

*Interdisciplinary Journal of
Research on Religion*

Volume 13

2017

Article 12

Certitudo Salutis and Perseverance of the Saints:
The Missing Piece in the Weberian Puritan Ethic

Ottavio Palombaro^{*}

University of Milan
Milan, Italy

^{*} ottavio.palombaro@unimi.it

Certitudo Salutis and Perseverance of the Saints: The Missing Piece in the Weberian Puritan Ethic

Ottavio Palombaro

University of Milan
Milan, Italy

Abstract

Max Weber's thesis on the Protestant ethic represents a cornerstone in the understanding of the role of religion in the economic realm. Yet many have asked, what role can religion have in our contemporary setting? Mainly at stake is the validity of the Protestant thesis today. In order to understand the connection between our contemporary society and the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century, it is crucial to consider the contribution of the Puritan ethic. Weber's reliance on the Puritan writings was driven by the conviction of the presence of an anxiety in the quest for a *certitudo salutis* that I contend not to be a foundational part of the religion and practice of Puritanism. A different element seems to stand out as central among the beliefs held by Puritanism and yet neglected by Weber: the doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints. Also, it is important to see the inheritance of this ethic in future developments of American Protestantism today and its downfall with the advent of the prosperity Gospel.

Men are wont to set the highest value on those things upon which they are sensible their interest chiefly depends. And this renders time so exceedingly precious, because our eternal welfare depends on the improvement of it.

Jonathan Edwards

PART I: MAX WEBER AND THE PURITANS

1.1. On the Possible Actualization of the Thesis

Max Weber was able with his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* to show how several beliefs proper to Protestantism led to the genesis of the spirit of modern capitalism during the times right after the Protestant Reformation. For a more specific analysis of the original claims of Weber's original thesis on the Protestant ethic, the role of sects, and capitalism, I refer the reader to specific treatises on the matter (Wagner 1964). The question that concerns me here is: Could Weber's theory still be valid beyond the context of the Protestant Reformation in Western Europe up until today? If so, where and in which forms? Obviously, this application was not Weber's intention. His primary aim was to show what role the Protestant ethic played for the genesis of the spirit of capitalism during the 16th and 17th centuries, looking at the first stages of modern capitalism. Despite his claims, however, he made many of the assertions and conclusions contained in his subsequent study on Puritanism, the Protestant sects, and the spirit of capitalism on the basis of observations among American Protestants during the early 20th century. Both Weber and Tawney were very pessimistic about the role that a "ghost" of the Protestant professional ethic could play in advanced stages of capitalism, where religious motivations tend to disappear and work finds no other meaning than the mere satisfaction of personal needs (Weber, 1930 [1905]: 185). This view assumes that modern capitalism, once set in motion, functions largely without any continuing influence from religion.

In reality, however, as I will point out during this paper, in tune with the neo-Weberian approaches and the social attitude models, even if the theological basis disappeared, the ethos generated by Protestantism can still exert its influence in places and periods with no relation at all to its origin. A tension toward profit tends to prevail even in the present through a dynamic relationship between ethical systems and economic life. Some scholars are very skeptical about any effort in favor of the actualization of Weber's theory. Through a quantitative and comparative study of the early accurate data available from the late-19th century, those authors state that industrial capitalism was not facilitated more in Protestant countries (Delacroix and Nielsen, 2001: 509). One of their first mistakes is trying to invalidate Weber's thesis by focusing only on Europe and basing their conclusions on evidence dated from two- to three-hundred years after the period of time when the Protestant ethic influenced the genesis of the spirit of capitalism. Such spirit

was an ethical and attitudinal ideal-type that, again, has nothing to do with industrial capitalism or any sort of economic development.

A similar case applies to other scholars who based their research only on quantitative indicators not entirely congruent with the thesis. They wanted to falsify Weber's thesis but lacked a clear understanding of Weber's terminology and therefore incurred serious problems of misinterpretation.¹ But even if someone bases his or her conclusions on the actualization of that theory, the features of what is called the "common interpretation" of Weber's theory are a total misunderstanding of his sociological argument. The attitudes and mental predispositions that Weber associates positively with certain behaviors were not common to all Protestant branches. For that reason some authors correctly address the fact that religious affiliation is a less adequate measure than the particular religious belief in assessing religion's effect on behavior (Kim, 1977: 255). Also, the scholars completely leave out the case of the United States, a case that by the late 19th century must be the center of all the reflections on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism.

Starting with other evidence, many quantitative and qualitative findings still show support for the actualization of Weber's theory (Merton, 1962: 33). Some scholars have clearly observed on a macro level that countries in which the largest portion of the population practices Protestant religion have substantially higher labor force participation and higher employment rates, particularly among women (Feldmann, 2007: 795). Other studies on religion and economy confirm that the particular case of Calvinist Protestantism continues to have a dynamic influence on honesty, work ethic, and therefore economic performance still today (Barro and McCleary, 2003: 760; McCleary and Barro, 2006: 49). This ongoing influence then certainly means that, although someone has to take into consideration the changes and conflicting evidence, Weber's theory still has contemporary authenticity. What those studies fail to identify is the central element of such theory. This central element, in my view, can be better understood through a clear explanation of the beliefs under my investigation, their evolution in recent history, and their impact on the spirit of global capitalism rather than relying on mere economic indicators (Miegge, 2010: 263).

¹ Cantoni tries to measure the impact of Protestant religious affiliation on economic growth through population figures such as city sizes, city growth, or fertility. I am not denying the importance of quantitative methods. Weber for example used quantitative indicators in his introductory stage of the thesis but, according to my point of view, those dimensions cited by Cantoni have little to do with the core thesis of Weber. The German sociologist looked primarily to a specific Calvinistic belief and how such belief impacted the economic ethos. I suggest that, together with appropriate quantitative indicators, including those for the U.S., such as working hours, employment rates, and labor force participation, such a dynamic may be observable mainly through a critique of the historical evidence provided by Weber and on a micro level primarily through a qualitative research design more appropriate to the objective (see Cantoni, 2012: 502).

1.2 The “Pilgrimage” of the Protestant Ethic

The evolution of the Protestant ethic involves primarily the historical passage that gradually led the roots of Protestantism to immigrate from continental Europe to the United States. As I have already mentioned, Weber’s interest in the American evolution of Protestantism was marginal since his primary purpose was to identify the role of the Protestant ethic in the early stages of the Reformation in Western Europe. Several scholars after him, however, pointed out the absolute relevance of the Protestant ethic for the case of North America from the Puritan era on (Bottum, 2014: 54). The historical passage of Protestantism into the New World, incomplete during Weber’s time, was responsible for two of the major transformations that occurred in Protestantism: i) its de-institutionalization through the breaking of dissident Protestantism from the mainly institutional and national European churches towards the New World seen as a “Promised Land,” and ii) its syncretic development, the inevitable progressive mix of the different branches of the Reformation into a heterogeneous scale of beliefs even inside the same single Calvinist branch (Durstun and Eales, 1996: 32).

As it was in the case of Protestantism spreading in countries of Western Europe through German traders bringing biblical literature into the Netherlands, England, part of France, or the Scandinavian countries, so it was for the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans that came to New England for both economic and religious motives to build a “wilderness Zion,” a “New American Israel.” One of the main elements that characterized Puritanism as a religious movement was the submission of every aspect of life, including work and money, to the higher purpose of bringing glory to God. Puritanism developed first in England through the efforts to reform the official Church of England that was going through a decadence of worldliness and compromises. Having experienced dramatic conversions, the Puritans felt the need to separate themselves from the mass of the unregenerate in order to revolutionize human history. Their zeal was displayed in standardized patterns of behavior intended to revive the religion in every aspect of life (Simpson, 1955: 3). Puritanism came to the scene with great Puritan influential preachers like Isaac Watts, John Owen, Richard Sibbes, Thomas Brooks, John Bunyan, John Flavel, Thomas Goodwin, Matthew Henry, Thomas Watson, William Perkins, Richard Baxter, Samuel Rutherford, John Winthrop, etc. Those men were brilliant intellectuals and preachers that influenced the Anglo-Saxon world for generations. This movement spread abroad also through the influence of Dutch and Scottish divines from a Calvinist and Reformed background (Beeke and Pederson, 2007: 645–738). Yet the king of England and the authorities of the national Church of England responded with suppression and persecution that culminated with the Uniformity Act of 1662 when many puritans were expelled or forced to comply with the requests of the national church.

This expulsion started the great exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers towards the New World. The Pilgrims and Puritans who migrated to Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay would set about to order their lives in a way that fostered the practice of piety in all that they did. They were zealots who envisioned a theocratic society based on the Scriptures. Their austere heritage is a vital part of American history. A good Puritan could have been identified as industrious, thrifty, displaying inflexible integrity in his business. They were brought up in the pursuit of a calling with sober living and purpose. Temperance was considered a Christian duty. They displayed a propensity to link religious faithfulness with economic prosperity. These virtues were bound to produce plenty in an abundant land (Lambert, 2003: 76). They perceived and promoted hard work as a duty to be accomplished in terms of a religiously based key value toward God.

Weber and a vast number of critics after him up until today (Barlow 2015; Beder 2000; Burg 2012; Foster 1972; Hewett 2012; Klein 2013; Le Beau 2008; Shulevitz 2001; Tipson 2010) identified this type of Puritan religious experience as the historical survival of the Calvinist work ethic (inner-worldly asceticism, etc.) in the New World. I am not denying that Weber's argument was much broader, but concerning the religious aspect, my aim is to try to direct attention to a specific religious source for action. Neglecting this religious motivation, some scholars gave more materialistic interpretations of the Weber's thesis as it applies to Puritanism. They fail, however, to take into consideration the centrality of some religious beliefs beyond the mere environmental or political aspects (Bellah, 1997: 1).

Those religious beliefs in fact are significant in their spread beyond the Protestant Reformation of Western Europe of the 16th century. One case of endurance of the difference between, for example, world-rejecting asceticism and inner-worldly asceticism as defined by Weber can be found in the change from the external to the internal "spiritual resolutions" of Puritanism. In this sense someone could compare two religious authors that used the same phrase "spiritual resolution" but intended it in a totally different way. In the first case of the Catholic monk Brother Lawrence, the term refers to exterior practices that a man can display in his monkish life to be closer to God. In the second case of the American Puritan preacher Jonathan Edwards, exponent of the "new light Calvinism," the same term refers to internal practices of self-examination and commitment that any person can embrace in order to pursue the glory of God in every aspect of the mundane (Edwards, 1974: 59–69). Among the chief exponents of this Puritan ethic, Jonathan Edwards often placed special emphasis on hard work in his sermons, like "The Preciousness of Time and the Importance of Redeeming It":

Consider what hath been said of the preciousness of time, how much depends upon it, how short and uncertain it is, how irrecoverable it will be when gone. If you have a right conception of these things, you will

be more choice of your time than of the most fine gold. Every hour and moment will seem precious to you (Edwards, 2003 [1734]: 7).

Puritans were pursuing an orderly life, an ascetic behavior at work, a zeal and diligence against any kind of idleness (Cohen 2002). It is enough to go through the pages of the treatises by William Perkins on the particular calling to see the centrality of the theoretical model of Weber concerning the *Beruf* even centuries after the Protestant Reformation in Puritanism:

A vocation or calling is a certain kind of life, ordained and imposed on man by God. ...God is the General, appointing to every man his particular post. God Himself is the author and beginning of callings. ...There is ambition and envy when we see others placed in better callings and conditions than ourselves. ...Must we not labor in our callings to maintain our families? I answer: This must be done: but it is not the scope and end of our lives. The true end of our lives is to do service to God in serving man (Perkins, 1603: 56).

It is possible to see here the radicalization of the Weberian *Beruf* in every aspect of worldly duties through a strong enduring Calvinistic emphasis. In the same way another Puritan Cotton Mather argues:

A Christian should follow his occupation with contentment. Contentment is no little part of your homage to that God who hath placed you where you are. ...When God hath called me to a place, He would have His gifts improved to their best advantage. ...A Christian should not be too ready to fall out with his calling. Many a man, merely from covetousness and discontent, throws up his business. A man ought to pursue a calling so that he may glorify God. ...We may not aim only at our own, but at the public good. Therefore, faith will not think it hath a comfortable calling unless it will serve, not only its own turn, but the turn of other men. ...In our occupations, we spread the nets, but it is God who brings into our nets all that come into them (Mather, 1825: 18).

Again many elements proper of Calvinism become the practical guidance and pressure toward working hard and pursuing business success. Particularly interesting are also the intellectual reflections of another great Puritan, Richard Baxter, on the search for the common welfare by the Christian:

The public welfare, or the good of the many is to be valued above our own. Every man, therefore, is bound to do all he can for others, especially for the church and commonwealth. ...Choose that employment or calling in which you may be most serviceable to God. Choose not that in which you may be most rich or honorable in the world, but that in which you may do most good. ...In choosing a trade or calling, the first consideration should be the service of God and the

public good, and therefore, that calling that most conduceth to the public good is to be preferred (Baxter, 2000: 585).

Baxter essentially makes clear that work actually takes away any anxiety of life and permits man to focus his energies for the public good, away from idleness. In a similar direction, Thomas Watson's invitations on diligence and many other Puritans like John Preston or Robert Crowley are of further help in identifying such strong emphasis on hard work:

Religion does not seal warrants to idleness. God sets all His children to work. God will bless our diligence, not our laziness. ...Neither covetousness nor hard work can make men rich, since God alone blesses with success. ...We must labor, not for our own good, but for the good of others (Phillips, 2001: 34).

The Puritans derived all those principles directly from the sacred Scriptures, particularly from the continuous practical exhortations for business contained in the Old Testament among the Wisdom Literature (e.g. Proverbs 14:23; 18:9; 19:15; 23:21). Much of what is now recognized as distinctively American in thought, culture, and tradition is in one sense derived from this Puritan temper here displayed from centuries ago. Being Calvinist and scripturally oriented and seeing themselves as chosen people, the Puritans continually struggled in a fight against any form of sinfulness (Gaer and Siegel, 1964: 13).

In fact, they considered idleness, luxury, and extravagance evil threats that needed to be overcome through hard work. Individual success and social prosperity were extremely dependent upon virtue, whereas American sins were leading the nation as well as individuals to experience punishment and economic crisis. Religious contentment on the other hand did not mean inactivity or passive acceptance of the *status quo*. Rather, the Puritan had to exhibit both economic ambition and economic satisfaction, simultaneously avoiding all forms of luxury. Piety was considered essential to one's temporal prosperity, enhancing rather than undermining one's chances for a happy, successful life (Pointer, 1988: 349).

1.3 Weberian Anxiety and the Perseverance of the Saints

Yet those Puritans, contrary to Weber's frequent description, denied that wealth was an indication of individual salvation. Instead, they viewed wealth simply as God's blessing for their lives with no special connection with the soteriological aspect of their lives. For example, the Puritan preacher Richard Baxter in his *Christian Directory* (1678), contrary to the common Weberian misunderstanding, never relates work to the doctrine of salvation, nor does he conceive hard work and economic success as a way to be sure of someone's state of election. On the other hand, Baxter opposed work to "idleness" and

underlined how diligence took away the dangerous temptations or confusions of a life without an orientation of a calling (Miegge, 2010: 144–46). This message represents an important example for the Weberian precondition of the inner-worldly asceticism but has nothing to do with predestination or the Weberian considerations around the *certitudo salutis*. Such invitation to embrace the inner-worldly asceticism then is the only intention of Baxter. As he mentions the “moral misery” of men that needs to be removed through hard work, no implication concerning eternal assurance is attached. He does not connect then this invitation to work hard with the topic of salvation, which causes a state of anxiety among the listeners about their eternal destiny. This disconnection between work and salvation challenges Weber’s idea concerning anxiety as presented in the Protestant Ethic. The believer could come to salvation in the Reformed understanding only through faith in Jesus Christ apart from any human effort or good works. The good works of a redeemed person are possible only because of the grace of God, and they are not the foundation of one’s eternal salvation; rather, they are a consequence of one’s salvation. The only solution for humankind then, in the words of another important Puritan, was the establishment of a “personal relationship with God” (Bunyan, 2003 [1668]: 35).

It is true that many times prominence in the business world was the primary prerequisite for leadership in the church, encouraging an attachment to business by Puritan believers in a wholehearted but tempered manner. Those principles find their roots in Calvinist theology and can be clearly observed in the collection of Puritan prayers, their emphasis on self-discipline, self-restraint, frugality, diligence, and freedom from anxiety in the realm of work (Bennett, 1975: 175–80). The Congregationalists and Puritans who founded the Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony were mainly English Calvinists. The radical Whigs of the American Revolution later on were inspired by ideas that find their ultimate root in Calvinist theology. And without some understanding of Puritanism, it may safely be said there is no understanding of America. Sociological studies of Puritanism like the classic of Robert King Merton (1962) on the role of Puritanism for the establishment of modern science show how pervasive and successful was such disciplined way of life in every aspect of society (Cohen, 2002: 111).

But what was the main element in the beliefs of the Puritans that was able to promote such strong work ethic? According to Max Weber, such work ethic was connected to a series of religious beliefs such as the belief in someone’s calling for his life (*Beruf*) or the inner-worldly asceticism clearly emphasized in many sermons of Puritans such as William Perkins or Richard Baxter (Miegge, 2010). But the main element that Weber identifies as able to generate such economic action is once again the anxiety about someone’s salvation derived from the belief in predestination proper of Calvinism. The Puritans internalized this anxiety more strongly than others. It is true that a core of the Puritan creed was for the individual to “work out his own salvation,” marshaled as a whole society of regenerated people into one united array.

Puritanism did not merely regulate misconduct but inspired and directed all the conduct of individuals (Waller, 1973: 90). Yet as Calvinists, Puritans were promoters of the Reformed doctrines of grace by which people can be saved by grace alone through faith alone (*Sola Gratia* and *Sola Fide*). All those efforts in life were not done in order to find assurance of salvation but in order to “work out someone’s salvation” according to a specific Calvinist doctrine that needs more detailed analysis: the perseverance of the saints. According to this doctrine, once a person is truly “regenerated,” it is impossible to fall from this condition since God will keep him or her in the faith until the end.

In this picture there is certainly no trace of Weber’s anxiety about eternal salvation. Possibly some circumstantial Puritan experiences or Quaker recollections in diaries of people who struggled with the assurance of salvation led Weber to his misunderstanding. For example, Weber and some of the subsequent critics have made the case concerning some Puritan writings, like those of John Bunyan, for the presence of such strong anxiety. But those scholars forget to mention that, in this case like in others, the author is giving an autobiography of his life before embracing the Protestant faith. The state of anxiety, therefore, is precisely the absence of such identification with the Protestant faith, and once the individual becomes Puritan, he then experiences after his conversion a perpetual state of assurance.

Furthermore, when using some of those writings for his argument, Weber was mistaken not to consider the Puritan distinction between “assurance of faith,” obtainable only through believing in Jesus and not through any actions or feelings, and the “way of faith,” the invitation to listen to the Word of God and seek God or to look for any external manifestations such as the conviction of sins. The “way of faith” by itself never provides the “assurance of faith” because, as I have already said, evidence of faith cannot create assurance as Weber wrongly assumed. To give an example according to this Puritan perspective, in a family only God can provide assurance of faith in a son. Parents can address their child to the way of faith, but this address does not create saving faith in the child. When Puritans exhort the use of the “means of grace,” they never meant that those means “gave the right” to believe. Once again, this element refers to the doctrine of the *perseverance of the saints* and not to the general matter of eternal salvation or predestination as a precondition (Hulse, 2000: Part 3, Chapter 6). Contrary to Weber’s view, throughout all expressions of Puritanism, more than in any other Reformed tradition, there always has been a predominant attention to the work of the Holy Spirit, and not to the efforts of depraved men, in order to produce the obedience to faith.

The cycle of self-examination, repentance, exaltation, and good works mentioned often in Puritan writings could strengthen assurance, but it was not for this purpose that Puritans followed such sets of practices since the elect already had their assurance through regeneration (Simpson, 1955: 3). Not only is such evidence of anxiety about someone’s salvation absent all throughout Calvinism, but even Puritanism never held such belief. On the other hand,

what really could help in understanding Puritanism in a Weberian perspective is again the strong stress on the doctrine of the *perseverance of the saints* and its impact on practical sanctification. Puritans, in accord with Calvinism, believed that salvation was a work of God obtained by grace through faith (*sola fide*) in Christ's sacrifice at the cross for the forgiveness of sins. On the other hand, good works from a repenting person follow as a necessary result of true faith in Jesus Christ and not a precondition of salvation. In order to avoid easy commitments and false conversions, Puritan preachers were often pointing out that those who claimed to have put their faith in Christ for salvation but lived in a constant lifestyle of sin were never truly converted in the first place. For this reason the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints inherited from Calvin's theology, instead of creating anxiety about someone's salvation, led the people inside the community into constant control of their personal conduct. This self-control resulted in a diligent and severe display of their faith in every aspect of life. The discipline of self-trial, the perpetual self-accusation so common in Puritan diaries and poems, came out of this doctrine and perhaps was perceived as anxious by Weber. This intense feeling for a disciplined life, however, was enacted not in order to achieve assurance of salvation but as a result of Puritans' belief in the perseverance of the saints, having the believer always looking for ways to further his or her spiritual growth. Such spiritual discipline of sanctification, present in Calvin's own writings, in later Puritan interpretations came increasingly to imply an active commitment to one's career as a service to God in a progressive radicalization of Calvinism in the New World (Martinelli and Smelser, 1990: 630). It is possible to find some clear examples of that vocational commitment in the daily life of those Puritans in the colonies. Religious activity and economic activity were not simply opposites but significantly overlapping as expressions of an overarching Divine Providence. The Puritan merchants in their counting houses were able to make a handsome profit as well as receive through it an assurance of their divine calling.

PART II: SURVIVAL OF THIS ETHOS IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CULTURE

2.1 From the Founding Fathers to the 20th Century

America was also the land of arrival for all the religious groups of radical Protestantism, such as Independents, Separatists, Quakers, Baptists, Waldensians, Huguenots, Methodists, and many dissident groups coming from the European territories. They composed the wide spectrum of the Pilgrim Fathers and were guided by the search for religious freedom in New England. Hard work, frugality, and diligence coming from the Protestantism of continental Europe found their complete and deeper expression in the case of what was becoming the United States of America. Particularly interesting was the concept of "impersonality," according to which the ethical orientations of

the Puritans, Baptists, and German and Dutch Pietism were more compatible with rational economic action than Catholicism, Islam, or other religious groups that migrated later on to the New World. This compatibility arose because those Protestant merchants thought it ethically virtuous to treat all customers the same. No partiality was to be shown on the basis of personal characteristics other than those dictated by the marketplace. Protestants developed a work ethic derived strongly from Calvin's ideas (Bernbaum and Steer, 1986: 23–24). All those features today so central and common to the American capitalistic spirit of economic rationality, requiring equal and fair treatment according to market principles, find their roots in this religious historical background. Nonetheless, at that time in the thirteen colonies there was a large portion of un-Christianized people. Through the revivals and evangelistic preaching of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield (both Calvinists), the thirteen colonies experienced unprecedented cases of mass conversion that gradually led to the First Great Awakening (1731–1755). The leading forces of those awakenings were the religious sects that in less than one hundred years passed from thousands to millions of members (Stark, 2005: 195).

Many studies on United States show clearly that the tension between religious orientations and economic growth was recurrent and widespread (Martinelli and Smelser, 1990: 629). Surely this ethical premise did not stop with the Puritan movement, but it involved the future development of the Enlightenment in personalities mentioned by Weber more prone to Deism like Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson. Having been raised in this Puritan context, they are debtors to this specific religious set of beliefs for their economic propensity and view of life. Although moving gradually into secularism, these ethical premises remain crucial in the expression of a disciplined behavior. An emphasis on industry, thrift, frugality, sobriety, honesty, and charitableness characterized both the Puritan work ethic and Benjamin Franklin's plan of moral perfection. The impact of the Puritan ethic on the American society flourished also indirectly from the Founding Fathers of America such as Patrick Henry, George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Noah Webster, John Hancock, Francis Scott Key, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and many other influential figures that had explicit religious aspirations and were not afraid to show their beliefs and ethic that find their ultimate origin in the Protestant faith (Lambert, 2003: 265).

These qualities brought distinction to a man in the workplace and readied him for success. Their opposite concepts on the other hand—idleness, intemperance, prodigality, sloth, and extravagance—were said to lead to economic ruin and poverty (Pointer, 1988: 349). Men like Thomas Hooker, John Winthrop, William Bradford, Roger Williams, and William Penn are just a few examples among those Bible-believers that predominantly influenced the religious, economic, and institutional foundations of the United States of America. Such all-encompassing influence of American religiosity was very

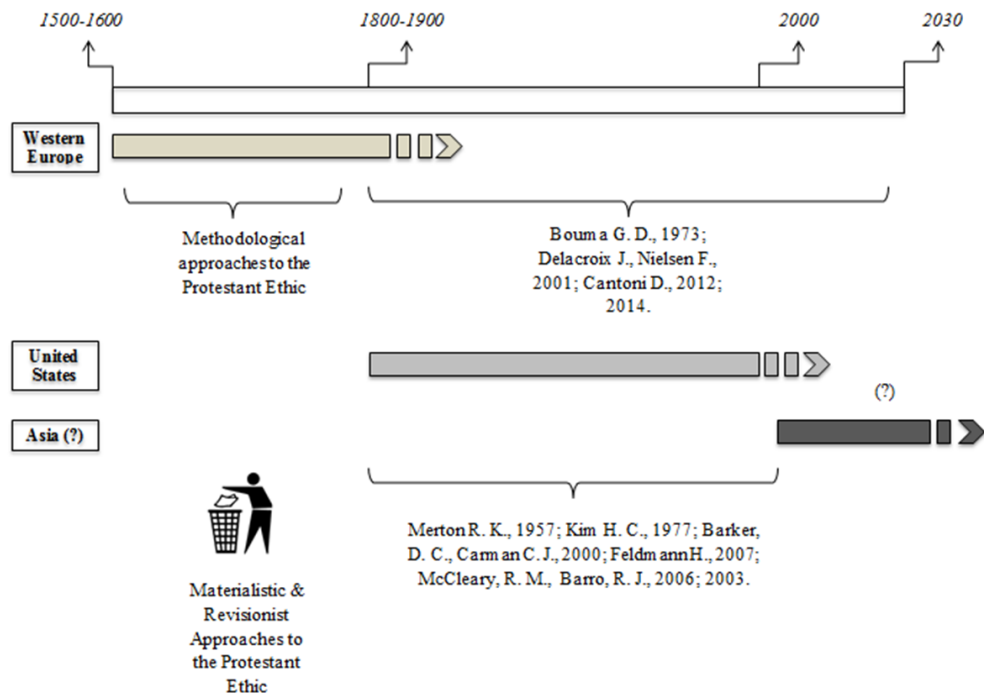
important for the shaping of the politics of a “nation under God” and the economy based on the motto “in God we trust” starting from the Founding Fathers up until the present time (Kosmin and Lachman, 1993: 18). The separation of church and state, the absence of an official religious institution, the general tolerance towards all religious minorities, the public exposition of religion in all aspects of life such as tribunals, schools, or leisure time are just a few examples of this influence (Shriver, 2011: 2354). Liberal tendencies towards trade, commerce, and taxation were also unprecedented examples of the Protestant ethic as a key ideological aspect for the future developments of the American nation (Wagner, 1964: 34). And Calvinism among many ideologies, first in Europe, then in America, provided new models of social discipline and executive administration. The institutionalization of religious pluralism contributed to the conventionalization of intellectual pluralism.

Such heritage guided America up until its emergence as the main global economic power during 19th and 20th centuries. Frank Chodorov argues that the Protestant ethic was considered for a long time as a crucial element for the success of the campaign of any American political figure. Politicians had to measure up to the standard of a “self-made man” born of poor parents, who made his way up the ladder through sheer ability, self-reliance, perseverance in the face of hardship, and assuming responsibility (Chodorov, 2011: 1; Duncan, 2014: 39). The influence of the Protestant ethic in America was not only active in the political realm, but it also had an impact in the general work ethic of the American population (Mocombe, 2012: 38). Interestingly enough, some scholars focused on the example of Philadelphia Presbyterians and their quest for morality, capitalism, and economic success during the 19th century (Pointer, 1988: 349). Many pastors from that area frequently preached that it was a Christian duty to increase one’s own and one’s neighbor’s worldly prosperity by choosing the right calling and pursuing it diligently. The image of the quite orderly and prosperous man with a successful family life and work was promoted through the correct application of the Bible and its philosophy of life. What Pointer underlines is that through the wide spread of Calvinistic ideas in those Presbyterian circles, a convergence between Protestant and middle-class values was possible. They promoted the Christian’s duty to prosper, and they perceived self-help as the way to wealth and Christian piety as an asset to temporal success, exalting Christian morality for its ordering and disciplining effects. Philadelphia then, the most Presbyterian-Calvinist of any of America’s major cities, was permeated with the “true” path to economic success: honesty, persistency, and toil.

Niall Ferguson, looking to the data of working hours and employment by country from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), confirmed that the experience of North America in the past century offers an unexpected confirmation of the Protestant ethic thesis. As Ferguson argued, however, during the 19th and 20th centuries there has been a decline and fall of the Protestant work ethic in Europe. Together with the triumph of secularization in Western Europe, the author points out the simultaneous

decline of both Protestantism and its unique work ethic in Europe. The reasons for such decline of working hours and employment rates can explain the misunderstanding of much of the critics of Weber's thesis. Those critics neglected the evolution of the spirit of capitalism in its transmigration to the pious and industrious context of the United States where the Protestant work ethic was alive during the entire 20th century (Ferguson, 2003: 1; McCloud and Mirola, 2009: 159). Other scholars stressed this strong relationship between socioeconomic factors and denominational preferences for the more recent American case. They pointed out the compatibility between the rational religious ethic of America and capitalism, suggesting a positive relationship between religious faith and such economic measures.

Figure 1: Timeline Summary of the Evolution of the Spirit of Capitalism



2.2 Remains of the Puritan Ethic Today

In this panorama, Calvinism played its unique lasting role in shaping the American Protestant ethic. Calvin's concept of God and man with all of its strong elements of freedom was crucial in the development of American liberalism and democracy. Some scholars pointed out that even today among the different religious denominations, the Presbyterians, one of the main Calvinist denominations, tend to be considerably wealthier and better educated in terms of degrees per capita than most other religious groups in America. They are also disproportionately represented in the upper reaches of the American business and political elite (Drummond, 2012: 1; Pointer 1988).

Only five percent of the American population, however, belongs today to religious denominations properly identified as part of the Calvinistic tradition (Rauscher, 1997: 18). Furthermore, Calvinism has suffered from several splits and fragmentations due to the spread of liberalism such as the case of the Dutch Reformed Church both in Europe and later in parts of United States.

As previously mentioned, especially in the context of New England, Calvinism was an insufficient condition in breaking with traditionalism. The influence of Baptists, Methodists, and other unofficial churches was very crucial as well. Although those minority groups faced persecution and were forbidden to preach by the state churches of colonial America, their social impact during the great revivals overtook the state church, forcing even traditional churches to adopt religious liberty and to take the road toward a more syncretic structural development. The deregulated separation between church and state, together with the voluntary adherence to religious practice, represented for centuries the strength of a competitive and fervent American religiosity (Stark, 2005: 233). An interesting case of syncretic development is the one of Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875), who although a Presbyterian minister left the old school of Reformed theology and led the revival phenomenon that is known as the Second Great Awakening in the United States. Calvinist beliefs and values have nevertheless by now become so diffused among Protestant denominations and sects in America that it is no longer easy to isolate them in specific identity groups (Kim, 1977: 255).

Still, today in the United States religion remains a potentially important source of guidance in the ways individuals make economic choices. In the U.S. the doctrine of a calling survived in an intrinsic commitment to work and a desire to make it a meaningful experience. Approximately 30 percent of U.S. citizens say they feel that God has called them to their particular type of job, and 25 percent say religious values influenced their choice of a career (Martinelli and Smelser, 1990: 635). The foundation for such legitimation of hard work is said to find its root in the Judeo-Christian tradition of teachings. People are in this case considered as “stewards of the world,” having individual responsibility in the budgeting and spending of their money and using their unique talents wisely and responsibly. With a Protestant religious majority, the United States pursues such considerations still today because of its permeation by this cultural influence.

Particularly Calvinism is still strongly present today. It is possible to find a clear inheritance of Calvinist beliefs in many of today’s evangelical and Reformed preachers (e.g. M. Horton, T. Keller, A. McGrath, J. I. Packer, R. C. Sproul, N. T. Wright). The perseverance of the saints, for example, is a doctrine that recently came back into popularity in many American evangelical churches. I find clear examples of that doctrine in the current preaching of men like John Piper, Paul Washer, Steve Lawson, David Wilkerson, and John MacArthur in their emphasis on assurance as well as true repentance, holiness, self-examination, and sanctification to check the real eternal condition of the individual (Washer, 2008: 9).

Also, the influence of such values in the United States has gradually opened to a broader context. It was in the United States that in the 19th century Christianity had its greatest numerical growth. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, all the different minorities that arrived in the United States through subsequent migrations were led to act and behave like the Protestant majority. This trend created a particular typesetting for the case of the United States where one can observe such Protestant ethic today even outside the borders of Protestantism where those elements have become part of the cultural traits of society. I find some examples of it in the universalization of work as a “religious duty” for all the American middle-class, in family life, in homeschooling, and in patriotism. Another example is the view toward individualism. In the American context, individualism has often been conceived as a moral virtue contrary to the traditional European conception of it as incivility and chaos. Those are just a few examples of how difficult it is to isolate the American Protestant ethic into specific borders (McClosky and Zaller, 1984: 18).

Another consequence of the recent syncretic development of American Protestantism is that it is no longer possible to isolate all the Weberian preconditions that I have mentioned above, such as the inner-worldly asceticism or the *Beruf*. The only solution available for research is to proceed with a systematization of the different religious traditions through the use of ideal-types. With this procedure I will be able to isolate therefore the inheritance of Calvinism, not in the concept of predestination that only few churches still hold in the original formulation of Calvin, but into the all-encompassing category of the perpetual assurance of salvation, corollary to the perseverance of the saints, that in my view is more able to explain the relationship. What is interesting to notice from the scheme is that all the religious branches holding the belief in the perpetual assurance of salvation are the same branches that generally have higher political participation, support free-market principles, or display attitudes of acceptance toward economic individualism (Barker, 2005: 145). Those contemporary American evangelicals, doctrinally conservative while not always Calvinist in the strictest sense, share much of Calvinism’s preconditions. From the explanatory table that follows, it is possible to have a synthetic organizational view of the evolution of Reformed traditions into the American context and their contribution to the American spirit of capitalism. I start from the suggestions made by some other scholars. Not every single denomination necessarily fits in only one category. An interesting case for that matter is the Southern Baptists, one of the largest Protestant branches in America, who tend to mix together the two different traditions of Swiss Reformed and Swiss Anabaptist that were diametrically opposite in origin. But once again someone can easily identify churches where the perpetual assurance of salvation (“once saved forever saved”) is still present, as is the case for most of the churches of the Swiss Reformed tradition and some of the groups from the Swiss Anabaptist tradition such as the Brethren or Baptists.

Table 1: Evolution of Protestantism in United States and Contributions to the American Capitalist Spirit

Reformation tradition	German Lutheran	Swiss Reformed	Swiss Anabaptist	British Anglican	Mixed	Pentecostals
Branches	Lutheranism, Evangelical Lutheran Churches, Missouri Synod, Wisconsin council of churches...	Presbyterian, Presbyterian Church in America, Reformed, Huguenots, Waldensians, Boer Calvinism, Fundamentalism, Neo-orthodoxy, Paleo-orthodoxy, Evangelicalism, Non-denominational, Bible Fellowship churches, Evangelicalism ...	Congregationalism, Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites, Brethren, Baptists, Southern Baptists, Quakers, ...	Church of England, Methodists, Pietists, English Puritans, Pilgrims, Episcopal...	Modernism, Liberalism...	Pentecostalism, Assemblies of God, church of God, Holiness movement, Church of the Nazarene, Adventists, churches of Christ...
Main beliefs and type of Leadership	a) Sola Scriptura b) Sola Fide c) Sola Gratia d) Solus Christus e) Soli Deo Gloria <i>Centralized leadership</i>	a) Total depravity; b) Unconditional election; c) Limited Atonement; d) Irresistible grace; e) Perseverance of the saints. <i>Centralized leadership</i>	Separation of powers, opposition to institutional churches, religious freedom, horizontal leadership, mystic spiritualism, <i>horizontal leadership</i>	National church, largely insitutional, <i>traditional leadership</i>	Weak doctrinal stand, adaptation to modern culture, <i>intellectual leadership</i>	Charismatic manifestations, <i>charismatic leadership</i>
Contributions to the American Capitalist Spirit	Benef, professional work, Inner-worldly asceticism, universal education...	Predestination, individualism, saving mentality, laissez-faire, universal literacy, bookkeeping, natural sciences, political constitutionalism...	Freedom of conscience, revolutionary spirit, tolerance, subjectivism, enlightenment, women suffrage, distrust towards the state, democracy, minority status, break traditions, human rights....	British empiricism, universities, experimental science...		
Perpetual assurance of Salvation	no	yes	yes / no	no	no	no

On the other hand, there are churches where this doctrine of the perpetual assurance of salvation is no longer there because of Arminianism, such as the cases of many British Anglican churches, liberal churches, and Pentecostal churches. The British Anglican case, particularly in the example of the Methodists or part of the no-longer-existing Puritans, represents an interesting case once again able to explain Weber’s misunderstanding of the anxiety concerning the *certitudo salutis*. As I have already mentioned, John Wesley, founder of Methodism, believed in the doctrine of assurance, as did Lutheranism or some branches of Puritanism, but that assurance is not perpetual as in the case of Calvin’s perseverance of the saints.

A brief parenthesis on a matter underestimated by Weber that does not directly concerns my analysis is the role of Anabaptism and other currents of Christianity apart from Calvinism in shaping the democracy in America. The formation of liberal democracy in the United States was possible only through a union between the spirit of freedom and the spirit of religion. This element, together with equality of conditions and abolition of class distinctions, was largely inherited from the Anabaptist tradition and other dissident movements. Even though many of those radical groups willingly avoided involvement in politics or worldly professions, pursuing a more hedonistic path, their influence in today’s striving for freedom of religion, separation of state and church, distrust towards the state, and many other aspects so deeply rooted in the American mentality is undeniable.

Furthermore, in the case of United States, the connection between free economy and religious liberty can be clearly observed even by looking to some of the contemporary American literature on business. Notions such as the one of “spiritual capital,” virtuously successful business, and faith-based trust are considered proper of a “spiritual enterprise” able to achieve the true purpose of business. Virtues promoted by the American Protestant spirit such as leadership, courage, perseverance, discipline, and justice are more than a set of rules and become here the basis of a successful spiritual enterprise (Roosevelt, 2008: 25).

Some contemporary authors underline the economic impact of some religious belief in the field of business ethics (Fox, 1987: 4). Much of this current of writings is directed to American business owners and has more of a practical approach on how to achieve a successful business in a certain company (Maxwell, 2003: 19). Ethical dilemmas and moral principles such as the biblical “golden rule” are linked to specific business practices aimed at promoting the virtuous way to economic success.² A growing number of those writings, mainly from a Protestant background, stress particularly the centrality of doing business according to biblical principles from the sacred Scriptures (Tam, 1969: 20). Applying this scriptural perspective to someone’s life determines that the realm of work becomes for a Christian a “way-station of spiritual witness and service,” a “sacred stewardship” with its own special dignity (Henry, 1964: 31). Those studies lay out a theological view of work seen no more as a necessary evil or a “product of Adam’s curse” but as a good thing entrusted to humankind, more to be understood as a calling and as a ministry opportunity for any Christian fellow. In this perspective, work is seen as a moral duty and an ethical responsibility to be fulfilled with excellence in order to guard someone’s spiritual as well as material status (Witherington, 2011: 67).

This type of contemporary literature on business ethics constantly emphasizes terms such as vocation, calling, working for the Kingdom of God, excellence, importance of savings, being in the world of business, and dismantling the division of labor between sacred and secular. Labor is more than a component. It has strong value and purpose; it means being a steward of the world from the hands of the “highest Boss,” namely the Creator (Bernbaum and Steer, 1986: 11–12). The way by which this ethical premise is intended to shape the conduct of the readers involves a motivation that results in a unique mixture of methods, attitudes, and strategies to achieve results. The worker must have a good character and maniacal integrity, respect the authorities, take his responsibilities seriously, see work as a service and ministry to be done in excellence and with motivation, and be able to face risk,

² The golden rule, taken from most of the major religions, invites “not to do to others what you don’t want others to do to you.” Following this strategy is said by the literature to lead to a win-win philosophy and trustworthy economic approach able to lead to long-term economic success (see Maxwell, 2003: 23).

crisis, and failures (Sherman and Hendricks, 1987: 77). At the same time, sobriety, self-discipline, and a sense of separation from the world even if being involved in the world give a crucial balance to the conduct of those that follow this ethical premise (Peabody, 1974: 4). Many of those contemporary American popular concepts are once again echoing Weber's reflections on the Puritans. This recognition draws once again a strict connection between the workplace and a series of ethical requisites such as justice, abiding with the law, honesty, agency of contrasting interests, ethical employer-employee relations, etc. All these ethical guidelines are said to be necessary in order to achieve economic success (Hill, 1997: 12).

Several studies in the field of sociology also confirm such considerations (see Mayer and Sharp 1962; Veroff, Feld, and Gurin 1962). Those scholars point out the difference between the traditional Protestant beliefs and our contemporary work ethic due to the secular evolution of society. Yet they witness a survival of such influence through conservative Protestantism that influenced the emerging of free-market and liberal ideas mainly for the case of the United States. One explanatory example of this survival can be the economic and monetary theorization in its Calvinistic principles such as present in a contemporary biblical view of economics by Gary North in his interesting analysis (1988: 21). It is also possible to notice the inheritance of Benjamin Franklin's biblical wisdom in business in much of today's American business literature for the general public (see Bland 1972; Burkett 1990; Cook 1974; Covey 1990; Devine 1977; Egli and Hoerr 1984).

To sum up this articulated mixture of religious beliefs, I have presented here a table (Table 1, above) that synthesizes the evolution of the Protestant ethic in the American context. This over-simplified classification, although very useful for the explanatory purpose through ideal-types, may not be totally representative of the much more syncretic organizational evolution of American Protestantism. A clear example of this limitation is the case of infant baptism, which many evangelical churches have clearly abandoned even though part of Calvin's and Luther's theology. I observe the same trend for the case of branches coming from Swiss Reformed traditions in favor of adult baptism under the strong influence of Anabaptism. On the other hand, Baptist and Southern Baptist traditions, in spite of their Anabaptist inheritance, generally embrace part of the Calvinistic theology.

A clear demonstration of the heterogeneous set of theological positions in American Protestantism today is the gradual convergence and mixture between what today is known as Covenant Theology, inherited from the Reformed theological tradition, and dispensationalist theology, inherited from more recent North American theological traditions. Not all the points of Calvinism in the famous acronym T.U.L.I.P. survived even inside the Reformed tradition, particularly for the case of the belief in limited atonement. This inconsistency led the spectrum of doctrinal positions to be once more fragmented between Amyraldism, hyper-Calvinism, New-Calvinism, five-point Calvinism, four-point Calvinism, etc.. This syncretic development

involves also the case of the British Anglican tradition, historically always strongly divided between the national state church and all the British dissident groups.

2.3 Death of an Ethos and of Its Capitalism Altogether?

At the beginning of this paper, I claimed that in light of several currents of sociological studies, Weber's thesis could be valid still today beyond the time of the 16th century Protestant Reformation. Through the previous reconstruction, I tried to show, however, that in order to make that claim, sociological phenomena are never to be considered as immobile stones; rather they move, grow, breathe, and transform. For this reason when considering a possible validity of Weber's contribution today, it is necessary to approach this question diachronically, stressing particularly theological and geographical changes. This fluidity is why many of the critics to Weber's thesis fail to realize that if the thesis is to be still valid beyond the Protestant Reformation, they should look elsewhere beyond Europe. In other words, the original theoretical formulation of Weber with some significant readjustment may still be valid but in different times and places. From the context of Western Europe, Protestantism together with its Protestant ethic evolved to America. I argued here that the thirteen colonies that later gave birth to the United States have not been given the proper emphasis. I pointed out that from the organizational context of the European state churches, Puritanism as well as other dissident Anabaptist groups were crucial in transforming those original Calvinistic tendencies toward a more democratic stand. Puritanism in this sense was a key element in leading Weber through his conclusions concerning the *certitudo salutis*. Yet I also argued that in contrast with the Weberian anxiety, at the time of the Puritans, it was the Calvinistic doctrine of the perseverance of the saints that played an important role in understanding the possible impact of Puritan beliefs in the American economic ethos of Protestantism yet to come. As someone then evaluates the possible connections to today beyond those specific Calvinistic beliefs, once the machine of capitalism is in motion, one can see an expansion in the overall Westernized culture. From the religious context, I pointed out through this study the ethical evolution of such principles (calling, sects, perseverance) in the overall nationalistic North American popular culture beyond Calvinism. This development, however, does not mean, as some wrongly assumed, that the religious component becomes invalid or unable to exercise any influence.

What then remains today of this spirit of capitalism? What are the future predictions of that influence so clear in the past? Has this Puritan ethic somehow died or lost significance for the 21st century? An important mention must be given to the other side of the coin: the widespread of materialism in American society today. Some scholars argued that American capitalism encountered major difficulties at the end of the 1960s as a result of a growing tension between ways of relating to work based on Protestant asceticism and

the blossoming of a mode of existence based on immediate consumer pleasure stimulated by credit and mass production (Hall, 2011: 286). Trends in the representatives of the sacred who are overly interested in material accumulation have been present side-by-side with this traditional Puritan ethic. It is the case of television preachers and the phenomenon of mega-churches in the United States, churches where under mainly Pentecostal influences what is commonly known as “prosperity Gospel” or “Gospel of wealth” has spread. One clear example is Lakewood Church, pastored by Joel Osteen, the largest church in America in terms of attendance with its more than 40,000 members. A strong emphasis is made by this kind of church on economic success, but this message has lost almost all references to inner-worldly asceticism, salvation, or *Beruf*.

Some scholars find that in the United States the Protestant ethic has declined in its ascetic work behavior, especially in recent times, losing its characteristics such as frugality or hard work under the pressure of an ever-growing consumption society (Wisman and Davis, 2013: 1075). Not only does such a Puritan ethic look like only a formal and distant dream of the American identity, but also in light of a culture focused on spending, the crisis has been twofold, both in terms of its ethos and also in leading to a perennial state of financial crisis. Modern capitalism is known to function well because of the specific underlying restraints quoted above that for a long time were embraced in Western societies.

Political figures like Donald Trump are far away from the ethical model that for hundreds of years was considered as the *sine qua non* of the American society. With the crisis of the prosperity Gospel today, the control of conduct or the display of a work ethic leaves the place to a priceless enjoyment of money. Such love of money common to all ages is not the root of the spirit of capitalism, which was characterized instead by a control of the conduct, a saving mentality, and a frugality that only Calvinism was able to give. Someone may wonder then if this spirit of capitalism suddenly died out or where it has moved in a globalized context. Overall, this ethos and its spirit of capitalism in the West seem directed toward their death.

Various fields of sociological, economic, and religious research, however, may already be pointing out the features of a globalized spirit of capitalism whose boundaries often cross traditional distinctions (Tyler 1966). Some speak of an Asian resurgence, but it is not the purpose of this paper to make clear predictions too early (Hefner, 2010: 1031). These cases, together with the theoretical validation described in previous pages, are enough to testify of the too-rushed dismissal by some scholars of the Weberian thesis for today’s contemporary world. New updated qualitative and quantitative studies on globalized manifestations of these issues might be already at work, but they first need to acquire a better grasp of the theoretical background and concepts (*Beruf*, role of sects, perseverance of the saints) of the Weberian theory as well as its development described here. Some of these principles may require in fact a re-formulation, such as about the anxiety of salvation, which may

impact drastically the way academia understands, teaches, and studies the Protestant Ethic in the American context. Therefore the sociological research needs all the more to bring the analysis forward through empirical discoveries that could validate or redirect the possible interpretative options.

REFERENCES

- Barker, D. C., and C. J. Carman. 2000. "The Spirit of Capitalism? Religious Doctrine, Values, and Economic Attitude Constructs." *Political Behavior* 22(1): 1–27.
- Barker, J. E. 2005. *The Christian Roots of Capitalism*. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle.
- Barlow, A. J. 2015. "Puritanism and Modernist Novels: From Moral Character to the Ethical Self." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 53: 68.
- Barro, J. R., and R. M. McCleary. 2003. "Religion and Economic Growth Across Countries." *American Sociological Review* 68(5): 760–81.
- Baxter, Richard. 1678. *A Christian Directory*. London: Robert White.
- Baxter, Richard. 2000. *The Practical Works of Richard Baxter. Vol. I-IV*. Morgan, LA: Soli Deo Gloria Publications.
- Beder, S. 2000. *Selling the Work Ethic: From Puritan Pulpit to Corporate PR*. London: Zed.
- Beeke, J. R., and R. J. Pederson. 2007. *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints*. Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books.
- Bellah, Robert N. 1997. "Max Weber and World-Denying Love: A Look at the Historical Sociology of Religion." *Humanities Center and Burke Lectureship on Religion and Society*: 1–30.
- Bennett, A., ed. 1975. *The Valley of Vision. A Collection of Puritan Prayers and Devotions*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.
- Bernbaum, J. A., and S. M. Steer. 1986. *Why Work? Careers and Employment in Biblical Perspective*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Bland, G. 1972. *Success! How to Set Goals and Make Plans that Really Work*. Wheaton, IL: Living Books.
- Bottum, J. 2014. *An Anxious Age: The Post-Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of America*. Victoria, Australia: Image.
- Bouma, G. D. 1973. "A Critical Review of Recent Protestant Ethic Research." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12(2): 141–55.
- Bunyan, J. 2003 [1668]. *Pilgrim's Progress*. Alachua, FL: Bridge Logos.
- Burg, B. R. 2012. "Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 50(2): 350.
- Burkett, L. 1990. *Business by the Book. The Complete Guide of Biblical Principles for Business Men and Women*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Cantoni, D. 2012. "Adopting a New Religion: The Case of Protestantism in 16th Century Germany." *Economic Journal* 122(560): 502–31.
- Cantoni, D. 2014. "The Economic Effects of the Protestant Reformation: Testing the Weber Hypothesis in the German Lands." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 13(4): 561–98.
- Chodorov, F. 2011. *The Radical Rich*. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- Cohen, J. 2002. *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Mechanisms of Influence*. Chicago: Aldine Transaction.

- Cook, W. H. 1974. *Success, Motivation and the Scriptures*. Nashville: Broadman Press.
- Covey, S. R. 1990. *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Delacroix, J., and F. Nielsen. 2001. "The Beloved Myth: Protestantism and the Rise of Industrial Capitalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Social Forces* 80(2): 509–53.
- Devine, J. D. 1977. *Find God's Will for You*. Glendale, CA: Regal Books.
- Drummond, A. B., Jr. 1981. "The Episcopalians: An American Elite with Roots Going Back to Jamestown." *New York Times* April 28.
- Duncan, A. 2014. "Reimagining the Self-Made Man: Myth, Risk, and the Pokerization of America." *Western Journal of Communication* 78: 39–57.
- Durston, C., and J. Eales. 1996. *The Culture of English Puritanism: 1560–1700*. New York: MacMillan.
- Edwards, J. 1974. *Resolutions: Works of Jonathan Edwards*, edited by J. Piper. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth.
- Edwards, J. 2003 [1734]. *The Preciousness of Time and the Importance of Redeeming It*. New Haven, CT: A Puritan Mind.
- Egli, J., and B. Hoerr. 1984. *The I Factor: How to Influence Your World*. Urbana, IL: North Star Strategies.
- Feldmann, H. 2007. "Protestantism, Labor Force Participation, and Employment Across Countries." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 66(4): 795–816.
- Ferguson, N. 2003. "Why America Outpaces Europe (Clue: The God Factor)." *New York Times* June 8.
- Foster, S. 1972. "Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England." *Yale Historical Publications Miscellany* 94: 200–214.
- Fox, R. 1987. "The Liberal Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." *Center Magazine* September: 4–11.
- Gaer, J., and B. Siegel. 1964. *The Puritan Heritage: America's Roots in the Bible*. New York: New American Library.
- Hall, David D. 2011. "A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England." *Kirkus Reviews* 79: 286–87.
- Hefner, R. W. 2010. "Religious Resurgence in Contemporary Asia: South-east Asian Perspectives on Capitalism, the State and the New Piety." *Journal of Asian Studies* 69(4): 1031–47.
- Henry, C. F. H. 1964. *Aspects of Christian Social Ethics*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.
- Hewett, R. S. 2012. "Thrift and Thriving in America: Capitalism and Moral Order from the Puritans to the Present." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 49(7): 1319.
- Hill, A. 1997. *Just Business: Christian Ethics for the Marketplace*. Madison, WI: InterVarsity Press.
- Hulse, E. 2000. *Who Are the Puritans? And What Do They Teach?* Darlington, UK: Evangelical Press.
- Kim, H. C. 1977. "The Relationship of Protestant Ethic Beliefs and Values to Achievement." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16(3): 255–62.
- Klein, S. 2013. "First Founders: American Puritans and Puritanism in an Atlantic World." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 50(5): 942.

- Kosmin, B. A., and S. P. Lachman. 1993. *One Nation Under God. Religion in Contemporary American Society*. New York: Harmony Books.
- Lambert, F. 2003. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Le Beau, B. F. 2008. "The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 45(9): 1602–3.
- Martinelli, Alberto, and Neil J. Smelser. 1990. *Economy and Society: Overviews in Economic Sociology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Mather, Cotton. 1825. *Essays to Do Good*. Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins.
- Maxwell, J. C. 2003. *There's No Such Thing as Business Ethics*. New York: Warner Business Books.
- Mayer, A. J., and H. Sharp. 1962. "Religious Preference and Worldly Success." *American Sociological Review* 27: 218–27.
- McCleary, R. M., and R. J. Barro. 2006. "Religion and Economy." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(2): 49–72.
- McClosky, H. and J. Zaller. 1984. *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- McCloud, S., and W. A. Mirola. 2009. *Religion and Class in America: Culture, History, and Politics*. Leiden: Brill.
- Merton, R. K. 1962. *Puritanism, Pietism and Science*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Miegge, M. 2010. *Vocazione e Lavoro*. Torino, Italy: Claudiana.
- Mocombe, P. 2012. *Liberal Bourgeois Protestantism: The Metaphysics of Globalization*. Leiden: Ebrary Inc.
- North, G. 1988. *Puritan Economic Experiments: Puritans and Government Controls*. Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics.
- Peabody, L. 1974. *Secular Work is Full-Time Service*. Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade.
- Perkins, W. 1603. *Treatise of the Vocations or Callings*. Princeton, NJ: John Legatt.
- Phillips, M. 2001. "Puritan View of Work." Sermon presented August 19 at Grace Baptist Church, Fremont, CA.
- Pointer, R. W. 1988. "Philadelphia Presbyterians, Capitalism, and the Morality of Economic Success, 1825–1855." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112(3): 349–74.
- Rauscher, M. 1997. "Protestant Ethic, Status Seeking and Economic Growth." *Universität Rostock* 9.
- Roosevelt, Malloch T. 2008. *Spiritual Enterprise: Doing Virtuous Business*. New York: Encounter Books.
- Sherman, D., and W. Hendricks. 1987. *Your Work Matters to God*. Carol Stream, IL: NavPress.
- Shriver, G. H. 2011. "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Sport: How Calvinism and Capitalism Shaped America's Games." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 48: 2354.
- Shulevitz, J. 2001. "The Puritan Ethic." *New York Times* March 11.
- Simpson, A. 1955. *Puritanism in Old and New England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stark, R. 2005. *The Victory of Reason: How Christianity Led to Freedom, Capitalism, and Western Success*. New York: Random House.
- Tam, S. 1969. *God Owns My Business*. London: Wordbooks.

- Tipson, L. B., Jr. 2010. "Heavenly Merchandize: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America." *Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 48(4): 704.
- Tyler, L. L. 1966. "The Protestant Ethic among the Black Muslims." *Phylon* 27(1): 5–14.
- Veroff, J., S. Feld, and G. Gurin. 1962. "Achievement Motivation and Religious Background." *American Sociological Review* 27: 205–17.
- Wagner, H. 1964. "The Protestant Ethic: A Mid-Twentieth Century View." *Sociological Analysis* 25: 34–40.
- Waller, G. M. 1973. *Puritanism in Early America*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
- Washer, P. 2008. *Ten Indictments against the Modern Church*. Pensacola, FL: Chapel Library.
- Weber, M. 1930 [1905]. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Wisman, J. D., and M. E. Davis. 2013. "Degraded Work, Declining Community, Rising Inequality, and the Transformation of the Protestant Ethic in America: 1870–1930." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 72: 1075.
- Witherington, B., III. 2011. *Work: A Kingdom Perspective on Labor*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.