedd, Foster states, the New England influence was rejected for a traditional Calvinism.[7] Shedd went back to a Calvinistic concept earlier than the federal idea and taught a realistic unity of the race in Adam.[8] His arrangement of topics is traditional, and his emphasis, like that of his

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1. Thompson, op. cit., p. 180.
2. Ibid., p. 409.
3. Brown, op. cit., p. 397.
4. Thompson, op. cit., p. 139.
5. System of Christian Theology, p. vi.
6. Foster, op. cit., pp. 435-448.
7. Ibid., p. 448.
8. Fisher, op. cit., p. 445.

contemporary Presbyterian theologians, is on human sin and the necessity for redemption. In the introduction to his Dogmatic Theology, Shedd declared that the pressing doctrinal need of the time was not an understanding of the nature of God or of the Trinity, but a recognition of the fact of man as a sinner.[1]

Despite their differing ways of interpreting doctrines within the Confession of Faith, all these nineteenth century theologians adhered to it as their doctrinal authority. At the Old School Assembly of 1858 the proposal was made that the Board of Publication bring out a Bible commentary which should be in conformity to the teaching of the Westminster standards. The proposal was debated inconclusively at a number of Assemblies. Hodge, staunch defender of the Confession of Faith though he was, objected to the proposal. "Who is to tell the Church's sense of the Confession?" he asked. "It is notorious that as to that we are not all agreed. In the second place, even as to the points in which the sense of the Confession is plain, there is want of entire concurrence in its reception."[2]

The points of doctrine on which there was divergence of interpretation were nevertheless the ones on whose importance there was essential agreement. All were concerned with explicating the nature of man as a sinner and the way in which he could obtain redemption and reconciliation with God. Nineteenth-century Presbyterianism had inherited the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith and the Great Awakening emphasis on evangelism. A student of the period suggests that frontier sentiment tended to modify the Presbyterian tradition of a rational and moral approach to conversion with

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1. Vol. I (second edition), p. vii.
2. R. E. Thompson, op. cit., p. 140.

a more congenial stress on experience. "Presbyterians who succeeded best in the frontier," he says, "carried their conversion technique, if not their conversion teaching, to the 'experience' level."[1] The importance given to revivals during the century indicates that periods of evangelistic fervor were regarded both as an evidence of spiritual vitality in the Church and as a normative form of religious experience, even for the children of the Church.

Commager has observed recently that in their realistic emphasis on men as a sinner the Calvinists were remarkably out of tune with the optimism of the age.[2] As frontiers opened and men became more confident of their own powers in the exploitation of apparently limitless resources, America entered a period of assured reliance on human ability. Herbert Spencer's philosophy of progress became the gospel of the times. Even the revivalists preached the doctrine of man's responsibility in saving himself.[3] Whatever popular sentiment in the Church might be, however, Presbyterian theology stubbornly adhered to the realistic doctrines of Calvinism, that God is sovereign and that man is a sinner. When Hodge made the frequently quoted statement[4] that "Princeton has never originated a new idea," he was not admitting to mental inertia but declaring the loyalty of his institution to the tradition of Reformed Protestantism.

What nineteenth-century Presbyterian theologians lost sight of in their Calvinistic heritage, however, was Calvin's insistance that redeemed men have a life to live under God in the community; that the sovereignty of God is not limited to the redemption of individuals but extends to all of life.

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1. M. E. Gaddis, "Religious Ideas and Attitudes in the Early Frontier," Church History, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 167.
2. H. S. Commager, The American Mind, pp. 162-163.
3. Cf. R. H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, pp. 12-38; T. C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise, pp. 129-152.
4. E.g., Bacon, op. cit., p. 183.

Summary

The main concern of the Presbyterian Church in the nineteenth century was to keep pace with the rapid expansion of the country. The problem of providing an adequate, educated ministry for this task occupied much of its attention. Early in the century the Presbyterians and Congregationalists formed a Plan of Union for the more effective carrying on of mission work. This plan was successful in extending the work of the two denominations; but differences in polity and theology, accentuated by the operation of the Plan of Union, led to the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 into Old School and New School sides. In the south the two sides were reunited during the Civil War and in the north in 1869.

In its thinking the Church was conservative both socially and theologically. Theological debates concerned interpretations of the doctrines of sin and redemption found in the Westminster standards. The Church laid much stress on the work of evangelism during the century, but failed to find adequate means of applying the Christian gospel to the problems of a new industrial era.

CHAPTER VI

PRESBYTERIAN THINKING ON THE DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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An examination of Presbyterian writings during the nineteenth century leaves the reader with the impression that the Protestant doctrine of vocation had gone into an eclipse, at least in any explicit expression of the concept. In general the attention of the Church to the idea of vocation during the period may be suggested by a footnote to a footnote in an article on parochial schools, in which the writer comments on his reference to the idea, "On this subject the old divines are full, though now the term call is more commonly restricted in books to the effectual or saving call of the Gospel, or to the work of the Ministry."[1]

However, in some biblical and theological comments, in discussions of social and economic problems, and in articles on the subject of education, the attitude of the Church toward the doctrine of vocation is indicated directly or indirectly. In this chapter these phases of the question will be examined and the concept of vocation held during the century will be interpreted in the light of the contemporary situation and of the Calvinistic tradition.

Implications for Vocation in Biblical and Theological Writing

In the previous chapter it was seen that the Presbyterian theologians of the nineteenth century were preoccupied with other questions than the

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1. Thomas Smyth, "Denominational Education in Parochial Schools and Religious Colleges Enforced upon Every Church by Divine Authority" (pamphlet), p. 22.

doctrine of vocation. Their theological creed, however, was the Westminster standards; and, as Nichols writes, the men of the seventeenth-century Westminster Assembly "were governed by the conviction pervading the Calvinistic Reformation that the highest good of a Christian man in this world is to fulfill the will of God in the world, that Christian men are called and chosen of God to be instruments of his holy purpose for human life."[1] In this seventeenth-century doctrinal system the specific discussion of the doctrine of vocation is provided in the treatment of the eighth commandment. No careful study of the church standards could ignore the concept of vocation completely.

Throughout the nineteenth century the General Assembly urged upon their people the importance of catechetical instruction. In 1805 the Assembly authorized the distribution of Vincent's Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, a book by a seventeenth-century English non-conformist, in the "destitute" areas of the Church.[2] In this way the Assembly by inference set a stamp of approval on the ideas contained in this old book. In 1841 Ashbel Green published in book form a series of Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, addressed to Youth. These lectures had already appeared over an extended period in his monthly magazine, The Christian Advocate. In 1888 The System of Theology Contained in the Westminster Shorter Catechism appeared, begun by A. A. Hodge and completed by his cousin after his death. The comment on the eighth commandment in these three works provides a cross section of some of the thought of the church on the subject of Christian vocation in the context of the Shorter Catechism.

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1. R. H. Nichols, "The Westminster Assembly and the Social Gospel," Social Progress, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, p. 2.
2. MGA, 1805, p. 346.

Vincent's explanation of the obligations and prohibitions of the eighth commandment is the traditional position of late Puritanism. "We may and ought to endeavour the procurement and preservation of our own wealth and outward estate," he declares, in the following ways: (1) "By making choice of a lawful and fit calling for us, and therein to abide with God"; (2) "By a moderate care in our callings, to provide such things of this world's good things for ourselves, as are honest, and decent, and useful for us"; (3) "By prudence and discretion in the managing of the affairs of our callings to the best advantage"; (4) "By frugality, in decent sparing of unnecessary expenses, wasting nothing, and denying ourselves the extravagant and costly cravings of our carnal desires and appetites"; (5) "By diligence and labouriousness in our callings"; (6) "By seeking to the Lord for his blessing upon endeavours, and dependence upon him"; (7) "By a cheerful use of the good things which God giveth us ourselves, as far as we have any need, and a ready distribution to the necessity of others"; (8) "By seeking our due, in a moderate endeavour to keep or recover that which doth of right belong to us."[1] The advantage of others, in general, is to be promoted "by a public spirit, in seeking the good of the commonwealth above our own, and seeking others' private wealth and advantage as well as our own."[2] Duty towards the poor is charity and towards all, kindness and justice.[3] The prohibitions are prodigality, imprudence, idleness, covetousness, and any form of injustice or dishonesty.[4]

Green represents the Old School theology and "common sense" philosophy of Princeton. Before becoming editor of the Christian Advocate he had been for a time president of the College of New Jersey. In his comments on the

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1. Thomas Vincent, An Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, pp. 240-242, passim.
2. Ibid., p. 244.
3. Ibid., pp. 244-245.
4. Ibid., pp. 246-255.

eighth commandment which comprise two lectures in the series he lays especial emphasis on the responsibility of becoming prosperous so that one may be useful in society. The duties in promoting one's "wealth and outward estate" are conservative and traditional: (1) "That we choose properly our general course, profession, or calling in life"; (2) "Industry - habitual industry - is a duty incumbent on all, in the lawful procuring of worldly property"; (3) Frugality and economy; (4) "We ought constantly to implore the direction of God in the management of our worldly affairs, and his blessing on the labour of our hands."[1] The prohibitions are similar: all forms of theft, robbery, oppression, gambling; and finally, "Unfaithfulness in rendering service to an employer."[2]

By the end of the century, however, the emphasis had shifted from the duty of industry to the sanctity of property. In Hodge's commentary on the Westminster Shorter Catechism the treatment of the eighth commandment has nothing to say directly on the subject of one's vocation. It refers to the sins of dishonesty, particularly in business, and expounds the various theories of property, condemning as atheistical the theory of socialism. The right of private property and individual enterprise are regarded as God given and sacred.[3] "The specified use" of such property is God's glory, "in the maintenance of our households," "in helping the poor and needy," and "in advancing Christ's Church."[4]

The Presbyterian Church produced few biblical commentaries during the period. Two, however, on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, give the

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1. Ashbel Green, Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church, Vol. II, pp. 211-217, passim.
2. Ibid., pp. 223-232.
3. A. A. and J. A. Hodge, The System of Theology Contained in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, pp. 106-109.
4. Ibid., pp. 107-108.

comments of a New School and an Old School leader on the passage from Paul's writings on which so much discussion of the concept of vocation is based: I Corinthians 7:20. Albert Barnes, the storm center of the Old School-New School debate, published a series of commentaries on the New Testament intended for popular rather than scholarly use.[1] In his Notes on the First Epistle to the Corinthians he writes at some length on the familiar Pauline injunction, "Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called."

> Probably the original idea which led men to designate a profession as a calling was the belief that God called every man to the profession and rank which he occupies. . .In this way every man has a call to the profession in which he is engaged as really as ministers of the gospel; and every man should have as clear evidence that God has called him to the sphere of life in which he moves as ministers of the gospel should have that God has led them to their appropriate profession.[2]

The fact that Paul counsels abiding in one's calling does not mean, Barnes says, that a person cannot change his occupation, but that he should be contented and that society should be orderly.[3] Some of the circumstances justifying a change of occupation are: (1) "When a man is a slave and can obtain his freedom"; (2) "When a man is pursuing a wicked calling or course of life when he is converted"; (3) "When a man can increase his usefulness by choosing a new profession." No one, he declares, "is permitted to waste his life and talents in a mere scheme of money-making or in self-indulgence, when by changing his calling he can do more for the salvation of the world."[4] Though not violent in his abolitionism, Barnes denies that the institution of slavery can be justified.

Charles Hodge gives a briefer treatment to the passage. The difference between the two doubtless lies in the fact that Barnes was a pastor and Hodge

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1. R. E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the U. S., p. 144.
2. Albert Barnes, Notes on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 122.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., pp. 122-123.

a professor rather than in any theological distinction. Hodge writes:

> The word calling (klesis), always in the New Testament means the call of God, that efficacious operation of the Spirit by which men are brought into the kingdom of Christ. It is hard, however, to make it bear that sense here. . .The great majority of commentators agree in giving the word in this place the sense of vocation, as we use that word when we speak of the vocation of a mechanic or a farmer.[1]

Like Barnes he denies that the passage means that the Christian may not change his occupation. "The gospel is just as well suited to men in one vocation as in another, and its blessings can be enjoyed in all their fulness equally in any condition of life."[2] Characteristically Hodge shows less opposition to slavery than Barnes.

Thus when the concept of vocation was encountered in the Catechisms of the church or in the Bible, Presbyterians of the nineteenth century acknowledged it, even though they might give it an emphasis in harmony with the mood of the times. The doctrine of vocation was generally not so much denied as ignored by Presbyterian writers throughout the period.

Implications for Vocation in Social and Economic Writing

It was noted earlier that the religious journals of the century showed a surprising interest in matters which concerned the life and culture of contemporary times. Articles of this nature, together with observations on current conditions at the various meetings of General Assembly, provide an index to the thinking of Presbyterians on economic and social problems; and, although there is little reference to the concept of vocation by name, there is much to suggest attitudes related to the idea.

The bifurcation of the Puritan concept of vocation has already been described. In his Puritanism and Democracy Perry has given an account of

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1. Charles Hodge, An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, pp. 122-123.
2. Ibid., p. 123.

the combining of yankee industry with the individualism and self-reliance of the frontier to form a temper of mind which may be called characteristically American.[1] The yankee storekeeper, moving to the frontier, brought with him the philosophy of Poor Richard.[2] His industry, however, though it retained a puritan seal, had lost the religious sanctions and the single devotion to God which marked the genuine Puritan's concept of vocation.

The consuming passion of the Age of Enterprise, Cochran and Miller suggest in their book by this title, was not acquisitiveness so much as business.[3] Between the War of 1812 and the Civil War the development of communications made possible an expanding commerce. Industry developed in this period; and in the era following the Civil War the industrial expansion was phenomenal. The frontier spirit was projected into business. "The gospel of wealth," writes Gabriel," . . .was the result produced when the individualism of a simpler agricultural and commercial civilization was carried over into a society luxuriating in all essential natural resources."[4] Against this background the Presbyterian Church sought to speak on social and economic questions.

It is not surprising that the General Assembly should look upon economic events in the light of God's providence. The first recorded statement was an attempt to interpret and to draw moral lessons from the financial crisis of 1819. The Assembly declared:

> The General Assembly, viewing with deep interest the present state of our country, and more especially the commercial embarrassments which press upon every part of the United States, and the spirit of corrupt and mischievous speculation, which is probably to be regarded as both cause and effect of these embarrassments, feel it to be their duty to take this notice of this unhappy state of things, and to express their opinion of the proper remedy.[5]

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1. R. B. Perry, Puritanism and Democracy, pp. 204-209.
2. J. A. Krout and D. R. Fox, The Completion of Independence, pp. 243-245.
3. T. C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise, p. 2.
4. R. H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democracy, p. 153.
5. MGA, 1819, p. 715.

The financial troubles of the country, the Assembly believed, owed their origin, "in a great measure, to that spirit of cupidity, of adventurous and unjust speculation, of the extravagance and luxury, which so unhappily prevail in our country; and also in no small degree to the want of that kind of education, which is calculated to prepare a youth for solid usefulness in the Church, and in civil society."[1] The remedy, they felt, would be found "only in the recurrence to those principles and duties to our holy religion"; there was no hope of a restoration of general prosperity "until there is a return to those habits of industry, temperance, moderation, economy, and general virtue which our common Christianity inculcates."[2] They urged the churches of the Assembly to cultivate these virtues and "to train up their children in those principles and habits which will prepare them at once to be useful members of the Church and useful citizens." They condemned "fashionable amusements" and luxury; and above all urged ministers to impress on their hearers the fact that "the religion of Jesus Christ. . .is the best friend of civil society, as well as essential to the eternal well-being of man."[3]

Although the General Assembly did not again write out so detailed a formula for prosperity in terms of Christian faith and economic virtues, they continued to point out the evil of covetousness and business speculation. In the boom before the depression of 1837 the Assembly bewailed "a spirit of adventurous speculation and increasing worldliness"[4] pervading some of the churches; and the following year, "that rage for gain which is to idolize wealth."[5] After the depression set in, both Old and New School Assemblies took the occasion to point the lesson: "Out of all this evil. . .the Great

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1. Ibid., pp. 715-716.
2. Ibid., p. 716.
3. Loc. cit.
4. MGA, 1836, p. 297.
5. MGA, 1837, p. 510.

Head of the church, it is believed, is educing much good. Seldom have his people been taught so impressively the vanity and instability of earthly possessions."[1] "Is there not apparent in the succession of these events, the superintending providence of a righteous and merciful God, first smiting us in wrath. . .for our great characteristic sin - the lust of accumulation, and then. . .coming forth in the plenitude of his compassions. . .to replace our poor, fading riches with satisfying and imperishable treasures?"[2] Two years later the Old School Assembly expressed regret that "the depression of business and productive employments, and the general decline of public prosperity, with other forms of Providential trial and rebuke, do not produce any adequate humiliation, repentance, and awakening among the children of God."[3] In 1854 the Old School Narrative reported that the year had been "characterized by a high degree of prosperity and advancement in all departments of worldly business."[4] That prosperity had been used in part for the glory of God; but it also seemed "to have seduced the hearts of his people into an undue anxiety for the accumulation of wealth, and of criminal conformity to the customs of a wicked world."[5] Though the Church revealed in its official statements no genuine idea of vocation as work done in the service and to the glory of God, it nevertheless was convinced that there was a relationship between the integrity of the businessman and the blessing of God, and it faithfully condemned as sin dishonesty and covetousness.

The religious journals of course could discuss in more detail than General Assembly pronouncements the problems of a new business enterprise.

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1. MGA (N.S.), 1838, p. 30.
2. MGA (O.S.), 1840, p. 310.
3. MGA (O.S.), 1842, p. 48.
4. MGA (O. S.), 1854, p. 182.
5. Ibid., pp. 182-184.

A generally conservative social attitude was shown in the articles in The Presbyterian Magazine, a monthly publication which preceded the Christian Advocate. Ezra Stiles Ely wrote an article on "Prevention of Pauperism" during the financial depression of the 'twenties, criticizing any pampering of the poorer classes and advocating that they be compelled to work.[1] Ashbel Green wrote in a sermon preached at the College of New Jersey and reviewed in the Presbyterian Magazine:

> Religion too is friendly to industry. Industry, indeed, is a part of religion. "He that provideth not for his own household," says the inspired apostle, "hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." Now character, confidence, industry, are confessedly favourable to worldly prosperity, and they are all unquestionably promoted by religion. . .Neither is religion injurious to the accumulation of property. . .Religion forbids avarice, but it also forbids prodigality.[2]

The concept of individual moral responsibility was inherent in these attitudes; but the writers lacked a compensating sense of social responsibility which would fit this thinking for the more complex culture of the coming industrial age.

The economic and social excitement of the mid-century called forth a succession of articles which sought to analyze the life of the nation. Duffield, a New School leader, wrote of the "practical infidelity of modern times." Chief among the evils was "the spirit of adventurous cupidity." He urged the renunciation of such covetousness, luxury, and "dangerous monopolies" and called for a return to industry, virtue, and integrity.[3] An unnamed writer in the Presbyterian Quarterly Review condemned the various extravagancies in American life which were revealed in the lust for gain, the restlessness, and the violence of living.[4] Dabney wrote on the sin of

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1. The Presbyterian Magazine, Vol. II (1822), pp. 230-232.
2. Review of Discourses Delivered in the College of New Jersey, The Presbyterian Magazine, Vol. II (1822), p. 421.
3. George Duffield, "The Religious Character of a Nation the Element of Its Prosperity," The American Biblical Repository, Vol. III (1840), pp. 384-397.
4. "Young America," Presbyterian Quarterly Review, Vol. II, No. 1 (1853), pp. 124-155

extravagance and the need for frugality.[1] Some of the most extensive articles on the economic life of the nation appeared as reviews of books written to give Christian counsel to young men in the new field of business.

A book entitled Mercantile Morals: or, Thoughts for Young Men Entering Mercantile Life provided the occasion for essays in both the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review and the Southern Presbyterian Review. The Bible in the Counting House was favorably reviewed in the Biblical Repertory and in the Presbyterian Magazine. The Bible in the Work-shop received favorable comment in the Presbyterian Quarterly Review. The writers of the reviewing articles took the occasion to defend the right of the Church to speak on matters of business and economics. One reviewer declares that though the "main business of the Christian pastor is to lead his people to fellowship with God through Christ, and build them up in that faith, love, and hope, from which all moral and relative duties will come," yet it is none the less true "that the consciences of Christian men need to be quickened and enlightened in regard to the nature and obligation of those duties. This is particularly true in reference to innumerable things connected with traffic."[2] Another states, "The principles of morality, that is, the duties of the second table of the Decalogue, are as applicable to the every-day transactions of trade and commerce as to any other relations of life."[3] A third declares still more specifically that "there is no avocation in which a man ought to engage in which religion cannot aid him."[4] Atwater, the professor of moral philosophy at the College of New Jersey, gives a detailed analysis

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1. R. L. Dabney, "Principles of Christian Economy," Southern Presbyterian Review, Vol. VI (1852), pp. 158-186.
2. L. H. Atwater, "The Bible in the Counting House," Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXV (1853), p. 403.
3. R. H. Davidson, "Mercantile Morals," Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXV (1853), p. 234.
4. E. P. Rogers, "Mercantile Morals," Southern Presbyterian Review, Vol. VI (1853), p. 531.

of the contributory causes of the "prodigious growth of mercantile life in recent years."[1] One reviewer, in a nostalgic mood, deprecates "the influence of ordinary commercial morality and practice upon the minds of young men. Far better would it be for most of the latter, if, instead of coming to the cities to acquire a fortune in a little time, they were content to be farmers, or mechanics, or teachers. Commerce, however, is a great branch of business, and must have its votaries."[2] Most of the writers, however, recognizing the new life of commerce as an accomplished fact, take the attitude that "men engaged in merchandise" should seek to avoid the many temptations to which their way of life subjects them and should "endeavour to unite the claims of business and religion. Let them be diligent and industrious; but let them be scrupulously honest, strictly conscientious, liberal, and pious. Let them make honestly and give freely. So shall they lay up treasures in heaven."[3]

One unmistakable influence through the period was the writings of Thomas Chalmers, a Scottish minister who took an active part in social reform. His works are reviewed at length in all the Presbyterian journals, and his example is cited as a precedent for the church's interest in economic affairs.[4]

A number of the books which were given prominence in the journalistic reviews were written by Presbyterians. The Bible in the Counting House,[5] by Boardman, was written to urge upon men engaged in the new life of commerce the practice of the Christian virtues and the avoidance of the vices to which

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1. Atwater, op. cit., p. 393.
2. Review of The Bible in the Counting House, Presbyterian Magazine, Vol. III (1853), p. 338.
3. Davidson, op. cit., p. 240.
4. Cf. Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. II, p. 707.
5. H. A. Boardman, The Bible in the Counting House: A Course of Lectures to Merchants (1853).

people in their position were especially tempted. It points out the importance of faithful adherence to the duties of the Christian religion. Boardman wrote other short books on related themes which received favorable comment: The Claims of Religion on Medical Men[1] and The Importance of Religion in the Legal Profession.[2] The Bible in the Work-shop, by a New School minister, which was favorably reviewed,[3] had as its purpose to combat the dangers of radicalism and persuade working men that Christianity, rather than socialism, is the true friend of labor.[4] The American Mechanic and Working Man, by the son of the first professor at Princeton Seminary, advocated the traditional virtues of industry, temperance, and thrift, and counseled as an indispensable condition for true success the practice of the duties of the Christian faith.[5] All these books show concern that men involved in the expanding commercial era should carry Christian principles of morality into that new way of life. The writers conceive of the relationship of Christianity to the world of work only in terms of individual morality and piety, however; a Christian in the counting house or work-shop is to be loyal to his Christian faith and keep himself "unspotted from the world," but there is no genuine appreciation that the task itself can be a means to the service and glory of God.

The book which most forcefully shook the complacency of the Church was one which appeared anonymously in 1851 under the title New Themes for the Protestant Clergy: Creeds without Charity, Theology without Humanity, Protestantism without Christianity. The Presbyterian Magazine attacked the book vehemently, repudiating the rumor that the author might be a Presbyterian: "Spare us so unkind a thought, ye over-credulous critics!"[6] The

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1. Biblical Repertory, Vol. XVII (1845), p. 184.
2. Ibid., Vol. XXII (1850), p. 1701.
3. Presbyterian Quarterly Review, Vol. V (1856), pp. 499-501.
4. J. W. Mears, The Bible in the Work-shop (1856).
5. J. W. Alexander, The American Mechanic and Working Man (1847).
6. Review of New Themes for the Protestant Clergy, Presbyterian Magazine, Vol. II (1952), p. 82.

next year, when a second edition was published under the name of the author, they were obliged to admit his identity; but in approving a book quite critical of the work, the magazine declared, "For our part, we shall not hesitate to expose books of a tendency so infidel and untruthful; particularly when the errorist happens in the course of Providence to be an Old-School Presbyterian."[1] The New School Presbyterian Quarterly Review considered the book sincere but exaggerated and regretted the tone of the writing: "The author is fierce for charity but loses her sweet spirit."[2]

The writer of the work was Stephen Colwell, an Old School Presbyterian layman, who was active in church work and a student of social and economic problems.[3] He had already published an article on poverty in Great Britain in the Biblical Repertory.[4] In his controversial book Colwell sharply criticizes the churches for their preoccupation with creeds and their failure to put into practice the Christian principles of charity. He anticipates Weber in tracing the origin of business enterprise to Protestant influence.[5] He indicates clearly the inadequacy of business morality:

> In the midst of all this turmoil [of the pursuit of wealth] there arose a business morality, exhibiting a punctuality, an adherence to contracts, an honesty in the execution of trusts, a faithfulness to promises - far exceeding what the world had ever known. It was in fact, a necessity of business, without which, by mutual consent, the immense transactions of which it was the bond, could never have been carried on. It borrowed some of its maxims from Christianity and the whole of this vast movement had a tinge of Christian colouring thrown over it, gilding many of its deformities, but not sanctifying them.[6]

Colwell charges the churches with compromising with the spirit of business

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1. Review of A Review of New Themes, Presbyterian Magazine, Vol. III, (1853), p. 39.
2. Review of New Themes, Presbyterian Quarterly Review, Vol. I (1853), p. 157.
3. Dorfman, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 809-826.
4. "The Poor and the Poor Laws of Great Britain," Biblical Repertory, Vol. XIII (1841), pp. 97-131.
5. Stephen Colwell, New Themes for the Protestant Clergy, pp. 121-125.
6. Ibid., pp. 125-126.

enterprise; men of the world, he says, have positions of prominence in the Church: "Those who thus contribute may be, and are, frequently, patterns of business morality. . .but they are regarded as more devoted to this world than the world to come."[1] Business competition and the inflexible demands of business enterprise are not compatible, he says, with Christian charity; the idea "of considering men as mere machines for the purpose of creating and distributing wealth" is a notion "totally and irreconcilably at variance with Christianity."[2]

One representative of the Presbyterian clergy who came to Colwell's support was William Henry Ruffner, originally of Virginia, now pastor of a church in Philadelphia. In a book entitled Charity and the Clergy, which also was published first unsigned, he took issue with some aspects of Colwell's book, especially the title, but in general supported his thesis. Christianity is primarily for eternity, Ruffner declares, but unless the temporal needs of the poor are met they cannot be interested in the Christian faith. He denies that the apostle's meaning in the often quoted passage that those who do not work should not eat is that those who persist in idleness, from whatever cause, are to be deserted. Christianity is responsible for meeting the needs of people.

> "Socialism" has gotten to be one of the hobgoblin terms to frighten grown-up children with, as if Christianity does not teach socialism from beginning to end. Socialism has no essential connection with any anti-christian idea whatsoever. . .We have permitted a set of Christ-hating philanthropists to filch and appropriate our great Christian idea.[3]

The social emphasis of Colwell and Ruffner was not picked up by any other leaders in the Presbyterian church. The fear of radicalism and the essential

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1. Ibid., p. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 241.
3. W. H. Ruffner, Charity and the Clergy: Being a Review by a Protestant Clergyman of the "New Themes" Controversy, pp. 130-131.

individualism of the "moral philosophy" of the period were out of harmony with the position of these two writers. As May comments, "The violence of this controversy over a statement of essentially conservative economic opinion demonstrates the extreme novelty in Colwell's day of such a departure from prevalent doctrine by a prominent lay member of a major church."[1]

During the era before the Civil War the Church had little to say on economic and social issues. The movements of social reform were largely outside the orthodox churches.[2] Throughout the Church as a whole forces were at work to stiffen the conservative tradition.

Niebuhr has pointed out the fact that on the frontier men were able to reconcile an Arminian emphasis on man's part in his salvation, in harmony with their spirit of independence, with a Calvinistic belief in predestination; for if the doctrine of individual effort found response, so, too, did the idea "that election had nothing to do with worldly fortune and that the rough-hewn, illiterate son of the border might just as well be a divinely chosen vessel as the cultivated gentleman of respectable society."[3] This sense of opportunity fostered the qualities of industry, thrift, and ambition.

One factor which played a significant part in fostering the enterprising virtues was the immense popularity of the McGuffey Readers. Mark Sullivan estimates that at least half the school children of America, from 1836 to 1900, "drew inspiration" from these textbooks.[4] William H. McGuffey was a Presbyterian minister, though he devoted his life to teaching rather than to preaching. His readers "reflected the middle class virtues of religious morality, patriotism, and prudent practical morality as a means of getting

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1. H. F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, p. 20.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. H. R. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 144-145.
4. Cited in R. D. Mosier, Making the American Mind: Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers, p. 169.

ahead in life."[1] In the movement of "nativism" during the mid-century these same qualities became identified with Americanism in opposition to foreign ideas which new European immigrants were introducing.[2] The "cult of the self-made man" which received a fresh impetus after the Civil War, writes Curti, "synthesized respect for the older moral virtues with the dream of personal success and belief in the power of the individual to rise above his environment."[3]

This philosophy of individual enterprise, which though not the official teaching of the Church was produced in part by the Church, must inevitably have had some influence on the thinking of Presbyterian leaders. It is not surprising that the Church, with no experience in attacking the intricate problems of a highly industrialized society and with a predisposition for an individualistic approach, should be slow in finding ways of applying Christian principles to a new, complex situation. As Abell observes, "Protestant Christianity, bound by doctrine and tradition to spiritual regeneration alone, did not adopt a satisfactory program of social ethics until late in the century."[4]

The General Assembly of 1866 commented on the post-war boom that "such prosperity has never been known." After describing the development of natural resources, they asked the question whether the resources of the Church had been developed as well.[5] The financial distress of the depression of 1877 was noted by both Assemblies, north and south.[6] During the 'eighties the Assembly viewed with concern the speculations of business enterprise

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1. R. F. Butts, A Cultural History of Education, p. 504.
2. Donald McConnell, Economic Virtues in the United States, pp. 50-51.
3. Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 646.
4. A. I. Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, p. 4.
5. MGA, 1866 (O. S.), p. 143.
6. MGA, 1877, p. 587; MGA (U. S.), 1878, p. 670.

and the worldliness "both in business and pleasure" even of church people. The Church must bear its testimony, the Assembly declared, "not only against all dishonesty, all violations of trust, all carelessness as to obligation, but against all those maxims and practices, in business and social life, which tend to lower the moral tone of the community."[1] In 1884 they observed, "There exists, what, for want of a more definite word, may be termed an inordinate spirit of mercantilism; a disposition to determine the moral quality of an act by a standard of pecuniary loss or gain."[2] In the next decade notice was taken of financial reverses; but in 1900 the Assembly were still deprecating the "chilling influence of the mercantile spirit."[3]

In 1883 the moderator's sermon, printed contrary to custom in the Minutes of the Assembly, expressed thus the Church's responsibility in economic matters:

> The Church is not a divider of inheritances among men. Questions as to the equitable distribution of profits between employers and employed, questions between Capital and Labor, are beyond its jurisdiction. But it proclaims the great law of the Kingdom, which requires justice, aye, and kindness, too, from both, and forbids selfishness in either.[4]

The Presbyterian journals of the last quarter of the century were full of discussions of various phases of industrial and social problems. The writer of an article which describes the emergence of the modern social sciences from moral philosophy comments that in the period immediately following the Civil War there was not "much scientific detachment and impartial weighing of facts and history."[5] The men who wrote for the Presbyterian quarterlies were usually conditioned to a conservative, laissez-faire

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1. MGA, 1883, p. 699.
2. MGA, 1884, p. 127.
3. MGA, 1900, p. 173.
4. MGA, 1883, p. 162.
5. Gladys Bryson, "The Emergence of the Social Sciences from Moral Philosophy," International Journal of Ethics, Vol. XLII, No. 3, p. 315.

attitude toward economic questions, typical of colleges of the period. Gabriel writes of the "gospel of wealth" that it "was erected upon a theory of property which had its most elaborate development in the Scottish common sense philosophy dominating the intellectual atmosphere of most American colleges and universities in the decades immediately following Appomattox."[1] It combined a belief in the divine right of property with its corollary, "the aquisition of wealth by industry and thrift."[2]

The most prolific writer on economic subjects during the period was Lyman Atwater, professor of moral philosophy at Princeton. Through his articles as well as by his prominent teaching position, Atwater exerted a great influence.[3] He was a frequent contributor to the former Biblical Repertory, now the Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review. In 1872 he set forth his philosophy of the relation of labor and capital.[4] They are mutually dependent, he declares. He advocates a policy of laissez-faire and opposes both labor organization and restrictive legislation. However, Christian principles should obtain in the relationship between capital and labor. The employer is morally obligated to pay a fair wage. As a Christian he should be concerned for Christianizing "the laboring masses" and should consider his profits in terms of Christian stewardship. The sovereign remedy for labor unrest is the old formula:

> Moreover, the Christian, even the moral and prudential virtues, have such a tendency to thrift and prosperity as very much to dry up the springs of discontent, irritation, and malignity. Improvidence, intemperance, prodigality, and various forms of vicious self-indulgence all tend to that poverty and degradation which foment discontent, and an inclination to impute their calamities to the injustice of other classes, especially capitalists, toward them; and tempt to organized movements to wring from their employers

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1. Gabriel, op. cit., p. 148.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Dorfman, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 69.
4. L. H. Atwater, "The Labor Question in Its Economic and Christian Aspects," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. I (1872), pp. 468-495.

> what they have forfeited by their own crimes. But let the Christian virtues of industry, temperance, frugality, fidelity and reasonable self-denial prevail, and their own prosperity will be only too delighteful to allow them to be clamoring and banding together to extort from others privileges in the possession of which they already rejoice.[1]

The depression of 1873, which brought to a stop the post-war boom, evoked Atwater's comment. Calling it a moral lesson for the rich, he condemns the speculation and untrustworthiness of men in high places which brought it on and urges thrift and a sound financial policy.[2] In the matter of the prevailing unemployment Atwater shows less sympathy toward poverty than he had done in the mid-century. "The State must support as paupers those who otherwise would starve. But then it is as paupers. . ."[3] The cause of the situation is "the effort of such vast numbers to eat the bread of idleness" - both speculators and labor unions. "This is the nature of the evil; correspondent must be the remedy. Let all obey the divine ordinance, of laboring that they may eat the fruits of honest industry."[4]

The great Railroad Strike of 1877 evoked the strongest condemnation. This, Atwater declares, is evidence of the "inevitable danger of so-called trades-unions."[5] Again he calls for the operation of the principle of laissez-faire.[6] Writing in the Southern Presbyterian Review[7] a layman comes to a similar conclusion. He argues that "the authority must abide with capital." Comparing free labor to the old system of slavery, to the disadvantage of the former, he calls for strong action against the mob violence of strikes. "In dealing with mobs," he concludes, "no argument is so effectual

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1. Ibid., p. 493.
2. Atwater, "The Late Commercial Crisis," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. III (1874), pp. 100-126.
3. "Our Industrial and Financial Situation," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. IV (1875), pp. 517-529.
4. Ibid., p. 527.
5. "The Great Railroad Strike," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. VI (1877), pp. 719-744.
6. C. J. A. Coulson, "Capital and Labor," Southern Presbyterian Review, Vol. XXVIII (1877), pp. 722-741.

as that which comes from the mouth of a cannon."[1]

Other writers, however, were pastors who were closer to the problems of crowded city life. One such pastor, discussing "The Responsibility of Society for the Causes of Crime,"[2] makes society accountable and calls for social reforms. "Charity in its highest sphere," he declares, "when it ceases to be a mere impulse and becomes a principle of equity as well, is an attempt to restore and maintain the lost balance between the rich and the poor."[3] A Brooklyn pastor, writing on the poverty of cities, calls attention to appalling conditions and urges appropriate legislation and a kind of evangelism which will identify the well-to-do with the poor in their churches. (The editor's note at the end comments that the writer has ignored "the great middle class.")[4]

During the 'eighties and early 'nineties there were articles discussing, with grave reservations, some of the radical social doctrines being advanced. The movement of Christian socialism, led by Herron and Strong, was regarded as questionable. "Christian benefice, even upon its broadest scale, is to be regarded not as the essence of Christianity, but only as its expression."[5] One article[6] which may be regarded as indicative of a changing point of view was written by Aiken, from conservative Princeton. Acknowledging the uneasy conscience of the Church regarding social problems, he declares that the Church "whatever it may be as a nursery of the children of God, and a training

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1. Ibid., p. 741.
2. J. B. Bittinger, Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, Vol. XLIII (1871), pp. 18-36.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. Charles Wood, "The Pauperism in Our Cities: Its Character, Condition, Causes, and Relief," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. III (1874), pp. 217-234.
5. D. R. Breed, "Christian Benefice and Some New Theories Affecting Property," The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Vol. V (1894), p. 302.
6. C. A. Aiken, "Christianity and Social Problems," Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Vol. III (1892), pp. 64-82.

school for heaven, . . .has a witness to bear and a work to do for God among men with reference to the relations and interests of this life."[1] When the Church assumes its proper role, then "social life will be acknowledged and treated as an ordinance of God," and "every individual being within this ever-unfolding society will be held to possess a divinely conferred dignity and worth. . .Industry, trade, commerce, and all the legitimate activities of men, will be restored to their proper place as instrumentalities for the general good."[2] Here is a new note in the relation of Christianity to all the affairs of life.

In their economic thinking the Presbyterian writers stood for the traditional virtues of business: honesty and hard work. In placing their sanction on the extreme laissez-faire of the period of cut-throat competition they were, however, unwittingly undermining the principles on which they stood. Individualistic enterprise used foul means as well as fair; and the luxury of the "gilded age" was far removed from the sober industriousness which had been a necessary virtue on the frontier. The American churches, however, were too closely involved in the economics of their time to be truly objective in their judgment. Garrison comments that they "were vaguely troubled by a strange new consciousness of human rights imperiled by the working of the industrial and financial machinery to which they owed their support, and they were not indifferent to the human waste in the process, but they still had unshaken faith in the system."[3] They believed that money was something which should be earned honestly and used to the glory of God; as the Board of Education stated in 1876: "When the money power of the world is made subject to

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1. Ibid., p. 70.
2. Ibid., pp. 81-82.
3. W. E. Garrison, The March of Faith, p. 233.

the Lord Jesus, in faith and in prayer - sincerely, wisely, actively, regularly - then soon. . .the blessings of Christian instruction and education will be given to all mankind."[1] What they had forgotten in their heritage was that the making of money, the task by which it was earned, should itself contribute to the glory of God.

The concept of Christian vocation encountered an especial barrier in the south in the institution of slavery. A system which gave to some men the ownership of the labor of others would not fail to affect attitudes toward both the worker and his work. Eaton[2] has called attention to a bent toward Aristotelian philosophy among southern intellectuals, a social philosophy which gave support to their theories on the natural inequality of men.

The two leading southern theologians of the Presbyterian Church, Thornwell and Dabney, met abolitionist argument with a reply that was reasoned as well as fervent. In a sermon on "The Christian Doctrine of Slavery,"[3] preached at the dedication of a Negro church in South Carolina, Thornwell marshalled his scriptural arguments to prove that slavery not only was not forbidden in the Bible, but was actually a part of God's plan for fallen men. Slavery was not ideal, to be sure, but it belonged to an order made up of the imperfect descendants of Adam. The master did not own the person of the slave, he declared, but his labor. The burden of his sermon was the responsibility of masters to provide for the Christian evangelism of their servants. In another sermon he denied that slavery is sin; on the contrary, it is a juster economic system than that of free labor which makes no provision for the problem of unemployment.[4] "Slavery," he declared, "is nothing but an organization of labour, an

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1. MGA, 1876, p. 159.
2. Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South, p. 144.
3. J. H. Thornwell, Collected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 398-436.
4. Ibid., pp. 539-542.

organization by virtue of which labour and capital are made to coincide."[1]

Thornwell, who based his support of slavery on a literal biblicism, believed that those who opposed the institution were not only disrupting the social order but defying the Word of God.

> The parties in this conflict are not merely Abolitionists and Slaveholders; they are Atheists, Socialists, Communists, Red Republicans, Jacobins on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground, Christianity and Atheism the combatants, and the progress of humanity the stake.[2]

Dabney, his younger contemporary, continued to justify slavery even after it no longer existed as an institution. In his book on ethics, The Practical Philosophy, he gives a defense of bondage.[3] Attacks on the system are attacks on an ordered society - radical, atheistical ideas of an equalitarian society. His rationale for slavery is that as a parent has a right to the labor of his minor child, so the more mature group of society have a right to the labor of those who have a "life-long minority." He opposes all equalitarian ideas which would change the natural status, not only of those who are inferior by race, but women as well, who are dependent by nature. The natural ordering of society should be allowed to operate without tampering by meddlesome parties or governments.

Eaton has suggested something of the insidious effect of the necessity for defending slavery against the violence of abolitionists. Dabney, in his youth, had regarded slavery as an evil. As a college student he wrote "that it would destroy his happiness to become a slave holder." Though he rejected abolitionism, "he attacked the weak points of the institution, for example

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1. Ibid., p. 539.
2. Ibid., pp. 405-406.
3. R. L. Dabney, The Practical Philosophy, pp. 403-419; cf. also "Anti-biblical Theories of Rights," Presbyterian Quarterly, Vol. II (1888), pp. 220-243.

the fact that the female slave was not the mistress of her own chastity."[1] The changes in his thinking through a defensive rationalization are typical of the modification of southern thought during the period.

The heritage of this feudalistic concept of society persevered in a social conservatism after the war. The industrial revolution did not reach the south until the last quarter of the century. A recent historian has told the story of the compromise between northern capitalists and southern demagogues which ended the military occupation of the reconstruction period but brought southern natural and human resources under the control of northern industrialists.[2] Pope, in Millhands and Preachers,[3] has given a documentary account of what happened in one locality when industry came in. The churches in general, says Pope, were ready to bless the new industry, and showed as little awareness of human exploitation as northern churches had done half a century before when industry was new in New England. A doctrine of slavery, or its later counterpart, is not conducive to a sense of the dignity of human toil or of human life.

The Presbyterian Church was not without individuals who felt a sense of social responsibility. Dr. Parkhurst, a Presbyterian pastor in New York, exposed corruption in the city and accused Tammany Hall of complicity with saloons and organized vice.[4] John Wanamaker in Philadelphia and Charles L. Thompson in New York helped establish institutional churches.[5] After the turn of the century, Charles Stelzle organized the Department of Church and Labor in the Board of Home Missions and did a pioneer work in the field.[6] In the south,

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1. Eaton, op. cit., p. 276.
2. C. V. Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.
3. Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia, pp. 3-20.
4. A. M. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, pp. 115-116.
5. Abell, op. cit., pp. 155-156.
6. C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, pp. 280-283.

Colwell's early supporter, W. H. Ruffner, who had become Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia, "built up a philosophy of public education that prevailed over the strong individualistic beliefs and the antipathy to education of the Negroes at the expense of the whites."[1] His chief opponent was his fellow Presbyterian, R. L. Dabney. Early in the next century another Presbyterian minister, A. J. McKelway, was to lead the fight against child labor in the south in the face of strong opposition.[2] In general, however, the emphasis in Presbyterian thinking continued to be laid on individual salvation and individual morality.

Implications for Vocation in Educational Writing

The importance which the Presbyterian Church gave to an educated ministry has already been recognized. In accord with the Reformed tradition,[3] Presbyterians hold a high doctrine of the place of the minister and his necessary qualifications. The problem which the Church faced during the nineteenth century was that of providing an adequate and qualified ministry for the rapidly growing population. Throughout the century the minutes of the Assembly are full of the urgency for more ministerial candidates. From 1844 till the time of the revival just before the Civil War, in a period when the population was expanding rapidly, there was a declension in the number of candidates. After the war, in north and south, the urgent call was issued again for more candidates to fill the depleted ranks and supply the new fields opening at home and abroad. In the light of such a need it is not surprising that the General Assembly gave primary attention to theological seminaries in their stress on education, or that the vocation of the Christian minister was made

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1. Article on Ruffner in Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVI, p. 218.
2. W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South, pp. 223-224.
3. Cf. J. T. McNeill, "The Doctrine of the Ministry in Reformed Theology," Church History, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 77-97.

most prominent.

An example of the way in which the Puritan idea of the particular calling had fallen into disuse is given in the Annual of the Board of Education for 1832. In an article on the call to the ministry the writer says, "A general call is addressed to the pious generally, and arises from the necessities of the world and from the great principles of the Bible." A special call, however, is limited "to the work of the minister."[1] In impressing the churches with the necessity for encouraging "pious youth" to enter the ministry the General Assembly and the Board of Education tended to make a sharper distinction between the "sacred calling" and "worldly avocations" than Protestant tradition would warrant. In urging young men to consider solemnly "whether they can do more for the glory of God and the salvation of a perishing world by devoting themselves to the ministry of reconciliation, or to some secular employment," the Board of Education observed:

> It is painful to see young men of talents of a high order, and whose piety is not questioned, burying those talents in the earth, (we mean in some secular employment,) while such multitudes are perishing, because there are none to carry them the knowledge of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.
>
> We fear that the allurements of wealth, and the honorable distinctions of this world deceive many of our pious young men, by bringing them to the false conclusion that they can do as much good in these worldly avocations as in the office of the ministry.[2]

The same report goes on to remark that there are those who are not qualified for the work who are eager to enter it, while others who have the requisite talents need to be encouraged to go forward.[3] A few years later the Board deplored the fact that the hearts of young men "become pre-engaged by merchandize and the law and the farm and medicine, and corrupting idleness and the pride of life."[4] Still later it declared, "The secularity of

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1. W. S. Plumer, "Scripture Doctrine of a Call to the Work of the Gospel Ministry," Annual of the Board of Education, 1832, pp. 29-30.
2. Annual Report, Board of Education, 1840, p. 11.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Annual Report, Board of Education, 1847, pp. 13-14.

the age is an active force to overthrow the foundations of the Church. It impairs the purity and power of personal religion; it weakens high motive and enterprise; and one of the results is, that our youth embrace almost every profession except that which Jesus Christ honoured with his example."[1] The New School Assembly stated, "The broad and open avenues to wealth and the higher objects of ambition are crowded with eager competitors; . . .The self-denying path of the ministry, leading, though it does, to riches which are imperishable, and to renown which no lapse of time can dim, has but here and there a youthful traveler."[2]

The sense of evangelising urgency of the mid-century was not limited to the confines of American territory. A historian of world missions has called the nineteenth century "the great century" of missionary endeavor;[3] and the movement found an active expression in American missionary societies.[4] A writer in the Annual of the Board of Education for 1834 points out the unique opportunity of American Christians in the field of foreign missions and urges upon Christian young people that they turn from "secular employments" to the missionary calling as the best way to "glorify the Redeemer."[5] "American youth have a peculiar call," he declares, "whether we regard the obligation or the adaptedness to the work."[6]

Although Presbyterians had been active in establishing colleges, the Board of Education confined its work to the encouraging of ministerial candidates until near the middle of the century. In 1845 the report of the Board first suggested the possibility of parish schools which would, the

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1. Annual Report, Board of Education, 1857, pp. 19-20.
2. MGA (N.S.), 1853, p. 349.
3. K. S. Latourette, The Great Century, A. D. 1800-A. D. 1914 (A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. IV).
4. Ibid., pp. 75-89.
5. John Gray, "Claims of the World on American Youth," pp. 315-331.
6. Ibid., p. 319; cf. Annual of the Board of Education, 1832, pp. 124-171.

report argued, be an economy in ministerial education, for they would enable the Church to judge the qualifications of candidates at an earlier period in their education.[1] It stated further that

> it would be an unspeakable blessing to our Church to devise a liberal system for imparting that education to all her youth, without any reference to the ministry at all. She could then select for the aid of her Board of Education after they are thus tried and trained, only those who give the clearest evidence of a call to the sacred office.[2]

In 1847 the Board presented a full dress proposal for a system of parochial schools, supported by precedents from Geneva and Scotland.[3] The work of a teacher in one of these schools was acknowledged to be a true vocation.[4]

The discussion over parochial schools produced one of the clearest references to the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation expressed during the century. In support of the system Thomas Smyth of South Carolina declared that the training for "every proper occupation and profession of life" was one of the responsibilities of the Church:

> All these are under the providential direction of God the Holy Spirit, who assigns to every man his sphere and business, "giving to every man" natural endowments, capacity, and taste "severally as He will." Every occupation is a "calling" in life, and to every calling the guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit ought to be sought. "Every man is after his own order," but "no man liveth to himself" but "unto the Lord." He is bound therefore to acknowledge and glorify God "in all his ways" both in advancing <u>towards</u> the business of life, and when attained, <u>in</u> whatsoever occupation he is led finally to select. . .[5]

It is suggestive of the unfamiliarity of the idea that Smyth found it necessary to append a rather extensive foot-note explaining what was meant by the doctrine of vocation. He suggested further that the Bible is the text book for all occupations, and through study of it the students would be qualified

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1. <u>Annual Report</u>, Board of Education, 1845, pp. 4-5.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5.
3. <u>Report</u> of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America on Parochial Schools, 1847.
4. <u>Annual Report</u>, Board of Education, 1848, p. 9.
5. Thomas Smyth, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 21.

for that walk of life to which they were called.[1]

The importance of secondary school education was stressed by the Board of Education when the popularity of the parochial schools was beginning to wane. "The academy," the Board declared, ". . .occupies so important a position, as an instrument of mental and moral culture, that a defect here. . . may prove, in a great measure, subversive to a man's usefulness, when he comes to engage in the practical work, and assume the vast responsibilities of a professional life."[2] A report to the southern Assembly in 1871, concerning a projected denominational educational system which did not materialize, called the plan a necessity, "not only in reference to the preparation of our young men for the ministry, but with equal certainty as it bears upon the training of the entire body of our youth for their future careers in every sphere of human effort, and that its application extends to both sexes alike."[3]

As the Church gave more consideration to the importance of a Christian education for all young people, the Annual Report of the Board of Education in 1852 provided an essay to help young men understand the nature of a call to the ministry. A call is not necessarily a miraculous experience, the writer declares: "The idea of a divine interposition, dispensing with the use of ordinary means, excludes many from the enlightening process of a calm and prayerful investigation."[4] In 1859 the Annual Report included an essay on "Hints on the Choice of a Profession." Principles which should govern a young man in such a choice are: (1) the profession "best suited to our gifts and endowments"; (2) the one "which God seems to approve"; (3) which "affords the greatest field of usefulness"; (4) which leads "in the direction in which

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1. Ibid., pp. 22-24.
2. MGA (O.S.), 1860, p. 106.
3. MGA (U.S.), 1871, p. 17.
4. Annual Report, Board of Education, 1852, p. 9.

Providence points"; (5) which "admits and nurtures personal improvement"; and (6) which offers "the rewards of eternity."[1] The value of various occupations are pointed out, but chiefly those of "a profession, of higher interest, vaster scope, and more glorious ends than them all" - "the ministry of reconciliation."[2] This calling, of course, to the writer best fits all the tests which he has indicated; but he does not exclude as a proper calling any legitimate occupation to which a young man might be led.

In all this there was no thought of what has more recently come to be called vocational education. To be sure, the Church had "manual labor schools," but these were intended not so much to teach a trade as to provide "poor and pious youth" an opportunity to earn their way.[3] In general the Presbyterian Church followed the classical traditions of the past. At the beginning of the century Samuel Miller had commented on educational trends in his two-volume A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century. He declared:

> The eighteenth century produced a remarkable revolution with respect to the objects of study in the education of youth. These are now more accommodated to the different employments for which the pupils are intended than in former times. Education, during this period, has been more than ever divested of its scholastic form, and rendered more conducive to the useful purposes of life. . .Though the change in this respect has been carried to an extreme; . . .yet the revolution which has been mentioned may be considered, in general, a real improvement.[4]

The Biblical Repertory in 1833 condemned as a misconception the idea that education should always have practical applicability; the intellectual disciplines were needed.[5] The aim of education was to be "expansion of the mind and improvement of the heart."[6] In 1851 the Board of Education declared that

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1. Annual Report, Board of Education, 1859, pp. 8-20, passim.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. "Manual Labor Schools," Biblical Repertory, Vol. III (1831), pp. 22-37.
4. Vol. II, pp. 272-273.
5. "Themes of Education," Biblical Repertory, Vol. V (1833), pp. 170-172.
6. Ibid., p. 217.

"education properly embraces the whole nature of the child" and that the plan proposing to "educate the moral in connection with the intellectual nature" was "really philosophical as well as religious. The true object of education," the report continued," is to prepare our children for all their duties to God and to man. . .Our schools ought to educate youth according to the nature which God has given them, not in fragments, but according to the unity of the divine workmanship."[1] During the period when the idea of vocation, in its non-religious sense, was coming into the public schools,[2] the Old School Presbyterians were conducting parochial schools and the New School Presbyterians were decrying "infidelity" in public education.

In the last quarter of the century opportunities began to develop for lay activities in the Church which held possibilities for broadening the idea of vocation. The minister was and would continue to be the leader of the congregation; but the accounts of growing Sunday schools, women's organizations, and young people's societies indicate that lay people were learning to participate more fully in the life of the Church. If the Church had not yet recovered the principle of service to God *per vocationem*, lay people were coming more fully to serve him *in vocatione*.

A minister, writing on the call to the gospel ministry, reminds his readers that in the early Church all shared in the work of the kingdom, all were called to be saints. "The special kind of service and the measure thereof to which each particular member of this community was *called*, was determined by his particular gifts and ability. He was called to do for his Lord what he was able to do."[3] Another minister, concerned over the education of young

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1. *Annual Report*, Board of Education, 1851, pp. 35-36.
2. Butts, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-500.
3. A. A. Porter, "On a Call to the Gospel Ministry," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Vol. XXIII (1872), p. 65.

people for Christian work, first begins by defining Christian work as something more than religious work:

> We should enlarge the scope of [Christian work] . . .Beginning with our affirmation, that Christian life is Christian work, all the common and useful labors of man may come within the definition. The work of the farm, the mechanic arts, human traffic, domestic duties, the care of families, teaching the young, the entertaining of friends, such as Christ himself shared, the studies of children, and even their plays and recreations, such are made Christian work, by their interfusion of a Christian spirit, so that they shall be the outworkings of a Christian life.[1]

These are Christian works if they are engaged in "with mind and heart consecrated to Christ." "The consecrated heart consecrates the duties."[2] The Church, in seeing its educational task more clearly, was beginning to recover the idea of religion related to all of life.

A fresh and vital concern for missions was expressed toward the close of the century in the organization of the Student Volunteer Movement. This interdenominational organization, founded in 1886, played an active part in enlisting missionary candidates for the foreign mission boards, including that of the Presbyterian Church.[3] In a short time the student conferences of this and similar organizations began to introduce the idea of other helpful professions as Christian callings.[4]

Generally speaking, however, Presbyterians continued to think of a Christian calling as some form of church work; while the term vocation, divorced from its religious connotations, was coming into wider use in public schools by a growing emphasis on practical education. The emphasis was strengthened, writes Butts, "by the capitalistic doctrine that everyone should be trained to make a living in order to get ahead in the world any by the democratic ideal that everyone should have the opportunity to fit himself

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1. J. A. Wight, "Christian Work and the Education of Young Christians Therein," Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Vol. IV (1875), p. 313.
2. Loc. cit.
3. A. J. Brown, One Hundred Years, p. 60.
4. C. P. Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, p. 319.

for some lifework."[1] There was still little comprehension in the Church of the relationship of the Christian concept of vocation to education in general.

The Nineteenth-Century Concept of Vocation: An Interpretation

Reinhold Niebuhr has written recently of a dual influence which helped to produce the American idea of prosperity. One was the Puritan influence, which emphasized virtue as the basis for well-being; the other, the Jeffersonian influence, which laid stress on well-being as the basis of virtue.[2] The Puritan, or Calvinistic, influence may be said to have been split by the nineteenth century, however. The old Puritan concept of the general and particular callings, the heavenly allegiance and the earthly task which belong together, had been bifurcated into the sacred and the secular. The religious life had become a matter of right religious beliefs and practices, with little relationship to the daily work by which one earned one's living and, if possible, a fortune. The Puritan had become the Yankee, says Niebuhr, echoing Parrington; he had the Puritan's virtues of industry and thrift, but he had lost the essential Puritan quality - the doing the task to the sole glory of God. And the religious Puritan no longer saw God's providence in every day, but only in spectacular interventions.

In the idea of "manifest destiny" in the nineteenth century, the dynamic movement to capture an unsettled land and claim its resources, there was a kind of secularized sense of national vocation. The Church shared the counterpart of that sense. Sweet has observed that "sixty years before Turner advanced his frontier thesis, Lyman Beecher in his Plea for the West (1835) advanced a thesis not greatly different."[3] Beecher had declared, "But whatever

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1. Butts, op. cit., p. 499.
2. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Irony of American History, pp. 46-54.
3. W. W. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, p. 313.

we do, it must be done quickly, for there is a tide in the human things which waits not, - moments on which the destiny of the nation balances, when the light dust may turn the right way or the wrong. And such is the condition of our nation now."[1]

This lure of the frontier, the realization of an un-churched westward moving population, affected the concept of vocation in at least two ways. First, it compelled the Church to concentrate on urging the claims of the gospel ministry on young men; the need was overwhelming and the workers were sadly limited in number. Such an emphasis, necessary as it was, inevitably made of the ministry or the mission service the calling of God, suggesting an exaltation of clergy over laity akin to that of Roman Catholic theory.

A second effect of this missionary imperative was the use of the method of evangelism to the neglect of pastoral cultivation. The frontier loomed so large, there were so many unsaved people to be rescued as "brands from the burning," that a revivalistic technique seemed the only means of reaching so many with so few ministers. The situation is analagous to that of the frontier settler who burned over new ground to plant instead of carefully cultivating the ground already cleared. More souls must be won for the kingdom; there was not enough time or leadership to guide the converts in the daily living of a Christian life.

Nineteenth-century Presbyterianism inherited the attitudes of the previous century. Revivalism, which had been such an influential factor in the shaping of the Church in colonial times, began again on the frontier in the nineteenth century. Throughout the period the General Assembly used the occurrence of revivals as a criterion of the spiritual state of the Church. Conversion experiences were regarded as normative for all ages, including the children

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1. Lyman Beecher, A Plea for the West, p. 47.

who had been reared in the church. As Gabriel says, it was this evangelism which tamed the frontier.[1] Nevertheless, as an almost exclusive religious method, it not only neglected the spiritual cultivation of congregations; it encouraged an individualistic type of religious experience, preoccupied with God's saving mercy but less conscious of God's demands upon redeemed men to work his will in the world. It is true that some of the New School revivalists, particularly those touched with New England ideas of "disinterested benevolence," preached moral responsibility in the community.[2] Yet even this emphasis gradually hardened into a somewhat legalistic opposition to individual vices - intemperance, worldly amusements, and the like.[3] As late as 1900 the southern General Assembly recorded the report sent in from local churches that "worldly conformity does not prevail"; the Assembly then added this qualifying comment: "But it must be observed that in the minds of sessions 'worldly conformity' means, almost entirely, an indulgence in fashionable amusements."[4]

An example of this nineteenth-century concept of the Christian life in terms of evangelism only is given in a book by a Presbyterian clergyman, published in 1844 to describe religion in America for European understanding. In writing of the practical nature of American preaching he says that not only are the unconverted brought to Christ and believers exhorted to "grow in grace,"

> but the latter are also urged, from the moment of their conversion, to commence living for God, and for the salvation of men. The doctrine has of late years been more and more preached, that every man, be his sphere of life what it may, is under obligation to live for the salvation of others; and that by his conversation, by his holy example, as well as by personal sacrifices, he should do all that he can to promote this salvation far and near.[5]

Here in a sense is a doctrine of vocation - the calling of every man to be

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1. Gabriel, op. cit., p. 33.
2. E.g. C. G. Finney, Sermons on Important Subjects, pp. 241-259.
3. H. R. Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, pp. 172-184.
4. MGA (U. S.), 1900, p. 647.
5. Robert Baird, Religion in America, p. 195.

an evangelist to his neighbor. It is an important aspect of the Reformation doctrine of the priesthood of all believers; yet it does not carry the wider significance of that doctrine, that every man, in his daily work, is to glorify God through faithful service to others.

The cleavage between the sacred and the secular phases of life was deepened by the increasing separation of Church and state. The younger Schlesinger has suggested that the unsuccessful attempts of Protestantism to influence politics in the Jacksonian era contributed to a growing secularization of society. "Its substantial effect was to divert the church toward what many in this country believe its true function: to lead the individual soul to salvation, not to interfere in politics. Religion, the Jacksonians felt, could best serve itself by ending its entangling alliances with political reaction."[1] By an extension of this principle, all "worldly" matters were interpreted to be outside the domain of the Church. The southern General Assembly at the time of its organization was particularly emphatic in its doctrine of the spiritual nature of the Church. Though the Church presumed to speak on questions which it regarded as moral issues, it considered its province as being mainly the salvation of individuals and the inculcation of Christian principles in individuals. It exhorted a man to be honest, industrious and unselfish in his daily living; but it gave him little guidance in applying those Christian teachings in a social order and an economic system organized around a very different set of values. The consequence of this "disposition to distinguish sharply between the sacred and the secular," writes the elder Schlesinger, was a tendency "to divorce religion from everyday thought and conduct."[2]

Limited as it was by its theological preoccupation with individual salvation and its philosophical indentification with "common sense" laissez-faire,

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1. A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, p. 360.
2. A. M. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, p. 321.

the Church was not able to be objective in its evaluation of the new economic situation. The involvement of the Church itself in the financial benefits of the new industrialism made its judgments even more difficult. May has commented that the Presbyterians were slow in developing a social consciousness, in part, because the members, "especially the influential city elements, were traditionally of the upper social and economic groups. Through the important part played by elders in Presbyterian church government, wealthy laymen had an especially influential role."[1]

The fear of radicalism which recurred during the century accentuated the conservative tendency. Liberal movements in the early years were associated with the Jacobin and deistic influences of the French Revolution. In the mid-century the disturbing "ultraisms" were identified in the thinking of the orthodox churches with the excesses of fanatical sects or the activities of European revolutionaries. There were anti-clerical elements in the populist movements of the Jacksonian era as has been seen, and in those of the late century as well.[2] Dombrowski has pointed out that the criticism of organized religion by the rising labor groups after the Civil War put the churches on the defensive.[3]

The reaction of the churches to these disquieting movements, particularly in denominations made up largely of the middle class, was to intensify the emphasis on the orthodox virtues of industry, thrift, and self-reliance. It has already been noted that the Presbyterians sought to combat the dangers inherent in the changing mode of life by encouraging the individual economic virtues. Sentiments of religion and social stability were reinforced by that of patriotism as new immigration introduced ideas and attitudes foreign

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1. May, op. cit., p. 193.
2. Cf. Schlesinger, Jr., op. cit., pp. 136-143; May, op. cit., pp. 3-25; James Dombrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America, pp. 4-8.
3. Loc. cit.

to the Protestant traditions. As Presbyterians gave their sanction to the emerging "gospel of success" in the defense of what they held to be their Calvinistic heritage, they were unconsciously modifying that heritage. Niebuhr has observed that "the accommodation of the doctrine and attitude of the erstwhile strictly theocentric faith to the spirit of the middle class resulted in the blunting of the sharp edges of the doctrine of divine sovereignty and in a practical emphasis on salvation by character."[1] Though the Church held firmly to the doctrine of the sovereignty of God in its official creed, it tended in practice to limit that sovereignty to what had come to be regarded as the specifically religious areas of life - conversion, the forgiveness of personal sins, and the individual life of faith and worship.

The individualistic business enterprise of the nineteenth century is seen to be at least in part the product of one half of the bifurcated doctrine of vocation - the industry and thrift of the Puritan without his controlling religious devotion.[2] McConnell, in his analysis, has pointed out the fact that the so-called Puritan economic virtues were modified with changing conditions, so that they came to mean under different circumstances something other than they had meant before.[3] Thus such qualities as self-help, industry and thrift, which were beneficial to all classes in the simple frontier culture, became in the complex situation of an industrial community the excuse for walking rough-shod over the poorer classes while extolling the virtue of industriousness and condemning the vice of indolence. Official Presbyterian deliverances denounced the prevailing spirit of covetousness, like seventeenth and eighteenth-century Puritan writings, but without revealing any clear understanding of the social and economic matrix in which the spirit was produced. Perhaps the weakness of the Church in this area of life lay in its bringing

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1. H. R. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 103.
2. Cf. Robert Michaelsen, "The Gospel of Work in America," Social Action, Vol. XV, No. 10, pp. 4-13.
3. Donald McConnell, Economic Virtues in the United States, pp. 145-150.

eighteenth-century thinking to bear on the problems of a nineteenth-century industrial culture.

In all fairness it should be mentioned that the churches were not the only organizations which were complacently uncritical of the business enterprice which emerged after the Civil War. The public school educators, Curti has pointed out, generally endorsed the social views of the business men.[1] Like the Presbyterians, the other Protestant denominations were mainly conservative though they varied somewhat in their attitude on social questions.

The strongest social movement was in the Protestant Episcopal Church.[2] Here the influence of English "Christian Socialism," led by such men as F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, was clearly felt. The social and economic teachings of Anglicanism are consonant, not with the Reformed system, but with the tradition which stems from the organic principles of Hooker and St. Thomas.[3] Leaders in the American movement were Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and Bishop F. D. Huntington. The endorsement of high episcopal leadership gave authority to the social emphasis in the Church, even though many churchmen did not follow their lead. The attitudes of Episcopalian laymen and most of the clergy toward social issues were not greatly different from those of Presbyterians.

The next strongest social movement was among the Congregationalists.[4] Social ideas gained a foothold in this denomination, not through the authority of ecclesiastical leadership, but through its freedom of organization. Earlier in the century Horace Bushnell, called "the greatest liberalizer of mid-

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1. Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators, pp. 203-260.
2. Cf. May, op. cit., pp. 182-187; Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 174-183; Dombrowski, op.cit., pp. 96-106.
3. Cf. Vida Scudder, "Anglican Thought on Property," Christianity and Property, Fletcher, ed., pp. 124-150.
4. Cf. May, op. cit., pp. 187-188; Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 27-38, 184-200, 258-263; Dombrowski, op. cit., pp. 171-193.

nineteenth century theology,"[1] had challenged the emphasis on revivalism alone by his Christian Nurture. In other writings he suggested the idea of Christian vocation.[2] Among the Congregationalist leaders in the Christian social movement later in the century were Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, and W. D. Herron.

Though the Baptists were originally a denomination of the common people, they too had acquired a middle class status. Within the denomination there was an active social organization known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, led by Walter Rauschenbusch.[3] The Baptists in general, however, were influenced by the indifference to social problems of their large rural membership and by the growing prestige of rich laymen like John D. Rockefeller.[4]

The Methodist Church, the largest Protestant group, like the Baptists were slow in coming to a social consciousness.[5] The Church had few industrial workers among its membership; and the farmers, small shopkeepers, and business men of its constituency were strong advocates of the conservative individualist virtues of industry, thrift and charity preached by John Wesley.[6] Historically Methodism is in the line of Anglican social teachings rather than those of Reformed Protestantism.

Lutheranism in America during the nineteenth century was largely withdrawn from the problems of social change by its long adherence to Old World language and traditions and by its pietistic outlook on life. The Lutheran doctrine of vocation, less aggressive than the Calvinistic doctrine, had become a

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1. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 5.
2. Cf. "Every Man's Life a Plan of God," Sermons for the New Life, pp. 9-28; "How to Be a Christian in Trade," Sermons on Living Subjects, pp. 243-267.
3. Cf. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 131-134, 213-232; Dombrowski, op. cit., pp. 106-107.
4. Cf. May, op. cit., pp. 190-192; R. H. Johnson, "American Baptists in the Age of Big Business," Journal of Religion, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 63-85.
5. Cf. May, op. cit., pp. 188-190.
6. Cf. Kathleen MacArthur, The Economic Ethics of John Wesley, pp. 93-125.

sanction for a quiescent attitude in social and economic matters.[1]

The Presbyterian Church had no strong European social movement, like that in the Anglican communion, to stir its thought or action. The concern of Thomas Chalmers of Scotland for the welfare of the poor, reflected in mid-century writing like that of Colwell, is the only case of such an influence. Denominationally it was restrained by a stricter theological system and a closer church organization than those of Congregationalism. Its intellectual leadership throughout the century was strongly conservative, both in theological thinking and in social attitudes.

This study has indicated that the doctrine of vocation in the full Calvinistic sense had become obscured before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The individualism of the Great Awakening and of frontier life and the pervasive philosophy of Poor Richard had already tended to separate a Christian man's general from his particular calling. It has been seen that in the nineteenth century, theological thought in the Presbyterian Church inclined to lay stress on God's redemption of individuals to the neglect of his sovereignty over all of life; social and economic thought were influenced by "common sense" laissez-faire philosophy and a carrying over of pioneer economic virtues into the more complex relationships of industrialism; educational efforts at first were confined largely to the training of prospective ministers, but after the middle of the century more emphasis was placed on the importance of education for all. Later developments have been noted in these areas, related to the doctrine of vocation. In the mid-century some of the leaders in the Church felt a social concern for the welfare, economic as well as spiritual, of working men; at the end of the century this concern

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1. Cf. H. H. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Religion," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXX, No. 4, pp. 408-438.

was expressed again. The Church's study of its educational program during the last half of the century led to a recognition that education must train for more complete Christian living. Toward the end of the period there were evidences of lay activities within the Church which held possibilities for Christian expression within if not through one's vocation. The sense of Christian vocation remained inarticulate, however. Latta has pointed out[1] that one of the weaknesses of the Social Gospel movement, which was to be more influential during the early part of the next century, was its failure to recognize historical perspective. The leaders had little awareness of their heritage in the social thinking which had affected the life of the Church in earlier periods.

The so-called "doctrine of success," which was to a large extent a secularized and distorted version of the Protestant doctrine of vocation, influenced the attitude of many Americans during the Age of Enterprise; but the genuine doctrine of vocation, which brings all of life under God's sovereignty and expresses itself in socially contributive labor, lay forgotten. Presbyterians of the nineteenth century seemed unaware that such a doctrine existed.

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1. M. C. Latta, "The Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism," Church History, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 261.

EPILOGUE

THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE LIGHT OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY EXPERIENCE

EPILOGUE: THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF VOCATION IN THE LIGHT OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY EXPERIENCE

The first chapter of this study called attention to various indications of a resurgent interest in the Protestant doctrine of vocation, evidences of which can be discerned in both Europe and America. The author of one of the preliminary papers for the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches was confident enough to declare, "A new sense of Christian vocation is breaking through, with the conviction of a God-given function to be discharged in the secular world of affairs."[1] There is evidence of a similar trend in recent lay movements within the Roman Catholic Church which, Nelson suggests, "are quietly repeating the very insight declared historically by the Protestant Reformation."[2] Father Keller has described the functioning of the Christophers, such a lay movement in America, in his book, You Can Change the World! The aims of the movement as interpreted in this book seem, in the judgment of the present writer, to be closer to the Lutheran concept of Christian witness in vocatione than the Calvinist idea of witnessing per vocationem; that is, the worker regards his particular occupation as a situation in which to express his Christian conviction rather than as the means through which to glorify God by the faithful doing of the task.

There is evidence that the renewed interest in Christian vocation in Protestantism is an expression, not only of the convictions of theological leaders, but to some extent at least of the practical concern of laymen as

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1. Reinhold Niebuhr, et al., The Church and the Disorder of Society, p. 118.
2. J. O. Nelson, Young Laymen - Young Church, p. 17.

well. This is indicated by attempts of Protestant laymen, in conferences both in Europe and in America, to explore the meaning of vocation for various professions and occupations;[1] and by such recent books on specific professions as The Doctor's Profession, edited by Daniel T. Jenkins, The Christian in Politics, by Jerry Voorhis, and College Teaching and Christian Values, edited by Paul M. Limbert. If the principle of Christian vocation is really to become operative in everyday life, however, there undoubtedly must be a wider and deeper exploration of its practical implications for various occupational groups. A writer in a religious journal, speaking from a background of experience in the labor movement, raises the question of the extent to which a modern factory worker can express in his job the ideals declared by the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, recently held in Buffalo, N. Y.[2] Before Protestantism can recover a genuine sense of the Reformation doctrine of vocation it must discover the meaning of the doctrine in terms of the experience of all groups which make up the present social order. The need is strikingly illustrated by the failure of the Church to provide a relevant message in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The findings of this study indicate that Reformed Protestantism gradually moved away from the original Calvinistic doctrine of Christian vocation set forth in the sixteenth century. The fact that the present writer discovered Calvin's own writings on the subject to be largely an unworked lode seems to suggest a neglected resource in the current re-emphasis of the idea of vocation. The purpose of this epilogue is to point out certain insights in

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1. E.g., Professional Life as Christian Vocation: a Report on Laymen's Institutes and Groups; and R. L. Calhoun et al., On-the Job Dilemmas of Christian Laymen.
2. Stewart Meacham, "Assembly Line Christians," Christian Century, Vol. LXIX, No. 33, pp. 920-921.

the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation which, in the judgment of the writer, have contemporary relevance. Since Reformation writing "bears the marks of a pre-technical and pre-industrial society,"[1] as Oldham observes, the insights must be those of principle, not specific application.

The first aspect of the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation to which attention is called is its scope. In Calvin's use of the term, the concept was not limited to a person's employment but included the whole range of his life as the sphere in which he was called to glorify God. The gradual narrowing of the connotation of the term has been noted in this study.

The intention of the Reformers in proclaiming the doctrine of the Christian calling was to break down the barrier between the sacred and the secular by investing all of life with sacredness. It is one of the ironies of history that the outcome has been in large measure the secularization of life. Reinhold Niebuhr refers to this phenomenon as the triumph of the Renaissance over the Reformation.[2] The Protestant churches of the nineteenth century accepted uncritically the compartmentalization of life into the sacred and the secular, regarding the one as a province for activity, the other to be let alone or dealt with as having no relation to the sacred.

One of the problems in modern technical and complex society is that of finding meaning for a task which is merely a mechanical function and unity for a life in which a job is divorced from all other areas of living.[3] To the Church as it seeks to interpret life to men enmeshed in the present social order, the Calvinistic concept of the wholeness of life offers a guiding principle. The teaching of the sixteenth century must be re-thought in terms

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1. J. H. Oldham, Work in Modern Society, p. 34.
2. The Nature and Destiny of Man, Vol. II, pp. 181-185.
3. Oldham, op. cit., pp. 12-15.

of twentieth-century conditions, but the principle still obtains for churchmen to digest and apply: Life is all of a piece and it finds meaning and unity as every area is brought under the immediate sovereignty of God.

A second aspect of the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation is its sense of social responsibility. This emphasis has not been recognized widely; Calhoun, for example, regards the Reformation concept of vocation as inadequate at the very point of its sense of interrelatedness.[1] Nevertheless this study has discovered a real social concept in Calvin's teachings. It is not the organic idea of the Middle Ages, to be sure, but a sense of a man's responsibility toward his fellowmen under God and a united striving of the Church - God's elect - to advance the cause of Christ's kingdom. The Puritan concept of the covenanted community is an expression of the sense of mutual responsibility.

As has been seen, the concept of social responsibility disintegrated into extreme individualism. The business enterprise of the nineteenth century had the dynamic drive of Calvinism without its social restraints. The so-called social gospel of Protestant liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a protest against this irresponsible individualism.[2] Among the leaders of the social gospel movement Walter Rauschenbusch at least recognized that Reformation Protestantism had originally had a social concept which later was lost.[3]

In an atomistic society the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation provides a clue to the dynamic nature of the Church's fellowship and to the responsibility men have under God to share constructively in the life of the social

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1. R. L. Calhoun, God and the Common Life, pp. 44-47.
2. A. S. Nash, editor, Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century, pp. 127-128.
3. A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp. 123-124.

order.

A third aspect of the Calvinistic doctrine of vocation is its dominant sense of the sovereignty of God. A current criticism of liberal Protestant ethical theory is that too often it is conceived only in the horizontal, man to man dimension, neglecting the vertical orientation of man to God.[1] As has been noted, early Calvinism sought to relate the two. The social gospel, with its emphasis on the inherent goodness of man, is alien to traditional Calvinism; yet Visser 't Hooft, a European observer of the American church scene, has remarked that the two have an important element in common: "The social gospel revives also the ideal of a thoroughly Christianized society, which is essentially Puritan. . .The common element is the belief in the calling of Christians to bring all relations of life under the sway of Christ's Lordship."[2] The sense of vocation is the response to the conviction of that Lordship.

Though Calvin stressed contentment within one's vocation and obedience to lawful authority, succeeding generations of Calvinists found a germinal seed of political change in his principle of the supreme Lordship of Christ. They dared to challenge any political ruler who sought to usurp that supreme authority.[3] As the area of tension moved from the political to the economic field, however, American Calvinists sanctioned quiescence instead of challenging the economic and social system. A renewed sense of the sovereignty of God over all of life would provide the Church with a frame of reference to judge all human institutions and a drive to effect needed changes. Oldham declares in regard to the necessity for ordering the conditions under which

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1. Nash, op. cit., pp. 131-132.
2. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, The Background of the Social Gospel in America, p. 100.
3. J. H. Nichols, Democracy and the Churches, pp. 17-41.

men labor, "Work can acquire a real meaning in the Christian sense only when it is done in a framework and context in which the Christian meaning of life as a responsibility to God and service to men is not frustrated and denied."[1]

In the concept of the sovereignty of God is the tension between what is and what ought to be which Wernle sees as the dynamic of the Calvinistic ethic. A sense of vocation summons men to work faithfully in the one without losing sight of the other as the goal, as responsible persons serving in a socially contributive task for the glory of God.

Though American Protestantism gave its sanction to a socially disintegrative individualism during the nineteenth century, it had within its own Calvinistic heritage a potential force for social integration. In the judgment of the present writer, the Reformed doctrine of vocation offers insights which can draw together disparate elements in society and give purpose and meaning to daily work through a united endeavor to bring all areas of life under the sovereignty of God.

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1. Op. cit., p. 50.

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