

The Spirit of Enterprise

Abraham Kuyper and Common Grace in Business

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This article explores the link between theology and enterprise implied by the phrase “common grace in business.” Common grace is often employed by Christian business leaders and theorists to counter the problematic sacred/secular divide that too often can be used as an excuse for dividing one’s faith from one’s occupation. While Abraham Kuyper’s ideas on social questions are well-known, his ideas on business have been overlooked. Against this background, Kuyper’s understandings of the working of God’s grace in business, the social function of money, and the calling of business are examined in detail. Within these understandings, the division between sacred and secular is transcended and a unique vision for mixing common and particular grace in business is revealed that both restrains evil and promotes human flourishing.

Introduction

Common grace in business: Putting these four words together implies a link between theology and enterprise, the existence of which is barely evident from the output of most theologians and business writers. The long-standing paucity of engagement between these groups reinforces the widespread perception that trying to mix commerce and religion is like trying to mix oil and water. Against this background, this article will consider the ideas of the Dutch Reformed public philosopher and statesman Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920)—often referred to as “the theologian of common grace.” Among the countless studies that have been made of Kuyper, none deal with his views on business. The closest are treatments of his engagement with poverty, working conditions, and pensions—generally

referred to as the so-called social question. Kuyper's engagement with this question cannot, however, be taken as a proxy for his engagement with business itself.

One reason why Kuyper's engagement with this sphere has been overlooked is that he failed to give much dedicated attention to business compared to other spheres of society. An example is his famous and influential Stone Lectures, which he delivered at Princeton in 1898.¹ Seeking to sketch out in those lectures the contours of a Christian worldview that engaged with every area of life, he dealt at some length with a number of spheres including politics, science, and the arts. He gave no sustained attention to business.

Paradoxically, however, some of the key impetuses to the small but growing engagement between business and theology are inspired by the vision that animates those lectures and many other of Kuyper's works—of faith that is discerning and critical yet essentially world-affirming. Indeed, Kuyper's legacy in the business world is greater than might be expected when judged by the range of social spheres with which he most engaged or by the fruits of Kuyper scholarship. While this scholarship is rapidly increasing, partly as a result of more of his work appearing in English, Kuyper's ideas on business remain a missing piece. This article is only a modest attempt to help fill this gap, as is a forthcoming anthology I am editing of Kuyper's writings that deal with matters of money, work, business, and economics. Much more work will need to be done to chart this unexplored field, but this article provides an initial overview of what Kuyper regarded as the positive potential of business.

This is not to imply that business, and economic issues in general, escaped Kuyper's criticism. His application of the theme of the "antithesis" gave him a more than adequate intellectual platform from which to mount severe critiques of these fields. This doctrine was, in fact, as central to Kuyper's thought as was the doctrine of common grace. It held that the fall of humankind into sin constituted a radical disruption whereby the curse of sin infected and affected all existence. The innocence, freedom, and order of paradise constituted the "normal" state of things because it was in alignment with God's will. The post-fall condition was "abnormal" in being at odds with divine intentions and subject to all manner of sin and evil and their ugly consequences—a predicament that ultimately could only be addressed through God's redemption.

From the vantage point of the twenty-first century, many of Kuyper's antithesis-inspired critiques of commercial activity have a poignant and prophetic feel. He spoke out, for instance, against highly commoditized and speculative activity in finance, burgeoning consumerism, and the prioritization of wealth above all other concerns. Moreover, he often framed his critiques with characterizations

of economic globalization that have a contemporary ring for later generations. For example, “Money’s power,” said Kuyper,

has thus become a world power that ignores the borders of land and nation, spreads its wings out over all of human life, lays a claim on everything, ... penetrates deeper and deeper to the most unknown corners of the world, makes everything dependent on it, imposes its law on all lives, and unites itself in the great world cities in order to give life a bewitching glow, to build a temple in its honor.²

On issues of socioeconomic justice, Kuyper was a strident critic and campaigner with indignation and zeal comparable to that of the so-called liberation theologians of the later twentieth century.

Yet the common grace theme of the symposium proceedings appearing in this journal issue invites an inquiry into what Kuyper saw as the positive contribution that business makes to human and social flourishing. This inquiry assumes, rather than overlooks, Kuyper’s countervailing doctrine of the antithesis. This is because common grace only makes sense when held together with the antithesis, as the former is in the first place an attempt to answer the question of how, *given the reality of the antithesis*, it is possible that non-Christian culture can exemplify great virtue. Particular grace, or “special grace” was, for Kuyper, the grace by which people turn from their sins, put their trust in Christ, receive the regenerating work of his spirit, and inherit the gift of eternal life. Common grace, in contrast, was grace at work in the world at large, by which God holds back the forces of evil, restrains the effects of the fall, and allows civility and human culture to flourish.³ Against the background of this doctrinal framework, Kuyper’s positive appraisal of the potential of business—as indeed of any sphere—is the other side of the coin to his denouncements of errors within that sphere. Disregarding this positive appraisal fails to do justice to Kuyper as a cultural critic with a sharp eye not only for pitfalls but also for potential.

Common grace was, in fact, a means Kuyper used to break the stranglehold that was keeping business and theology separate. Judging by his critiques, this bifurcation was as much a feature of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Netherlands as it is today in many parts of the world.⁴ He railed against forms of Christianity that made no difference to the way people operated in the workplace, leaving the work of Christians indistinguishable from that of non-Christians.⁵ Misconduct in business and in the handling of money served only to show believers to be hypocrites.⁶ For Christians to restrict their faith to matters of the soul allowed business to be regarded as an unholy distraction rather than as a dignified profession.⁷

Kuyper's positive view of business includes his ideas about economic freedom and the role of regulation, organized labor and the role of guilds, the eternal value of earthly work, stewardship and philanthropy, economic globalization, business as a "mediating institution" between the individual and the state, the workings of God's grace in business, the social function of money, and the calling of business. While all these matters deserve exploration, the confines of this article only allow a brief overview of the final three.

Common Grace at Work

Biblical history and archaeology, Kuyper claimed, attest to the fact that crafts and practical skills were more prolific in the pagan cultures of Israel's neighbors, such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, than in Israel itself.⁸ For Kuyper, this was evidence that the spirit of God gifts human beings with talents and skills without regard to merit or piety. Whether or not the recipient recognizes the origin of their gifts, they have the potential to enrich all people and societies. Kuyper appealed to the accounts of the artisans Bezalel and Oholiab in Exodus 31:1–6 and 35:30–35 and of arable production in Isaiah 28:23–29 in support of his claim that God is the source of all artistic craft and skill and of all knowledge and insight in agriculture.⁹

In business, Kuyper explained, this giftedness works as God raises up exceptional leaders who grow their operations in accordance with their talents and with the opportunities they perceive. Such people stand out from their contemporaries in having "clearer insight, a greater practicality, a more powerful will, and a more courageous entrepreneurial endeavor."¹⁰ In exercising these gifts, they help others flourish and ensure that their ideas and inventions outlive them in society.¹¹

All this, Kuyper insisted, is the result of common grace, which works in a specific way in the sphere of commerce, just as it works in a specific way in other spheres: "Common grace extends over our entire human life, in all its manifestations.... There is a common grace that shines in the development of science and art; there is a common grace that enriches a nation through inventiveness in enterprise and commerce."¹² As these forms of common grace take effect, they raise the standard of social life; enrich human knowledge and skill; and make life "easier, more enjoyable, freer, and through all this our power and dominion over nature keeps increasing."¹³ While these developments inevitably provide additional opportunities for sin, common grace has raised human achievement to new heights through the invention of tools and machines, the division of labor, and the harnessing of nature to generate steam power and electricity.¹⁴

In the light of what is now known about the impact of carbon-intensive industrialization on the natural environment, Kuyper's appreciation of human power over nature appears to be insufficiently nuanced, revealing him as a child of his times. It is clear from the context of his words, however, that foremost in his mind is the centuries-long progress human beings have made in procuring such basic goods as food, shelter, energy, transport, and health. In terms, by contrast, that sound well ahead of his times, he averred that the potency of common grace to foster such progress, and the cultural development it facilitates lay in the fact that humans are made in the image of a God whose essence, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is diverse and relational. This *imago Dei* acts as a "seed" within diverse human beings that only germinates through their social relationships. It thereby permeates culture, including "all kinds of business undertakings and industry."¹⁵ Clearly, for Kuyper business joined all other aspects of culture in reflecting God's creation of human beings in the divine likeness, an act that fills these beings with awesome potential.

Particular Grace at Work

If the image of God in human beings is not restricted to Christians, and one of its effects is that it helps business flourish, what role did Kuyper reserve for particular grace within the commercial sphere? Here the distinction he made between the church as *institution* and the church as *organism* is of special relevance.

Kuyper taught that the institutional form of the church is found in its statutes, laws, offices, and registers, all of which facilitate the ministry of the Word, the sacraments, and acts of charity. Closely associated to this form of church is its rich organic form that finds expression in wider society, including in families, businesses, science, and the arts as believers live and work in those spheres. A Christian, he taught, is not merely a church member but a parent, a citizen, an employer, or an employee. As such, they "bring to bear the powers of the kingdom in their family life, in their education, in their business, in all dealings with people, and also as citizens in society." Whereas the church as institution is distinct from society, the church as organism "impacts the life of the world, changes it, gives it a different form, elevates it and sanctifies it."¹⁶ This is especially the case when the life of the institutional church is most vibrant. As Kuyper put it, using a vivid metaphor:

Even though the lamp of the Christian religion burns only within the walls of that institution [the church], its light shines through the windows far beyond it and shines upon all those aspects and connections of our human life....

Jurisprudence, law, family, business, occupation, public opinion and literature, art and science, and so forth—the light shines upon all of this, and that illumination will be all the more powerful and penetrating the more clearly and purely the lamp of the gospel is allowed to burn within the institution of the church.¹⁷

As an example of this occurring in practice, Kuyper highlighted the Dutch Republic (1581–1795), a period in the history of the Netherlands often associated with the heyday both of Calvinism and of commerce. Not only were Dutch farmers at this time the most advanced in Europe, Kuyper maintained, but Dutch merchants were renowned for their honesty and integrity. He attributed these characteristics to the power of the Word of God and of divine ordinances that were widely preached and shared in their midst.¹⁸

This power put Christian nations at an advantage and helped account for the contribution they had made to human development: “a rich development of the life of the soul arising from *regeneration* joined with a rich development proceeding from the life of *common grace*.”¹⁹ The potency of this mix of graces was not only demonstrated in these nations by their high level of care for the poor and the elevation of women but also by a highly developed business sphere.²⁰ The attributes of such countries derive from particular grace but operate in the sphere of common grace. Despite his readiness to admit that impressive business development had been achieved outside the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Kuyper was clearly of the view that business’ best prospects were served when the workings of particular grace and common grace converge.

Money as a Social Blessing

Despite Kuyper’s many jeremiads against the dangers and abuses of wealth, he insisted that money was a gift of God. The appearance and development of money in world history “did not come from the Evil One, but was fully in line with the design of God; it was not intended as a curse, but a blessing.”²¹ Only when sin attacked it did money acquire a sinister omnipotence: It is in the human heart and not in money itself wherein lie the origins of Mammon—the idolization of money. While Mammon is allied to greed and dishonesty, money itself is “one of God’s gifts for society so that it might develop more highly and richly.”²²

The uplifting and cohesive impact of money in society derives primarily from the ability it gives to the thrifty to save and from the stimulus this gives to commercial enterprise.²³ This blessing, Kuyper maintained, “is evident in the quiet, normal life of citizens whose activity in trading and commerce has been unbelievably enriched and simplified by money.”²⁴ The positive potential of

money was also evident in the charitable sector where it facilitates care for the needy; and in the church where it not only supports buildings but also clergy, missions, seminaries, and the practical help for the disadvantaged provided by the diaconate.²⁵ In the end, whether money works as a blessing or curse is a spiritual matter: “It can be turned to the good, or to evil; and the choice between the two depends only on the disposition of the human heart. Those who bow down to Mammon use it for corruption; those who bow their knee before Christ as their King can use it to increase the luster of Christ’s kingship.”²⁶

Kuyper’s notion that money can provide sound foundations for a developed and unified society suggests he was influenced by the notion of the “commercial society,” associated in particular with the French intellectual Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) who visited the United States in 1831 and recorded his observations in *Democracy in America*. As early in his career as 1873, Kuyper acknowledged the influence of this thinker on his ideas; in a sermon he published that year, he held up the United States as a “golden land” that provided a model of freedom.²⁷ A quarter of a century later, he reechoed this theme several times when he visited America in 1898. There he argued, in somewhat rhapsodic tones, that the origins of the United States’ enterprise society lay in the Calvinism practiced by ordinary tradespeople in the Old World:

Calvinism sprang from the hearts of the people themselves, with weavers and farmers, with tradesmen and servants, with women and young maidens.²⁸

With this there went out from Western Europe that mighty movement which promoted the revival of science and art, opened new avenues to commerce and trade, beautified domestic and social life, exalted the middle classes to positions of honor, caused philanthropy to abound.²⁹

There was a rustling of life in all directions, and an indomitable energy was fermenting in every department of human activity, and their commerce and trade, their handicrafts and industry, their agriculture and horticulture, their art and science, flourished with a brilliancy previously unknown, and imparted a new impulse for an entirely new development of life, to the whole of Western Europe.³⁰

The flowering of Calvinism and commerce went hand in hand, Kuyper argued, with the division of labor. As this division increased, the scope and quality of production rose, and sufficient capital could be accumulated to develop large enterprises.³¹ In turn, these stimulated “all kinds of inventions and the enrichment of our power over nature.”³²

While Kuyper was eager to admit that sin affects all such positive development, he was adamant that the abuse of money must not be allowed to overshadow its proper use. History demonstrates, he argued, that money facilitates the economic development necessary for social flourishing.

Business as a Calling

The positive social potential inherent in the creation of material wealth reflected, for Kuyper, the fact that business is an honorable calling for an individual to pursue and that business has an honorable calling to fulfill in society. Christians must be prepared, he argued, to counteract the corrupting effects of sin in business life by setting a good example in the production, processing, and distribution of goods and services. In so doing, they honor the workings of common grace in society and uphold the ordinances of God for commercial life. Christians should reject, therefore, the attitude of those who consider business to be a field in which Christians should allow others to take the lead because there can be no valid calling to commerce. Not least because of the financial requirements of churches, schools, and charities, Christians in business need to be competent in generating profit. God's children, Kuyper taught, should "take pride in not falling behind others in this realm, because also in this area of life it is God who gives us wisdom, God who prepares the means for us, and God who guides the development of societal life through his common grace."³³

In making this argument, Kuyper appealed to Petrus Plancius (1552–1622), a Flemish astronomer, cartographer, theologian, and a founder-director of the Dutch East India Company. Based in Amsterdam during the Dutch Golden Age, this devout and impassioned preacher encouraged Calvinists to excel in commerce and used his expertise in geography to give navigational assistance to seafaring merchants. His example, Kuyper maintained, challenged the contemporary tendency "to view agriculture, industry and commerce as worldly side issues." Bringing the best goods to market, making wise acquisitions, and conducting sound commerce is the pathway to the prosperity that societies need, and Christians needed to be in the vanguard.³⁴

It was, moreover, from God that people receive the intuition, imagination, and skills—plus their delight in utilizing them—that cause them to excel in the commercial sphere. From God also comes their "spirit of enterprise," and "the desire and inclination people have to occupy themselves with a certain trade over another." What people chose to do with their lives, accordingly, was not a matter of coincidence but was a matter of what God had implanted within them. It is ultimately this divine orientation rather than money or argument that

convince them to pursue a particular career.³⁵ Entrepreneurs are given the rare talent, persistence, resources, and leadership qualities to grow their businesses from employing only their immediate family to employing hundreds of workers. All this involves an art that God gives to certain individuals who eventually hand it on to those in the next generation who have a similar orientation. Here, too, Kuyper appealed to the account of the Israelite craftsmen noted earlier who were equipped in their work by God's spirit.³⁶

Kuyper's defense of business as a valid vocation for an individual to pursue was inextricably tied to his idea that business itself had a vocation. In keeping with the calling of all other social spheres, its vocation was to glorify God through following God's ordinances for that sphere. These ordinances, he maintained, permeate all creation and human culture, and they provide the organic connections that hold the various social spheres together. They are connections that human beings find rather than create. Although human beings exert some influence on them, they exert a stronger influence on human beings.³⁷

In the economic sphere, the workings of God's ordinances can be found in particular in the historical process, noted earlier, to which Kuyper attached great importance: the division of labor.³⁸ As this process unfolded, trade and industry flourished, thereby stimulating higher and richer forms of culture and society.³⁹ Despite threats imposed by human sinfulness, this development "brings to light treasures that were once hidden, increases man's power over nature, fosters interaction among people, and brings together nations. . . . [It] counteracts much suffering, turns aside much danger, and in numerous ways makes life much richer."⁴⁰

All this is reflected in the expansion of local markets into national and international ones.⁴¹ Clothing once made by a tailor at home with the help of his wife and children was now made in "a large garment factory which attempts to bring tens of thousands of pieces of clothing to the market all at once."⁴² In such developments and in the power of steam and electricity that enables them, ordinances of God lay hidden for centuries. Only at the appointed time did God raise up people to make the necessary discoveries.⁴³ Accordingly, the human task is not to devise theories and then to try to press reality to fit them. It is, rather, to trace the laws and relationships inherent in reality—regardless of whether or not God is recognized as their source.⁴⁴ As this quest is fulfilled in the commercial sphere, business flourishes and strengthens human culture.⁴⁵

The idea that every sphere of society, including business, is charged with the ordinances of God and has the task of discerning them and acting on them was fundamental to Kuyper's social vision. It meant that society was not a random aggregate of individuals but an integrated and purposeful whole:

Families and kinships, towns and villages, businesses and industries, morals, manners, and legal customs are not mechanically assembled but, like groups of cells in a human body, are organically formed by a natural urge that, even when degenerate or deviant, is generally obedient to a higher impulse.⁴⁶

Because of this, each sphere of society has a fundamental moral purpose: “The various entities—human persons first of all—which God called into being by his creative powers and to which he apportioned power, are almost all, in whole or in part, of a moral nature.”⁴⁷ From its divinely endowed moral purpose, rather than from any dictate from the state, each sphere of society develops a free life of its own:

There is a distinctive life of science; a distinctive life of art; a distinctive life of the church; a distinctive life of the family; a distinctive life of town or village; a distinctive life of agriculture; a distinctive life of industry; a distinctive life of commerce; a distinctive life of works of mercy; and the list goes on.⁴⁸

The sphere of the state stands alongside, rather than above, these social spheres, though it does have the right to intervene when conflict arises among them.⁴⁹ This is a core tenet of Kuyper’s “sphere-sovereignty” doctrine, which has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Representing an unusual form of sociopolitical pluralism, it is often associated with “pillarization” (*verzuijing*), a process in Dutch history in which Kuyper is thought to have played a key role.⁵⁰ The complex particulars of Dutch pillarization cannot be considered here. However, Kuyper’s belief that every sphere of society enjoyed a certain freedom because its authority came from God rather than from the state is closely tied to his idea that business—along with every other sphere of society—has a calling. As with those other spheres, business has the freedom and responsibility to discern and follow that calling for itself. As it does so, it will help human beings and the social spheres they inhabit to flourish to the glory of God.

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Kuyper was not a business leader, but he shared some of the traits associated with such leaders, including those he identified above in terms of practical insight, determination, and courage. He was also the key driver of many new ventures, including a newspaper, a university, and a political party, all of which had requirements familiar to the founders of commercial enterprises, such as investors, budgets, cash flow, accounts, targets, delivery channels, marketing, publicity, and accountability to stakeholders. Using contemporary language, he could legitimately be referred to as a social entrepreneur. The associated instincts

appear to have run deep. According to anecdotal evidence from his family, as a child he distributed cigars to local seamen in exchange for their giving audience to his mini homilies. In his first parish, he followed another Reformed clergyman—Henry Duncan (1774–1846), the Scottish founder of the world’s first savings bank—in establishing a local bank for small savers. His endeavors clearly commanded respect and support, especially among business leaders. An ally of Kuyper for almost half a century was the brewer and successful beer entrepreneur Willem Hovy (1840–1915), who was the key financial backer of the fledgling Free University. When Hovy died, Kuyper was his most long-standing friend and the only person the family invited to give a graveside address. In it, he praised Hovy’s practical mindedness and his commitment to living out his faith in everyday life.⁵¹

As suggested at the outset of this article, the “marketplace Christianity” for which Hovy and Kuyper stood has long been ignored by theology and religion scholars. While Kuyper gave relatively little undivided attention to it, his ideas about business are fresh, keen, and insightful. The fact that they have been overlooked in Kuyper scholarship reflects the relative youth of business studies as an academic discipline. It also reflects a tendency amongst academics with socioeconomic interests to assume that they have engaged with business if they have provided critiques of such issues as inequality, individualism, indebtedness, greed, and consumerism. It is perhaps no wonder, in this context, that many business leaders today feel their vocation is misunderstood and undervalued in religious and academic circles.⁵²

As also noted at the beginning of this article, many business leaders who do seek to integrate their faith with their workplace are influenced by neo-Calvinism and the “Protestant work ethic” with which it is often disparagingly associated. This serves as testimony to the ongoing appeal and pertinence of Kuyperian worldview thinking within which common grace is central. In Kuyper’s hands and in those of Kuyperian business leaders today, this doctrine provides a tool for dismantling the sacred/secular divide between theology and business. In so doing, to use Kuyper’s terminology, particular grace mixes with common grace—a convergence he believed to have strong transformative potential. Its impact in the commercial sphere, in Kuyper’s estimation, helped business develop culture to a higher level and to make life easier and freer. It had done so by helping God’s image bearers steward creation more effectively. Accordingly, for Kuyper, this reflected the fact that, while Mammon posed an ever-present hazard, money itself was a blessing. Its proper use undergirded flourishing societies and helped elucidate the call *to* business and the calling *of* business. Putting the four words “common grace in business” together again at the end of this brief exposition

of Kuyper's thought suggests, therefore, the following conclusion: At the core of Kuyper's ideas on the workings of God's grace in business is the notion that business to the glory of God is business that, like the common grace it embodies, restrains evil and promotes flourishing.

Notes

1. Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1931), henceforth referred to as *LC*.
2. Abraham Kuyper, *Pro Rege of het Koningschap van Christus*, 3 vols. (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1911–1912), 1:100; henceforth referred to as *PR*. In this and many subsequent references to Kuyper's works that have not yet appeared in English, I am referring with permission to as-yet unpublished manuscripts in the process of preparation for publication under the direction of the Abraham Kuyper Translation Society. Such instances will be noted with a parenthetical note (AKTS). Albert J. Gootjes is translator of the AKTS version of *PR*.
3. For a summary of Kuyper's doctrine of common grace, see Peter S. Heslam, *Creating a Christian Worldview: Abraham Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 117–23.
4. See Peter S. Heslam, "Christianity and the Prospects for Development in the Global South," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christianity and Economics*, ed. Paul Oslington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 359–83. See also Peter S. Heslam and Eric A. S. Wood, "Faith and Business Practice amongst Christian Entrepreneurs in Developing and Emerging Markets," *Koers: Bulletin for Christian Scholarship* 79, no. 2 (2014).
5. Abraham Kuyper, *De gemeene gratie*, vol. 1 (Leiden: D. Donner, 1902); Abraham Kuyper, *De gemeene gratie*, vols. 2–3 (Amsterdam: Höveker & Wormser, 1903–1904), 2:299; henceforth referred to as *CG*. One complete volume has appeared so far in English from the Abraham Kuyper Translation Society (AKTS) as *Common Grace*, vol. 1, pts. 1–3, trans. Nelson D. Kloosterman and Ed M. van der Maas, ed. Jordan J. Ballor and Stephen J. Grabill (Grand Rapids: CLP Academic, 2013–2014).
6. Kuyper, *CG* 2:336.
7. Kuyper, *CG* 1.2:286; 1.3:571; 2:337–38.
8. Kuyper, *CG* 1.2:350–51, 515, 524–25; Kuyper, *PR* 1:189–91.
9. Kuyper, *CG* 1.2:514; Kuyper, *PR* 3:97–99.
10. Kuyper, *PR* 3:102 (AKTS).

11. See Abraham Kuyper, *Guidance for Christian Engagement in Government* (Grand Rapids: CLP Academic, 2013), 19; henceforth referred to as *GCEG*. See also Kuyper, *PR* 3:54–56 and Kuyper, *LC*, 95.
12. Kuyper, *CG* 1.2:514.
13. Kuyper, *CG* 1.2:548.
14. Kuyper, *CG* 1.3:613; Kuyper, *CG* 3:437–38.
15. Kuyper, *CG* 2:626 (AKTS).
16. Kuyper, *CG* 3:421 (AKTS).
17. Kuyper, *CG* 2:268 (AKTS).
18. Kuyper, *CG* 2:660–61; Abraham Kuyper, *Gomer voor den Sabbath* (Amsterdam: Wormser, 1889), 21.
19. Kuyper, *CG* 1.3:613.
20. Kuyper, *CG* 2:661–62. Kuyper did not reserve the workings of common grace to nonbelievers. Common grace also operated in and through Christians, who were simultaneously recipients of particular grace. See Kuyper, *CG* 2:298–99.
21. Kuyper, *PR* 3:120 (AKTS).
22. Kuyper, *PR* 3:122 (AKTS).
23. Kuyper, *PR* 3:119.
24. Kuyper, *PR* 3:122 (AKTS).
25. Kuyper, *PR* 3:123.
26. Kuyper, *PR* 3:123 (AKTS).
27. Abraham Kuyper, *Vrijheid: Rede, ter bevestiging van Dr Ph.S. van Ronkel, gehouden den 23 maart 1873, in de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: De Hoog, 1873).
28. Kuyper, *LC*, 24.
29. Kuyper, *LC*, 39–40.
30. Kuyper, *LC*, 73.
31. Kuyper, *PR* 3:41–42.
32. Kuyper, *CG* 3:432 (AKTS).
33. Kuyper, *CG* 3:433 (AKTS).
34. Kuyper, *CG* 3:433 (AKTS).

35. Kuyper, *PR* 3:34.
36. Kuyper, *PR* 3:42.
37. Kuyper, *CG* 3:431–33.
38. Kuyper, *PR* 3:36–44.
39. Kuyper, *PR* 3:12–22.
40. Kuyper, *PR* 3:21 (AKTS).
41. Kuyper, *PR* 3:39–41.
42. Kuyper, *PR* 3:60 (AKTS).
43. Kuyper, *PR* 3:41–42; Kuyper, *GCEG*, 29.
44. Kuyper, *GCEG*, 19, 28.
45. Kuyper, *PR* 3:54–56.
46. Kuyper, *GCEG*, 41.
47. Kuyper, *GCEG*, 67.
48. Kuyper, *GCEG*, 67.
49. Kuyper, *GCEG*, 19.
50. For a discussion of the link between sphere-sovereignty and *verzuiling*, see Heslam, *Creating a Christian Worldview*, 158–60.
51. Abraham Kuyper, “Bij de nagedachtenis van Willem Hovy,” in *De Amsterdammer: Weekblad voor Nederland*, 14 March 1915, reprinted in J. C. Rullman, *Kuyperbibliografie*, 3 vols. (Kampen: Kok, 1923–1940), 3:411–15.
52. Antibusiness sentiment in academia has a long history but reached a peak in the 1930s interbellum. See Peter S. Heslam, “The Role of Business in the Fight Against Poverty,” in *Christian Theology and Market Economics*, ed. Ian R. Harper and Samuel Gregg (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008), 164–80.