

Updated: 19 September 2012

Economics 303Y:

The Economic History of Modern Europe, to 1914

Topic No. 2 [6]:

The Protestant Dissenters and the British Industrial Revolution:

The role of religious factors in entrepreneurship and modern industrialization

READINGS: all readings are listed in chronological order of original publication. As you will note from these chronological listings, this debate has not elicited much in the way of new literature in recent years (except for my own two recent publications); but that does not mean that the issue has died out in the minds of economic historians.

A. Puritanism, Dissenters, and the 'Protestant Ethic' in the Industrial Revolution Era and Beyond

1. Christen T. Jonassen, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in Norway', American Sociological Review, 12 (1947), 676-86.
- ** 2. Thomas S. Ashton, The Industrial Revolution, 1760 - 1830 (London, 1948).
3. David C. McClelland, The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953).
- * 4. Thomas S. Ashton, An Economic History of England: the 18th Century (London: Methuen, 1955).
5. Peter G. M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England : a Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756 (London, 1967).
6. E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', Past and Present, No. 38 (1967), 56-97.
7. David C. McClelland, and David G. Winter, Sara K. Winter, et. al, Motivating Economic Achievement (New York, Free Press: 1969).
8. Allan Thompson, The Dynamics of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1973), Chapter 8: 'Religion and the Social Environment', pp.122-40.
- ** 9. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (London, 1973). The subject of this topic is not treated as such, but the role of dissenting Protestant sects ('Dissenters'), chiefly Calvinist, in the British Industrial Revolution, is given some prominence on pp. 309-10, in the concluding chapter 18: 'France and England: Industrial Growth and Industrial Revolutions', which (along with Landes) will put this topic in its proper perspective.
10. David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society: with a new introduction (New York, Halstead Press, 1975; original edn: 1961).
- * 11. Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel, and Social Change, 1740 - 1914 (London, 1976).

12. Donald C. Coleman, The Economy of England, 1450-1750 (London, 1977).
13. Jacob Viner, Religious Thought and Economic Society (Durham, 1978).
14. P. Seaver, 'The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited', Journal of British Studies, 19 (1980).
15. Gordon Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (London, 1980).
16. Eric L. Jones, The European Miracle: Environments, Economies, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
17. Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation: an Economic History of Britain, 1700 - 1914, 2nd edn. (London and New York, 1983), 'The Entrepreneurs', pp. 136-48.
18. David J. Jeremy, ed., Business and Religion in Britain (Aldershot and Brookfield, U.S.A., 1988).
19. E. Anthony Wrigley, Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
20. Charles More, The Industrial Age: Economy and Society in Britain, 1750 - 1985 (London: Longman, 1989).
21. Norman Jones, God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989).
22. John Brewer, The Sinews of Powers: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990).
23. Larry Neal, The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason (Cambridge and New York, 1990).
- * 24. François Crouzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', in Patrice Higonnet, David Landes, and Henry Rosovsky, eds., Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development Since the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 221-66.
- ** 25. Stanley Chapman, Merchant Enterprise in Britain from the Industrial Revolution to World War I (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- ** 26. David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998).
27. Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300 - 1640', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 29:3 (Winter 1999), 459-90. Special issue on *Patterns of Social Capital: Stability and Change in Comparative Perspective: Part I*.
28. Jan De Vries, 'Economic Growth Before and After the Industrial Revolution: A Modest Proposal', in Maarten Prak, ed., Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400 - 1800 (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 177 -94.
29. Richard Grassby, Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580 - 1740 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

- * 30. E. Anthony Wrigley, 'The Divergence of England: the Growth of the English Economy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Transactions of the Royal Society, 6th ser., 10 (2000), 117-41.
- * 31. John Munro, 'The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, *Rentes*, and Negotiability', The International History Review, 25:3 (September 2003), 505-62.
- ** 32. David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present, 2nd edn. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Introduction, pp. 1-40; and chapter 1, 'The Industrial Revolution in Britain', pp. 41-123.
- * 33. Jack A. Goldstone, 'Europe's Peculiar Path: Would the World Be "Modern" if William III's Invasion of England in 1688 Had Failed?', in Philip E. Tetlock, Ned Lebow, and Geoffrey Parker, eds., Unmaking the West: What-If Scenarios That Rewrite World History (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 168-96.
- 34. Nathan Sussman and Yishay Yafeh, 'Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain, 1690 - 1790', Journal of Economic History, 66:4 (Dec. 2006), 882-905.
- 35. David Stasavage, 'Partisan Politics and Public Debt: The Importance of the "Whig Supremacy" for Britain's Financial Revolution', European Review of Economic History, 11:1 (April 2007), 123-53.
- * 36. Mark Valeri, Heavenly Merchandise: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- ** 37. John Munro, 'Tawney's Century, 1540 - 1640: The Roots of Modern Capitalist Entrepreneurship', in David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr, and William J. Baumol, eds, The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times, Kauffman Foundation Series on Innovation and Entrepreneurship (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 107-55.

Note: the thesis is that the true origins of modern capitalist entrepreneurship came in the following century (1640-1740), and thus led directly into the Industrial Revolution era.

- * 38. John Munro, 'Usury, Calvinism and Credit in Protestant England: from the Sixteenth Century to the Industrial Revolution', in Francesco Ammannati, ed., Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea, 1000 - 1800/ Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy, 1000 - 1800, Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', Prato, Serie II: Atti delle 'Settimane de Studi' e altri Convegni no. 43 (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2012), pp. 249-78.

N.B. Both of these publications are available online, at the Department of Economics web page listing my publications: at this URL

<http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/index.php/index/research/publications?personId=51>

- * 39. Thijs Lambrecht, ' "Nine Protestants Are to Esteemed Worth Ten Catholics": Representing Religion, Labour, and Economic Performance in Pre-Industrial Europe, c. 1650 - c. 1800', in Francesco Ammannati, ed., Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia Europea, 1000 - 1800/ Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy, 1000 - 1800, Serie II: Atti delle 'Settimane di Studi' e altri convegni no. 43 (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2012), pp. 431-50.

C. Puritanism, Science, and the ‘Scientific Revolution’ in the 17th Century: The Debate (in order of publication in Past and Present, with other relevant publications.)

1. Robert K. Merton, ‘Science, Technology, and Society in Seventeenth-Century England’, Osiris, 4 (1938), 360- .
2. Isidor Thorner, ‘Ascetic Protestantism and the Development of Science and Technology’, American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1952), 25-33.
- * 3. S. F. Mason, ‘Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England’, Past and Present, no. 3 (Feb. 1953), 28-44.
- * 4. A. Rupert Hall, The Revolution in Science, 1500 - 1750, 3rd edn. (Longman: London, 1954; 3rd revised edn. 1983)
5. Robert K. Merton, ‘Puritanism, Pietism, and Science’, in Robert K. Merton, ed., Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. edn. (New York, 1957), pp. 574-606.
6. A. E. Musson and E. Robinson, ‘Science and Industry in the Late Eighteenth Century’, Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 13 (1960), 222-45.
7. Christopher Hill, ‘William Harvey and the Idea of Monarchy’, Past and Present, no. 27 (Apr. 1964), 54-72.
- * 8. H. F. Kearney, ‘Puritanism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution’, Past and Present, no. 28 (July 1964), 81-101.
- * 9. Christopher Hill, ‘Puritanism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution’, Past and Present, no. 29 (Dec. 1964), 88-97.
10. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964).
11. Christopher Hill, The Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965).
12. H. F. Kearney, ‘Puritanism and Science: Problems of Definition’, Past and Present, no. 31 (July 1965), 104-110.
13. Theodore K. Rabb, ‘Religion and the Rise of Modern Science’, Past and Present, no. 31 (July 1965), 111-26.
14. Christopher Hill, ‘Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, Past and Present, no. 32 (Dec. 1965), 110-12. Comment on Kearney and Rabb.
15. Theodore K. Rabb, ‘Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, Past and Present, no. 33 (April 1966), 148. Note in reply to Hill.
16. Albert E. Musson and Eric Robinson, Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).
- * 17. Robert K. Merton, Science, Technology, and Society in Seventeenth-Century England, revised edn. (New York, 1970), especially chapter IV: ‘Puritanism and Cultural Values’, pp. 55-79; and Chapter VI: ‘Puritanism, Pietism, and Science’, pp. 112-36.
18. A. E. Musson, ed., Science, Technology, and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1972). Collected essays.

19. Cliff Bekar and Richard G. Lipsey, 'Science, Institutions and the Industrial Revolution', The Journal of European Economic History, 33:3 (Winter 2004), 709-53.

D. The Weber-Tawney Thesis: on Protestantism and the Rise of Modern Capitalism

- * 1. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (original German edition, 1904-05; English translation by Talcott Parsons, New York, 1930; 2nd edition: London: Allen & Unwin, 1976). Forward by Richard Tawney and Preface by Max Weber (pp. 1-31). See especially chapter V: 'Asceticism and the Spirit of Capitalism', pp. 155-83.
2. Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, New York: Burt Franklin (originally published 1913; reissued, 1969).
3. Thorstein Veblen, 'The Intellectual Pre-eminence of Jews in Modern Europe', in Max Lerner, ed., The Portable Veblen (New York, 1919; this edition published in New York: Viking Press, 1958).
- * 4. Thomas Wilson, A Discourse Upon Usury [1572], edited, with an historical introduction by R.H. Tawney (London and New York, 1925), pp. 1-172. Especially, in Tawney's Introduction, Section III.i, on 'The Damnable Sin of Usury', pp. 106-21.
- ** 5. R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (London, 1926; (London: 1926; reissued New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1937):
 - (a) Preface, and Chapter I, 'Medieval Background', pp. 3-60.
 - (b) Chapter II, 'The Continental Reformers': the section on Calvin, pp. 91-115.
 - ** (c) Chapter IV: 'The Puritan Movement': especially the section 'The Triumph of Economic Virtues', pp. 189-209.
 - (d) Conclusion: pp. 227-36.
- * 6. Ephraim Fischhoff, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The History of a Controversy', Social Research, 11 (1944), 61-77.
- * 7. Robert Green, ed., Protestantism and Capitalism: The Weber Thesis and Its Critics, in the Heath Series: Problems in European Civilization (Boston, 1959).

Contains selections from Weber and Tawney, and also from the writings of their critics.
- * 8. Christopher Hill, 'Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism', in F.J. Fisher, ed., Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1961), pp. 15-39. Reprinted in part in David Landes, ed., The Rise of Capitalism (New York, 1966), pp. 41-52.

A Marxist view. See also other publications of Hill in section D, on 'Puritanism and the Scientific Revolution.'
9. H. Luthy, 'Calvinisme et capitalisme: après soixante ans de débat', Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto, 2 (1963). Republished in H. Luthy, Le passé présent (Monaco, 1965).
10. H. Luthy, 'Once Again: Calvinism and Capitalism', Encounter, 22 (1964). See also the preceding article.

11. S. A. Burrell, ed., The Role of Religion in Modern European History (New York, 1964). A collection of essays, in 142 pp.
12. M. J. Kitch, ed., Capitalism and the Reformation, in the series Problems and Perspectives in History (London, 1967): Another collection of essays on this debate.
13. S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View (New York, 1968).
- * 14. Philippe Besnard, ed., Protestantisme et capitalisme: la controverse post-Weberienne (Paris, 1970). A very good, if now somewhat outdated, anthology of essays on the debate, with an excellent introductory essay, pp. 7-110 (for those who read French).
15. R.S. Warner, 'The Role of Religious Ideas and the Use of Models in Max Weber's Comparative Studies of Non-Capitalist Societies', Journal of Economic History, 30 (1970), 74-99.
16. A. Mitzman, The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber (New York, 1970).
- * 17. John H. Munro, 'The Weber Thesis Revisited -- and Revindicated?', Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 51 (1973), 381-91. A review article based on Besnard.
- * 18. J. H. Van Stuivenberg, 'The Weber Thesis: Attempt at Interpretation', Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 8 (1975), 50-66.
19. Jacob Viner, Religious Thought and Economic Society (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978).
20. G. Roth and W. Schluchter, eds. Max Weber's Vision of History (Berkeley, 1979).
21. S. Kalberg, 'Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History', American Journal of Sociology, 85 (1980), 1145-79.
22. D. N. Levine, 'Rationality and Freedom: Weber and Beyond', Sociological Inquiry, 51 (1981), 12-15.
- * 23. Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth, eds., Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
 - a) Friederich Wilhelm Graf, 'The German Theological Sources and Protestant Church Politics', pp. 27-50.
 - b) Paul Münch, 'The Thesis Before Weber: An Archaeology', pp. 51-72.
 - c) Thomas Nupperdey, 'Max Weber, Protestantism, and the Debate around 1900', pp. 73-82.
 - d) Guenther Roth, 'Weber the Would-Be Englishman: Anglophilia and Family History', pp. 83-122.
 - e) Harry Liebersohn, 'Weber's Historical Concept of National Identity', pp. 123-32.
 - f) Hubert Treiber, 'Nietzsche's Monastery for Freer Spirits and Weber's Sect', pp. 133-60.

- g) Harvey Goldman, 'Weber's Ascetic Practices of the Self', pp. 161-78.
 - h) Klaus Lichtblau, 'The Protestant Ethic versus the 'New Ethic'', pp. 179- 94.
 - i) Hartmut Lehmann, 'The Rise of Capitalism: Weber versus Sombart', pp. 195-208.
 - j) Malcolm MacKinnon, 'The Longevity of the Thesis: A Critique of the Critics', pp. 211-44.
 - k) David Zaret, 'The Use and Abuse of Textual Data', pp. 245-72.
 - l) Kaspar von Greyerz, 'Biographical Evidence on Predestination, Covenant, and Special Providence', pp. 273-84.
 - m) Guy Oakes, 'The Thing That Would Not Die: Notes on Refutation', pp. 285-94.
 - n) Gianfranco Poggi, 'Historical Viability, Sociological Significance, and Personal Judgement', pp. 295-304.
 - o) Philip Benedict, 'The Historiography of Continental Calvinism', pp. 305-26.
 - p) James Henretta, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Reality of Capitalism in Colonial America', pp. 327-46.
 - q) Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, 'The Economic Ethics of the World Religions', pp. 347-56.
 - r) Hans Rollmann, 'Meet Me in St. Louis': Troeltsch and Weber in America', pp. 357-83.
24. Joseph A. Schumpeter, 'Max Weber's Work', in Richard Swedberg, ed., Joseph A. Schumpeter: The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
 25. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis, eds., Calvinism in Europe, 1540 - 1620 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 26. E.L. Jones, 'Capitalism: One Origin or Two?', Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparisons, Contrasts, 1:1 (February 1997), 71-76.
- ** 27. Stephen P. Turner, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Weber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See the following essays:
- a) Jon Elster, 'Rationality, Economy, and Society', pp. 21-41.
 - b) Guenther Roth, 'Global Capitalism and Multi-Ethnicity: Max Weber Then and Now', pp. 117-30.
 - c) Alastair Hamilton, 'Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*', pp. 151 -71.
 - d) Stanley Engerman, 'Max Weber as Economist and Economic Historian', pp. 256-71.

A condensed version of this appears as an EH.Net PROJECT Review, 21 March

2001, which is appended to this bibliography.

- ** 28. David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe, 2nd edn. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Read the Introduction (Chapter I), pp. 1-40, and with care pp. 21-33. This will put the whole debate into its proper historical and economic perspective.
- 29. Lutz Kaelber, 'Max Weber on Usury and Medieval Capitalism: From *The History of Commercial Partnerships* to *The Protestant Ethic*', Max Weber Studies, 4 (2004), 51-75.
- * 30. William H. Swatos and Lutz Kaelber, eds., The Protestant Ethic Turns 100: Essays on the Centenary of the Weber Thesis (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2005):
 - Introduction: Lutz Kaelber, 'The Centenary of Weber's Protestant Ethic Essay', pp. xv-xxxii
 - Chapter 1: Harmut Lehmann, 'Friends and Foes: The Formation and Consolidation of the 'Protestant Ethic' Thesis', pp. 1-22.
 - Chapter 2: Martin Riesbrodt, 'Dimensions of the Protestant Ethic', pp. 23-51.
 - Chapter 3: Donald A. Nielsen, 'The Protestant Ethic and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism as Grand Narrative: Max Weber's Philosophy of History', pp. 53-75.
 - Chapter 4: Lawrence A. Scaff, 'Remnants of Romanticism: Max Weber in Oklahoma and Indian Territory', pp. 77-110.
 - Chapter 5: William H. Swatos Jr. and Peter Kivisto, 'The Contexts of the Publication and Reception of the Protestant Ethic', pp. 111-37.
 - Chapter 6: Lutz Kaelber, 'Rational Capitalism, Traditionalism, and Adventure Capitalism: New Research on the Weber Thesis', pp. 139-63.
 - Chapter 7: Philip S. Gorski, 'The Little Divergence: The Protestant Reformation and Economic Hegemony in Early Modern Europe', pp. 165-90.
 - Chapter 8: Stephen Kalberg, 'Utilizing Max Weber's "Iron Cage" to Define the Past, Present, and Future of the American Political Culture', pp. 191-208.
- * 31. Lutz Kaelber, 'Max Weber and Usury: Implications for Historical Research', in Lawrin Armstrong, Ivana Elbl, and Martin M. Elbl, eds., Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H. A. Munro, Later Medieval Europe Series, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 59-86.
- 32. Judith Spicksley, 'Usury Legislation, Cash, and Credit: the Development of the Female Investor in the Late Tudor and Stuart Periods', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 61:2 (May 2008), 277-301.
- * 33. John Munro, 'Tawney's Century, 1540 - 1640: The Roots of Modern Capitalist Entrepreneurship', in David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr, and William J. Baumol, eds., The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times, Kauffman Foundation Series on Innovation and Entrepreneurship (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 107-55.
- * 34. John Munro, 'Usury, Calvinism and Credit in Protestant England: from the Sixteenth

Century to the Industrial Revolution', in Francesco Ammannati, ed., Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea, 1000 - 1800/ Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy, 1000 - 1800, Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', Prato, Serie II: Atti delle 'Settimane de Studi' e altri Convegni no. 43 (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2012), pp. 249-78.

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E. The Chief Critics: in the traditional monograph literature

- * 1. H.M. Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and His School (London, 1933).
- 2. Amintore Fanfani, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism (1935).
- 3. Albert Hyma, Christianity, Capitalism, and Communism (1937).
- 4. Albert Hyma, Renaissance to Reformation (1955).
- 5. Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action (London, 1961).

F. Other Aspects of the Debate on 'Religion and Capitalism': in Early-Modern England, Scotland, and the Netherlands

- 1. Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (1911; Trans. Olive Wyon, London, 1931). Vol. II, Chapters 1 and 3, especially Chapter 4, pp. 807-19.
- 2. Werner Sombart, The Quintessence of Capitalism (trans. M. Epstein, New York, 1915). See also his article 'Capitalism' in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.
- 3. Bainton, Roland, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (Boston, 1952).
- 4. Christopher Hill, 'Puritans and the Poor', Past and Present, no. 2 (Nov. 1952), 32-50.
- 5. V. Kiernan, 'Puritanism and the Poor', Past and Present, no. 3 (Feb. 1953), 45-54 (with reply by Christopher Hill).
- 6. McClelland, David C., The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953).
- 7. Harkness, Georgia, John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics (New York, 1958).
- 8. C. and K. George, 'Protestantism and Capitalism in Pre-Revolutionary England', Church History, 28 (1958). [Available only in the library of Wycliffe College.]
- 9. A. Bieler, La pensée économique et sociale de Calvin (Geneva, 1959).
- 10. S.A. Burrell, 'Calvinism, Capitalism, and the Middle Classes', Journal of Modern History,

23 (1960).

11. McClelland, David C. , The Achieving Society: with a new introduction (New York, 1961; reissued Halstead Press, 1975).
12. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964).
13. Robert Ashton, 'Puritanism and Progress', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 17 (April 1965), 579-87. A critique of Christopher Hill's writings on this theme.
14. H. R. Trevor Roper, Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change (London, 1967).
15. J. C. Riemersma, Religious Factors in Early Dutch Capitalism (London, 1967).
16. C.H. George, 'Puritanism as History and Historiography', Past and Present, No. 41 (1968).
17. David Little, Religion, Order, and Law: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England (New York, 1969).
18. David C. McClelland; Winter, David G. ; Winter, Sara K. , et. al, Motivating Economic Achievement (New York, Free Press: 1969).
19. Richard Grassby, 'English Merchant Capitalism in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Composition of Business Fortunes', Past and Present, no. 46 (Feb. 1970), 87-107.
20. Laura O'Connell, 'Anti-Entrepreneurial Attitudes in Elizabethan Sermons and Popular Literature', Journal of British Studies, 15 (1976).
21. Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day, Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I (London, 1977).
22. Gordon Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (London, 1980).
23. Rosemary O'Day, Education and Society, 1500 - 1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain (London, 1982).
24. J. T. Cliffe, The Puritan Gentry (London, 1984).
25. Rosemary O'Day, ed., The Debate on the English Reformation (London, 1986).
26. William John Wright, Capitalism, the State, and the Lutheran Reformation: Sixteenth-Century Hesse (Athens, 1988).
27. J. T. Cliffe, Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry during and after the Civil Wars (London: Routledge, 1988).
28. Norman L. Jones, God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
29. François Crouzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', in Patrice Higonnet, David Landes, and Henry Rosovsky, eds., Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development Since the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 221-66.
30. Daniel Coquillette, 'The Mystery of the New Fashioned Goldsmiths: From Usury to the

- Bank of England (1622-1694)', in Vito Piergiovanni, ed., The Growth of the Bank as Institution and the Development of Money-Business Law, Comparative Studies in Continental and Anglo-American Legal History vol. 12 (Berlin, 1993), pp. 94-99.
31. Andrew Pettegree; Duke, Alastair; and Lewis, Gillian, eds., Calvinism in Europe, 1540 - 1620 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 32. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, ed., The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560 - 1700 (London and Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1996).
 33. Virginia B. Bainbridge, Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire, c.1350-1558, Studies in the History of Religion no. 10 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1996).
 34. Ralph Houlbrooke, Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480 - 1750 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
 35. Neil S. Rushton and Wendy Sigle-Rushton, 'Monastic Poor Relief in Sixteenth-Century England', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 32:2 (Autumn 2001), 193-216.
 - * 36. John Munro, 'The Medieval Origins of the Modern Financial Revolution: Usury, *Rentes*, and Negotiability', The International History Review, 25:3 (September 2003), 505-62.
 37. Eric Kerridge, Usury, Interest, and the Reformation (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). See the unfavourable review: by Lawrin Armstrong: in Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparison, Contrasts, 8:1-2 (2004), 180-84.
 38. Blair Hoxby, Mammon's Music: Literature and Economics in the Age of Milton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).
 39. Brian Pullan, 'Catholics, Protestants, and the Poor In Early Modern Europe', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 35:3 (Winter 2005), 441-56.
 40. G. W. Bernard, The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).
 41. Karl Gunther and Ethan H. Shagan, 'Protestant Radicalism and Political Thought in the Reign of Henry VIII', Past & Present, no. 194 (February 2007), pp. 35-74.
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QUESTIONS:

The issue for debate is fairly simple and straight-forward. At least half of the known entrepreneurs and scientists or inventor of the Industrial Revolution era were members of Non-Conformist or Dissenting Protestant congregations, even though they comprised only 5% to 10% of the English population. So what explains their extraordinary role in the English Industrial Revolution of the British economy of the 18th and 19th centuries?

- * 1. Who were the Dissenters or Non-Conformists in early-modern England (from the mid 17th century) and in the Industrial Revolution era (18th - 19th centuries)? Why were they a minority that dissented from the official doctrines and dogmas of the established Church of England – a Protestant Church from the time of Henry VIII (from 1536). What specific religious, political, social, and economic conditions defined their minority status?
- 2. What unusual role did they play in the Scientific Revolution and in the Industrial Revolution, as businessmen and entrepreneurs? Was it because of their minority status or because of their religious status – or both? To what extent did Calvinism influence their beliefs and economic behaviours, particularly in the context of the famous thesis on Religion and the Rise of Capitalism put forward by the German sociologists Max Weber and the English social historian Richard Tawney.
- * 3. Define and discuss the Weber-Tawney thesis on the ‘Protestant ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism’ in the following terms, specifically involving Calvinism:
 - (a) Why did they emphasize the psychological ramifications of Calvin's doctrine of *Predestination* as the essential element in the development of the modern ethos or ‘spirit’ of capitalism?
 - (b) What significance did they ascribe to the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines of the ‘Calling’? What did they mean by the term ‘secular asceticism’?
 - (c) How did they define ‘capitalism’, and how did they evaluate the nature and significance of pre-Reformation capitalist enterprise?
 - (d) How did they explain the ‘time lag’ in the impact of the Calvinist ethic upon capitalism: from the mid-16th to late 17th centuries? How else would you explain the differences in economic attitudes between the early ‘anti-capitalist’ Calvinist reformers, and the later ‘pro-capitalist’ Puritans and Dissenters of 17th- and the 18th-century England and New England?
 - (e) What effect, in their view, did Calvinist doctrines ultimately have upon the social concepts of work and labour? What indeed is meant by the ‘Protestant Work Ethic’? What significance did it have, if any, in the early-modern and Industrial Revolution era? Does it have any significance today?
- 4. Can you detect a significant and socially-acceptable ‘capitalist ethos’, as distinct from the mere acquisitive or profit motive, in pre-Reformation Europe, and among Catholic businessmen of the 16th to 18th centuries?
- 5. In what other ways might Protestantism in general have broken down traditional barriers to capitalism and economic development, and fostered greater economic individualism in the early-modern era?
- 6. To what extent may the pro-capitalist attitudes of Calvinist-Puritans in England, Holland, and New England of the 17th and 18th centuries be explained by other, non-religious factors: by the social and economic forces of the times? In particular how much of what is

called the 'Protestant Ethic' can be explained by the economic functions and attitudes of those social classes adopting Calvinism? If so, why did such classes adopt Calvinism as their religion?

7. What was the relationship between Puritanism (Calvinism) and science in 17th-century England? Did the 'Scientific Revolution' of post-1660 England owe anything to Puritanism?
8. How were the Dissenters related to the earlier Puritans; and how were they different in religion and politics from those adhering to the established Church of England? How did the 'Dissenting Academies' differ from contemporary educational institutions in 18th-century England?
9. What role did these Dissenters play in science, technological innovation, entrepreneurship, and industry during the British Industrial Revolution of the later 18th century?
10. What economic relationships can be found between the English Dissenters, the Scottish Presbyterians, the French Huguenots, and the Puritans in the American colonies (and later in the US)? Did they form an international business network?
11. Can any relationship be found between Protestantism and Capitalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries? Today? Anywhere?
12. How did Protestants and Catholics differ in their economic attitudes and business enterprises, and how did modern Catholicism differ from medieval Catholicism in terms of economic attitudes and beliefs. To what extent had the medieval Catholic Church impeded the development of western capitalism, and thus what impact did the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformations have upon the role of religion in the early-modern economy and its society?
13. What was the importance of the usury doctrine in the medieval and early modern economies: in Catholicism and Protestantism.
14. What similarities can be found between the Jews (of medieval, early-modern Western Europe), the English Dissenter and the American Puritans of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries?

Professor Stanley Engerman's Review of:

**Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*,
for the EH.NET PROJECT 2000.**

Subject: EH.NET PROJECT 2000: Engerman on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

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----- EH.NET BOOK REVIEW -----

Project 2000: Significant Works in Twentieth-Century Economic History

Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

Review Essay by Stanley Engerman, Departments of Economics and History, University of Rochester.
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'Capitalism, Protestantism, and Economic Development: Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* after Almost One Century'

Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has had an enduring impact on the field of economic history. Ironically, Weber's contemporary, Joseph Schumpeter (1991, 220-229) argued that, although Weber's academic career began with chairs in economics, 'he was not really an economist at all', but rather a sociologist. Schumpeter (1954, 21 and 819) distinguished between economic analysis, which 'deals with the questions of how people behave at any time and what the economic effects are they produce by so behaving', and economic sociology, which 'deals with the question how they came to behave as they do.' This concern with the latter question is reflected in Weber's still important work on the development of capitalism.

Weber's concerns within economic history, particularly in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, fit well into the general interests of the turn-of-the-century historical schools in Germany and in England. These scholars were concerned with explaining the rise of modern economies, as well as with the explanation of the institutions and conditions that influenced the development and operation of economies and societies. Weber, unlike others in the German School, spent little time describing the role played by economic policies of governments in economic change. He focused, as did Werner Sombart, more on the study of modern capitalism, its nature and the causes of its rise. As the interest in this topic waned, the interest in Weber's work was lessened, a pattern that persisted for several decades.

Weber's major contribution to the study of economic history no doubt remains his classic study *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, first published in 1904-1905, and republished with some revision in 1920, with the addition of extensive footnotes. Weber did not originate the thesis linking Protestantism and capitalism, as he himself pointed out. Jacob Viner (1978, 151-189), among others, has indicated that this idea of linking religion to the onset of capitalism had a long history in regard to Protestantism and to other religions prior to Weber's writings. Earlier writers, including the English economist William Petty, made some of these links. What Weber did was to provide the specifics for the argument, with the details of the mechanism by which the belief in a 'calling' and in worldly asceticism developed, leading to modern capitalism. Nevertheless, Weber argues that these behavioral changes alone could not bring about modern capitalism as it required the appropriate set of conditions in the economic sphere.

To clarify his contention on the uniqueness of the west, Weber undertook several major studies in

the sociology of religions in different areas, particularly Asia, in order to understand why other religions did not generate the emergence of a modern capitalism. These comparative religious studies have yielded insights into the impact of these different religious systems in China, India, and elsewhere, and their impacts on behavior. To some scholars, however, it was the political nature and openness to new beliefs and innovations in those countries in northwest Europe that led to developments in science, business, and political freedom that permitted economic and scientific progress to take place.

The issue of the relation of Protestantism and capitalism remains a historic perennial, frequently cited and necessarily discussed and evaluated in all works dealing with its general time period. Weber clearly had raised a central issue for historic studies. The general question and Weber's approach have remained important to recent works by economic historians for several reasons. First, they have made central the question of the uniqueness of western civilization and the nature of its economic and social development. Whatever might have been the relative incomes of different parts of the world before 1700, it is clear that since then economic growth has been much more rapid in Western Europe and its overseas offshoots than in other parts of the world.

Modern economic growth has taken place with a quite different economic and social structure from that which had existed earlier. Economic growth occurred at roughly the same time, or soon after, these areas experienced the rise of Protestant religions. Some may hold this similarity to be of completely different occurrences, but for many such a non-relationship would seem difficult to understand and accept. Second, Weber has pointed to the significance of non-pecuniary (or what some would call non-economic) factors in influencing economic change, at least in conjunction with some appropriate set of conditions. For Weber, the key non-pecuniary factor was based on a particular religion and set of religious codes; to others it was a religious influence, but from a different religion, such as Catholicism or Judaism; while to other scholars it has been some different factor leading to behavior changes, such as rationalism, individualism, or the development of an economic ethic. Some, such as R. H. Tawney (1926), invert Weber's argument, making the economic change a basic contribution to the religious changes. To still other scholars, the major factor has been the nature of a minority group of penalized outsiders in society. These scholars include William Petty (1899, 260-264), who looked at several different areas in the seventeenth century, Sombart (1969) and Thorstein Veblen (1958) who wrote on the Jews, and Alexander Gerschenkron (1970) who examined the Russian Old Believers. Each of these explanations has been advanced in the attempt to describe the primary cause of those changes in economic behavior that have led to the distinction between the modern and pre-modern worlds.

In explaining the rise of capitalism in the Western World, Weber makes it clear that 'the impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of the greatest possible amount of money, has in itself nothing to do with capitalism'; and 'unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit.' The desire for gain has been seen in 'all sorts of conditions of men at all times and in all countries of the earth.' Rather what developed in the West was 'the rational capitalistic organization of formally free labor', which was based on 'the separation of business from the household' and 'rational bookkeeping', although the basic factor was the presence of free labor. The ability to calculate, the development of technical capabilities, the creation of systems of law and administration - all have been important to Western culture but, according to Weber, their economic usefulness is 'determined by the ability and disposition of men to adopt certain types of practical rational conduct', unobstructed by spiritual and magical beliefs.

Since religion has always had a major impact upon conduct, the particular development of the West is attributed by Weber to 'the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of the economic system', which, in the case 'of the spirit of modern economic life [is] the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism.' That the impact of the actual teachings of the church was limited is suggested by Weber's contention that his concerns were with 'predominately unforeseen and even unwished-for results.' He denies that he believes that the spirit of capitalism could only have derived from the Reformation, and claims that he only wishes 'to ascertain whether and to what extent religious forces have taken part in the qualitative formation and of quantitative expansion of that spirit over the world.' Nevertheless, he often does suggest that it was Christian asceticism and Calvinism that provided the orientation that led to the development of such ideas as the 'necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity', 'the preaching of hard, continuous bodily or mental labor', and 'rational conduct on the basis of the idea of the calling' that were to provide 'the

fundamental elements of the spirit of modern capitalism.'

The recent literature by economic historians, dealing with 'How the West Grew Rich', 'The Rise of the Western World', 'The European Miracle', 'The Lever of Riches', 'The Unbound Prometheus', and related titles, has begun, as did Weber, with the perceived uniqueness of the Western European economy. These studies, by such leading economic historians as Nathan Rosenberg (1986) with L.E. Birdzell, Jr.), Douglass North (alone (1990), and with Robert Paul Thomas (1973)), Eric Jones (1981), Joel Mokyr (1990), and David Landes (1969, 1998), with the related writings by Fernand Braudel (1981, 1982 and 1984), Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980 and 1989), John R. Hicks (1969), and Deepak Lal (1998), focus on somewhat different explanatory factors from Weber's, but the problem to be analyzed is identical. Posited answers include the role of political freedom, the development of property rights, changes in technology and organization of workers, the changing ratio of land to labor, the reactions to different environmental conditions, the emergence of markets, the rise of rational thought, the inflow of specie and various others. Some focus more on what might be regarded as economic factors, while others are more in the Weberian tradition, even if there is no unanimity concerning specific causal factors. Rather curious, however, is that several of these recent works by economic historians do not refer to Weber's work on the Protestant ethic, and in those that do not completely ignore him, his work is not seen as central to explaining the rise of the West, either because the role of religion is seen as more endogenous, or because other religions have been consistent with economic development during the growth of the West.

Nevertheless, it is clear that as long as there is a belief that the economic performance of Western Europe has been unique, Weber has presented an argument that must be confronted. Early in the second half of the twentieth century a non-western nation, Japan, as well as, somewhat later, several East Asian nations, came to experience some of the characteristics of modern economic and social change, with the development of a pattern of thrift and of a work ethic (even if cooperative not individualist), but with a different form of religion. This seems, however, to have done more to reawaken interest in Weber's arguments than to lead to their dismissal.

Despite the frequency of the criticism, of the specific hypothesis in the past, the Weber thesis remains central to posing questions about the onset of modern economic growth and social and religious change in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western Europe. Its importance as a spiritual and ideological counter to a concentration on material conditions, as in the works of Karl Marx, provides an alternative approach to understanding economic change. In addition to the debates on economic growth there are subsidiary questions about related aspects of western development, which might be regarded as either substitutes for or complements to the Weber Thesis. These include debates on the rise of individualism, the causes of the development of a more deliberate and rational approach to economic and other behavior, and the link between the emergence of modern capitalism and modern science. Weber discussed the role of those climate and geographic factors that have interested such present-day economic historians as Eric Jones, arguing that the development of firstly cities, and then nation-states, left Europe, unlike Asia, with rational states and rational law. This set of developments reflected, according to Weber, initial differences in natural forces.

As with all 'big theories', there are several different types of criticisms that have been made, posing some rather different questions. First, it is often unclear what the proponent had really said, particularly crucial since we usually look only at the briefest summary of what was presented, without paying as much attention to the various qualifications and boundary conditions that the author was intelligent enough to have added. Second, there are these complications in defining precisely what are regarded as causes, and what are the effects. In terms of the Weber Thesis, we need to be clearer both on what was to be considered the nature of religion and religious beliefs, and also what exactly we are trying to explain when we discuss capitalism. Third, is the manner by which the cause and effect can be linked, whether we believe they can be related by other than a pattern involving direct causation, and whether the same cause will yield a different effect or, alternatively, the same effects can be achieved with a broader range of causes. Variants of all these types of criticisms have been applied to *The Protestant Ethic*, and much more space than that available here would be needed to provide a complete examination of this debate.

Many of the disagreements about Weber's linking of Protestantism and capitalism contain a distinct moral flavor. To those who find capitalism and the modern world morally distasteful, linking capitalism's rise

to religious beliefs places an unfortunate and unfair burden upon the religion, which can lead to a denial of any relationship between the two. Presumably those more sympathetic to modernism and capitalism would find a relationship more acceptable. Weber, himself, believed that capitalism generated important problems, and he did not believe that capitalist growth could continue indefinitely. The decline of capitalism was anticipated because of the development of rigid institutions and the rise of a bureaucratic state, posing a threat to political freedom as well as causing economic stagnation. Weber's use of the image of the 'iron cage' to describe modern society reflected his belief that certain cultural problems emerged because of capitalist development. And while Weber did not describe the same scenario for capitalism's demise as that later presented by Schumpeter, it was similarly based upon the impact of increasing bureaucracy and rationalism on the belief system in society. Many of Weber's works dealt with topics in the area of economic history, and even his more sociological writings were concerned with economic comparisons. Particularly rich in presenting his later views was his book devoted exclusively to the study of world economic history, *General Economic History* (1981), based on the transcripts of lectures in 1919-1920, taken from students' notes. A look at this work is useful in putting Weber's economic history in a broad perspective.

General Economic History is an overall survey of economic developments, from ancient times to the modern world. It provides summary statements (in some cases, revisions) of key arguments found in earlier writings, useful descriptions of the pattern of western economic development, and insightful brief views of major economic changes that are sometimes detailed in other writings. Its major contributions include the claim that forms of what could be considered capitalism had long existed, leading to earlier accumulations of wealth, but it was only with the development of capital accounting and rational commerce, and with the need for rules and trust that arise when there are continued transactions among individuals, that the modern form of capitalism emerged in Western Europe. This development was unique to that particular geographic region. In describing this evolution Weber also provides discussions of the changing organization of the manor, the stages in the rise of industry, the impacts of slavery and other forms of labor organization upon the economy as well as the reasons for their transformation over time, and numerous other topics that are still covered, often in a quite similar manner, in today's textbooks in European economic history.

Weber gave some attention to the importance of non-pecuniary tastes in actions within the economy. Following a strand of argument raised by a member of the Older German Historical School, Karl Knies, he argued that people did not necessarily profit-maximize at all times. Non-economic factors play a role in human behavior. Weber believed that it was certainly possible that there may be less extensive attempts at the maximum degree of maximization within a market economy, at least as a short term goal, than in other forms of social organization. Weber argued that 'the notion that our rationalistic and capitalistic age is characterized by a stronger economic interest than other periods is childish', and claims that while Cortez and Pizarro had strong economic interests, they certainly did not have 'an idea of a rationalistic economic life.' Weber distinguished between economic interests, found in many past societies, and a rationalistic, capitalistic channeling of those interests. To Weber, the market system was not an idealized means of solving social problems. He recognized the conflicts that existed within the market system, suggesting that price and market outcomes should be seen as the result of conflict, since people disagreed over the use of the economic surpluses that could exist. But to Weber the market, with its various difficulties, seemed to provide a reasonable way to resolve conflicts and to allocate resources with some limitations on destruction and loss of freedom.

While attention was given to the cultural problems due to capitalism, in Weber's view the rise of capitalism was related to favorable changes in the distribution of economic resources within society. It was what Weber called the 'democratization of luxuries' that was the key source of early market demand, rather than 'Army, Luxury, or Court Demands.' None of these factors, important as they may have seemed at the time or to subsequent scholars (for example, Sombart), based on demand from a limited segment of the population, had led to prolonged economic growth anywhere. Prolonged growth, rather, was the result of growth of the mass market which arose with capitalism, and which lowered prices permitting the broad masses to imitate the consumption patterns of the rich. Weber argued that 'first the prices fell relatively and then came capitalism', the price declines being due to preceding shifts in technology and economic relations.

One of the major substantive legacies of Weber is his description of the characteristics of modern capitalism. Weber regarded capitalism as an evolving system, so that present-day capitalism has some features

rather different from those at the onset of modern capitalism. He did not, however, regard commercial and capitalist activity as something new in the modern era, since such behavior had existed in most societies in earlier times, as well as in other societies considered non-capitalist at the present time. Under modern capitalism, however, activities of a somewhat different pattern and nature occurred from those in the other forms of capitalism.

The principal characteristics of modern capitalism that Weber points to are the centrality of rationality and those measures that help to implement rational behavior. The emergence of a rationally organized formally free labor market to replace the various forms of labor institutions that had characterized earlier forms of capitalism, the development of rational law and administration in large firms and governments, the evolution of forms of rational bookkeeping and capital accounting, and the growth of bureaucracies in the public and private sectors to order the behavior of the larger-scale units in economic society - all these represent those factors developed out of Protestantism which permit continued capitalist accounting procedures to separate business and household capital in the interests of determining growth. Other accounting procedures of the modern capitalist economy include the use of interests of rational decision making, and the increased number of business leaders whose leadership is based upon their personal charisma, not on either traditional or legal influences. Weber's argument that charisma weakens the growth of bureaucracy resembles Schumpeter's contention of the decline of the entrepreneurial function in modern capitalism, leading to a declining social appeal of capitalism. Recent studies in leadership of management, however, have focused upon so-called 'change agents' and shapers of corporate culture, leading to attempts to determine what are the crucial characteristics of successful business leaders and what they have done to achieve their success.

Weber's contribution to the study of economic history includes both methodological approaches and substantive conclusions. His general questions on the role of changing institutions and human behavior have again come into vogue, as has his interest in the law, legal rationality, and the process of historical development. Thus, in a number of ways, Weber reads very much like a present-day economic historian, a development that has taken place after a long period in which Weber was relatively ignored by economic historians. In part his loss of influence was due to a shift in questions, to those mainly dealing with only a relatively short, recent period in the history of the west, based, in the 1930's, on a primary focus on the relatively short-run set of economic cycles, and, in the 1940's, on a belief that with the right economic conditions all societies could achieve economic growth. As it became clear that the process of economic growth was rather more complex than believed in the mid-twentieth century, and that its understanding was based on happenings over a much longer time span than was being examined, Weber's analysis, with its broad chronological, spatial, and intellectual sweep, again became more central.

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There have been several publications of *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* since the first English-language translation in 1930. All use the original translation by Talcott Parsons, differing only in their introductions.

Among them are: - New York: Scribner, 1930, 1948, and 1958 (foreword by R. H. Tawney). - London: Allen & Unwin, 1976; London: Routledge, 1992 (introduction by Anthony Giddens) - Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 1996 and 1998 (introduction by Randall Collins) and - Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 2000 (introduction by Stephen Kalberg).

A recent analysis of the work of Weber is in Stephen P. Turner, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). This includes my essay on 'Max Weber as Economist and Economic Historian', parts of which have been drawn upon here.

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