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**Religious Influences
on the
Thatcherite Enterprise Culture**

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Thesis Entitled

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the
Thatcherite Enterprise Culture**

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*Πνευμα Κυριου επ εμε, ου ενεκεν εχρισε με ευαγγελιασθαι πτωχοις απεστακε με
κηρυξαι αιχμαλωτοις αφεσιν, και τυφλοις αναβλεψιω, αποστειλαι τεθραυσμενους εν
αφεσει, κηρυξαι ενιαυτον Κυριου δεκτον.*

Luke 4:18-19

Whilst recognising the valuable contribution made to this thesis by the advice of colleagues and friends, any remaining errors are entirely my own.

Custom and simplicity have led me to use masculine pronouns throughout. No gender inclusivity is intended by this approach, which should be read at all times as the more cumbersome *he / she*.

Abstract

During the 1980s, the government of Great Britain, led by Margaret Thatcher, promoted a political and economic ideology known in the demotic as the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. This set of beliefs and actions included an encouragement of hard work, thrift, self-responsibility, and self-employment, as well as legislating for the support of small firms, privatisation, free markets and a strong - but minimal - central state.

Behind the Enterprise Culture lay a religious paradigm, explicitly called upon by its chief creators, including Margaret Thatcher. The thesis builds an ideal-type of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, following a Weberian methodology, to form the major object of study. The work aims to discover whether the ideal-type under analysis is theologically coherent, and whether it can justifiably claim to be a continuation of Christian thought in this area.

This thesis examines the development of Western European philosophy and theology as it relates to the key aspects of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, beginning with the Ancient Greeks and concluding with the Victorian Age of Enterprise. The historical review demonstrates that the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture is generally discontinuous with the tradition of religious thought, and in some instances is essentially in direct contradiction with important aspects of the tradition, such as the significance of the Incarnation. A review of the theological works of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture and its critics adds to the findings of the historical examination, indicating further flaws and contradictions within Enterprise Theology. Critics of Enterprise Theology are found to be much more consistent with mainstream Christian Theology.

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Chapter One

Introduction and Methodology

1: 1) Aim

The thesis sets out to identify and analyse theology as it is encountered within the "Thatcherite" Enterprise Culture. Its objective is to ascertain the place of this theology within the tradition of Christian teachings on wealth creation and enterprise, to examine its internal coherence and philosophical validity, and thereby to establish whether such an Enterprise Theology is capable of supporting the political structures built upon it.

Such an undertaking is perceived to be outwith the scope of mainstream methodologies developed within the "discipline" of entrepreneurial studies, which are typically based upon primary data collection, using either case study or quantitative analytic techniques. This introductory chapter will therefore commence with a methodological discussion, which in turn will define the requisite structure of the thesis. Before this task can be undertaken, nonetheless, a brief exposition of the proposed subject matter is required, in order to provide context for the subsequent methodological analysis, as well as indicating why this area is potentially such a fruitful object of study.

1: 2) The Theology of Enterprise

The eleven years from 1979 to 1991 saw a renewed popularisation of the concept of *enterprise*. From referring essentially to innovative industrial activity, enterprise became a catchphrase referring to the application of the model of the freely competitive market place into almost every aspect of social, political and economic life. Enterprise in this broader sense has been applied to Health Care, Education, Employment, and the Judiciary. Prime participants in the enterprise culture are "organised interests from party politics, government, state,

finance, commerce, industry, and education & training" (Ritchie 1987 p4). Small businesses have been given new functional and symbolic significance as the "time-honoured natural engines of economic growth" (Ritchie 1987 p4). Small business owner managers act as exemplifications of entrepreneurial values like independence, self-responsibility, self-interest, thrift, hard work, and faith in the capitalist system (Scase & Goffee 1982 p31, Bechhofer & Elliott 1986 pp120-138).¹

That there is some religious content in the philosophical paradigm which supports Thatcherism is also suggested by the language and symbolism in which the Enterprise Culture is described by contemporary commentators. Bechhofer & Elliott write of the petite bourgeoisie as a modern priestly sect, the sacerdotal elite of the Enterprise Culture (Bechhofer & Elliott 1986 p133 - 134; see also Scase & Goffee 1986 p 148). Ritchie notes the religious-theological aspect of enterprise, describing it as "some self-transforming spirit of enterprise experience" (Ritchie 1987 p8). Terms like Evangelism, Believer, Convert and Faith are often used in relation to entrepreneurship. The writings of the enterprise movement itself contain several explicitly theological apologia, including speeches on the theme by Thatcher herself. Yet examinations of the theology of Thatcherite Enterprise have been scant in quantity and far from comprehensive in range, as we shall see below. Given the seeming importance of religion as an underlying paradigm supporting Thatcherite Enterprise Values, it is postulated that there is a significant research need for a review and analysis of this issue.

The present thesis therefore proposes to examine in detail the assumption that (Protestant) religious ideology has played a part in the shaping, legitimation and development of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. It will also attempt to

¹ See also Weber 1990, Tawney 1936, Bendix 1963, Preston, 1979

analyse this Enterprise Theology in some detail to establish its internal coherence, and place within the Christian tradition. In order to do so, however, the study will commence its historical review prior to the Reformation, (with the works of the Ancient Greeks and their successors,) so to provide a chronologically complete overview of the development of Western philosophy and theology with regard to ideas we now describe as forming part of an Enterprise Culture.

In his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Max Weber defined the distinguishing characteristic of the modern capitalist system as being "rationalised on the basis of rigorous calculation, directed with foresight and caution towards the economic success", (Weber, 1990 p76) and found the formative roots of this calculation in Calvinism. As Giddens (1971) points out:

"the distinctive feature of the work is that it seeks to demonstrate that the rationalism of economic life characteristic of modern capitalism connects with *irrational* value-commitments." (Giddens, 1971 p131)

The aim of this thesis, as has now been articulated, is to perform a similar investigation into 1980s Thatcherite enterprise capitalism, and it is therefore instructive to examine the methodology used by Weber in the *Protestant Ethic*, to establish whether it provides a viable epistemological model for the present study. Weber's ideal type methodology will thus be presented and discussed to evaluate its suitability for the present endeavour.

1: 3) An Introduction to Weber's Ideal Type Methodology

1:3:1) *The Methodological Need for Ideal Types*

Weber defines sociology as referring to:

"a science concerning itself with the interpretative understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequence" (Weber, 1968, vol. 1 p4).

Weber differentiated sociology from history, by noting that it focused on the culture and values of society, and especially of social action (see, for example, Burger, 1976, p121). Carrying out epistemologically valid research into such subjects is, as he recognised, fraught with difficulties. In particular, the social scientist may fall prey to the temptation to seek for illusory laws of human motivation and value, replicating those found in the physical sciences. This approach is inappropriate to the social sciences for two main reasons. Firstly, the social sciences, in order to make sense of the given, require "elements of pure theory....which are in some sense remote from reality" (Bruun, 1972 p212). Secondly, Weber was strongly influenced by the Neo-Kantians of his day, who postulated that it is illegitimate to confuse the "is" of empirical reality, with the "ought" of value systems. One cannot derive ethical maxims from the empirically given, nor can ethico-value phenomena be considered open to study and apperception in precisely the same way as objective empirical data. For Weber, sociological study, as noted above, took as its subjects both the reality of human actions, and the value-laden motives which prompted those actions. Thus adopting methodologies and concepts developed (by the natural sciences, for example) to analyse empirical data, and applying these to a combination of value-motives and actions, was to commit an epistemological fallacy. This fallacy consisted in flouting the Kantian divide between "is" and "ought", in treating ethical systems, and value structures, just like the observed behaviour and actions of social agents.

Equally, Weber recognised the opposite stance as a particular potential weakness of the sociological sciences. Without the conscious adoption of a specified analytic construct, scientists would have recourse only to their own unconscious conceptualisations and intuitions (see, for example, Albrow, 1990 p209) thus, replacing scholarly analysis with personal opinion and surmise. To reject all scientific method, and to rely simply on the gut feelings of social scientists, was to lay the discipline open to serious charges of subjectivism, and methodological nihilism.

Weber rejected therefore both these approaches - objective nomism and subjective intuitionism - as unsuitable aids in carrying out the interpretative understanding demanded of the sociologist. (See for instance, Bendix & Roth 1971, p256.) He was thus faced with the need to construct a third way, a methodology that, whilst objective, replicable, and structured, would enable the study of both empirical and value-motive phenomena. Recognising that the empirical world is an ever-changing infinitude, Weber chose to carry out his research by creating manageable idealised typological constructions, which were to incorporate motive and action. These conceptualisations would act as analytic tools for the study of sociological reality. These constructions were not intuitive, because they were extrapolated from reality, and adopted a clear methodological stance. Nor were they nomistic, because they derived from idealised constructs, and as such, did not lay claim to be all-embracing taxonomic descriptions like those of physics or biology. Such conceptualisations were formalised and articulated versions of the abstractions which were carried out in everyday life by people in their attempt to make sense of empirical sense data and value systems (Albrow, 1990, p209).

He argued that objectivity within the social sciences could be achieved by using these "techniques of interpretation of meaning which are replicable, and thus are verifiable according to the conventional canons of scientific methods"

(Giddens 1971 p147). Such a method could only be successful if it utilised abstraction and conceptualisation to handle the infinitude of (often conflicting) data at its disposal. The discipline required hermeneutic tools to supply objectivity, rigour, and replicability.

"...to him as to Kant, conceptual formulations are merely heuristic means for the purpose of organising the chaos of the empirically given...They are tools that can be shaped or reshaped according to the exigencies of the situation" (Abel, 1969 p38).

1:3:2) The Concept of the Ideal Type

This belief in the need for rigorous but flexible conceptualisation, as an alternative to "a merely felt mental picture" (Burger 1976 p136), formed the cornerstone of what was perhaps Weber's unique contribution to methodology, the *idealtypus*, or ideal type. In 1904 Weber assumed the editorship of *Archiv fur Socialwissenschaft and Socialpolitik*, and published as his statement of intent an essay known in English as "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy"². In this essay appeared Weber's first presentation of the *Idealtypus* methodology, which he described thus:

"An ideal type is formed by the *one-sided accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental

² Weber, Max. 1904. Objectivity in Social Science & Social Policy. Reprinted in Rogers, RE 1969

construct cannot be found anywhere in reality. It is a utopia”
 (Weber, 1904, in Rogers, 1969, p17).

This much cited passage requires further discussion, to shed light on the precise nature of Weber's concepts. To achieve this end, we will take in turn each of the four key aspects of the ideal type, as noted in the excerpt, namely: one-sided accentuation; concrete Individual phenomena; the creation of a unified analytical construct; and the ideal type as Utopia.

One-sided accentuation

Weber argues that, in order for a sociological object of study to be manageable in size, a scientist should focus clearly on certain aspects of that object, rather than attempting an analysis of every possible phenomena ascribable to the object, from every conceivable stance. (Physics, the paradigmatic science for most methodologists, has yet to develop a general theory, so it is unreasonable to expect individual social scientists to attempt this each time they undertake a piece of research.) Actors, and groups of actors, will of course have many motives, many values. The one-sidedness of ideal types requires the scientist specify clearly which of these is the focus for study, and emphasise this / these aspects at the expense of others:

“It is merely assumed that an actor has only one action-plan clearly in his mind which he single-mindedly pursues. The ideal-typical construct contains both the actor's plans and the actions following from them” (Burger 1976 p 125).

Whilst helping to make sense of the flow of empirical data, this is not an excuse for superficial research:

“The ‘intensification’ of a valuational point of view, in its axiological aspect, means that it is isolated, and worked out, to its last consequences” (Bruun, 1972 p220).

Just as the increasing strength of the microscope and the telescope have placed ever greater demands on the analytic and synthetic ability of natural scientists, thus similar demands are made upon those choosing a highly focused (ideal typical) lens as an instrument for study within the social sciences.

To use the example of this study, the idealised action-plan which drives the research is the theological paradigm supporting Thatcherism, and its preceding ideal-typical Enterprise Theologies. The findings of this study should therefore not be anticipated, either by author or reader, to explain every facet of the development of Western Theology, nor to deal extensively with the non-theological aspects of Thatcherism. By focusing on the analysis of this aspect of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, the study will only be empowered, under the selected methodology, to deal with other motivations, actions, and values - such as economic policy, political ambition, or the national socio-economic situation - inasmuch as these are directly found to be related to the specific concept under analysis. Whether this is a limitation of such a study will be discussed in more detail below. It is because of this one-sidedness that each object of study can be analysed using many ideal types, and that none can claim hegemony (Burger 1976 p 128).

Concrete Individual phenomena

The key aspect of ideal types, in terms of their actual applicability, is that they allow social scientists to address themselves to both motives and actions, and to form abstractions which combine both types of sociological subject matter. Bruun terms these two potential constituent aspects of ideal types axiological/motivational, and teleological/empirical. Under the first category of

axiological subject matter, he includes “ideas, dogmas, principles, maxims, etc” (Bruun 1972 p216). The teleological/empirical type of subject matter, on the other hand, incorporates the actions of agents, their observable behaviour. The two categories are said to be related, and the ideal type is generally constructed to examine that relationship, in terms of motive, causation, and consistency.

The concrete individual phenomena which Weber states are joined together in an abstracted ideal type, are thus usually to be drawn from both the axiological and teleological categories:

“In the great majority of cases...the axiological and the teleological element are jointly present in the ideal types; the later include both motivation by ideas and values and the corresponding empirical (possibly rational) behaviour” (Bruun, 1972 p216).

To return to the example of the present study, the ideal type(s) to be constructed around the concept of an Enterprise Theology will therefore be expected to contain not only abstractions from the values and beliefs of agents, but also examples of the expression of these values in their behaviour.

Unified analytical construct

The ideal type is not, however, a loose collection of individual phenomena. The various facets of the conceptualisation must be drawn together into a unified whole. This unified construct is to serve as a tool of analysis, and should therefore exhibit certain characteristics. It should be coherent, internally consistent, and clearly comprehensible. These characteristics - among other things - differentiate ideal types from the chaos of reality, and make them useful tools in carrying out analysis.

"Ideal types, in contrast with reality, were coherently constructed, with their parts logically or explicitly related to each other and therefore presenting a wholly understandable structure to the analyst" (Albrow, 1990, p218).

Often, creating such a unifying construct, which abstracts from reality, is the only way of making sense of a subject. Many commentators cite Weber's example of Medieval Christianity, which he maintains in his essay on Objectivity simply could not be discussed without the use of a synthesizing conceptualisation, given its constituent parts:

"It is a combination of articles of faith, norms from church law and custom, maxims of conduct, and countless concrete interrelationships which we have fused into an idea; a synthesis which without contradiction we would not be able to attain without the use of ideal-typical concepts" (Weber, Albrow, 1990, p219; Burger, 1976, pp. 132-133; Bruun, 1972, p216)³.

Weber himself, and many commentators, note the importance of these unified analytic concepts exhibiting a high level of internal consistence. Burger (1976 p 126) interprets this to mean that the construct "must contain only those actions which would exist as a causal result of the exclusive influence of the 'exaggerated' inner states". That is, that the *one-sidedness* of the concept must be reflected in its unified articulation. The ideal type construct is unified when it takes account of the relevant motives and actions of its subjects viewed through the one-sided lens that has been chosen.

³ This powerful statement of the need for conceptualisation in the analysis of Christianity, is in itself an argument for the use of ideal types within the present study.

The relevance of this characteristic of ideal types for our study is that all the phenomena which are drawn into our abstracted conceptualisation of Enterprise Theology/ies, must exhibit the requisite characteristics of coherence, internal consistency, and comprehensibility. The presence or absence of these criteria may be used as a test of the success achieved in the ideal type's creation.

Utopia

Because the ideal type draws together axiological and teleological phenomena into an idealised unified whole, and especially because it does so from the perspective of one particular aspect of the subject matter, it cannot make any claim to directly describe reality. Reality is, de facto, complicated, multi-faceted, and not unified. The ideal type is a model, a conceptualisation, an analytic tool. It should not be confused with empirical descriptions of reality, no matter how similar some ideal types may seem to parts of reality itself. This can naturally lead to confusion, and is one of the inherent dangers in using ideal types, as subsequent discussion will show.

In the process of analysis, one way of using the ideal type is to compare it with a series of empirical examples. The examples to which it is applied are not required by Weber to exhibit all, or even most, of the characteristics of the utopian construct, which is not an attempt at describing them, but rather a tool for analysing them.

Another result of this utopian conceptualisation, the findings of the analysis refer only to the objects of study as specified in the ideal type. They cannot be extrapolated into general laws, nor into descriptions of absolute essence. This mistake has frequently been made, since ideal types can be such a powerful tool (Bruun, 1972 p219). It is not to be expected that all aspects of the ideal type will be uncovered in each object of study, particularly in the historical review..

nor is it methodologically necessary for them to be present. The present study should not, therefore, be expected to lay bare the essence of either Western Christianity, or Thatcherism. Its findings will be limited to the development of theology concerning enterprise values, and in particular of the religious and theological content of Thatcherism.

Following this overview of its key components, the discussion thus far may be summarised by the presentation of Burger's definition of the ideal type:

"Ideal types are statements of general form asserting the existence of certain constellations of elements which are empirically only approximated by the instances of the class of phenomena to which each type refers; they are elements of meaningful thought and action" (Burger, 1976 pp. 133-4).

As we have seen, then, the type itself is inductively abstracted by the scientist, who also draws upon illustrative material taken from empirical reality to elucidate "individual concrete patterns which are significant in their uniqueness, such as Christianity, capitalism, etc" (Weber, 1904, in Rogers, 1969, p27). By creating such types, which should be unambiguous and clearly intelligible, we may examine aspects of complex reality from the point of view of our interest.

1:3:3) The Use of Ideal Types

It is especially important to re-iterate that Weber explicitly states that the starting point for creating an ideal type is the interest of a particular scientist (Burger, 1976 pp. 128-129). One subject may be analysed using any number of ideal types, constructed using different kinds of one-sidedness, or, allegorically, viewed through different lenses (see, for example, Alexander, 1983, p25). No ideal type can claim to lay bare the essence of the object of its analysis, nor to

generate general laws. This is not the purpose of his methodological innovation, nor should it be mistaken as such. Furthermore, as academic interests change over time, whole new series of ideal types will necessarily and appropriately be developed to answer changing questions.

Given the above, it perhaps time to examine in a little more detail what subject matter Weber himself investigated using ideal types, and in the analysis of which areas of study they continue to be perceived as being of use. It was noted briefly above that the analysis of human culture was Weber's prime aim, and Bruun sheds some light on what this actually means:

"the disciplines which are to make use of the ideal type have as their object 'Kultur', i.e., *the practical or theoretical valuational attitudes of human beings to the world in which they live*" (Bruun, 1972, p214).

Certain aspects of this culture lend themselves particularly to analysis using the instrument of ideal types.

"The largest ideas, concepts such as state, church, law, markets, were all the subject of continuous ratiocination, refined and disputed by theoreticians, put into practice by professionals, observed or flouted by the masses. These ideas provided the single greatest source of 'ideal types' for the social scientist who was concerned to examine the empirical social world" (Albrow 1990 p155).

This statement indicates (once again) that the ideal type methodology is particularly appropriate for the present study. The proposed subject matter of this thesis incorporates precisely those areas which Albrow indicates are best

suited to ideal-typical analysis, namely "state, church, law, markets" (Albrow 1990 p155).

Weber himself made use of a number of different kinds of ideal types, or - more properly - in his own research he applied the methodology to a wide range of very different subjects. This has led to classifications of ideal types, as well as generating some confusion and criticism amongst later writers. Weber first used the ideal type to deal with general topics (like "bureaucracy", or "the spirit of capitalism"), and then moved on to apply it also to what he called "individual" concepts. Bruun uses the example of "the foreign policy of Wilhelm IV" as an example of an individual ideal type. However, he, as with several modern commentators, notes that there is no significant difference in logical status between the two genres of ideal types. Both general and individual ideal types essentially examine "unique historic objects", although these objects are of different sizes! Both are constructed following the same principles, and both seek to identify the object's unique goals (Bruun, 1972 p226; see also Burger, 1972 p132). Nevertheless, awareness that Weber himself applied ideal typical analysis to individual examples of general types is of considerable use to the present study, where the examination of individual enterprise theologies, against the template of a generic ideal type of enterprise theologies, is intended. Burger adds two further subdivisions of ideal types, one of which - the developmental ideal type - is of particular interest given the intended subject matter of this study, and shall be returned to below, in the discussion of the operationalisation of ideal types.

"A development is a causal sequence; the statement describing a causal sequence is ideal-typical when it states what only approximately or partly happens in a number of cases" (Burger, 1976, p133)

Related to this notion of genres of ideal types, it is useful to remind ourselves that Weber also saw the structures and value-systems which he investigated as operating at a number of levels, all of which required analysis, but which should not be confused with each other, as Albrow's example from *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* shows :

“The capitalistic organisation of an enterprise had to be distinguished from the Spirit in which it was conducted. That Spirit was a set of motives which, however, had to be distinguished from their theological bases in Protestant ethics”
(Albrow, 1990, p217).

Once again, the suitability of the ideal-typical approach for this study is to be underlined. As well as the motives and actions of agents themselves, the study's stated objective is to move beyond this level of analysis to investigate the theological consistency of (the ideal types of) enterprise theologies.

Addressing itself to a multitude of objects, from an infinitude of perspectives, at a range of levels, the ideal type is a very adaptive and flexible methodology. Almost complete freedom is left to the scientist, in terms of selection of subjects of study, the viewpoint from which the study will take place, and the phenomena which may be incorporated into the ideal type construction.

1 : 4) Uncovering the Process of Creating and Using an Ideal Type

1:4:1) Guidelines in Secondary Sources

The very flexibility and adaptability of the ideal type methodology has been the cause of many of the criticisms of the approach, as well as of severe problems for those attempting to operationalise it. This is exacerbated by the

fact that only a limited number of practical guidelines are available for those wishing to follow Weber in the construction of ideal types.

Abel (1969, p40) maintains that Weber's *idealtypus* had three main defining characteristics. Firstly, each ideal type is specific to and valid for only a limited and specified group of phenomena. Each ideal type is a tool for solving a carefully specified problem. Secondly, the ideal type must be clear, precise and easily comprehensible. Thirdly, it must be genetic, by including those defining characteristics which typify the appearance of its study. Thus, Abel's prescription for operationalising the research are limited to the following actions:

- 1) Carefully specify the problem
- 2) Create an ideal type which is clear, precise, and genetic.

These recommendations are so vague as to be of little or no help in the actual task of performing analysis utilising the ideal type instrument. Other commentators echo Weberian exhortations around the general theme of inductive abstraction from axiological and teleological phenomena, followed by analysis. Again, the generality of these guidelines does not lend itself to reproduction. Weber's own imprecision is, of course, at the root of this problem, but, using Weber's methodological writings and actual exemplifications of the ideal type methodology, Burger (1976 pp. 160-161) attempts to construct a detailed schema for the usage of ideal type methodology, which is an almost unique undertaking in the manifold literature upon ideal types. Burger's representation of Weber's methodological approach can be paraphrased as follows:

- 1) Choice of a universal statement "which asserts that in a certain kind of social situation, humans decide to act in conformity with a particular maxim" (Burger 1976 p160).

- 2) Construction of an ideal situation "through 'idealising' abstraction from the features of known situations of the requisite kind" (ibid. p160)
- 3) Abstraction of Actor(s)'s Actions under this idealised situation
- 4) Formulation of Subclasses of Specific Examples "by giving its general characteristics various specific examples" (ibid. p161)
- 5) Specific Activities of Actors in Examples
- 6) Analysis of the resultant covariations, leading to "interrelationships which are frequently presented as sociological or empirical 'laws' " (ibid p161).

Whilst this schema certainly proffers guidance for operationalising analysis using the ideal type, it is far from being adoptable in its present form. This is for three main reasons.

Firstly, it is highly prescriptive and inflexible. We have repeatedly noted that Weber's own use of the ideal type was disparate and catholic. It is doubtful in the extreme that even Weber's own usage of the ideal type can be made to fit Burger's rigid formulation. Whilst a clear template for the construction of ideal types is highly desirable, Burger offers rather a methodological strait-jacket.

Secondly, Burger gives as his first step the formulation of a universal statement. We have seen how wary Weber himself was of attempts at sociological universalism, and that he warned against using the ideal type methodology in an attempt to create all-embracing maxims. It is therefore simply bizarre to suppose that the starting point for the construction of an ideal type should be universalistic in nature.

Thirdly, the schema's resting point is nomistic, and suggests that the outcome of ideal typical analysis should be some sort of general law. Once again, it has been repeatedly noted (above, and by almost all Weberian commentators) that the aim of an ideal type is not to generate laws, or even "laws", but to

shed light on particular and tightly focused cases. Weber himself warned against the danger of seeing ideal types as a route to sociological laws. Thus, one is left with the impression that the development of an ideal type using Burger's approach is unacceptable, if not unachievable. Burger's opacity of language exacerbate this problem further. The problem for the scientist wishing to adopt the ideal type methodology remains, since no solution appears forthcoming from either the works of Weber himself, nor from within the body of secondary commentaries. In spite of this, the ideal type continues to be widely utilised by social scientists from many disciplines. A workable template for operationalisation of the methodology may perhaps, then, be found, within the fruits of such an undertaking, especially if it deals with cognate subject matter.

1:4:2) Alves' Use of the Ideal Type Instrument

Rubem Alves, who uses ideal type analysis very impressively in his outstanding work on Brazilian Protestantism, is, on a first reading, of even less assistance in the search for operationalising guidelines, claiming that:

"I deny that there is a method for the construction of an ideal type" (Alves, 1979, p7).

Nonetheless, his own methodology is discernible in his work, and even sometimes articulated! It adopts the following broad process :

- 1) Articulation of his basic assumptions concerning the subject under discussion (that a particular form of Brazilian Protestantism - Right Doctrine Protestantism - is essentially repressive and reactionary in nature).
- 2) A (very) brief review of "earlier discussions about the spirit of Protestantism", which comprised "a critical comparison between these earlier discussions and the empirical materials at my disposal " (ibid p11).
- 3) Statement of his ideal type, Right Doctrine Protestantism.

4) Examination of the empirical evidence at his disposal (both axiological and teleological) using the analytic tool of his ideal type, to:

- i) describe the genesis of RDP, and
- ii) test his original assumption.

This approach, it is postulated, can be mirrored in the present study, although the irony of adopting a methodological structure for the construction of an ideal type from a writer who denies the existence of such a thing, is recognised. Given Alves' own scepticism, what recommends the adoption of his methodology? Firstly, it is within the spirit and epistemological framework established by Weber, in that it states assumptions, creates an ideal type, and then utilises this to analyse a well-circumscribed situation. Secondly, the subject matter is cognate with that of the present study, namely the inter-relationship between a brand of Protestantism and an exemplification of modern political and capitalist structures. Thirdly, it represents a much clearer and more logical approach, being devoid of either redundant generalisations, or inappropriate prescriptions, than the other sources available. The acid test of its suitability will be in the design of a research agenda for this study - to be attempted below - and in its application in the study itself.

1:5) Operationalising The Ideal Type Methodology

In addition to the adoption of Alves' method, the research agenda which will now be developed will also attempt to specify, given the foregoing discussion, which genre of ideal type will be created, to examine which axiological and teleological phenomena, and at which levels of social structure. Given these requirements, the research process can be constructed thus, following Alves:

1:5:1) Articulation of the basic assumptions concerning the subject:

The core assumptions underpinning this thesis' research agenda are that:

1. Following Weber, there is a functional (rather than necessarily causal) relationship between the spirit of Protestantism and the development of modern capitalism.
2. There is, at the heart of (what is demotically termed) the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, a set of values and motives which are fundamentally religious in nature.
3. These axiological phenomena are also expressed in the (teleological / empirical) actions of agents of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture.
4. The religious values and actions of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture can be described as a subset, or development of, the Weberian ideal type of the Protestant Spirit, and thus represent an exemplification of the functional relationship he described.
5. That it is possible to analyse the theological validity of these axiological and teleological phenomena, primarily by clarifying their place within the cannon of Christian thought, as well as subjecting the phenomena themselves to theological analysis.⁴

These assumptions have been inductively abstracted by the present scientist, which, as the above discussion has demonstrated, is entirely epistemologically legitimate within the framework of an ideal-typical methodology. Nonetheless, they have not been arrived at without stimulus and support from external sources, from within both Thatcherism (as the opening pages of the present work indicate), and the sociology of religion, as the next subsection will show.

⁴ It will be noted that whilst the first four assumptions are sociological in nature, the final assumption is theological.

1:5:2) Brief Review of Earlier Discussions

The literature examining the place of religion and religious ideology in the development of capitalism is well known and extensive. Weber, Durkheim and Marx all attempted to explain some features of modern society in terms of the influence of religious beliefs and ideological systems. Durkheim and Weber both noted that religion is often used by the advantaged to legitimate their position (, for a thorough review of these works, see Giddens 1971, Scharf 1970). The particular interest of this study, however, is less the general relationship between religion and political domination, and rather more an examination of the theological content of a specific modern Protestant polity. Alves (1979, pp12-21) describes four broad "interpretative models of the Protestant Spirit" (Alves, R 1979, p21) which are postulated to be of relevance to modern scholars interested in the study of sub-branches of modern Protestantism.

1: Protestant Ideology:

Alves's first model of the Protestant Spirit is, he claims, common to most branches of the creed, and sees the Reformation as breaking a repressive cultural mould, and thereby ushering subsequent developments, such as the Enlightenment. In particular, "freedom, democracy, and economic progress" are all "fruits of the Reformation" (ibid p 20).

2: Roman Catholic Ideology:

This model acquiesces with the claims made for Protestantism, but sees the move to modernity as spiritually retrospective.

3: Protestantism as a Revival of the Medieval Spirit:

Ascribing this view to Troeltsch, Alves's third model contradicts the first two, by maintaining that "Protestantism in no way helped to end the Middle Ages and inaugurate the modern era" (Alves, 1979, p20).

4: Weberian Model:

Alves's final model draws on Weber and Tillich to maintain that although there is a distinct and identifiable functional relationship between "the spirit of Protestantism and the spirit of Modernity", the freedom which was sought by the original Protestantism is incompatible with some aspects of modernity (ibid p20).

The most striking aspect of Alves's four interpretative models is that they are all focused upon the relationship between aspects of modern culture (primarily economic development and freedom), and the religious thought and practice of Protestantism. This supports the claims made above, with relation to the content and delineation of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, that here is a subject matter meriting further - updated - research.

Of these four models of the Protestant Spirit, it is Weber's which has been of the most significance in studies of the relationship between religion, theology and capitalism. (Indeed, it will be argued below - Section 1:8 , Meta-methodology - that the Weberian work in this area continues to function as a research paradigm, in spite of its many critics.) In the broadest possible terms, Weber's work on the Protestant Ethic maintained that the ethico-religious tenets of Calvinism imposed upon its adherent the duty of individual profit maximisation (Weber, 1990). A similar categoric imperative to maximise wealth creation, combined with relative asceticism (thrift, hard work, etc.) can be seen within the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Weber also argued that (the use of religion in) legitimation of domination and superiority is a critically important phenomenon:

"Our everyday experience proves that there exists...a psychological need for reassurance as to the legitimacy or

deservedness of one's happiness, whether this involves political success, superior economic status, bodily health, success in the game of love, or anything else. What the privileged classes require of religion, if anything at all, is this psychological reassurance of legitimacy" (Weber 1985 pp. 27-8).

1:5:3) Statement of ideal type/s:

i) The Generic Ideal Type of Enterprise Theology

The assumptions articulated above demand that the study utilise more than one ideal type, of more than one genre. Specifically, the central instrument of analysis to be used by the study will be a generic ideal type of enterprise theology, incorporating both axiological and teleological phenomena. This ideal type may be articulated thus:

1. An ascription of positive ethical and religious value to wealth creation.
2. A related theological approval of property / wealth ownership, rather than ascetic poverty.
3. A strong belief in the positive moral value of hard work, or labour, justified in doctrinal terms.
4. A belief in individualism, as a religious and economic concept, over against communitarianism.
5. A particularly emphatic support, justified on moral grounds, for the creation of business enterprises as the most ethically sound of all "callings".
6. An approval of charity, rather than centralised provision, in the solution of social problems.
7. The award of an over-riding moral status to the right of the individual to freedom.
8. A concomitant view that the family is the key social arena of the individual.
9. Support for the lending of money at interest, as a vehicle for the provision of capital.

10. A much closer attachment to rationalism than to mysticism and spirituality.
11. An ascription of positive ethico-religious value to "quiet living" and thrift.
12. A firm belief in enterprise capitalism as the optimum socio-economic framework.
13. The (teleological) expression of all of the above, through actions which demonstrate, for example, hard work, wealth creation, business generation.

ii) Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology

It has already been indicated above that this generic ideal type will be applied to the study of the development of Western theology and philosophy from the time of the Ancient Greeks onwards. This is intended to provide an understanding and examination of the development of religious attitudes to enterprise, so as to place accurately within the canon the main object of study, Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. Clearly, given the potential scope and length of such an analysis, it is impossible to attempt a holistic "empirical" survey of all relevant works in the area. (In strictly Weberian terms, recalling the example of Medieval Christianity, it is epistemologically untenable to attempt such an holistic description of reality, in any case.) Nor will the study attempt to discuss aspects of philosophy and theology which are not of direct relevance to the generic ideal type. Rather, key phenomena will be abstracted from the historical data-stream, using the generic ideal type as a guide and reference point.

It will be immediately apparent, given the foregoing discussion, that this extended abstraction is itself an idealised conceptualisation. Being one-sided in nature, and with the aim of being internally consistent, developmental and presenting a unified whole, the conceptualisation can be categorised in Weberian terms as a developmental ideal type. Specifically, the following structure will be adopted to generate this developmental ideal type :

Chapter Two will examine the roots of western belief-systems, to be found in the works of the Greek philosophers and the Old Testament. Next the earliest Christians will be reviewed, moving on through the Constantinian turning point to the Roman church.

Chapter Three will cover the medieval church, and the Reformation. Particular attention will be given to the role of the Church in the practical development of enterprise, as well as to the gradual acceptance of the importance and relevance of trade by Church teachers. The individualism and vocation-orientation of the Reformation will also be discussed. Chapter Four will cover the period from early English Puritanism to the age of Victoria. Examples of developments in enterprise thought in this period are to be found in the Civil War, the Enlightenment, Dissent, and Victorian morality.

Chapters Two to Four, then, will briefly present and analyse the generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology, using a developmental abstraction drawing material from Athens in the fourth century BC up to and including nineteenth century England. Clearly, given the potential scope of such a study, and as noted above, this examination will be selective, extracting from the tradition only those aspects of, and alterations in, its tradition of special importance to the question of Enterprise Theology.

These three chapters will be drawn together in Chapter Five, following the subject-driven structure of the generic ideal type. It will be shown that an awareness of the ethical and religious issues raised by the creation of wealth, by work and by prudent asceticism are by no means confined to the post Reformation era. Populist enterprise theories promote the notion of a sea-change in attitudes at the time of Luther and Calvin, with enterprise values receiving ever greater approval thereafter and culminating in the neo-Victorianism of Margaret Thatcher. Weber's own focus on Protestantism also

suggests such a pattern. Chapter Five of this work suggests that this oversimplification underplays both accommodations with enterprise values before the Reformation, and criticisms of them thereafter.

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iii) Individual Ideal Type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology

The foregoing generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology presents a constellation of characteristic phenomena. The developmental ideal type will abstract from the historical stream an idealised review of the progression of these characteristic phenomena in the development of Western thought. The study will then move on to a more detailed study of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. The first task in this section of the thesis will be to abstract the essential relevant phenomena of this Enterprise Culture, so as to provide a conceptualisation of the subject upon which to perform analysis. Within the frame of reference of a Weberian ideal-typical methodology, this stage of the study can be accurately described as the generation of an individual ideal type of Enterprise Theology. Therefore, the rules of one-sidedness, internal consistency, and utopianism, continue to apply. Thus, only phenomena of direct importance to the issue of the Enterprise Theology of Thatcherism should be abstracted from the available data, and once again the generic type must be our guide in the selection and rejection of material for inclusion. It must also be borne in mind that the ideal type being created is a model of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, and should not be mistaken for an over-arching description of reality, nor judged as such.

In terms of the structure which this task will follow within the thesis, Chapter Six will set out to abstract in detail the relevant (axiological and teleological) secular (i.e., not explicitly theological) phenomena of that socio-political system which has become known as the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, using the generic ideal type as a guide of the significant areas of study. The chapter will therefore focus upon:

- Freedom of choice and opportunity
- Economic and Industrial policy
- Support for enterprise and new firm creation
- Expression of *Victorian values* (individualism thrift, hard work, charity, family)
- Attacks on collectivism
- The strong state

As will become apparent upon scrutiny of Chapter Six, many of these phenomena are teleological, in that they are an expression of the axiological values of Enterprise Theology in legislation and policy. The need to focus on what may be termed secular values, before moving on to examine their theological roots is simply stated; it is epistemologically invalid to utilise a conceptual term, like the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, without developing explicitly and at some length which model of this Culture is being utilised in the study. To do otherwise would be to beg methodological questions, in terms of the subject matter under analysis, and to assume erroneously that this one-sided concept of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture can be intuited accurately by writer and reader alike.

Furthermore, as the teleological expression of the axiology of Enterprise Theology, the phenomena to be abstracted and discussed in Chapter Five form an integral part of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. The translation of values into actions by agents is a central facet of any ideal type. It is also more comprehensible, in presentational terms, to present the secular, empirical data first, before moving on to discuss the dataset's theological axiological underpinning. This is due to the fact that a degree of familiarity can be presupposed with regard to the praxis of Thatcherism, which does not pertain for its axiology. Beginning with the familiar, and moving onto to the less familiar, facilitates comprehension and avoids confusion.

Chapter Seven will then move one level beyond this abstraction of key secular Enterprise Culture phenomena, to present and examine explicit theologies of the enterprise culture. A number of leading churchmen and members of "think-tanks" have developed explicitly religious apologia for the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Brian Griffiths (1984, i & ii) , Michael Novak (1982) , and Digby Anderson (1984) are especially note-worthy in this respect as are the speeches made by Margaret Thatcher herself on the subject. Major tenets of this theology of enterprise will be shown to include the ethical importance of freedom, capitalism as creation, ascription of powerful religious value to individualism, and moral approbation and sanctification of enterprise.

An analysis of the particular individual tenets of this theology will be carried out, since much of the development of the theology of enterprise appears to have taken place in the defence of specific issues. We will then turn to the underlying paradigmatic theology of enterprise, which seeks to bring all individual tenets together into a unified whole. The individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, combining teleological and axiological phenomena from both Chapters Six and Seven, will be shown to exhibit all the characteristics of the generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology.

Chapter Seven will also commence the process of analysis of the ideal type, in an attempt to ascertain its theological coherence and philosophical rigour.

1:5:4) Examination of the empirical evidence

i) Description of the genesis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology

The developmental ideal type described above, created in Chapters Two to Four and summarised in Chapter Five, will commence the examination of empirical evidence relating to the genesis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. The generation of the individual ideal type in Chapters Six and Seven will

complete the process, by the conceptualisation of the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology itself.

The data utilised will be secondary and bibliographic in nature. The source data for this work is, therefore, within the understanding of the term as employed currently in entrepreneurial studies, entirely non-empirical. However, by incorporating teleological phenomena - the actions of agents - the study does indeed draw upon data which, in the terminology of the Weberians, is empirical.

It is drawn from a range of original writings, from Aristotle to Thatcher, as well as scholarly reflection on these writings, and historico-political reviews. These critiques and reviews have been gathered from a number of academic disciplines, most notably entrepreneurial studies and theology, but also including political science, management science, economics, sociology, history and economic history.

There are four main reasons for the conscious rejection of the collection of primary empirical data in this work. The first follows on from the cross-disciplinary nature of the work; empirical techniques exist in most of the academic disciplines outlined above, but to differing degrees and with differing methodologies recognised as valid. It is reasonable to maintain that the only hermeneutical common denominator between these scholarly fields is the traditional bibliographic survey and subsequent abstract deductive analysis.

Secondly, much of the data relating to the historical development of enterprise theology is open only to theoretical research. It is impossible to conduct primary data collection, through the use, for example, of semi-structured interviews, amongst the dead. For consistency of methodology throughout,

therefore, it was deemed appropriate to utilise secondary, bibliographic data collection methods for the entire work.

In the third instance, although all the data surveyed is written, it is from a divergence of sources, as noted above. Transcripts of speeches, journalistic commentaries, academic tomes of varying sophistication, reports and pamphlets, as well as original writings by thinkers down the ages, have been brought together. Although, therefore, all the material under discussion is presented in printed form, it is of itself diverse and multi-faceted. This allows for a greater depth in analysis, as well as adequate cross verification, to more than compensate for the non-utilisation of empirical research.

Finally, and most importantly, the subject matter of theological and socio-political debate demands a bibliographic approach. The development of ideas, and their transmission through human history, has taken place in the milieu of the written word. Only this medium has permitted the space for the exposition of long and complex arguments, only this medium has facilitated the circulation and discussion of material around the globe for more than two millennia, only this medium is adequate to fully represent the painstaking and sophisticated process of human metaphysical debate. There does not exist, it is herewith posited, a form of empirical methodology appropriate or adequate for the study of the development of a set of paradigmatic beliefs over more than 2000 years.⁵ To artificially construct such a methodology would fail to do justice to the material under discussion, which itself uses the written word as its main vehicle of communication.

⁵ It is, of course, possible to gather data about contemporary theological belief-systems via, for example, semi-structured interviews or case studies. In Dodd (1989), the religious and political positions of Scottish churchmen engaged in Alternative Enterprise are presented and discussed using a case study methodology. In Drakopoulou Dodd and Seaman (1995), levels of religious practice and belief of UK Entrepreneurs are extracted from the British Household Panel Survey.

ii) Testing the original assumptions.

The first assumption, relating to the functional relationship between the spirit of Protestantism and the development of modern capitalism, will be tested primarily in Chapters Two to Five, as an integral part of the analysis of the developmental ideal type.

The second and third assumptions postulate the existence of theological values at the heart of Thatcherism, and the expression of these values in the actions of its agents. The articulation of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology in Chapters Six and Seven is intended to test these assumptions.

The analysis of this model of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, will, amongst other things, test the assumption that the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology can be legitimately categorised as a subset of the Weberian ideal type of the Protestant Spirit by representing an exemplification of the functional relationship he described. This analysis will begin in Chapter Seven and continue through Chapters Eight and Nine. These sections will also test the final assumption, which stated that it is possible to carry out valid theological analysis upon the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. Perhaps the most important part of the overall analysis, is the need to establish whether the theologically-related axioms and actions of the Thatcherite school can withstand the rigours of scholarly analysis. Having established that a robust, and epistemologically valid, model, I of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology can indeed be created, the thesis will move onto the level of theological analysis, to examine the validity of the beliefs and values uncovered by the creation of the ideal type. This will be operationalised by an examination of “radical” theologies which question the religious ideology of the enterprise culture, which form Chapter Eight of the present work. These theologies criticise many of the characteristics outlined above from a theological standpoint. The purpose of this chapter is to identify which areas of the Enterprise Theology are felt by

academic and ecclesiastical alternativists to be untenable, and on what grounds. The writings of David Jenkins (1988), Lesslie Newbiggin (1986), Alastair Kee (1986), John Vincent (1982, 1986) and the influence of Latin American Liberation Theologians will be presented and discussed in this chapter. Chapter Nine will continue the analysis, drawing together data from throughout the thesis, to ascertain whether the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, as conceptualised within the work, is theologically coherent. The key questions to be answered in this chapter will be:

- How does the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology fit within the general cannon of Christian theology?
- Can it legitimately be viewed as a part of that cannon?
- Is the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology in and of itself, capable of withstanding theological scrutiny?

The significance of these question is well put by Margaret Thatcher herself:

"The Tories began as a Church party, concerned with the Church and the State in that order...Religion gives us not only values - a scheme of things in which economic, social, penal policy have their place - but also our historic roots" (Thatcher 1977 p105)

1 : 6) The Suitability of the Ideal Type for this Study

1:6:1) Introduction

Having presented the ideal-typical methodology, and indicated how it will be utilised within the present study, the task remains of verifying that the

methodology is indeed appropriate for the task in hand. This section will be followed by a discussion of potential criticisms of the use of the methodology in this instance, and attempted rebuttals of these critiques.

1:6:2) Methodological Rigour

The first, and most substantive argument, in favour of the use of the Weberian ideal type methodology is that which prompted the original creation of the method. The dangers of objective nomism and subjective intuitionism remain a threat to the objectivity and epistemological validity of social science research. The dangers of poorly stated assumptions, half-stated models, attempts at holistic descriptions of essences, and hidden agendas and presuppositions remain as perilous today as they were in Weber's time. These dangers are exacerbated when treating with subject matter on which the scientist de facto holds some set of personal beliefs, such as matters of religion and politics.

The over-riding rationale for the utilisation of the Weberian ideal type methodology is that forces the scientist to state assumptions, to recognise an idealised conception for what it is, and to formulate well-specified models. The development and operationalisation of a clear process for the creation and utilisation of ideal types, as undertaken above, exemplifies the benefits of this approach.

1:6:3) Maintenance of Focus

The subject of this study is necessarily specific, focusing upon the concept of a Theology of Enterprise, and its particular expression with Thatcherism. Nevertheless, in order to achieve its objectives, the thesis must deal with subject matter taken from an extensive range of academic disciplines, including economics, sociology, theology, history, and politics. Given such scope, the potential for loss of focus is significant, and strategies for overcoming this

danger are required. The survey of historical phenomena over 2000 years further exacerbates this problem.

The use of the three ideal types assists in maintaining focus by requiring that a one-sided view of the material under discussion be adopted. If properly utilised, it provides a template for selecting the inclusion and exclusion of material, and thereby ensures that, in spite of the multi-disciplinary and chronological range of the study, the research remains apposite and relevant throughout. The operational research project outlined above is clear, and unambiguous in its aims and process.

1:6:4) Suitability to the Subject Matter

The ideal type is designed so as to permit the study and analysis of both axiological and teleological data within the same conceptualisation. Given the subject matter of the thesis, and the data at our disposal, this is a prerequisite of the methodology to be employed. The approach also allows the creation of generic, developmental, and individual ideal types, which again offers a tight fit with the assumptions and aims underpinning the study. Thirdly, the ideal type facilitates the multi-level approach which is required if the study is not only to develop a model of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, but also to perform analysis at a theological level upon this model. Finally, the literature upon ideal types indicates clearly and repeatedly that politics and religion are two areas of research in which the ideal type is a particularly appropriate form of methodology. As this matter has been dealt with at some length in the foregoing discussion, a single summary of these arguments will suffice at this point:

“In talking about ‘Christianity’ with any degree of precision and consistency, we are bound to use an ideal type, a complex of characteristics brought together into a consistent whole for a purpose of analysis” (Albrow 1990 p153).

1 : 7) The Limitations of the Ideal Type Methodology

1: 7: 1) Introduction

It is hoped that the above discussion has demonstrated the robustness, the applicability, and the operationalisation of the Weberian ideal type as the methodological instrument for use in this study. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the instrument itself has not received unanimous approval from epistemologists within the social sciences, as Burger notes:

“ Ever since the publication of Weber's essays in 1904, the notion of an ideal type has played a role in methodological and theoretical discussions in sociology. There are few authors who have not criticised Weber's position. Unfortunately, there are even fewer whose insights into the sources of Weber's concerns and difficulties was sufficient to make their contributions worthwhile” (Burger 1976 p156).

Whilst the methodological dispute which has raged around the ideal type is too widespread and extensive to permit sensible exposition in the present chapter, some of the most common criticisms and misunderstandings generated by the approach do require some discussion. In particular, it is important in establishing the epistemological rigour of the present study to address those charges most likely to be leveled against the present study, by fellow scientists from the fields of entrepreneurial studies and theology. Many of these criticisms have been noted in the above discussion, and include the accusations of lack of operational guidelines, of subjectivity, of narrowness of focus, and of incomplete analysis, as well as the errors committed by critics in viewing ideal types as descriptions of reality.

1 : 7: 2) Lack of Operational Guidelines

It has been frankly acknowledged above that, in spite of the voluminous quantity of extant material on the subject of Weberian ideal types, very little is available which discusses how the individual scientist wishing to use the methodology should progress. The preceding discussion examined three available models, and then selected and adapted the most relevant of these for the present study. It is to be hoped that this strategy, which led to the development of a carefully stated and precisely specified research programme for this study, will more than suffice to overcome, in this particular case, the entirely valid general criticisms relating to the operationalisation of ideal types.

1 : 7: 3) Problems of Verifiability

On a related issue, with the rise of economics amongst the social sciences, it has come to be expected that serious research be quantifiable and preferably empirical, that methodologies should be easily comprehensible and as value-free as possible. Any methodology which takes as its explicit starting point inductive abstraction on the part of a scientist, and which has - as we have seen - somewhat vague guidelines for operationalisation, is automatically epistemologically suspect, and raises serious doubts as to its verifiability. (Or, in Popperian terms, its falsifiability.)

It is anticipated that the detailed attention given to the ideal type method, and especially to its specific adoption and operationalisation in this study, have rendered the approach comprehensible, and stated clearly the assumptions which underlie the study. Reiteration within the study itself will continue to elucidate the methodology. Thus, while the general ideal typical approach may be open to criticisms of vagueness, it is anticipated that this study, as with

other successful operationalisations of the methodology, will have dealt adequately with this criticism by explicit presentation of the approach utilised.

Furthermore, modern philosophers of science have expressed support for this approach. For instance, Lakatos (1981) has pointed out that modern methodologies no longer offer "a mechanical set of rules for solving problems" (Lakatos, 1981 p108). Instead, modern logics of discovery "consist merely of a set of (possibly not even very tightly knit, let alone mechanical) rules for the appraisal of ready, articulated theories" (Lakatos, 1981 p108).⁶ The adaptability and freedom of Weber's methodology is not, therefore unique.

1 : 7: 4) Subjectivity

Nonetheless, the approach articulated and defended by Weber, Lakatos, Feyerabend, and others, is often criticised for its subjectivity. Put baldly, too much reliance is placed by the use of ideal types in analysis upon the skills and values of the individual scientist. The *one-sidedness* of the methodology is always open to criticism, on the grounds that the scientist could - and perhaps should - have chosen a different lens to view the subject. Findings and analyses are rejected *ex cathedra* by those who do not share the scientist's interests and perspective. Such criticisms, however, fundamentally fail to grasp the key point of Weber's methodology. Any study of value-relations, motives, and culture are *de facto* shaped by the scientists own stance, and the scientists own (subconscious) conceptualisations. It is *de facto* more rigorous for these to be explicitly stated, and drawn into a methodological framework.

With the ideal type Weber was attempting to force such issues into the open, by demanding that those using the ideal type state their assumptions and the

⁶ Leading philosopher of science, Paul Feyerabend, articulated his suspicion of the constraints of rigid methodologies in stronger terms still, most famously in his 1975 book, *Against Method*.

nature of their particular, narrow, conceptual approach explicitly. The approach may be narrow in focus, but it is consciously so, allowing only for answers to be sought in relation to specific questions, and under certain carefully specified assumptions. This in turn permits opponents to identify points of difference, and to create their own ideal types, to answer their own questions, using their own assumptions.

1 : 7: 5) Errors in Applicability

Nonetheless, as with all methods of scientific enquiry, the actual application of the methodology by a particular scientist is open to critique on the grounds of inadequate analysis:

"Other scholars may always dispute the correctness of the more or less "explanatory" types, not only with regard to the choice of one type rather than another type in the concrete case, but also with regard to the concrete elaboration of this type, since it will always to a certain extent depend on the subjective 'intuition' of the scholar" (Bruun, 1972, p 299).

It is the contention of the present author that this criticism, however, is true to a greater or lesser extent, of all scientific endeavour. All scientists are prey to the dangers of specifying models poorly, and of applying them inappropriately. This is certainly harder to establish in the case of non-quantitative research, where it is simply not possible to re-run regressions, and to check the mathematical rigour of a given model. Nonetheless, it is certainly not beyond the abilities of skillful critics to verify that a qualitative model is clearly specified and internally consistent, that data is consistently gathered, that the model is rigorously applied, and that the findings restrict themselves legitimately to the scope of the model.

Furthermore, the benchmark of a successful enquiry is not whether it arouses criticism, but whether it sheds new light on a problem, adds positively to the academic debate, furthers, in some sense the dialogue within a discipline. It is through the process of criticism and debate that academic study is furthered.

1:7:6) Narrowness of Focus

A further criticism of the Weberian ideal type methodology relates to its narrowness of focus. By selecting a particular lens, the scientist is deliberately choosing to neglect other areas, and is not striving to answer general questions. (This is the critical view of the advantage of the methodology noted above, namely the maintenance of careful focus.) The response to this point has been dealt with at length in the foregoing discussion, and must be couched now once again in Weber's own terms: using narrow and abstracted conceptualisations to tackle the problem of understanding social and cultural phenomena, is postulated by Weberians to be the only epistemologically valid technique for making sense of the massively complicated and almost infinitely extensive range of axiological and teleological data available. It is beholden to the critics to provide a substantive alternative methodology.

The critic may counter with the claim that a simple descriptive approach would better answer the question. Weberians would strongly counter this retort by reiterating that the reason for Weber developing the ideal type methodology in the first place was the extreme difficulty and subjectivity of *simple* description. When dealing with matters of human values and motive, it is impossible to extract (and abstract) objectively and accurately from the mass of data without some kind of framework. Just as economists require models which act as abstractions from reality, so also the sociologist. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the complexity of human culture, action, interaction, value-systems and subgroups which forms the study of sociologists is still more in need of analytic constructs, given its very high level of innate complexity. The

ideal type provides such a framework, which is emphatically not available to those who attempt bald description. They, rather than the Weberian methodologists, are the true victims of subjectivity and lack of rigour.

1:7:7) Confusions of Models and Reality

There are two main reasons why critics fall into the error of mistaking analyses generated by ideal types for descriptions of reality.

In the first instance, because it often uses the same language as one would in an attempt to describe reality, it is easy for reader (and writer) to forget that this is a model. The language and the descriptions stand for reality, but they are nonetheless utopian. In an age when most academic models use the expressions of formal logic and mathematics, a model which bears a striking resemblance to description can be confusing in the extreme, and raise false expectations in reader and writer alike. Criticisms may once again arise with regard to completeness, and perspective. The fault here lies with the critic, who has failed to grasp that models are not intended to be complete, and necessarily involve a view from a given perspective. Just as economic models are very far from complete in their abstraction from reality, equally, ideal type conceptualisations are just that...conceptualisations of idealised types:

"It is imperative that models be treated as such and only as such, that ideal-typical statements not be mistaken for empirical ones" (Burger, 1976, p178).

The ideal type methodology is explicitly not intending to describe reality. To criticise scientists using the methodology on such grounds (incompleteness, or skewed perspective) is an indication of epistemological ignorance on the part of the critic.

The second problem is primarily associated with successful application of the ideal type model, where its abstraction and conceptualisation is sufficiently powerful to suggest strongly that it presents a general and all-pervading truth:

"Its plasticity, inner consistency and graphic self-evidence give it a power of psychological penetration which in practice sweeps aside any number of theoretical safeguards (warnings against generalisations, etc)" (Bruun, 1972, p235).

It is paradoxically true that the stronger and more illuminating the analysis, which uses the ideal type, the easier it is to fall into the trap of believing that what has been created is the answer to much larger and more general questions about the essence of reality (Burger, 1976, pp. 166-7). This has certainly been the case with Weber's Protestant Work Ethic, which, as we demonstrate below, effectively functions as a paradigm. Weber would have been horrified by this epistemological heresy, and warned directly against it (Bruun, 1972, pp. 235-6). Nonetheless, since the paradigm now exists - independent of its creator's understanding of the limits of his methodology - needs must we treat it as such, as the discussion of meta-methodology below will now proceed to do.

1 : 8) Meta-Methodology.

A final epistemological check is required, before the wholesale adoption of the Weberian ideal type approach, namely verifying that this methodological choice is valid in terms of the philosophy of science. The relevance of this point to the methodological validity of the work as a whole is that the adoption of any theory, methodological or otherwise, is itself indicative of a particular approach to scientific investigation. Thus the underlying approach must also be

investigated and validated to fully satisfy the demands of epistemological rigour. This point is made well, if somewhat forcefully, by the late Paul Feyerabend, one of the most influential modern philosophers of science:

“The method of education often consists in the teaching of some basic myth...knowing the myth the grown-up can explain almost everything...He is the master of Nature and of Society. He understands them both and he knows how to interact with them. However, he is not the master of the myth that guides his understanding” (Feyerabend 1981, p163).

A specific theory, *The Protestant Ethic*, and its accompanying methodology, Weberian Ideal types, have been chosen to guide this research. They have provided the impetus for the study, and no doubt the framework within which the study is conceived. They form, as it were, “the myth that guides our understanding”.

Yet it is not simply our understanding that has been guided by Weber. Rogers writes that “Max Weber is a name to conjure with in modern social thought. His work is used as a source of authoritative knowledge and insight” (Rogers 1969, p1). This sentiment is echoed by Runciman (1972, p1), who writes of Weber's contribution to methodology that: “...in the half-century since Weber's death it has come to be increasingly held that...there is still no other single work of comparable importance in the academic literature on these topics”. Talcott Parsons (in Rogers (ed.) 1969 p100) adds that “his work must be considered as one of the most fundamental contributions to the theory of the social sciences. In this respect, Weber must be ranked among the select few who have been genuinely eminent theorists in the development of social thought”. These plaudits are by no means uncommon, and indicate that Weberian theory and methodology, in the subfield (of the sociology of religion) under examination,

continues to provide the starting point and the underpinning rationale for research in this area, as well as guiding research through the influence of methodology and choice of subject matter. This is in spite of the fact that many of these same commentators have criticised in very strong terms aspects of Weber's work. One of the functions of a paradigm is to excite research and debate which attempts to alter and develop it beyond the conception of its original author, and such research often takes the form of critique.

It is therefore contended that, within the analysis of the interplay between capitalism and religion, the work of Max Weber functions as a Kuhnian paradigm. (See, for an extensive overview of Kuhnian paradigms, Richards 1983 pp. 61-66, Kuhn 1963 pp. 347-369, and 1971.) Thomas Kuhn describes his paradigms as being shared by men who "are committed to the same ideas and standards for scientific practice" (Kuhn 1971 p11).

"A paradigm is an object for further articulation and speculation under new or more astringent conditions" (Kuhn 1971 p23).

Among the defining characteristics of a paradigm Kuhn also lists the demand that it should include both theory and exemplary applications. It has been indicated above that Weber's theory of the Protestant Work Ethic and his methodology of the ideal type function in entirely this way for those carrying out research in the area of religion and capitalism.

By providing the starting point and frame of reference for a school of academic researchers, a paradigm not only determines what questions will be asked, as the basic tenets of the paradigm are tested in new situations or with new data, but also what the answer is likely to be. Most research, what Kuhn calls *normal research* (Kuhn 1963 p361-2), progresses by scientists tackling a

problem, or puzzle, posed by the paradigm, and using the theory adhered to by the paradigmatic disciples to answer that puzzle. The on-going aim is to bring as much data as possible within the compass of the explanatory paradigm. It is only when something cannot be fitted into the paradigmatic system that its anomalies become evident, and at this point it may be rejected in favour of a paradigm that offers new levels of understanding. The discovery of anomalies and creation of new paradigms, is exceptional research (Kuhn 1963 p364-368). The abandonment of Newtonian physics for quantum mechanics is a good example of this (Kuhn 1971 p13). One paradigm is not necessarily truer than another, it simply manages to explain things that its predecessor cannot. The rejection of one paradigm and acceptance of another can take a generation, as older scientists, often very reluctant to undergo the psychological trauma of paradigm shift, retire. As with Weberian ideal types,

“there is no pure logic of evidence or even of testing hypotheses, for each paradigm, in its own day, helps fix what counts as evidence or test” (Hacking 1981 p4).

As has been illustrated in the preceding pages, Weber's methodological approach continues to function as a paradigm in the social sciences, and most particularly in his own specialist arena of the sociology of religion. Furthermore, Kuhn approval of *normal research* is based upon its success in the establishment of manageable parameters for the investigation of the infinitude of reality, which was also one of Weber's methodological aims.⁷

⁷ It should, however, be noted, that some critics of this aspect of the Kuhnian philosophy of science do exist. Popper, for instance argues that “normal science ...is the activity of the non-revolutionary, or more precisely, the not-too-critical professional” (Popper 1970 p52).

Kuhn has written that "one great value of commitment to paradigms is that it frees scientists to engage themselves with tiny puzzles" (Kuhn 1963 p363). The puzzle taxing the present piece of research is the coherence or otherwise of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, given, among other factors, what Weber has said about the importance of Calvinism for the emergence of rational capitalism. It is an attempt to extend his theory - or to move beyond it - and will utilise the same methodology. This thesis therefore constitutes normal research, in terms of the Kuhnian paradigm, inasmuch as it is explicitly and implicitly indebted intellectually to Weber, and shaped by his methodological techniques, as well as his formative understanding of the relationship between capitalism and religion.

This then, is how the myth or paradigm affects and guides the understanding of the present research. Recognising and understanding this may not free us from its constraint, but it allows us to accept that the type of research engaged on here is *normal* in nature, and methodologically valid by that criteria.

Chapter Two

The Classical Tradition, from Greece to the Church Fathers

2:1) Introduction

In the introductory chapter, a list of assumptions was presented. The fifth assumption underpinning the research agenda of this thesis postulated that it is possible to analyse the theological validity of the axiological and teleological phenomena of the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, "by clarifying their place within the canon of Christian thought" (above, p22). To test this assumption, it was then proposed to utilise a developmental ideal type, which would abstract from the data stream relevant phenomena, using as a guide the generic ideal type of enterprise theology. The material presented in Chapters Two to Five comprises the developmental ideal type, and moves from the philosophy of the Ancient Greeks, through to the Age of Victoria. As an ideal type, it is selective in its use of available phenomena, abstracting those aspects of axiology and empiricism which are cognate with the generic ideal type, listed in full on pages 22 and 23 above, and encompassing the religious / moral aspects of the following main topics:

- ◆ Wealth creation,
- ◆ Wealth and Property ownership,
- ◆ Hard work,
- ◆ Individualism,
- ◆ Enterprise creation,
- ◆ Charity,
- ◆ Freedom,
- ◆ Family,
- ◆ Usury,
- ◆ Rationalism,
- ◆ Thrift,
- ◆ Asceticism,
- ◆ Enterprise capitalism.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four, then, will explore the development of enterprise traits through the history of Christianity, identifying if, when, and how such tenets came to be accepted and promulgated within parts of the

Church. Chapter Five will draw the findings of these chapters together into a subject-by-subject presentation of the developmental ideal type. Chapter Two will begin by examining the roots of western belief-systems, to be found in the works of the Greek philosophers and the Old Testament. Next the earliest Christians will be reviewed, moving on through the Constantinian turning point to the Roman church.

2:2) Ancient Greek Thought

As the eminent historian of economic thought Joseph Schumpeter has noted, the natural starting point for any survey of Western thought must be the Ancient Greeks:

"Like their mathematics and geometry, their astronomy, mechanics, optics, their economics is the fountainhead of practically all further work" (Schumpeter, 1981, p53).

In spite of this fact, little of direct economic or entrepreneurial relevance can be found in the classical Greek works. The well-known economist J.K. Galbraith attributes this relative lack of interest in business and work to the fact that labour was largely restricted to the slave population, and therefore "...had a derogatory aspect that helped to exclude it from scholarly consideration" (Galbraith, 1989 p11).

The first work of note is the Constitution of Solon, dating from the sixth century BC, which instigated reforms to the laws on indebtedness, making slavery no longer a penalty of debt, and cancelling a large number of debts. (See Rolls, 1961, p25). The relevance of this document to the present argument is that it demonstrates very early disapprobation of lending money for profit, a key later theme in the battle between business and the Church. This disapproving

attitude to money-lending and usury was also a hallmark of the Platonic and Aristotelian works, with the extraction of interest being viewed as a dishonourable exploitation of those in financial dire straits (see for example, Schumpeter, 1981 p60, Galbraith, 1989 p12, Rolls, 1961 p30). "Enterprise" comes in for some (limited) comment from the Ancients:

"Entrepreneurial activities were circumscribed by social, ethical and other considerations. Those were mainly expressed by the Socratic philosophers. The principle that the entrepreneur was motivated by profit was a well recognised one...However, when this motive was uncontrolled and led individuals to an excessive accumulation of wealth, it was disapproved of by the philosophers" (Karayiannis, 1992 p67).

That is, whilst making a living is acceptable and honourable, what we might term enthusiastic entrepreneurship is viewed with suspicion and sometimes downright hostility. Plato in particular was resistant to money making and the accumulation of private property. In his vision of the ideal city state, *The Republic*, a form of communism is advocated, with shared ownership of goods, particularly among the leaders of the city (Plato, *The Republic*, Galbraith 1989 p17). He also taught that the elevation of wealth-creation to prime position in one's life detracted from striving towards the more important goal of mental, physical and spiritual perfection (Karayiannis, 1990 p7-8, 1992 p71).

Aristotle opposed usury, on the grounds that money should be a medium of exchange, and should not be permitted to multiply in and of itself. He furthermore perceived usury to be ethically objectionable and exploitative. This critique of usury pervaded and shaped attitudes throughout the Middle Ages, as did Aristotle's comments on just exchange values, and the fair price ²

² The fragment in the *Nicomachean Ethics* which deals with the concept of the fair price - perhaps even introduces it to us for the first time - has been described as being "monumental in its vagueness" (Staley

(Galbraith 1989 p12, Rolls, 1961 p35). Aristotle is nonetheless a firm supporter of self-interest, private property and family ties, and opposed to the quasi-communist ideas of Plato. Schumpeter comments with regard to the Second Book of the Politics:

"The arguments adduced for private property and the family and against communism....read almost exactly like the arguments of middle class liberals of the nineteenth century" (Schumpeter, 1981 p59. See also Galbraith, 1989 p 17, Rolls, 1961 p31).

Aristotle distinguished sharply between two ways of becoming rich; the production of goods and services he classified as *natural*, and the charging of interest upon money as *unnatural* "chrematistics" (Politics, 1257b, 20-1258a, Screpanti & Zamagni, 1993 p 16, Rolls, 1961 p33). The *natural* form of wealth creation receives Aristotelian approval because it helps to do away with poverty, and also increases the financial standing of the city-state by providing the rich with funds to carry out public works and building. (Karayiannis, 1992 pp 72 -73). Yet even Aristotle is not a whole hearted apologist for the entrepreneur:

"The life of money - making is a constrained kind of life, and clearly wealth is not the Good we are in search of , for it is only good as being useful, a means of something else" (Nicomachean Ethics 1096a 5 -10; see also Galbraith 1989 p15).

In summary, then, the Ancient Greek Philosophers disapproved strongly of money-lending, and although Aristotle was a staunch defender of private property and self-interest, and did not underestimate the importance of trade to the well-being of the city, all such activities were expected to be carried out in a restrained and morally upright way, and to take their rightful and

1991 p30), and yet formed the basis for the Schoolmen's own deliberations, as we shall see, below (Nicomachean Ethics Book 5 Chapter 5).

subordinate place in a fuller life with other overarching aims and interests. This position is summarised by Karayiannis:

"The philosophers taught that the acquisition of wealth, despite its importance in every day life, was regarded as the least desirable objective of free citizens. The insatiable desire for wealth was condemned as a cause of unfairness, injustice and unequal distribution of wealth...The actions of individuals should not aim at a maximum but only at moderate profits. In the final analysis, the profit-seeking activities of individuals were judged in terms of their social acceptability and fairness" (Karayiannis, 1992 p86).

These views were later to have a significant influence on the thoughts and writings of the Scholastics in the Middle Ages, as we shall see below. Indeed, the distaste for wealth creation which is still a feature of some parts of British society, and which so taxed Alfred Marshall, among others, can be seen to have its roots in the works of the Ancient Greeks (Marshall 1961 pp 298-300). Schumpeter's somewhat florid description of this cannon as "the fountainhead of practically all further work" is indeed fairly accurate with regard to the broad preconceptions which have shaped many subsequent views on entrepreneurship, as we shall demonstrate below (Schumpeter, 1981, p53).

2:3) The Old Testament Tradition - Introduction

As well as Ancient Greek philosophy, the teachings and tradition of Judaic culture were to have a significant impact upon early and modern Christian thought. Given the roots from which Christianity sprang, this is hardly surprising, and necessitates a substantial review of the Old Testament tradition as it touches upon the key concepts under discussion.

The Old Testament is the story of a people, the Jews, and their place in history. In particular, it is the story of the developing relationship which the Jewish

nation perceived between itself and its God. Covering a much longer and more diverse period than the New Testament, the Old Testament is less homogenous, and needs further sub-division into its various stages before any serious analysis can take place.

The treatment of the Old Testament material in this work will fall into two sections, one examining a socio-economic model, and the second using traditional theological critique. Whilst both hermeneutic approaches have much to offer our understanding of these issues, their methodology and style is too diverse to permit epistemologically valid amalgamation.

The first section will present and expand upon Barry Gordon's economic historical typology of the contextual development of Judaic teachings on wealth, work and property (Gordon, 1986, pp 43 - 56). The subsequent section will utilise a more traditional theological model, which focuses on three key biblical genres, Pentateuchal Law, Prophetic Writing, and Wisdom Literature.

2:4) Gordon's Economic History Model of the Old Testament

2:4:1) Introduction

Gordon, an economist by discipline, describes the Judaic socio-economic history in terms of the *solutions* which are found to the abiding economic problem of scarcity at various phases of its development. These solutions provide the framework within which his understanding of Old Testament attitudes to proto-economic matters are analysed. Gordon's typology of solutions to the problem of scarcity merits some elucidation, not least because the whole range of attitudes to scarcity and wealth, work and debt which he describes is cited and counter-cited in later works. An understanding of the historical scenarios in which these attitudes were forged may help us to better analyse later positions.

Gordon's Typology of Biblical Socio-Economic History		
Historical Phase	Solution to Scarcity	Where Found
Sojourners	Scarcity and Work	Genesis: Creation Myths
	Innovation and Mercy	Genesis: Noah, Babel, Cain
	Solution by Faith	Genesis: Abraham
Guest Workers	Solution by Wisdom	Joseph and Jacob
Wanderers	Solution by Faith	Moses
Possessors	Solution by Written Law	Deuteronomy and Leviticus
Sharers	Solution by Mediation	Isaiah, Ruth, Job
Dispossessed	Apocalyptic Solution	Joel, Daniel
Out-journeying Pilgrims	Solution by Seeking the Kingdom	Jesus Movement

(From Gordon 1986, pp 43 - 56.)

2:4:2) Sojourners / Scarcity & Work, Innovation & Mercy, Solution by Faith

In the sojourner phase of their development, the people of God have yet to find a home-land. Created in Eden, expelled, and forced to find their own way, they dwell as nomadic sojourners. Their theological solutions to this series of socio-economic events are threefold:

Scarcity & Work

In the Creation Myths of Genesis, man's history begins in the earthly paradise of the Garden of Eden. Gordon notes that here, in prelapsarian Utopia, there is no scarcity problem, but still God designs man to work (Genesis 2:5 - 15, Gordon, 1986, p 44, Gordon 1975, p73). After the fall, man has to work in order to eat, clothe and shelter himself, (Genesis 3:17 - 19, 23) that is, work becomes toil, and man "takes on the problem of scarcity in addition to the problem of work" (Gordon 1986, p45). In the immediate economic scarcity caused by the ejection from the bounties of Eden, man's solution is to take up the Genesis injunction to work, and use it to meet his needs.

There is, however, some debate as to whether the distinction made between man's position pre- and post-fall is between *working* and *toiling*, or between *not-working* and *working*. This seemingly subtle difference merits our attention, since later writings use the pre-Fall injunction to work as a key justification for entrepreneurial-type activities. If the case can be made that pre-Fall, man's service to God was the only form of work sanctioned by God, then later arguments, along quasi-Lutherian lines, that work was given as a divine command at the creation, lose their potency. Rather, work becomes a post-Fall punishment, and as such is entirely negative in terms of defining man's purpose, or teleology.

Agrell (1979) notes that the Hebrew word used in Genesis 2:15, can mean to till, but is also used as to serve, often in a ritual or religious sense (Agrell, 1976, p9 - 10). Agrell maintains that this interpretation, ascribed to Engnell (1961), has a certain potency, and summarises its implication thus:

"Adam has a cultic task in paradise, and is released from work since he has free access to the tree of life. After the 'fall', the situation is changed: Adam's punishment is work. The attitude to work is completely negative" (Agrell, 1976, p10).

Agrell concludes, however, that given the construction of the passage as a whole, a more likely meaning is that:

"Man serves and represents God by working Eden in his stead. This service can be seen as co-operation in God's creative work" (Agrell, 1976, p10).

After man attempts to usurp God's authority by eating from the forbidden tree of knowledge, he is cursed and expelled. God will no longer provide for man,

who now takes on the responsibility of self-sufficiency . Man retains some of the sovereignty given at creation, and gains the autonomy of self-responsibility. However, this new role is a cursed one, a punishment for disobedience. It has echoes of the creative care of the garden of Eden - holy work - but its differences should be assumed to carry negative connotations. The new situation created by the curse involves hard work with a newly reluctant earth, self-reliance, and the loss of utopia. Whilst creative care was a gift and blessing, the writer of Genesis sees the last three work-related traits as a punishment to be borne with shame. Work is an ethically and theologically ambivalent activity (Agrell, 1976, pp 7 - 15). This should be borne in mind when we examine promulgation of work ethics in later writings, many of which share the somewhat simplified position of Ohrenstein on man's post-fall necessities:

"In order to get want-satisfaction he must be creative, he must conquer and subdue the inhospitable forces of nature as God originally commended him to do; he must produce goods and services" (Ohrenstein, 1986, p 68).

Innovation and Mercy In order to meet his changing needs, as proto-society slowly develops, man starts to innovate, and Gordon finds that in the examples of development by innovation in the Old Testament, God is called upon to assist in the process. He cites the first clothing (Genesis 3: 7 - 21), the Covenant with Noah (Genesis 6:9-9:24), the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9), and the story of the descendants of Cain as examples of this theocratic enterprise. Writing of this last example he notes that:

"The descendants of Cain (who are unable to farm successfully) are obliged to innovate to survive. They build towns, take up pastoral pursuits, become musicians, or invent metal-working crafts (Genesis 4:17 - 22). Economic development is born of the merciful response of Yahweh ...to men's mistakes and misdeeds" (Gordon 1986 p45, see also Gordon 1975, p74).

Solution by Faith.

In the first biblical solution by faith, God calls upon Abraham to leave his homeland, and move with his flocks and family elsewhere. This Abraham duly does (Genesis 12 - 13). Later, God demands that he prepare to sacrifice his only legitimate son, Isaac. Again, Abraham complies. In return for this faith, God ensures that Abraham enjoys financial success (Genesis 22 - 24), and promises that his descendants will be masters of the "cities of their enemies" (Genesis 22:17).

This type of solution to meeting material needs has distinct similarities with parts of the New Testament, where ignoring one's own wishes and following God's commands, are also enjoined. However, the material success enjoyed by Abraham, as a reward for throwing himself on God's mercy, suggest that such economic recompense enjoyed a positive moral stamp, as a mark of God's favour. This is a significant Old Testament theme, and is in some tension with prophetic condemnation of wealth and the wealthy.

2:4:3) Guest Workers / Solution by Wisdom

Joseph and his family become guest workers in Egypt at a time of famine in Israel and Egypt. Joseph's use of Wisdom to overcome scarcity assists the Egyptians to overcome the famine (Genesis 41). Divine assistance is given to Joseph, via his dream-interpretation skills, to enable him to manage successfully the affairs of the Egyptian court. This development seems to symbolise a move away from the innovation of the sojourners, as they come to terms with the curse of labour, and towards a bureaucratic, almost managerial solution to economic problems. In any case, a positive attitude towards the careful management of resources is once again promoted. Stewardship, and the pursuit of personal advancement, are given a strong apologia in the guest worker's solution by wisdom. These values are somewhat at odds with the less

calculating faith solutions, but re-appear in tempered form in the Torah Law Codes.

2:4:4) Wanderers / Solution by Faith

When Moses follows Abraham's example, and leads the tribes of Israel into the wilderness at God's command (Exodus 12-19), his faith is repaid by God's provision of food and water (Exodus 15:22-27, 16:13-22, 17:4-7). The homeless wandering tribes are provided for by God, because they placed their faith in him completely. Eventually, the faith of Moses and his wandering people is repaid by the land of Israel, the promised land of milk and honey, a covenant with God which has references to Eden.

The reward of the Land is that which was also promised to Abraham for his descendants, and is a substantial material benefit conferred on the people for their faith. The manna, quails and water provided in the wilderness are more ascetic fare, however, and would seem to have rather more in common with the New Testament demands that one give all up to faith, in the knowledge that God will provide the basic material wherewithal for survival.

Twentieth century liberation theology utilises the themes of economic exile, and journeying in faith through a metaphorical wilderness, linking them to the promise of a new Eden, a promised land in which all people will enjoy the fruits of God's earth. (See below, Chapter 8, Section 3, for an overview of Liberation Theology.) Whether this is close to the thought of the Old Testament writers will be debated later; yet it seems clear that the abandonment of self to God's will, and the rejection of the direct pursuit of material well-being, are indeed given positive moral value in this second solution by faith.

2:4:5) Possessors/Solution by Written Law

When Israel wins and enters the Promised Land, the rationale for past economic ordering disappears: these are not sojourners, guest-workers, or wanderers, but a settled nation. Instead of reliance on Wisdom and Faith, a code of Law is created, which will come to govern every aspect of the nation's life. This code is to be found in Exodus, Deuteronomy and Leviticus, and establishes a careful system of behaviour for the new settler, the possessors of the land. (A more detailed presentation of this material is undertaken below, Section 2:5)

Major themes of the Law of the Pentateuch include extensive welfare provision with care for those without means of support, the writing off of debt at regular intervals, and injunctions on usury (see, for example, the Jubilee Year ordinances in Leviticus 25:23-28. See also Hengel, 1979 p 162). This welfare provision goes hand-in-hand with the promise that those who follow the law will enjoy material prosperity, and also the promotion of work :

“Work is affirmed as a divine ordinance for man (Exodus 20:9, Deuteronomy 5:13), although it does not exhaust the meaning of life” (Gordon, 1986 p48).

In spite of the affirmation of the positive value of work, and the rewards which stem from this, man is required to treat the world in a respectful way, due to the Jewish belief that the world and all in it is God's:

“Although man is depicted as the lord of all created things, exploiting resources to serve the needs of a dynamic economy, the Pentateuch requires him to show respect for environmental issues. Nature is the handiwork of the Creator, displays the majesty of the Lord and, as such, possesses an autonomy which commands attention” (Gordon 1975, p 74).

It should also be noted that the writers of the exilic period blame the straits into which Israel has fallen on the sins of the nation, and demand repentance and change of heart as the price for return to Israel and economic success. The post-exilic writers use the Wisdom literature format to re-enforce the Pentateuch's work-ethic and the positive material benefits of adherence to the Law (Gordon 1975, pp78 - 80).

2:4:6) Sharers / Solution by Mediation

Gordon notes a later universalistic trend, in which benefits are promised to Israel by prophets if she shares the word of Yahweh with other nations. Financial well-being is no longer dependent on obeying the law, nor on faith, but on fulfilling the role of Israel as a priestly nation mediating between God and the other nations. The books of Ruth, Job, Jeremiah and Trito-Isaiah, are seen to fit this mould:

"Jeremiah...claims that one of the preconditions for Israel's restoration is that the captives in Babylon pray for the welfare of the Babylon economy (Jeremiah 29)...Job has become destitute. Yet, when he mediates between Yahweh and his visiting accusers (who are probably men outside the Covenant), Job's wealth and well-being are restored. Mediation rather than observance of the Law proves to be the key (See Job 42:10)" (Gordon 1986 p 54).

The significance of this post-legalistic solution is that it prefigures the Pauline movement, which will also mediate with the Gentiles in abandonment of the strict letter of the Law, and will use the material resources generated by this missionary work to assist the beleaguered Jerusalem community.

2:4:7) Dispossessed / Apocalyptic Solution

As Israel experiences political domination and oppression, prophets look away from this world towards a decisive intervention by God in world-history, as the vehicle by which the fortunes of the nation will be revitalised. Gordon cites Joel and Daniel as works which can be interpreted in this way.

This millenarian tendency to anticipate in the most colourful way the establishment of a heavenly-created holy city and bountiful land, in the face of extreme poverty and powerlessness, has been a continuing feature of world history. Radical Christianity has sometimes come close to the apocalyptic, in prophesying the downfall of the rich and the oppressors, and in attempts to prefigure the impending parousia (second coming) by the creation of an earthly utopia.

2:4:8) Out-journeying Pilgrims / Seeking the Kingdom

The final phase in the typological process which Gordon develops is that of the early Christians, who become a pilgrim sect, and turn to seeking the Kingdom, rather than a more dramatic apocalyptic, or obedience to the Law. Indeed, conditional rejection of the law is a major theme of the synoptic gospels:

"The solution by seeking the kingdom involves trust in the Father, recognition of personal dependence, low present valuation of future needs, and rejection of one's own material welfare as the focal point of activity" (Gordon, 1986 p 56).

2:4:9) Conclusion

Gordon's socio-historical economic study of the development of Judaic attitudes to property, work, law and money is a useful analytic tool, and draws attention to the way in which these attitudes and beliefs were shaped by the economic situation in which the people of Israel found themselves. He categorises the Judaic theology of wealth into a model based upon a series of

religious responses to scarcity. The earliest sojourners understood toil and the struggle to provide for themselves in terms of the creation myths and the Fall, supplemented later by innovative developments made possible by God's mercy and the faith-solution of Abraham. The guest-workers in Egypt used technical bureaucratic wisdom to solve the scarcity problem. Having followed Moses into the desert, however, faith in the Lord to provide for the wanderers was needed. Once the Promised Land was possessed, a written law code delineated the solution to new problems of work, wealth, poverty, exploitation and debt. The sharers mediated a universalistic solution, as Israelite hegemony broke down. Following defeat, exile and diaspora, the apocalyptic utopia of eschatological final victory was developed (as well, as we shall see below, an enhanced Wisdom literature).

This model will be of importance to later discussion, when it will be suggested that modern writers identify themselves, perhaps unconsciously, with that Old Testament position on wealth and work which grew out of the socio-economic context closest to their own. For example, those writing from the perspective of the dispossessed often adopt an apocalyptic stance, whilst those who identify with the possessors more often cite the positive benefit of work and property legislation as found in the solution by law .

2:5) The Old Testament Tradition - Biblical Genre Analysis

Gordon's model furthers our understanding of the adapting and fluctuating responses of the Old Testament writers to wealth, poverty, work and enterprise by presenting a broad model covering the sweep of Judaic Biblical history. Different situations, whether political or socio-economic, gave rise to different "enterprise" concepts expressed in a variety of literary styles. As suggested by Gordon's model, the three most relevant biblical genres for the present review can be identified as Pentateuchal Law, the Prophetic Tradition, and Wisdom Literature. Indeed, as we shall find when we come to examine contemporary

writings on the theology of enterprise, these three types of Old Testament work form the bedrock of many modern debates.

2:5:1) The Pentateuchal Law

It was noted above that the Pentateuchal Law developed in the context of a settled (or settling) nation, upon Israel's arrival in the Promised Land. The most famous of Pentateuchal Laws, are of course, the Ten Commandments, or Decalogue, and it is here that we begin our brief survey of the Old Testament Law as it interacts with those values of interest to our argument.

i) The Sinai Theophany

As the Israelites emerge from Egypt and travel through the Sinai desert, Moses climbs the mountain and in the ensuing theophany the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant are transmitted to him (Exodus 19: 16 - 23:33). Of special interest to this study are the 5th, 8th and 10th commandments. The fifth commandment - the injunction to honour one's parents - underlines the significance of the family, and of hierarchy and authority within the family. The tenth, against stealing, introduces legal protection for property, thereby insuring that the:

"right to security in one's possessions is protected in Israelite law as it is in any realistic legal order" (Patrick 1985, pp 55 - 56).

Patrick reads into the tenth commandment, on coveting, the message that this injunction is aimed at those who plan to defraud. If this is so then it supplements the protection of property introduced in the eighth commandment (Patrick 1985, p58).

Protection of property and obedience to familial authority, however, is only a small part of the whole picture. The laws of the Book of the Covenant, also

given in the Sinai theophany, emphasise strongly the need for the new nation to protect its weaker members. Rights are granted to the poor and weak minorities, and divine sanction put in place to back up this legal protection. The lending law, the terms relating to slavery, and the prohibition on bribery in the law courts are all directed towards ensuring the security of those in poverty (Exodus 22:21-27; See also Patrick, 1985 pp85-87). Patrick maintains that these laws are of considerable significance in terms of Pentateuchal Law as a whole:

"One of the most striking things about the fallow year and Sabbath laws of the Book of the Covenant is their proximity to the laws protecting the rights of the weak (Exodus 22:21-27, 23:9). This is a strong indication that these two laws are an integral part of the lawbook and that social concerns were a primary force in the evolution of Israelite cultic practice and theology" (Patrick 1985, p 92).

That is to say, right from the first beginnings of Judaic law, including this seminal theophany to Moses, the social legislation protecting the poor, weak and defenceless, which committed them to the care of the better off, was enshrined in the Biblical writings.

ii) Deuteronomic Law

The Deuteronomic Law (Deut. 12 - 26) builds on that of the Book of the Covenant, interpreting the earlier laws in the light of developments in Judaic socio-economic and religious history:

"Both in the case of the law of the Hebrew slave and in that of the year of release it is quite obvious that Deuteronomy, when compared with the Book of the Covenant, reflects a considerably more advanced stage in economic history" (Von Rad 1966 p19).

The Deuteronomic Legal Code, written for a more developed society than that which emerged from the desert, is profoundly spiritual and hortative in nature

(Von Rad, 1966 p19). It expands upon the simple commandments of the Book of the Covenant, to preach upon and explain these texts, so as to inculcate a righteous attitude in its audience. Von Rad describes the short sermon at Deuteronomy 15:3 - 11, which elaborates upon the apodictical rule of the Sabbatical Fallow Year. He highlights the message of the sermon and then explains its significance, thus:

"This sermon is a summons to meet the poor at all times with an open hand and an open heart. ...The interest of the lawgiver was satisfied when he had made the ordinance obligatory. But the preacher was concerned that the man at whom the law was aimed should also lay it upon his conscience " (Von Rad 1966 p106).

Deuteronomy insists that obeying the law in spirit, as well as to the letter, is a vital part of the New Covenant. Building on the extensive social provision of the Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy's commentary on the law demands a spiritual commitment to better the lot of the poor, the slave, and the oppressed.

Deuteronomy, as McConville has pointed out, is wholly predicated on "Israel's possession of the land...traced supremely to God's giving of it...not only the land but everything in it is a gift" (McConville 1984 p11). The implication of all that is belonging in the final instance to the God who has gifted it to Israel, is that one must be constantly prepared to give up these gifts to their rightful owner. Paradoxically, only by developing this morally correct attitude with regard to one's possessions can divine approval be won and bounty continue:

"Enjoyment of the land and its benefits depends upon a readiness to relinquish them" (McConville 1984 p17).

Examples of laws which use symbolic return to the Land's divine owner as a way of ensuring future prosperity include tithing and the law of firstlings (Deuteronomy 14:22 - 29, 15: 19 - 23).

iii) The Holiness Code / Jubilee Laws

The Holiness Code is to be found at Leviticus 17 - 26, and includes details of the celebrated Jubilee Year. It is a matter of some debate as to whether the debt forgiveness and return of the land to its original owner demanded in the Jubilee Year were ever carried out in Israel or Judea. What is of more significance for this study is the ethical outlook which is conveyed by these Jubilee provisions, which are certainly couched in legalistic format.

It is suggested by Patrick that the fallow year may be symbolic of returning the land to its rightful divine owner, and this theme of the land being the Lord's is certainly one of the underpinning paradigms which informed all Judaic thought (see above, on Deuteronomic Law.) Both in the creation myths and with the gift of the Promised Land, Yahweh has generously allowed his people to feed and house themselves on land which is nonetheless his (Leviticus 25:3 - 7, 20 -22; Patrick 1985 p182-185):

"Yahweh alone owns the land and grants a share in perpetuity to each family; he has redeemed every member of this people, and they can be slaves only of him" (Patrick 1985 p185).

Fager goes somewhat further than Patrick in his analysis of Jubilee legislation, seeing the section as a whole as a vehicle proposed to avoid the descent to slavery of poor rural families, and the loss of their land to richer creditors:

"The jubilee did not present a merely ideological alternative to one particular system, it was a countermeasure to a system that provided wealth for a few at the expense of the many" (Fager 1993 p 88).

Fager bases his argument upon the emphasis given in the Jubilee legislation to debt, usury, and repayment. (Fager 1993 pp 102- 107). He maintains that the laws, as well as Old Testament prophetic writings, give a clear indication that the poor, and especially the rural peasantry, were being commercially oppressed and exploited by richer people. This "maltreatment was considered an injustice not to be tolerated within the Yahwistic community" (Fager 1993 p 105). Fager suggests that this is a corollary of the land and its contents being a gift, a covenant, from God to all the families of Israel. Thus all transaction relating to it must take place within the context and confines of the divine ethic, which includes protecting the poor. Not to do so is to break the covenant, and to contradict parabolically the liberation of the Exodus (Fager 1993 p 108). The notion of any division between the world of the sacred and the profane is inconceivable within this theological framework: all that is, is a gift from God, and is held in trust for him. No dispensation to hive off parts of one's life from divine sanction is possible within this way of thinking.

Of particular note for later argument in this study, Fager also points out that it is irrelevant how the poor become so, in terms of the moral obligation upon the rest of society to support them:

"...whether that person became poor because of crop failure, financial mistakes, imprudence incompetence or laziness, the community is responsible for keeping that person from falling into a state of abject poverty and the indignity of slavery" (Fager 1993 p 114).

2:5:2) The Prophetic Tradition

The prophetic tradition does not receive significant treatment in Gordon's typology, but has always been a major source of primary reference on matters of ethics and economics for later writers. As the emphasis on protecting the

weaker members of society in the Old Testament Law might have led us to expect, vocal condemnation of the abuse of the poor is indeed a characteristic of much prophetic work, as the handful of famous examples picked by Flanders et al indicate:

"The protection of the underprivileged is the inspiration behind Nathan's judgement in the Bathsheba and Uriah incidents (2 Samuel 12:1 -24) Elijah's brave stand against Ahab and Jezebel in the cause of poor betrayed Naboth (1 Kings 21:1-29) and his kind help to the poor widow of Zarephath...the great prophets Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah repeatedly champion the cause of the needy, condemning social injustice with scathing words" (Flanders et al 1988 p191).

The tirades of these "great prophets" are indeed particularly virulent. Hengel notes the ferocity of many of the prophetic attacks on wealth, and writes that:

"Even the testimony of the first writing prophet, Amos, in the eighth century BC, leaves nothing to be desired by way of clarity. With unsurpassable sharpness he attacks the subjection and exploitation of the poor by rich landowners and royal officials in the northern kingdom" (Hengel, 1979 p 160).

Heaton claims, citing Jeremiah 5:26-29 as an example, that it was simply impossible for the prophets to watch whilst "disgusting luxury was being purchased at the price of the blood of the defenceless poor", and still fulfil their responsibilities to God (Heaton 1977 p60). He finds in Biblical works a sufficiency of examples demonstrating precisely how the poor were abused:

"It was only too easy in the age of the prophets to swindle the helpless, to exploit human wants by usury, to get away with sharp-practice in business dealings (underweighing and overcharging) to murder and to rob, and then to

evade punishment by bribing the judges" (Heaton 1977 pp 60-61; see also Wolff 1987 p24).

Heaton goes on to cite more than 25 passages where such practices are condemned by biblical prophets, in 11 Old Testament Prophetic books, from Amos to Zephaniah. The damnation, scorn and revulsion which the prophets unleash upon those who break the Pentateuchal Law and indulge in the practices described above is vehement and sustained.

Amos³ explains the coming catastrophic judgement as punishment for maltreatment of the poor; Proto-Isaiah⁴ protests the contrast between the luxury of the upper classes and the suffering of the weak; Micah⁵ condemns the abuse of power to oppress the man on the street (Heaton 1977 pp 78-89). Heaton's comments on Amos's attacks on the culture of his time are of special interest for this study:

"Self-interest was the ethic of Israel. It was self-interest which amassed the resources of the country for the ostentatious indulgence of the few and guaranteed the prosperity of an established religion which was basically designed to secure good fortune for those who participated in its rituals. Amos' indictment of the rich and of the religious is equally devastating " (Heaton 1977 p 69).

Isaiah is also particularly critical of wealth creation and the oppression which the rich visit on the poor (See, for example, Roberts, 1987 pp 66 - 67). Presentation of just two examples of this vituperation will illustrate the type and scope of the criticism we have been describing :

³ Commentators draw our attention to Amos 4.1, 2.6 - 8, 3.9-10, 15, 5.11,12, 21-24, 6.4-6,12, 8.4-6, 5, 7, 10-15,

⁴ Commentators draw our attention to Isaiah 1. 21 -23, 2.7 3:14,15,16,17 5.7, 8-10, 11, 12 9.8-10, 28.7-13 32.11

⁵ Commentators draw our attention to Micah 2.1,1 2.8,9

“Woe unto you who add house to house and join field to field until not an acre remains, and you are left alone to live in the land. The Lord of Hosts has sworn in my hearing: Many large houses shall go to ruin” (Isaiah 5:8 ff, Hengel 1979 p 160)

This forceful passage will have later echoes in the Lucan Beatitudes and Woes, and will become an important reference text in the writings of twentieth century Liberation Theologians. It is worth noting that several other passages from Isaiah will be referred to in the Synoptic Gospels. Perhaps the most important of these is Isaiah's statement of mission, at the beginning of Chapter 61:

“The spirit of the Lord God is upon me because the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the humble, to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to captives and to release those in prison; to proclaim a year of the Lord's favour and a day of vengeance of our God;” (Isaiah 61: 1 - 2).

One of the most socially explicit and ethically unambiguous passages in the whole of the Old Testament, this section will be chosen by Luke to open Jesus's public ministry in the post-temptation acceptance of mission during the Sermon in Nazareth (Luke 4.16ff). The passage also appears in the responses to the enquiries of John the Baptist's disciples about the nature of Jesus's mission (Luke 7:22 = Matthew 11.5).⁶

The radicalism of the prophets, however, should not be understood to mean that their message was aimed at only a small section of the Judaic people, or that they related only to the specifically cultic aspects of one's life. The

⁶ Indeed, as Sanders has informed us “Isaiah is cited, alluded to, or otherwise appears in the New Testament more than any other Old Testament book” (Sanders 1987 p75).

prophets were not prescribing an especially difficult pious path, suitable only for the most holy. Their message was intended to affect the whole of the lives of all of the members of the nation of Israel. Oppression, exploitation, decadence and corruption were not seen simply as social crimes, but as offences against God, sins which bring into contempt the terms of the sacred covenant:

“The prophet legends are intended to serve as witness to Yahweh's rule over every aspect of Israel's public life, bringing blessing to those obeying it and sorrow on those who oppose or seek to subvert it (de Vries 1978 p ix; see also Heaton 1977 pp61-69).

2:5:3) Wisdom Literature

Less well known to the layman than the Decalogue or the Prophetic Works, the tradition of Wisdom nonetheless is an important facet of Old Testament Literature. Wisdom Literature was a genre of religious writing common to most of the ancient near East, which can perhaps most simply be described as collections of proverbs, combined with extended allegories and legends, describing the positive moral virtue of wisdom, prudence and understanding (See Whybray 1972, pp1-13, and Aitken 1986, pp 1- 5 for introductions).

Although there are hints of and references to Wisdom Literature in the New Testament, it is in the Old Testament books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, parts of Psalms, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon that the genre is dominant. The earliest Wisdom writings can be dated to the 7th Century BC (parts of Psalms and Proverbs), with other parts of Proverbs (Ch 10- 29) and Job being generally dated to the post-exilic 5th Century BC. Ecclesiastes is a later work, probably from the 3rd Century BC. The Wisdom of Solomon and Ben Sira date from the two centuries before Christ.

Predominantly the genre of educated urban Jews, Wisdom was even taught formally to those planning a career in the government bureaucracy. The influence of Wisdom Literature on shaping Judaeo-Christian theology and ethics is becoming increasingly recognised (see, for example, Clements 1992 p 8, 15). Pre-Exilic Wisdom was rooted in a world-view which saw the created world as a part of the divine cosmic order, and the role of earthly rulers as important, within that setting, as providers and guarantors of the temporal aspects of God's all-encompassing order. This support for the political structures of the day imbued the King with divine legitimation, but also placed on him and his officials an expectation to rule in a godly way, to act as the "agent of God to bring a just and beneficial social order on earth", since

"...there existed within the wisdom tradition a strong awareness that injustice and tyrannical oppression were contrary to the office of king as ordained by the order of creation" (Clements 1992 p109 & p117).

The metaphysical sanction for those in earthly power was therefore tempered by an expectation of ethical government, and condemnation of those who abused their position to upset the harmonious ordering of the cosmos. The alliance with government and officials opened up the Wisdom writers to a more international perspective, as they came to see all earthly rulers as part of the divine ordering. This in turn led to the award of ethical approval to those wishing to trade with other nations, so that:

"Wisdom became part of the 'new culture ' which thought highly of the state and its officials; which viewed with enthusiasm the possibilities of commerce and capitalist ventures between cities and nations" (Clements 1992 p110).

This universalistic internationalism is peculiar to the Wisdom genre among Old Testament works, and the shift of focus away from the cultic life of the nation

towards a wider world-view had other results. With the nation-as-cult removed from the position of centrality in the religious exhortations of the Wisdom tradition, the genre addresses itself to individuals:

“Proverbs takes account of man’s individual life and its problems, calling him *as an individual* from folly and evil and urging him to embrace wisdom and righteousness” (Whybray 1972 p11).

At the outset of the diaspora, the cultic nation of Israel disappeared completely from the lives of many Jews, and there was a need to identify a new religious community for these exiles. The new religious locus which the post-exilic writers discovered and promoted was the family, and the individual household began to assume theological significance of the highest order. Clements cites a range of texts in Proverbs which support his supposition that the family had now become the locus of blessing, prosperity and righteousness.⁷ This combination of individualism and the family as religious locus was to become a theme much utilised in seventeenth century England by the Puritans. Indeed, Clements’ summary of the early post-exilic Wisdom theology of the family could just as easily describe either the Puritans, the Victorians or the Thatcherites:

“For Wisdom the household had become both a school and a spiritual training ground. It was also the unit of economic viability which maintained its potential strength through well established rules of inheritance” (Clements 1992 p143).

Neighbourliness is also exhorted, but that it might be prevented by economic differences is recognised:

⁷ Proverbs 3.3 14:1, 14.11 15.6

“The good man bequeaths his heritage to his children’s children,
the wealth of the sinner is stored up for the virtuous” 13.22

"The poor is disliked even by his neighbour,
but the rich person has many friends" (Proverbs 14:20)

Similar proverbs which ascribe positive moral value to the rich at the expense of the poor can be found elsewhere in Proverbs and Ben Sira⁸. This is, as will be immediately apparent, very much at odds with the Pentateuchal Law and works of the Prophets. Whybray counts 158 verses, out of the 513 in Proverbs, which refer to wealth or poverty, and these matters were clearly of some concern to the Wisdom writers (Whybray 1990 p13 & 15). However Clements notes that this wealth should be earned through hard work and careful living, honestly, diligently and over time (Clements 1992 p147). This is not a wholesale approval of wealth as such, but of prudence and sensible living. Whybray finds the rationale for this in the great dangers attached to poverty in the Judaic world of the day:

"While wisdom, piety, honesty and industry are commended as often procuring security and prosperity, the number of warnings about the opposite fate attests in a variety of ways to a deep concern about the extreme precariousness of life" (Whybray 1990 p24).

Concomitant with the focus on the household, approval of wealth and individualism can be found another of the traits of what we have termed Enterprise Theology: a "powerful doctrine of work" (Clements 1992 p145, Proverbs 12:11, 24, 24:27, 30 - 34). Work is not seen as a curse, but as a blessing which will result in God's blessing, as well as material rewards. Whybray (1990 pp 30 - 38) describes work as the vehicle by which the vicissitudes of extreme poverty can be avoided. The converse of this position is that laziness is condemned outright, and Whybray (1990 p30) finds no less than 9 texts in

⁸ Proverbs 19.4, 19.6, Ben Sirach 13:15-20, 18:13, See Clements 1992 p131 - 136

Proverbs which make this point. With reference to the so-called Shorter Proverbs in particular (10:1 - 26:16 & 25 - 29), Whybray notes that:

“The emphasis placed in these chapters on the necessity for hard work and the reward which the hardworking person will gain, as opposed to the dire fate in store for the lazy person, is remarkable” (Whybray 1990 p38).

In marked difference to the socially-oriented Law, or the anti-wealth Prophets, Old Testament Wisdom Literature exhibits several of the hallmarks of what will develop into Enterprise Theology: individualism, pro-trade sentiments, family-centredness, enthusiasm for hard work, approval of honestly won wealth, and strong support for the governing authorities of the day. Small wonder these books later became so popular with the Puritans.

2:5:4) Conclusion

This short survey of three major Old Testament literary genres has supplemented Gordon's socio-economic reading of the Bible by unravelling a little the threads of Judaic theology. We have seen that the Pentateuchal Law was designed so as to make protecting the poor and weak a religious duty, and that the theology of the Land as Gift shaped later Pentateuchal work. All that is, comes from God, and as such all who are have a right to its bounty. The laws of tithing, or first fruits and the Jubilee legislation in particular involve returning to God that which is on loan from him, so as to emphasise the true ownership of physical goods.

The prophets' tirades against the rich suggest that the Pentateuchal Law did not enjoy uniform adherence, but rather that the rich continued to exploit the poor. The spleen of the prophets against those who made themselves wealthy at the expense of others was immense. The unfettered pursuit of money was condemned outright, and the temporal powers generally mistrusted.

Wisdom literature presents a rather different Judaic theology, perhaps because it may be seen to emanate from the better-off educated circles of Judaic society. Careful, but honest pursuit of wealth, through hard-work, is applauded. Individuals and families take on a new religious significance, and the insuperable divide between rich and poor frankly acknowledged. The condemnation of laziness is far indeed from Deuteronomy's insistence on the rights of the poor to protection and succour, no matter how they became poor.

Before moving on to an equally brief review of the gospels, let us note again that among the reasons for this survey of the Old Testament is the attachment of the Puritans to its teachings, in seventeenth century England. The curious blend of piety and enterprise which the Puritans developed was bibliophilic indeed, as Heaton has so elegantly noted:

"The Law and the Prophets of Israel came directly to determine not only the piety but also the polity of Protestant Europe and England became the 'People of the Book' " (Heaton 1977 p4).

2:6) New Testament Writings - Introduction

If Old Testament material has played a major role in influencing later Christian theology in the area under discussion, clearly this is even more true for the corpus of New Testament books. And like the Old Testament work, it is helpful to subdivide the New Testament writings into manageable and discrete units, so as to facilitate comprehension of contextual and developmental influences.

The next three sections will follow a standard theological division of proto-Christianity into three phases: The Jesus Movement, The Jerusalem Love Community, and The Pauline Church. This division reflects the stages through

which the New Testament church progressed, and which profoundly affected the tenor of the gospels and epistles it created. The tri-partite model can be found in the works of many theologians, including Theissen and Hengel, on whom the subsequent three sections will draw significantly (Hengel 1979, Theissen 1987).

2:7) The Jesus Movement

The term, "Jesus Movement" is usually utilised by theologians and historians to describe the movement which grew up in Palestine around the figure of Jesus, and which continued to practice his teachings after his death. The Jesus Movement was an almost entirely rural movement, with the distinctive Jerusalem "Love Community" being viewed as a separate phenomenon with its own particular brand of Judaic Christianity (see below, Section 2:8).

The Jesus Movement was characterised by Wandering Charismatics who were supported by small rural "congregations", which often remained within Judaism, and do not seem to have been expected to adopt the wholesale repudiation of property and home which was practised by the peripatetic evangelists, in whose number could be found Jesus and the early disciples (see Theissen, 1978, for the seminal work in this area).

Many writers describe the wandering charismatics of the Jesus Movement graphically, noting that Jesus, the earliest commissioned disciples, and the preachers of the post-crucifixion Palestine movement, all adopted this evangelical method, foregoing home, family and property to free themselves fully from earthly distractions:

"The imminence of the Kingdom of God demands freedom over possessions, the renunciation of care, complete trust in the goodness and providence of the heavenly Father (Matt 6:25 - 34 =⁹ Luke 12: 22 - 32) " (Hengel 1979, p 172).

Theissen emphasises the significance of the wandering charismatics of the Jesus movement, maintaining that they were a critical influence in the formation of "the earliest traditions and provide the social background for a good deal of the synoptic tradition, especially the tradition of the words of Jesus" (Theissen, 1978, p10; see also Rowland 1988 pp14 - 33). Theissen goes on to note that it is their ascetic ethics, and the renunciation of family and material possessions, which is of key significance. The practical abjurance of possessions was also reflected in the teachings of the Jesus movement, which are often explicitly hostile to wealth, material goods, and family life. Hengel, in the most thorough examination of this subject, cites the following examples of such teaching:

1) Jesus's Lack of Property	Matthew 8:20 = Luke 9:58
2) Commission of Disciples/ Giving Up Possessions	Luke 9:58 = Matthew 8:20; Luke 9:3, 10:4 = Mark 6:8 f; Mark 1:16ff & parallels; Mark 10:17ff & parallels; Mark 10:28ff & parallels
3) Repudiation of Family	Luke 9:59 ff and 14:26 ff
4) Dependence on God's Providence	Matthew 6:25 - 34 = Luke 12:22 - 32
5) God and Mammon	Luke 16:13 = Matthew 6:24
6) Statement of Mission: Isaiah 61	Luke 4:16ff, 7:22 = Matthew 11:5
7) The Beatitudes and Woes	Luke 6:20 ff & parallels
8) The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus	Luke 16: 19 - 31
9) The Story of the Rich Farmer	Luke 12: 16 - 21

⁹ The '=' sign in theological works indicates that the text cited has a close parallel in another biblical book.

10) Parable of the Sower	Mark 4: 19
11) The Rich Man & the Eye of the Needle	Mark 10:25
12) Giving to all who ask	Luke 6:30

To this list can also be added:

13) Luke's Magnificat	Luke 1.46 ff, see Rowland, 1988 p14
14) The Cleansing of the Temple	John 2:13 ff
15) Story of the Rich Young Man	Mark 10:17, see Theissen 1978 p12
16) Not Laying Up Treasure on Earth	Matthew 6:19 ff, Theissen 1978 p12
17) Mary & Martha (against work)	Luke 10:41f

It is superfluous to comment in detail on each of these passages in turn, (see Mealand 1980 pp44-87 for an analysis of the key texts) but the volume and regularity of these apophthegmata demonstrate that the (synoptic) gospels can indeed be shown to exhibit a profound rejection of attachment to worldly material goods, of family ties and responsibilities, of work and worry about future well-being. This is perhaps most vividly demonstrated by what Hengel describes as the demonisation of property indicated in the use of the word *Mammon*, in the synoptics (Hengel 1979 p172). *Mammon* is Aramaic for "possessions", and is left untranslated in the Greek text of the gospels:

"ou dnasqe Qew douleuein kai mamwna - You cannot serve God and Mammon" (Luke 16:13 = Matthew 6:24).

Luke also mentions "unrighteous mammon" in 16:9, and Hengel suggests that the word had passed into common use as a proper noun amongst early Christians, perhaps as a naming of a sort of idol, the worship of whom was incompatible with the Jesus Movement. It is the tendency of possessions to

prevent men from coming close to true godliness in the Kingdom which constitutes idolatry, and this is at the heart of all the criticisms of wealth cited above (Hengel 1979 p172.).

Hengel (1979) and Theissen (1978), having marshalled their evidence supporting synoptic rejection of wealth and the wealthy, then go on to note that this is far from being the whole picture in the attitude to property of the Jesus Movement and its founder. The following stories and sayings are referred to, as both theologians explain that the wandering charismatics of the Jesus Movement were not totally ascetic, and relied on the financial support, property and families of others to support them:

1) Support from Herod's Steward's Wife	Luke 8:3
2) Support from Joseph of Arimethea	Mark 15:43
3) Support from Rich Woman Sinner	Luke 7:36 ff
4) Support from Zacchaeus	Luke 19:1 ff
5) Parents to be Supported by Children	Mark 7:9 ff & parallels
6) Use of Property to help Those in Need	Mark 12:41 ff, Matthew 6:2; 25:40, Luke 10: 30 - 37
7) Feasting and Banquets	Luke 10:8f, 7:36 ff, 11:37, 14:1, 12, Mark 14:3ff, Mark 2:13 - 17
8) "Behold, A glutton and a drunkard"	Matthew 11:19 = Luke 7:34
9) Rejection of Fasting	Mark 2:18ff

It is immediately apparent that the more relaxed attitude to property which is found by Hengel and Theissen in these passages relates to two main aspects of property. The first is the use of property to support and help those in need, which includes the Wandering Charismatics. The second is a decidedly unascetic tendency shown by the Jesus movement to share exuberant table-covenant with social outcasts. What is not found in these passages is an Old

Testament-style approval of material goods as the sign of God's favour, nor a justification of the pursuit of riches to create an income-stream for alms-giving, nor exhortations to work, nor puritanical piety. Indeed, given Jesus's antipathy to the pious Pharisees and wealthy Sadducees, even these less critical passages would seem to be marking Jesus's stance out from that of his Judaic opponents.

The acceptance of support from the wealthy is nonetheless somewhat in tension with the anti-possession gospel sections cited above, but may be explained in part by a two-tier system of proto-Christianity, where the elite property-less charismatics ministered to the property-holding lay-people. Such a theology has much in common with later monastic retreat from the world, the life of the medieval mendicants, and the role of clerics in the Church, as "meta-Christians".

Alternatively, accepting alms when in need may be seen to be simply the other side of the coin from demanding that alms be given to those in need, and as such a natural part of the anti-wealth position sketched above. Indeed, attendance at banquets may also be seen in this context of accepting alms and support from the wealthy, from whom this generosity is demanded by the radical Jesus.

Another interpretation of this seeming contradiction is offered by Mealand (1980), who sees its cause in the two-part nature of the Jesus movement's mission and Kingdom of God theology. In the first place, the new era was already dawning, which would see an end to poverty and sickness. On the other, there was an immediate need to preach the gospel, and in so doing the movement gladly abandoned material possessions to pursue a greater goal:

"Joy rather than severity seems to have been the mark of their willing sacrifice. Like the finders of unexpected treasure or a priceless pearl, they abandoned everything for the Kingdom" (Mealand, 1980 p87).

Thus, both asceticism and feasting can be understood to stem from the same joy at the in-breaking of the reign of God. Nonetheless, Mealand acknowledges that the tenor of the oral tradition continues the Old Testament theme of condemnation of the unjust rich, and the dangers that wealth presents to man's more important spiritual life.

2:8) The Jerusalem Love Community

The earliest Christians in Jerusalem are described in the Acts of the Apostles as having practised a form of communal living, or sharing of property (Acts 2:44-7, 4:32-6). Mealand warns against over-emphasis on the communistic nature of this group, noting that:

"The language about having 'all things in common' belongs to the literary world of Luke. But it corresponds to an historical reality in early Christianity, namely the high degree of mutual aid practised in the community" (Mealand 1980 p 39).

This so-called "love communism" (Troeltsch, 1931), was a spontaneous reflection of the teachings of the Jesus Movement, and involved the richer members of the community selling their property to take care of all. Work, and "making a living" was abandoned for prayer in the hope of an immanent in-breaking of the Kingdom. This position is markedly different from that of the prophets, given its expectation of an immanent apocalyptic, and we may agree with Countryman and Troeltsch that:

“Early Christianity did not make the healing of social wrongs the goal of its charity, but rather the actualisation of brotherly love” (Countryman 1980 p7).

The Love Community was later to take on a symbolic importance as a model for other forms of communal ownership of property, and has always had a metaphorical importance for the Church. Yet this enactment of the Kingdom in the Holy City itself resulted in poverty for its members, partly because of a worsening of the national situation, and partly because the property of its members became exhausted, leaving the community with no resources on which to draw for material support ¹. Mealand (1980) persuasively argues that the famine of (c) 48 AD was responsible for the collapse of the system of mutual support, and goes on to argue that many of the synoptic criticisms of the rich, including the teachings on Mammon, and laying up treasure in heaven, have a special resonance for this group, and may even have originated with them:

“Early Christianity does seem to reflect in its teaching on possessions the economically precarious circumstances of its origins in Jerusalem, and the severe hardships of the famine” (Mealand 1980 p88).

2:9) The Pauline Church

The Pauline churches, which grew up in cities around the Mediterranean, were composed of the petite bourgeoisie, and as the parousia became increasingly delayed, the need for them to work in order to feed themselves whilst they awaited the second coming became clear. These larger and disparate communities would also have required far greater organisation if the love communism of Jerusalem were to be enacted throughout Asia Minor (Hengel 1979, p 183). The non-working ethic of the Jerusalem Church, which had

¹ Their eventual poverty is attested to by Paul's constant fund-raising on their behalf.

eventually combined with external economic factors to reduce the community to such poverty, was repudiated by Paul:

"Paul's letters are characterised by the expression of a very strong work-ethic, and he is absolutely opposed to the idea of the right to a share in the output of the community for the voluntarily unemployed (2 Thessalonians 3: 6 - 10)" (Gordon 1986, p 57).

Allowing excessive possession of property to stand in the way of bringing in the Kingdom was still strongly condemned, but there was no shame about working amongst these "manual workers and craftsmen, small business men and workers on the land, all of whom had a great respect for honest labour" (Hengel 1974). Paul himself carried out his profession of tent-maker from time to time, in order to support himself. Slowly, the number of wealthy and upper-class members of the church began to rise. The importance of alms-giving and other charitable work - always a key tenet of Christianity, as we have seen - started to be advocated regularly as the vehicle for including these property-owners into what had largely been a bourgeois salvation movement (Hengel 1979 pp 183 - 193). Maintaining modestly personal wealth became acceptable, so long as one took care of the needy, and was aware of the dangerous distraction posed by such wealth. Attachment to possessions above God, and the pursuit of wealth, were still not tolerated, yet work was seen to be necessary for self-sufficiency (Hengel 1979 p200).

Theissen explains the change from the Jesus Movement's economic ethic to that of the Hellenistic City Churches, as being bound up in a role-change in the spiritual leadership away from Wandering Charismatics and towards local church communities (Theissen, 1978 p115). That is, symbolic individuals could act out the repudiation of wealth on behalf of the rural communities they both ministered to and depended on. But when their ministering and evangelising

role was subsumed into the (urban) community itself, such parabolic rejection of property became unfeasible and inappropriate. This became increasingly so as people of considerable wealth joined the church.

Also, in line with Pauline theology, the emphasis on individual salvation took on a more significant role in the early Church. As the Kingdom was seeming ever more postponed and distant, the attainment of a personal, spiritual kingdom became an internalised alternative. Such concern with one's own salvation was to later transform the communal nature of the Christian family.

It should be noted, however, the apocalyptic writings of John, The Acts of Thomas and the Didache continue to promote the two-tier structure of the Jesus Movement. Although this had ceased to be the mainstream Christian position, rejection of property nonetheless remained the clarion call of radical ascetic Christianity down the centuries (Hengel 1979 p200).

Earliest Christianity, then, exhibited a pronounced rejection of wealth. The Jesus movement, the wandering charismatics, and the Jerusalem love community were all markedly anti-wealth, seeing it as a barrier to man's relationship with God. This theological reaction to money and property was exemplified in the lifestyles of the proto-Christians. There are also echoes of the social preaching of the Old Testament prophets, expressed sometimes through quotations, which offer comfort to the poor and exploited, whilst condemning the rich and powerful.

As the early church moved beyond Palestine, the anti-wealth feature of the gospel became somewhat toned down, presumably to allow richer people access to the gospel. Paul develops a "work-ethic" of sorts, and the use of wealth to care for the poor becomes ever more important.

2:10) The Church Fathers¹⁰

2:10:1) Introduction: Clement of Alexandria

The Church Fathers, writing from the Third to the Fifth Centuries, by and large adopt a rather less conciliatory tone with regard to property than does Paul. There are exceptions to this position, of course, and what Hengel terms the "compromise of effective compensation" is evident to some degree, particularly in the work of Clement of Alexandria.¹¹

With the turn of the second century, as we have seen, more wealthy people joined the church, and a way of dealing with the contradiction this presented, given the gospel's repudiation of wealth, had to be found. Clement of Alexandria (@150 - 215) in *The Rich Man's Salvation*, (1919 edition, trans Butterworth,) formulated such a theology, which permitted the rich to join the Church, provided they used a part of their wealth to assist the poor. Christ:

"...could not possibly have intended that the rich give up all their possessions, for, if they did, they would no longer be able to accomplish the good that can only be accomplished by those who have many resources at their disposal" (Ramsey 1991 p27).

This is significant, because for the first time, the rich are not asked to retain only a modest amount of capital goods for their own use, and the concept of property giving man freedom to act in a charitable manner is introduced. Countryman ascribes to Clement the belief that wealth can even become a route to salvation, through generous almsgiving (Countryman 1980 p61), and Gordon notes that:

¹⁰ For collections and selections of the works of the Church Fathers see Migne, 1857-66 (in Greek), 1844-55 (in Latin) and Von Campenhausen, 1963, 1964 (in English). References for specific works, in the original and in translation, are provided in the text of this section.

¹¹ See also Harries, 1992, pp 34 - 40, for a review of the teachings of the Church Fathers in this area.

"Radical behaviour, in Clement's opinion...involves personal retention of ownership of accumulated material wealth, allied to the use of that wealth as if it were the property of the community" (Gordon 1986 p95)

Yet even Clement notes that the rich must not be attached to wealth for its own sake, and should live modestly. Countryman, for example, notes that Clement is fully aware of the dangers of wealth, and that he recommends a Stoic life of simplicity to avoid the temptation of becoming too attached to one's material goods (Countryman 1980 p61; see also Hengel 1979, pp 223-226). This point is also well-made by Von Campenhausen:

"All external things as such are neutral, adiaphora in the Stoic sense, and the Christian is entirely 'free' in regard to them. But this freedom is not synonymous with caprice and licentiousness. All excess is unworthy of man, and therefore of a Christian" (Von Campenhausen, 1963, p29).

Avila analyses Clement's position in some detail, and finds that Clement sees the purpose of wealth as being two-fold. Firstly, wealth enables self-sufficiency, or *autarkeia*, and secondly, it promotes "koinonia - equal fellowship" (Avila, 1983 p40). Clement is scathing and ironical in his attacks upon luxury and sterile wealth accumulation, but does not ascribe to the view that the goods themselves which go to making up wealth are inherently wicked (see, for example, Avila, 1983 p41-45). Clement's sermon has been given much attention in later commentaries for its promotion of compromise with wealth and the wealthy, his concept of freedom through riches, and the retention of capital, but nonetheless, this is a simplification of a theologian who was far from whole-hearted in his acceptance of wealth. As for his fellow Patriarchs, as Martin Hengel himself has pointed out:

"This idea that private property is a root of human dissension goes through the social admonitions of the fathers like a scarlet thread. The struggle for individual possessions destroys the original good order of the world, as all had an equal share in God's gifts" (Hengel 1974 p1).

McGuckin is typical of theologians writing on the issue of wealth accumulation and retention in maintaining that:

"Some of the sermons on this theme are among the most passionate part of the patristic corpus. Men such as Gregory Nazianen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine, though there are many others, castigate severe social inequalities and all manner of financial oppression of others with rare vigour" (McGuckin, 1987, pp12-13).

Karayiannis also (1994) supports this view, finding its cause in the marked social inequalities of the day, which prompted the economic and ethical outpourings of the great Patriarchs of the church (Karayiannis 1994 p1). Karayiannis's scholarly survey of the attitudes of the Eastern Christian Fathers to wealth and poverty draws attention to these writers' profound concern that the pursuit of wealth distracted men from their spiritual quest ².

Just as the famine in Jerusalem shaped the early Church's attitudes to the rich, then, so it is possible to see the impact of the contemporary socio-economic conditions upon the writings of the Church Fathers. Avila (1983) has vividly described the polarisation between rich and poor, and the importance of property ownership within the social structures of the day (Avila, 1983 pp25-30). Gordon also details the economic system of the time, and writes of the "progressive deterioration of the regional economies of the Empire" as playing a key role in shaping the thought of the Fathers on this issue (Gordon, 1989ii

² For further analysis of this topic, see Karayiannis and Drakopoulou, forthcoming.

p92). He further notes that in their reaction to it the Fathers exhibit a unique attitude to the problem of scarcity. Believing in the essential bounty of creation, they were convinced that in the very nature of Creation, the world was able to supply ample resources for all. That many starved, and lived in acute poverty, must therefore be due to maldistribution of resources, and this itself must stem from man's injustices to fellow-man (Gordon 1989i p112, and 1991 p 3; see also Avila, 1983 p53). The solution to this injustice was seen, almost unanimously, by the Fathers, to lie in asceticism and charity on the part of the rich. Viner has indicated the significance of this response to the problems of scarcity and poverty:

"No father seems to have recognised the possibility that income or property in excess of current need might help the poor more if used productively to provide them with cheap necessities or with remunerative employment than if distributed as alms" (Viner 1978 p23).

That is, the use of entrepreneurship to ameliorate the position of the poor was not considered by the Fathers. In general, condemnation of the pursuit of wealth is indeed a major characteristic of both Western and Eastern Patriarchs and the brief review below will attempt to provide examples of this trend.

2:10:2) Hermas' The Shepherd, @ 150

This early work supported the radical position of the synoptics. Hermas advises men that all that is, belongs to God, and that man's stewardship of God's property should reflect His benevolence (see, for example, Gordon 1975 p99, Hermas 1986 edition, trans Snyder). Hermas' writing also develops the theme of the interconnectedness between the rich and the poor, as Harries has noted:

"It is the duty of the rich man to relieve the needs of the poor. But being rich he is likely to be distracted by his riches and spiritually weak. The poor, on the

other hand, are likely to be rich in intercession and confession. This spiritual wealth in turn helps the rich person" (Harries 1992 p 35).

2:10:3) Origen (@185 to 254)

The Church Fathers expressed a near unanimous support for the positive value of labour, but for very different sets of reasons. Clement's pupil Origen, for example, approved of work as an expression of man's unique nature:

"The obligation to work, then, is bound up with a God-given opportunity to exercise that faculty which distinguishes man from other forms of Creation" (Contra Celsum N, 76 1953 edition, trans Chadwick).

Yet Origen combined this work-as-creation theology with "a complete renunciation of wealth as the ideal for the advanced Christian" , whilst not condemning material possessions outright (Countryman 1980 p71).

2:10:4) Tertullian (160 to 240)

Tertullian was anxious to differentiate between Christian spirituality and secular materialism. Gordon (1975, p 76) notes that whilst "Tertullian does not rule out completely the possibility of a Christian involving himself in commercial pursuits, yet business activities imply acquisitive behaviour based on the sin of covetousness, and covetousness is a form of idolatry" (See also Gordon 1986 p61). The pursuit of wealth as idolatrous behaviour is a theme which is still in currency in contemporary debates on this matter, and may reflect the spread of the Mammon-as-idol concept noted above (See Tertullian's On Idolatry XI, in von Campenhausen 1964).

2:10:5) Cyprian of Carthage (200 to 285)

Hengel notes that Cyprian, whilst not attacking the existence and ownership of private wealth, nonetheless is aggressive in his condemnation of the use of

wealth for private pleasure. Cyprian argues that since material goods are ultimately God's, they are for the benefit of all. Those who possess material wealth are therefore beholden to share it with their brothers, following the example of divine generosity (see Cyprian's *De Op et El* 23, in Von Campenhausen 1964 pp36-60. See also Hengel 1979 p228). Countryman uses the example of Cyprian's ministry to illustrate the complicated nature of the relationship between the clergy and richer members of their congregation, and strategies for salvation recommended to the rich:

"...he advocated detachment from wealth and simplicity of life; he made use of the ideals of abandonment and communism as the foundation for *a fortiori* arguments for alms giving, he saw in almsgiving itself an assured path to God's favour. Cyprian also found himself confronted by the marginality of the rich, their tendency to be insubordinate towards the clergy, and the essential nature of their contribution to Church life" (Countryman 1980 p199).

2:10:6) Basil the Great (@315 to 386)

Basil was Bishop of Caesarea, in Asia Minor, and not only preached the abjurance of riches, charity and alms-giving, but exemplified these qualities himself. Basil organised a centre at the city gates of Caesarea which provided shelter and food for the poor, ill, and homeless (Hengel, 1979 p150 - 151). This proto-utilitarian view of money is noted by Karayiannis (1994 p13), and expressed by Basil himself as follows:

"Those who think logically and wisely will see that wealth is not to be used for pleasure, but for proper management and to assist those in need" (Volume II, Homily to the Rich, 54E, cited and translated Karayiannis 1994 p13).

Basil, the scion of an especially wealthy family, and the recipient of an astoundingly privileged education, was nonetheless:

“most sensitive to the grave social injustices of his time. He saw that the needy majority were poor, dependent and powerless, and consequently insufficiently fed, clothed and sheltered. He saw that a privileged few were exceedingly rich, ostentatious and powerful....He saw that the one state caused the other. The enormous wealth and sumptuous living of the few caused the impoverishment of the many. An unjust relationship existed on a massive scale” (Avila 1983 pp57-58).

Barry Gordon has commented on Basil's attitude to work as a prophylactic against sinful idleness, which was not an uncommon position amongst the Fathers (Gordon 1975 pp 92 - 93). Yet this work theology does not support legitimisation of the creation of wealth. Richard Harries notes Basil's view that common property ownership is necessitated by the gift of the cosmos by God to all men (Harries 1992 p37). Basil was the first Christian writer to systematise a set of rules for the life of a monastic community, and acted as a major propagandist for this way of life. The importance of his influence in this area should not be overlooked, since:

“Monasticism offered an accessible, alternate communal life-style, and a model of economic and social organisation that differed markedly from the traditional” (Gordon, 1991 p2).

2:10:7) Gregory of Nazanius (@330 to 389)

Gregory of Nazanius developed a position that was almost Manichean in its view of the evil nature of mammon, believing that “private property, riches and poverty are a consequence of the Fall” (Hengel 1979 p 151, Harries 1992 p 37). Like many of his contemporaries among the leaders of the early Church, Gregory also condemned the practice of lending money at interest, using essentially ethical arguments to decry those who “poison the earth through

interest and usury" (Volume 5, Homily 16, 18 1 - 5, cited and trans Karayiannis 1994 pp 16-17).

2:10:8) John Chrysostom (@344 to 407)

John Chrysostom - the Golden Mouthed - was particularly explicit in his criticisms of wealth, and especially of the pursuit of private property (see, for example, Avila 1983 p81). He writes that calling things "mine" or "yours" causes dissent and argument, and creates rifts between those whom are otherwise brought together by God (Homily XII on the First Letter of Timothy, PG 62, 563 ff 1976 edition, trans Alexander et al). God desires that property should be held communally, because brotherhood under the generosity of God demands such a response from man (Volume 64, Homilies on Matthew 237 C, 1953 edition, trans Prevost et al; see also Karayiannis, 1994, p34, Avila, 1983 pp 86-87). Failure to share one's property adequately with those in need is, therefore, theft (Avila 1983 p84). Chrysostom's theology comes close here to the position of the Pentateuchal lawgivers:

"Ultimately, the only ethically correct view of the ownership right, according to Chrysostom, is that it is subordinate to God's absolute dominion" (Avila, 1983 p91).

Elsewhere Chrysostom notes that "the source of all evil is excess and the desire to have more than we need" (Vol 47, Homilies on Genesis 380B, cited and translated in Karayiannis 1994 p4). This profound mistrust of *Mammon* is expressed throughout his writings, and is in clear contradiction to Clement's work. Chrysostom does not see money-making as a way to gain moral freedom, but rather as an impediment to spiritual liberty:

"When one thinks only about money...interest, loans, profit and base commerce he will betray human nobility and freedom" (Vol 64. Homilies on Matthew 263 A - B 1975 edition, trans Prevost et al).

Yet in spite of this anti-wealth sentiment, Chrysostom approved of hard work, as Karayiannis has noted (1994 pp 18 - 19), because human labour is a way of reducing the scarcity of goods, because idleness is evil, and because "work by itself produces direct utility to the laborer because he is feeling like a creator" (Karayiannis 1994 p19).

Harries draws attention to Chrysostom's sale of treasure from his episcopal palace to give to the poor, and describes his theology of alms-giving in some detail. Chrysostom wrote that the poor do a service to the rich by symbolically representing the demands of Christ, and by being present as the receivers of alms. With Basil and Gregory, Chrysostom has a tendency to view property as sinful, describing it as theft from the needy (Harries, 1992 pp37 - 40).

2:10:9) Saint Jerome (340 to 420)

The positive moral value ascribed to work was also a major theme of the Western Fathers. Saint Jerome was an ascetic, strongly influenced by the beginnings of monasticism in Egypt and Syria. The ascetic monastics had already begun to emphasise the value of labour, following the Pauline doctrine of "honest toil". Jerome notes with approval that Egyptian monasteries invoke this Pauline work-ethic, and will only accept into their communities those who are prepared to work (St Jerome, *Patrologia Latina* Vol 22 Col 1079¹²; see also Gordon 1975, p101; 1986 p61). The rationale for this busy-ness is as a means of avoiding the dangers of temptation, and this is the sole value of work:

¹² For the complete works of St Jerome in English, see Fremantle's 1892 translation.

“Always have some work on hand that the devil may find you busy” (St Jerome, *Patrologia Latina* Vol 22 Col 1078).

The Church Fathers, then, can be seen to have adopted the Pauline “work ethic”, even those like Jerome who retain ascetic tendencies with regard to wealth itself. Work protects from the devil. Nonetheless, a marked distrust of business, money, wealth and worldliness is still evident in the Church Fathers, and Clement’s conciliatory line is very much more of an exception than a rule, and is tempered even in his work by a Stoic recommendation to *autarkeia* and *koinonia*. Property was seen by many of the Church Fathers to be a sin which contravened the gift of the earth to all. Where viewed positively, wealth is seen as a means for helping others through almsgiving, but the distracting dangers of luxury are never forgotten. Harries is right to note that the works of the Early Church Fathers on wealth and poverty are:

“...of great relevance to contemporary debate...The teachings of the Christian Church in the first four centuries provides a remarkable witness to a radical and challenging stance on wealth” (Harries 1992 p40).

2:11) Constantine , Rome and Augustine

In 312 Constantine won the Battle of Milvian Bridge, and began a new relationship with Christianity, claiming that divine intervention had assisted his victory. (Sceptics maintain that a shrewd political assessment of the growing importance of the new sect was a more plausible rationale.) Kee (1982) describes the Eusebian presentation of Constantine as the Logos on Earth, with his imperial rule being depicted as the natural counterpart of divine rule within the divinely-ordered, eternal and logos-created cosmos (Kee, 1982 pp136-138, see also Eusebius, 1890 edition, Von Campenhausen 1963 p60).

It was becoming clear that the parousia was not imminent, and a new way forward for the church needed to be found, which allowed the church to live within the world, rather than focusing so exclusively on other-worldliness. The Christian Church became the accepted faith of the whole Roman Empire, and this in turn had a number of relevant effects.

By becoming a state cult, the church was distanced from everyday life somewhat, but the syncretism with Stoicism, then the dominant Roman philosophy, with its simple principles and emphasis on individual moral responsibility, compensated for this effect (Mirgeler, 1968, p16). Stoicism promoted the notion of the:

"...moral duty of strict self-discipline and the maintenance of an absolute domination of the logos over the passions and the feelings" (Mirgeler, 1968 p16).

However, Stoicism lacked the requisite belief in a single transcendental creator, and was slowly replaced by the idealism of Neo-Platonism. Still, this introduction to Christian philosophy of the rational concepts of self-responsibility, personal control and moral duty to behave modestly are of considerable importance. Indeed, the syncretism with Stoicism, as articulated by Clement of Alexandria, represents the very beginnings of Christian philosophy as such. The importance of Stoic philosophy to the early church is indicated by Pohlenz's statement that the Church Fathers

"...never tired of pointing out that all the paradoxical characteristics attributed to the Stoic sages really belong to the perfect Christian who is pleasing to God" (Pohlenz 1948, cited and translated in Mirgeler 1968 p17).

An additional aspect of the Constantinian turning point relevant to this argument is the change in the role of the clergy. Constantine created a clerical hierarchy which mirrored that of the secular authorities, and gave new powers to the clerical church. This separated the clergy from the laity for the first time, and opened the way for the religious orders which were just beginning to spring up, to take up the role of spiritual and emotional supporters of the people. The creation of monastic orders, as a reaction to the alliance of church with state, and the acceptance of wealth, is critical, because it is within these orders and their successors, that so many of the changes in perceptions relating to what we have called enterprise traits occurred. However, perhaps the most important aspect of the post-Constantinian Church for our purposes is that:

"...the structure of relationship between religion and society that have dominated the Church's outlook and action...have been rooted in the acceptance and development from the Constantinian settlement" (Shepherd 1968 p21).

That is to say, the concept of Christendom, the unity of Church and State which prevailed until the late middle ages, and afforded so much influence to the church, stems from Constantine and his explicit and formal creation of the Church state.

Kee (1982) has argued persuasively that the so-called Constantinian turning point had still further ramifications for Christianity. He maintains that Constantine's pragmatic approach to religion led him to adopt Christianity as the state religion, without ever embracing its tenets himself. Indeed, he demonstrates that the accommodation was exclusively one-sided, with the Church increasingly glorifying the emperor's traits and values over against those of the historical Jesus:

"These values, which stand in contradiction to those of Christ in matters of wealth, power, ambition, personal relations, social organisation and religion, are now understood to be Christian values. It is in this way that European history is determined by the values of Constantine, as if they were the values of Christ" (Kee 1982 p140).

Alongside the assimilation of the Church into State, the Christians performance of and reputation for charity grew, until in the "early 360s the pagan emperor Julian asserted that concern for the poor was a decisive element in Christianity's success in gaining converts" (Ramsey 1991 p264). This well-organised care for those in poverty was indeed extensive, with the Church in Rome alone caring for over a thousand people in Julian's day.

The identification of Church and State grew to such an extent that when the Christians were blamed for the Goth's sack of Rome, the Carthaginian Aurelius Augustinias (340 - 420) felt called upon to write his classic apologetic for Christianity, *De Civitate Dei*, or the "City of God" (1960-68 edition, trans McCracken). This anti-utopian work, which differentiates between the Heavenly City of God, and the material earthly city, was to have a pronounced influence on the medieval Schoolmen, and is frequently cited by Enterprise Theologians, as we shall later see (see, for example, Gordon, 1975 p102 - 110, 1986 p60). Particular emphasis is laid on Augustine's delayed eschatology, on the belief that it is wrong-headed to search to create the Kingdom on earth. Augustine's position on wealth and business is summarised by Gordon :

"Augustine rejects the ideas that it is impossible for a rich man to gain salvation, and that disinvestment is a necessary condition of Christian living. In addition, he is prepared (in contrast with some of the earlier Fathers) to sanction the

activities of merchants, and he relates the profits of merchants to compensation for expenditure of labour" (Gordon 1986, p63).

Yet it is true of Augustine, as of all the Church Fathers, that these concessions cannot be understood in isolation. Augustine saw man as located in an earthly setting, the sinfulness and alienation of which could only be dealt with by hope, and by reaching out for any resonance between the temporal "saculum" and the holy eschatological fulfilment. This continual striving to find the holy in the mundane, often in vain, is nonetheless not to be confused with awarding sacred status to the mundane (Brown 1973, p39). Yet it is not as starkly dualist as later writers would have us believe.

Equally, Augustine was as aware of the dangers of wealth and its pursuit as the earlier church fathers, whose work was reviewed above. One of the most celebrated depictions of the poor Christ is given to us by Augustine, as Ramsay notes (Ramsay 1991 p263).

2.12) Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter it was reiterated that the key characteristics of the generic ideal type of enterprise theology are, in broad terms, individualism, self-responsibility, self-interested wealth creation as a duty, thrift, freedom from state control, and hard work. A review of the treatment of such concepts in the works of the Ancient Greeks, the Biblical Writers, and the Church Fathers was then carried out, with a brief comment on Constantine.

It was identified that the Ancient Greek Philosophers condemned money-lending, and even Aristotle only approved of trade practised in a moral fashion, which did not take pride of place in a man's life. Work was, by and large, for slaves, but property and self-interest were defended by Aristotle, and

the importance of trade to the community recognised. Plato was more inclined to favour communal living and ownership, in theory at least.

Two analyses of Old Testament teaching were undertaken. The first followed Gordon's socio-historical economic analysis of Judaism, to uncover the dynamic behind changing Old Testament beliefs. From the Fall, and work as toil, through innovation by mercy and Abraham's faith, the history of the Jewish sojourners moved on to the wisdom solution of the guest workers in Egypt. Wandering in the desert again required a solution by faith, which contrasted with the development of the Written Law by the possessors of the Promised Land. The gradual loss of the Land, political independence and national integrity led to solutions by mediation and apocalyptic. It was suggested that a major relevance of this model was not only to highlight and explain the variances within the Old Testament canon, but also to indicate a rationale for the selection of key passages and "solutions" by later writers.

The second Old Testament review looked in a little more detail at Law, the Prophets and Wisdom Literature. The Law made the protection of the poor and weak a cultic duty, and emphasised that ultimately all property is God's. The prophets were seen to express righteous anger at the exploitation of the poor, as well as condemnation of the rich, the powerful, and the wealth-pursuers. Wisdom literature, on the other hand, approved careful, but honest pursuit of wealth, through hard-work, and awarded a special theological significance to individuals and families.

Moving on to the New Testament and related works, it was demonstrated that the position on wealth and property was in fact close to that of the prophets; condemning riches, a pre-occupation with making money, and the wealthy. The quasi-communism of the Jerusalem church is a perhaps extreme exemplification of these teachings.

The Pauline church made some accommodation with wealth, but it should not, however, be forgotten that it is in the Pauline canon that the famous statement "the love of money is the root of all evil things" appears (1 Timothy 6:10). Paul expected his congregations to work, and their members to support themselves and each other. The Church Fathers also laid emphasis on work (to protect against idleness and the devil) and almsgiving. Yet, in spite of Clement's much vaunted concessions to rich Christians, they reflect the Jesus movement's antipathy to money and money-makers.

It is possible to maintain that it is only with the "conversion" of Constantine that an alliance with the powerful and wealthy becomes inevitable. The church leaders begin to assume the trappings of ecclesiastical power and wealth associated with all imperial cults, and slowly the antipathy to wealth and trade is rolled back. With the fall of Rome itself, the role of the Church in holding together (Western) Christendom would become still more significant, and its part in the development of proto-enterprise surprisingly pronounced. It is to these occurrences that we now turn, as we continue the creation of the developmental ideal type.

Chapter Three

Medieval Europe

3.1) Introduction

The aim of the four historical chapters of this study is, it will be recalled, to create a developmental ideal type which sheds light upon the place of Enterprise Values within the axiology and teleology of (West) European religion. This developmental ideal type in turn will enable the analysis of the theology of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, firstly by providing an indication of which parts of the cannon the later Enterprise Theology draws upon, but also by clarifying the "Orthodox" Christian position, as it has developed over the centuries, as well as spelling out the theological corrolaries of various enterprise tenets. Thus, a comprehensive yardstick for the assessment of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology will have been created. The creation of the developmental ideal type commenced in Chapter Two, and moved from the Greece of Plato and Aristotle to the end of the Patristic Age. The present chapter will continue the process, focusing on the Medieval Age, which in this instance is defined (very broadly) as the period from the Fifth to the Sixteenth Centuries.

As in Chapter Two, the on-going creation of the developmental ideal type will continue to selectively abstract relevant axiological and teleological phenomena, following the generic ideal type, and focusing particularly upon; wealth creation, wealth and property ownership, hard work, individualism, enterprise creation, charity, freedom, family, usury, rationalism, thrift, ascetiscism, and enterprise capitalism.

The fall of Rome brought immediate changes to Western Europe, and witnessed the development of an essentially ecclesiastical power-base which influenced all aspects of medieval life. The Church slowly converted all of Europe, and thereby altered perceptions relating to wealth, work and property. The first large-scale agri-businesses took the form of rural monasteries, the Crusades generated a significant capital influx to the continent, and the Scholastics carried on Clement's work of theological compromise with proto-enterprise. Although less critical to the developments of Twentieth Century Enterprise Theology than either the very early Church, or post-enlightenment thought, yet this period from the fifth to the sixteenth century carried forward chains of thought of considerable influence. The review of these 11 centuries presented below is of necessity highly selective, but pin-points key moments and shifts in belief with relation to the major themes we have identified.

3:2) After Rome

The Western Roman Empire eventually broke up into a collection of ever-changing Germanic states. Yet, although its supporting secular power had fallen, the Church steadily increased its power and authority.

“The collapse was a long and complicated business, but in the West it was completed by the end of the Seventh Century. It was then that the work of rebuilding began. The dominating ideal in the rebuilding was that the unitary authority of the Empire should be replaced by the unitary authority of the papacy” (Southern, 1976, p24).

As the Roman Empire fell apart, the new secular kings also made great use of the Church's authority in their exercising of power. This legitimation through sacramentalism was evidenced by the place of religious ritual in the making of kings, and in their continued governance. The place of ritual and the

supernatural in the early middle ages was significant, and de-emphasised the importance of the individual lay person¹.

The German tribes had destroyed the Roman Empire's careful business system, which incorporated minted money, weights and measures, and laws concerning private property. Instead, an economy based on booty, gift and limited local barter was practised (see, for example, Little 1978 pp 4-6) . As the monks began the work of christianising the Germanic states, in the seventh and eighth centuries, they "campaigned against pagan practices, notably the burying of wealth with the dead" (Little, 1978 p6). This wealth was instead stored as treasure in monasteries.

"The influence of the Christian clergy in discouraging this practice coincided with the new appreciation of precious metal as specie, the beginnings of a commercial revival, and the enhanced prestige of monastic sanctuaries. A clear step from the gift economy to the profit economy had been taken" (Little, 1978 p7).

3:3) The Church and Early Medieval Europe

3:3:1) The Move to Money and Capital

Some agricultural ventures also began to produce a surplus in the tenth century, which was sold for profit. Because of their high level of organisation, the monasteries again led the way in this activity. By the twelfth century, the monasteries had been given such huge and far-flung tracts of land, that the financial management of their estates necessitated transactions based on money, rather than goods, for rent and tribute payments. This shift to a money-

¹"For about three centuries, from about 750 to 1050, the kings...exercised an authority which gave them a sacred character" (Southern, 1976 p32).

based system also occurred early in the monasteries, and their pioneering innovations in these two areas come close to what would today be called enterprise.

The crusades, ostensibly mounted for religious reason, also facilitated the growth and profitability of the Mediterranean ports. Indeed, the appearance of the first silver shilling in Venice in 1202 is likely to have been stimulated by the payment of a huge sum in silver the previous year to the Venetians by the knights of the fifth crusade when they gathered there.

3:3:2) The Papacy as State

The increasingly rapid urbanisation and trade, together with the beginnings of industry, led to a need for a bureaucratic system of government. The papal bureaucracy, which was the first and largest such institution, formed the model for other states. Because bureaucracy was carried out in Latin, in which only the clergy tended to be fluent, they also became clerks in state systems. Equally, given the extent of the Papal bureaucracy, experts in law, finance, and management were largely clerical. Southern has stated that the clerics had a monopoly over the key disciplines which “not only determined the theoretical structure of society but provided the instrument of government” (Southern, 1976, p38). The importance of the church as a direct influence in the middle ages can not be overstated:

“In this extensive sense the medieval church was a state. It had the apparatus of the state: laws and law courts, taxes and tax-collectors, a great administrative machine, power of life and death over the citizens of Christendom and their enemies within and without” (Southern, 1976 p17).

Education was soon no longer the sole domain of the monasteries, but was also practised by urban schools, which, in the eleventh century, were usually episcopal (Little, 1978, p26). Students were trained in using dialectic and disputation to develop their capacities, to question and critically examine their world, rather than being encouraged to practice "reflection and elucidation of a given truth" (Little 1978, p26). Here we see the beginnings of critical Western Rationalism, which was later to give rise to so much of importance in the political, social and economic spheres. The new urban schools were the precursors of the Universities which were shortly to produce the lawyers and administrators needed to manage the bureaucratic systems.

The church, then, was an integral part of this process of rapid economic growth, by providing the initial stimulus to retain wealth rather than burying it, by the economic activity and income generated by the crusades, by providing the first profit-creating agricultural concerns and money-based organisations, and by functioning as a model and source of labour for the growing bureaucracies.

3:3:3) Reactions Against Wordliness

Yet this period also gave rise to significant metaphysical and theological turbulence. Before urbanisation, the rural monastery had formed the model of a self-supporting, other-worldly religious community, which entered the life of its lay members for ceremonial events, and which preached a gospel of simplicity, modest living and was strongly opposed to wealth creation. A spiritual vacuum was therefore created for the new economically active town dwellers, whose life no longer matched the old models (Little, 1978, p19). This vacuum at the personal level had not occurred at the level of the state, however, where supernatural ritual as the basis of government and legitimation were swiftly replaced by bureaucracy, specialisation and administration. In this change of the basis for state authority, the model for modern European government can already be seen (Southern, 1976, p35).

Although the church was itself instrumental in the creation of this new wave of economic activity, as we have seen, it was by no means ready to grant such activities its blessing. Little explains that Canon Law and contemporary theology stated that buying and selling led people into sin. For example, Honorius of Autun, in the early twelfth century, wrote that merchants had little hope of achieving salvation, "since virtually everything they have they get by fraud, lies and selfish desire for gain". This is contrasted with simple life of the farmer, whose work feeds the people of God (Honorius of Autun, in Lefevre, ed, 1954 pp 428-429). Money lending in particular came in for great moral criticism, and the connection of the Jewish people with this practice of usury promoted increasing hatred and resentment. However, moral condemnation could not suppress the practice, since the increase in economic activity led to a parallel increase in the demand for capital to fund business ventures.

In the early middle ages, Pride was portrayed in church art and literature as the greatest threat to salvation. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Avarice was at least as important a vice, as studies of church architecture and allegories have shown (Little 1978 pp36-37).

Since the mainstream church, whilst continuing to voice strong theological opposition to the new urban profit economy essentially participated in it, and even in some cases inspired it, it is hardly surprising that reformist groups and individuals began to appear, strongly rejecting the new importance of business and money-making.

New reforming monastic communities were founded, in the spirit of the early eremitic movements described above, which reacted against the early churches first accommodation with wealth and state. The Cistercians, Carthusians and Premonstratensians were all products of this movement, and

built rural monasteries. However, their disciplined life and community organisation was ironically such as to turn their monasteries into highly successful agri-businesses. In the towns, canons, friars and lay people also founded and joined a range of movements which had as their initial purpose the maintenance of traditional church values (see, especially, Little, 1978, pp70-99).

“What many of these had in common was a rejection of the new, specifically monetary materialism, particularly as found in ecclesiastical institutions” (Little, 1978, p 99).

Of particular importance are the Dominican and Fransiscan orders, which were founded upon a spiritual quest and voluntary poverty.

3:4) The Scholastics

3:4:1) Introduction

The third generation of Friars moved in large numbers into the new universities of the twelfth century, and began the process of rational examination of the new social situation, combined with the spirituality of their orders. The re-discovery of Aristotle's corpus of work during this century gave a focus to the work of these scholastics, who strove not only to adopt the systematising Aristotelean methodology, but also to create a syncretistic theology which incorporated the ancient philosopher's teachings. Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, in the light of continuing socio-economic change, each new generation of theologians built on the concessions of their predecessors to accede further to the demands of nascent capitalism for liberalisation of Cannon Law and ethical teaching. Many of the economic and social doctrines which later came to be associated with Enterprise Cultures will now be demonstrated to have been first developed, even if in very sketchy

form, by these middle age clerics, using the pronunciations of Aristotle as the vehicle for their debate, and extending the Aristotelean ethical license in many areas. By the end of the sixteenth century, there existed, for the first time in the Christian tradition, "an ethic for private property, fees charged by lawyers and teachers, money, profit, credit" (Little , 1978, p175).

Before progressing with a review of the scholastics work, which indeed draws heavily on the Aristotelean corpus, it should be noted that his teaching was not accepted wholesale. The aristocratic contempt for work is replaced in the schoolmen by a belief that labour provides "a discipline favourable to Christian virtue and... a means of keeping men from sinning" (Schumpeter 1982 p 90), which was also a Patristic theme, and would be reflected in the activities of self-supporting ascetic lay sects like the beguines and humiliati, as we shall shortly discover. Furthermore, the Middle Age theologians continued the ecclesiastical approbation of the monastic ideal, with almsgiving and the conscious rejection of wealth as its hallmarks (Schumpeter 1982 pp 90 - 91).

3:4:2) Thomas Aquinas

The most famous and respected of the scholastics was Saint Thomas Aquinas (1220 - 1279), a Dominican who had been the student of Albertus Magnus. In crude terms, it is possible to assert that whilst St Thomas is clearly suspicious of trade, money-lending, and their effect, yet he begins the process of accomodation that would continue with Calvin and the English Puritans, showing "a distinct tendency to reconcile theological dogma with the existing conditions of human life" (Roll 1954 p 45). In so doing he extends considerably the moderate allowances towards trade, wealth and enterprise grudgingly acceded by the Church Fathers, trying to establish guidelines (for the confessors he instructed) to allow men to make the best of all life's imperfections, including wealth (Roll 1954 p45).

Schumpeter's detailed and scholarly study of St Thomas's work explains that, whilst maintaining that there was something base - *quandam turpitudinem* - about trade, St Thomas nonetheless allowed six justifications for it. These special cases permitted trade given the need to make a living, the desire to accumulate money to spend either on charity or for public uses, the addition of value by improving the goods in question, the variances in a good's value created by time or geographic differences, and the taking of risk upon oneself (Schumpeter, 1982 pp 90-91, Aquinas, Summa Theologia, II, 2, quaest. LXXVII, art 4 1966 edition). Like Aristotle, who nonetheless did not permit the same number of exceptions to his disapproval of trade, Aquinas differentiated between natural and necessary trade, and unnatural trade of goods or money solely for the purpose of gain (Galbraith 1987 p 27).

On matters of property, St Thomas echoed the Aristotelean line that private ownership of property encouraged better stewardship, that self-interest in the pursuit of property caused more strenuous exertions, and that private ownership diminished the likelihood of civil unrest over disputations regarding commonly-held goods (Schumpeter 1982 p92, Aquinas, Summa Theologia, II,2,quaest LXVI, art 2, 1966 edition). However, he nonetheless adhered to the Patristic view that:

"God created the earth for the whole of mankind, and nobody can claim a right which deprives other men of the goods created" (Screpanti and Zamagni 1993, p 18).

Screpanti and Zamagni further note that St Thomas also confirmed the ban on usury which the Lateran Council had pronounced in 1179, maintaining that it was not reasonable to charge for the time during which the money was lent, since time "is God's gift to mankind, and nobody has the right to appropriate it for himself, or to appropriate its fruits" (Screpanti and Zamagni 1993 p18).

Extraction of interest was condemned by Aquinas for the additional reason that money has no use separate from its purchasing power, which is exhausted in the act of buying. It is wrong to make other people pay you for something which does not exist, and the charging of interest falls into this category (Schumpeter 1982 pp 93 - 94).

Aquinas established a set of guidelines for the establishment of a "just price", with the emphasis on fairness, and warnings against taking advantage of buyers in a state of financial hardship (see, for example, Galbraith, 1987 p26).

Thomas Aquinas wrote that money was not an evil in itself, but rather a measure of the price of things. The work of this twelfth century scholastic thus demonstrated how to make acceptable the life of a merchant, who, much as the early rich Christians of the Roman Empire, was nonetheless expected to live a modest life, make charitable donations, and earn a modest profit to support his needs (Little, 1978, pp 178-181).

3:4:3) Nicole Oresme

With a lifespan that was almost exactly a century later than St Thomas, Nicole Oresme (@1320 - @ 1380), the Bishop of Lisieux, attacked the debasement of money ferociously in his *Tractatus de origine et jure nec nor et de mutationibus monetarum*. This work strongly condemned the practice of debasing the metal in coinage, and hinted at Gresham's Law, that bad money will drive out the good. His defence of the rights of the tradesman was a radical jump from Saint Thomas's attempts to understand in which circumstances their activities might not be condemned as sinful:

"Marginal and suspect in the work of Saint Thomas, trade - merchant capitalism - is central to that of Oresme. The policy of the prince should be to encourage trade and arrange the

conditions that do so. For Oresme this meant, principally, the proper management of money. It is not merely an act of imagination to call him the first of the monetarists" (Galbraith 1987 p28; see also Schumpeter 1982 pp 94 -95).

Roll also notes this marked change of attitude, and the foretaste that Oresme provided of later thought on enterprise:

"The spirit that breathes through the writings of Oresme is that of a much later age. Trade is taken for granted; in spite of his observance of theological dogma, Oresme's main emphasis is on the problems of the merchant. ... Oresme foreshadows both the transformation which the Church's approach to the economic problem underwent at a later stage and the direction which secular thought was ultimately to follow" (Roll, 1954 p52).

3:4:4) Antonino of Florence

A century after Oresme, Saint Antonino of Florence had moved on again in the process of accommodation, by making so many additions to the special cases under which a price, and hence profit, could be deemed just, that the whole concept of a just price was effectively undermined (Roll 1954 p 47). Schumpeter describes St Antonino as "perhaps the first man to whom it is possible to ascribe a comprehensive vision of the economic process in all its major aspects" (Schumpeter 1982 p 95). Antonino disagreed with the Thomist and Aristotelean position that money was not of itself productive, since capital in the form of money is needed before trade can be undertaken. That is, he believed that money has an additional value because it is a necessary prerequisite of enterprise (Schumpeter, 1982 p 105). This is a significant step, in the

recognition of the legitimacy of the lending of capital, and marks a clear break with earlier thought in the area.

3:4:5) Later Schoolmen

It is even possible to find in the works of the later scholastics condemnation of monopoly, for example the attack on price-fixing voiced by the Venerable Leonard Lessius (1554 - 1623). Lessius², however, permitted that some state monopolies might result in the public good, and also that those who take advantage of temporal price differences were not acting sinfully, since "the speculator has been exercising an entrepreneurial function and should be rewarded for it" (Staley, 1989 p6) . Molina, also writing in the sixteenth century, argued that any competitive price was just, if freely agreed to by both parties, unless price fixing had taken place. The significance of this condemnation of monopoly / oligopoly interference in the freedom of the market, combined with strong support for competition and profit generation, is not wasted on Schumpeter:

"Molina's disapproval of price fixing, though qualified, and his approval of gains arising from high competitive prices in a time of scarcity...reveal a perception of the organic functions of commercial gains and of the price fluctuations that are responsible for them...This should be borne in mind, for we are not as a rule in the habit of looking to the scholastics for the origin of the theories that are associated with nineteenth-century liberalism" (Schumpeter 1982 p99).

² See Dempsey, 1943, for a thorough exposition of the economic writings of Molina and Lessius.

Other interesting scholastic doctrines include prohibitions on tradesmen using business as a way of advancing beyond the status into which they were born - a less entrepreneurial notion that which is difficult to conceive, and which does not tally easily with Saint Thomas's approval of the accumulation of private property because it generates greater motivation (see Staley 1989 p6). Schumpeter also credits the doctors with the first theories of interest and profit, by coming to the conclusion that risk and effort have a right to be rewarded financially, and that the opportunity cost of lending money legitimates the charging of interest (Schumpeter 1982 p101. For a thorough economic analysis of the Schoolmen, and in particular the influence of Aristotelean theories of price and value, see Langholm 1979, 1983, and 1987 pp115 - 136).

3:5) Lay Movements and the Friars

3:5:1) The Friars

The influence that these ideas had over the duration of the Middle Ages was in part due to the Orders of Friars extensive preaching to the urban laity, and the innovatory use of (sometimes vernacular) tracts and texts to support this preaching. New ideas, then, were combined with new media and tools for dissemination which spread the ideas widely throughout Europe.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, outside the Universities there was a move away from rationalism toward evangelical enthusiasm and intuition. Southern writes that

“...the Friars had met all the main spiritual, social and intellectual needs that could be met by organised religious bodies, and they exhausted all the main sources of support. There was only one further step to be taken, and that was in the direction of greater freedom from social and hierarchical

pressures and a greater diversity of individual effort" (Southern, 1978, p302).

The sermons of the Dominican Friar Eckhart, for example, promoted a theology of internal personal conversion for the laity, to be expressed as a simple, puritanical lifestyle within the secular world. This articulated the desire of the laity to no longer be viewed as a religious second class, of less value than the monastic orders, the clergy and the friars. Practical expressions of this new lay spirituality were manifold, and indicative examples are presented here to illustrate the theology and lifestyle espoused by the new lay organisations of the thirteenth century.

3:5 :2) Lay Movements

Several of the lay movements are of particular relevance to this argument, since they extend the concept of godly labour into the modern economic situation. It should be remembered that the earliest Friars were mendicants, that is, they begged rather than worked, and rejected the concept of possessions, as their primitive forebears had done. Similarly, other religious orders had been founded in the rural utopia as a reaction to urban materialism. These lay movements were innovative in shaping their reaction to materialism as a dedication to humble urban secular labour. For the first time religious orders embraced part of the new economic realities as a sacred path to salvation.

The beguines were a lay sect of women, centred around Frankfurt, and first appearing from 1223 throughout the Low Countries, who dedicated their lives to simple labour, which might be hospital work, weaving or embroidery. Some of the beguinages were even self-sufficient agriculturally. The great bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossteste, a major apologetist for the Franciscan way of life,

confessed that a higher form of poverty than begging existed, "living by one's own labour 'like the beguines'" (Southern, 1976, p320).

Gerhard Groote was the founder of a small Dutch movement in the fourteenth century, which similarly preached a lay gospel of simple hard work as the road to salvation, the duty of the Christian man or woman. His teaching did not sanctify business, but promoted the subsistence labour of the early church:

"...don't think however, that I wish men or women to be occupied in secular business or human entanglements - let them simply work on those things which bring a daily subsistence from hand to mouth without superfluity...Labour is holy but business is dangerous" (Gerardi Magni, Ep 32 in Southern, 1978 p348).

This aim was thwarted by the monopoly of the guilds, and Groote's sects instead moved into the production of books and pamphlets, which was a trade not regulated by guilds. This move into the contemporary media "carried far and wide the forms of devotion practised and developed by the brethren, and made these forms part of the general piety of Christendom" (Southern, 1978, p350).

The Humiliati were a large sect of lay people, to be found in Central and Northern Italy in the Thirteenth Century. Especially prevalent in the woolen trade, manual labour, simplicity and humility were their mainstays. Like the rural monastic orders, however, their cloth which bore the trademark of the Pascal

Lamb, became highly prized, and “eventually, in the course of the thirteenth century, they became entrepreneurs and grew rich” (Little 1978, p119)³.

The significance of these three lay movements for this argument is that work has replaced begging as the most morally valuable form of human provision for physical needs. The mercantile success of the Humiliati and Gerhard Groote's sect render them particularly noteworthy for their entrepreneurial endeavours.

3:6) The Birth of Protestantism

3:6:1) Martin Luther

These lay movements of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries indicated an on-going malaise with the established church. This malaise continued to grow, and find expression in the writings of radical Church figures. Not the least of these was Martin Luther :

“Many of those who looked for a purer spiritual life, freedom from the political control of the Pope, and a more profound, biblical and scholarly theology, found what they wanted in the words, actions and writings of a German monk and professor of biblical studies, Martin Luther of Wittenburg” (Thomson, 1976 p3).

Luther's work was mainly scriptural, using Erasmus' Greek New Testament, he wrote biblical commentaries, and translated the bible into German. He did not find the two-tier religious system appropriate, with its choice of secluded monastic poverty, or lay participation in Church ceremonies. Instead, he

³ It should be noted that other lay movements, such as the Waldensians and Cathars, rejected property, material possessions and manual labour.

concentrated on faith and love as the basic tenets of Christianity. Media advances in the form of printing presses allowed his work to be disseminated swiftly throughout Europe, mostly in the period between 1517 and 1530. His theological position is perhaps best summed up by the following extract *from A Treatise on Christian Liberty*:

“ We conclude therefore that Christian man lives not in himself, but in Christ and in his neighbour. Otherwise, he is not a Christian. He lives in Christ through faith, in his neighbour through love; by faith he is caught up beyond himself into god, by love he sinks beneath himself into his neighbour, yet he always remains in God and His love” (Luther, in in Pelikan (ed) 1958-86).

In spite of this emphasis on the personal aspect of the Christian's relationship with God, Luther did not believe in the freedom of salvation through choosing to repent, but rather that, since only God has free will, man's path, and salvation, is pre-determined. This led to a split between Erasmus and Luther. As well as theological individualism, and predestination, Luther was concerned with the notion of duty and calling (*beruf*):

“The idea of the obligation to live a religious life within the sphere of the secular which is found in Luther's use of the word “calling” is one of the most momentous contributions which the Reformation made to social theory” (Fullerton, 1959, p9).

The laity were seen by Luther not only to fulfil their religious duty by participating in the occasional ceremony, and leaving a life made up of godliness to the monks, but to be obliged to make of their entire lives a

Christian labour. God must be glorified by ascetic hard work, by all his people (Fullerton, 1959, p17).

Luther's message of Reformation was peculiarly appropriate to a Europe in which rapid industrial changes were taking place. The move away from feudal country living to an economy based upon the cities, industrialisation, and specialisation of labour had gained speed, and the old way of life was practised by an increasingly small percentage of the population:

“The people who were chiefly attracted to the Reformation were the “New Men” of Europe: scholars, businessmen, despairing peasants” (Thomson 1976 p16).

Yet although Luther was clearly very influential in questioning the authority of Rome, and emphasizing a personal religion, he was an economic conservative. His denunciations of profit-seeking commerce (as shown in the Long Sermon on Usury , 1520, & tract On Trade And Usury, 1524 in Pelikan (ed) 1958-86) “are drawn from the straightest interpretation of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, unsoftened by the qualifications with which canonists themselves had attempted to adapt its rigours” (Tawney, 1936, p94).

3:6:2) Calvin

Calvin, a jurist whose first work concerned Seneca, the Stoic, had fled from France to Switzerland, and was invited by the Genevans in 1536 to work with them in developing a reformed city-state. It was his strain of of reformation theology which was to become dominant in non-German Reformed Churches, from Britain to the New World, in the Netherlands and France (Thomson, 1976, p 25).

Calvin's theology had some congruence with Luther's, since both found in work a universal duty, and a life of labour the true path of the Christian, rather than begging or monasticism. A strong belief in predestination led both to reject justification by works, however, and a life of steadfast labour was more a sign of election than a means of aiding self, neighbours or society. Calvinism increasingly moved away from the inward looking spirituality of Luther, however, to expression of godliness through worldly activities (Fullerton, 1959, p13). Both were "anti-mammon", in as much as a traditional revulsion towards the worldly pursuit of wealth for its own sake was clear (Troeltsch, 1959, p21).

Calvin was far more concerned than Luther with the Church as an institution for the education of Christians in daily living, and thus was more involved with the practicalities of finding with the laity an acceptably Christian way of living in the here and now (see, for example, Thomson 1976 p24-25).

The major difference between Calvin and Luther is, however, perhaps to be found in that Calvin seems to take for granted the commercial operations of Geneva, and to deal with these as a part of life, rather than as a necessary evil. Calvin was even responsible for bringing watch-making to Geneva, as an initiative to bring work for the poor (Troeltsch, 1959, p22). This is instructive inasmuch as it reminds of what Tawney has called the social democratic nature of Calvinism. We are not yet faced with a theology that allows unfettered capitalism, but one which permits sober business as a means to improve the welfare of the city-state, and to provide for the poor. Calvinism is, however,

"perhaps the first systematic body of religious teaching which can be said to recognise and applaud the economic virtues" (Tawney, 1936, p 105).

Tawney, Troeltsch, Smith and others note that this innovation in Calvinism is due to the location and society in which it was put into practice :

“ It was just because the economic conditions at Geneva were so bourgeois, and on such a small scale, that Capitalism was able to steal into the Calvinistic ethic, while it was rejected by the Catholic and Lutheran ethic” (Troeltsch, 1959, p 22, see also Tawney, 1936, p105, Smith, 1962 p 327).

Attempting to build a Holy Commonwealth in a commercial city-state with strong bourgeoisie leanings meant taking account of these characteristics. Geneva was not based on an agricultural economy, as most of Europe still was, and traditional agrarian models of social theory, religion, and economics were not appropriate in this setting. Calvin's development of Luther's reformed faith in this milieu produced a potent ascetic theology especially suited to the rising bourgeoisie, which was adopted by commercial townsmen throughout Europe needing a religious philosophy which addressed their situation:

“Calvinism and capitalism have been allies because Calvinism was but the religion of the bourgeoisie created by the rise of capitalism. The virtues and vices characteristic of Calvinism are the virtues and vices natural to the middle class. Industry, thrift, prudence, economy, restraint of manner, domestic virtue, are necessary to success in an industrial society, they are the virtues chiefly emphasised by Calvinism ” (Smith, 1962, p327).

Before moving on from the Geneva of Calvin, let us remind ourselves that Calvin and Beza, his successor, continued to supervise the distribution of wealth, to provide for the poor and to generate employment for those without.

This obligation to care for God's poor, always a feature of Christianity, was still firmly in place in Geneva for many years after Calvin's death in 1564.

3:7) The Wars of Religion

Not surprisingly, the work of reformers like Luther and Calvin did not occur in a vacuum, but were of great relevance politically, given their attacks on Catholicism in general and the papacy in particular. At the end of the Middle Ages, as we noted above, the papal influence, whilst declining, still maintained some of the traits of its imperial greatness, and had significant fiscal, political and legal authority. There were well meaning attempts to reconcile the differences between Catholic and Protestant theologians, with a number of councils held in the 1530s and 1540s. These failed, and as Europe divided into Catholic and Protestant faiths, a series of destructive inter-state and civil wars broke out that were to ravage continental Europe for a century until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648:

“ The century between the outbreak of the Schmalkladic War in 1546 and the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 ran with rivers of blood shed in religious conflict. Civil war, partly caused by confessional animosities, and always exacerbated by them, devastated Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the British Isles, and exhausted the powers of Spain and Scandinavia “
(Smith, 1962, p313).

At the end of this period, Protestant countries included Northern and Eastern Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and England. There were significant and recognised reformed minorities in the Netherlands, Scotland, Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France and Italy (Waldensians). Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Southern Germany, France and Eastern Europe remained

Catholic states (Thomson, 1976 pp31-33). Once again, religion had shaped the geo-social reality of European life.

3:8) Conclusion

This chapter has very swiftly abstracted key developments in Christian thought from the Fall of Rome to the Reformation, it has thus been of necessity highly selective. The summary of this material presented below is intended to reinforce those points of importance for our argument, and to illustrate that, although space has prevented much attention being presented to this period, nonetheless, developments of significant importance for the developmental ideal type under construction occurred.

After the collapse of Rome the Papacy slowly extended its grip on the mechanisms of power, law, education and diplomacy, thereby providing the first model of the modern bureaucratic state. At the same time, the monasteries were helping to establish money as the main means of exchange, by their discouragement on the funeral burying of treasure, and by utilising coinage in

their management of dispersed estates. The successful agricultural management of some of these estates generated profits, and their trading activities presented a model to other medieval *entrepreneurs*. The spoils of the crusades led to an influx of capital blessed by religious sanction.

The growth of urbanisation, as well as organised trading and business ventures led to theological criticisms of avarice, usury and the abandonment of religious values. The Dominican and Benedictine Friars preached a doctrine attacking these values to the urban communities, leading to the spawning of numbers of lay organisations, who for the first time since the early Jerusalemites, saw a direct link between themselves and God as not necessarily mediated by the priests.

Some of these lay movements, such as the Humiliati, the Beguines, and that based around Gerhard Groot, began to incorporate a practice of disciplined work into their ascetic lives. This was markedly different from the begging of the mendicant friars and other monks, which had been the model of sanctity until then. (In theory, even the monastic agri-businesses aimed at self-subsistence in rural idyll, rather than active participation in modern trade and town based business.)

Two generations later, the friars were ensconced in the new Universities, wrestling with the intellectual questions raised by changing values and practices. The scholastic theories of the just price, and the beginnings of a series of exemptions which permitted usury, were the upshot of this work.

During the reformation, Luther questioned the place of Rome in the Church of his time, and conceived Protestantism, with its increased importance on the individual, its demands on lay people's moral standards, its sanctification of labour, and its determinism. Calvin, in bourgeois Geneva, developed this further, and gave license to business people for wealth creation, within the confines of godly charity and humble living. His city fathers engaged in proto-industrial policy to use enterprise as a vehicle for improving the lot of the unemployed urban poor. Still, by accepting and sanctioning the place of early capitalism within his theocracy, Calvin opened the door to later less constraining theologies.

It is the situation in England to which we now turn, as this becomes of increasing importance in terms of international development, as well as the birthplace of ideas and movements to be of influence on the later development of enterprise theology.

Chapter Four

Protestant England: 1600 - 1900

4:1) Introduction

For the first time in the creation of our developmental ideal type, happenings in England assume a critical importance in our argument. The influence of European Reform on English political and economic life was significant, and the development of Protestant reformation theology from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century onwards in England will now become the major focus of this discussion. This is the England of the Puritans, the Dissenters, the Glorious Revolution; the England of Cromwell and Victoria; of Hobbes, Adam Smith and Samuel Smiles.

Our folk tradition of populist sociology would lead us to assume that these three centuries represent in a very real sense the cradle of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. However, only careful analysis of the key movements and intellectual developments of the period will allow us to ascribe credence to this view. It is to this task that we now turn.

4:2) Seventeenth Century England

4:2:1) Introduction

The seventeenth century has been described as "The Century of Revolution" (Hill 1966 pp 4-5). Nowhere was this more true than in England, where political revolution went hand-in-hand with theological and scientific transformation.

Whilst Europe had been engaged in the tumults of the sixteenth century, England had followed a unique path through these troubled years. At the

same time as Calvin was imprisoned in France (1534), Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy was passed in England, and with it separation from Rome. The dissolution of the monasteries began two years later, and shortly after Luther's death Edward VI succeeded his father (1547), sponsoring Cranmer's two great Books of Common Prayer. As the religious wars broke out in France (1562), the Thirty-Nine articles were published in England (1563-71) under Elisabeth. During Elisabeth's reign there was:

“...a steady growth of capitalism in textiles and mining, a great increase of foreign trade and an outburst of joint-stock enterprise in connection with it, the beginnings of something like deposit-banking” (Tawney 1936, p176).

By linking the church and state together, the Church of England became a key tool in the reinforcement of the monarchy's policies, and was increasingly used to legitimate state actions (Tawney, 1936, p165). In particular, the state religion was used to sanction an adherence to traditional values and order. As on the continent, however, Puritanism in England appealed to:

“...those classes in society which combined economic independence, education, and a certain decent pride in their status” (Tawney 1936, p202),

i.e., the bourgeoisie. That the new commercial classes were also the theological radicals led to a polarisation between the traditional Church of England Royalists on the one hand, and the industrial Puritans on another.

It is worth reiterating that it is in the rise of the Puritan bourgeoisie that developments in English Protestantism were most significant, rather than in the mainstream Church of England. Tawney goes so far as to claim that it is in the

rise of Puritanism that the true English Reformation occurred, and not in the establishment of the Church of England (Tawney, 1936, p198). During the brief reign of Mary Tudor (1553 -1559), the Puritan Radicals were driven from England, and were influenced on the continent by Calvin and Bucer. They returned to England during Elisabeth's reign, and disputed strongly with the High-Church elements of Anglicanism. This disputation continued under James I and Charles I, leading eventually to the Civil War, and the Commonwealth, when new religious liberties encouraged increased debate between moderate Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents and Separatists (Congregationalists).

In the sixteenth century, churchmen still looked to canon law, church councils and the Schoolmen to decide on the morality of usury, the just price, and commerce (Tawney, 1936, p 158). The general wariness towards all such activity remained in place. Early seventeenth century Puritan writers, like Baxter, continued to be firmly opposed to the pursuit of riches, ostentatiousness, and free-competition unfettered by ethical considerations (Sombart, 1959, p34 , Hudson, 1959, p58, Weber 1930 p157). However, as with the ascetic sects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, an emphasis on hard work, thrift and quiet living, as well as exclusion from mainstream life, led to economic success for English Puritans (Hudson, 1959, p58). This in turn led to political ambition and influence, exemplified in its most powerful form in the Civil War and the Interregnum Commonwealth.

4:2:2) The Puritan Revolution

The Puritan movement in England in the early seventeenth century was resistant to the continued secular and religious power of the Church of England. With its seats in the Lords, its cannon courts, and its support of the Stuart monarchy, the established church was challenged on political as well as theological grounds by the Puritans:

"Puritanism provided an ideological discipline that transcended older loyalties and stimulated criticism of accepted standards and institutions; it gave men confidence, courage and a feverish enthusiasm; it stirred up notions of equality" (Shaw 1968 p8).

Not least among the bones of contention, then, was the tacit support of equality which this genre of Puritanism gave, very much in contrast with the Church of England's place as upholder of the monarchy and the land-owning aristocracy. Perhaps it is not surprising that a movement composed in the main of bourgeois merchants should come eventually to challenge the status quo, nonetheless their message is indeed revolutionary:

" Their preachers taught a doctrine of spiritual equality: one good man was as good as another, and better than a bad peer or bishop or king" (Hill 1966 p81).

As corollaries to this spiritual equality, religious liberty, individualism, discipline, and self-responsibility were also hallmarks of the English Puritans of the early Seventeenth Century. The Independents, whose number included Thomas Cromwell, believed that:

"the Church should be independent from the government, and that each local congregation should be free to govern itself in matters of worship" (Thomson, 1976, p62).

This represents movement away from the state controlled authoritarianism of Calvin and Luther, towards something akin to local self-government, and also emphasises the individualistic aspects of Protestantism, rather than the national,

societal characteristics of traditional established Churches. Individualism was, it will be remembered, introduced to Protestantism in terms of the relationship of each layman with God and of the emphasis on personal election and calling. Here it has become a Congregationalist vehicle used to undermine 'mainstream' church discipline and worship. Both these types of religious individualism were eventually joined by economic individualism.

As we have noted in previous chapters, Christian ascetic groups dedicated to hard work have shown a tendency to succeed economically. Such success almost inevitably comes to be seen as a reward from God for one's labour. One's calling then no longer requires that one respects the station to which God has assigned one, but rather that one strives to better oneself socially via the ubiquitous *labour and quiet living*. Thus does economic individualism enter into Puritan thought (Hill 1966 p92).

"Individualism, as a doctrine, sees in the individual and his psychological aptitudes the necessary basis of society's economic organisation, ...by allowing him all the scope for free self-development which is possible...it is entirely opposed to the medieval scheme of life" (Robertson , 1959, p77).

Religious and economic liberty were also demanded increasingly vociferously by Puritans, from a state which had become ever more involved in managing the development of capitalism through legislation and sale or grant of franchises to courtiers. The selection of individual liberty as a battle-cry by the seventeenth century Puritans was to have consequences for their descendants down the centuries, yet was profoundly spiritual and egalitarian on the lips of these men:

"To justify themselves they must appeal to eternal principles - and the great principle they discovered was that of liberty, or, of the liberties of Englishmen. The right of the individual to live his life and to enjoy his property within the limits fixed by known law was by them for ever rendered secure" (Smith 1962 p203).

A combination of economic, industrial and religious factors eventually led to the Puritans taking up arms for liberty in Civil War, and seizing control of England (and the rest of the United Kingdom) for the twenty years between 1640 and 1660. The tenor of this revolution is well expressed by Hill, who notes:

"When the men of the Long Parliament wanted a shorthand phrase to sum up their cause they said they were defending 'religion, liberty and property' " (Hill 1966 p105).

Implementation of political theories that demanded the Church should be separate from the State, which in turn should be separate from the realm of economics and business, led naturally to a diminution of the impact of religion on economic affairs. The Long Parliament (1640) abolished all clerical courts, substantially reducing the influence of church upon state administration. The belief in economic freedom also encouraged a belief in the right to property, such a significant feature of later English thought. The work of Locke, in particular, will be examined below.

There is no doubt that the Puritans were devout and committed people, who earnestly sought to see God's will implemented in England. Indeed, this imperative was sufficiently strong to goad them into revolution. The strong commitment to liberty, independence, fairness in state administration, and equality of all (property-owning) people is highly idealistic. The theological underpinning of the Puritan movement is perhaps the most revolutionary of all

their aspects, however, and is some distance from Calvin and Luther's theology of the Predestination of the elect:

"The essence of Puritanism as a revolutionary creed lay in the belief that God intended the betterment of man's life on earth, that men could understand God's purposes and co-operate with Him to bring them to fruition" (Hill 1966 p168).

This egalitarian utopianism, which led the Puritans quite literally to attempt to institute a new society, was even to find expression in apocalyptic Millenarianism in some of the Puritan sects in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Fifth Monarchists and Levellers were just two of a multifariety of such sects which flourished during this time, and which were, to a greater or lesser extent, to come at some point into conflict with the Puritan mainstream. The Levellers are particularly interesting, since they believed in the individual's right of proprietorship (of himself, his labour and his goods), subordinated to a communitarian egalitarian utopianism. That is, they partially adopted a market-driven understanding of man, but imposed above this social obligations to justice and welfare which they intended to do away with class divides (see, for example, Macpherson 1962, Shaw 1988).

Yet the emphasis on equality and liberty in Puritanism did not result in positive benefits for the very poor. The gradual sanctification of economic success, the adherence to older doctrines on the value of hard work, and the ascetic discipline administered by the Puritans naturally facilitated alterations in perceptions of the poor and destitute. Provision for the poor, which had gone hand-in-hand with Church and State control in Calvin's Geneva, fell by the wayside, as the increasing importance of individual labour and will made poverty seem a self-imposed sin based in idleness. (It should not be forgotten that the Puritan entrepreneurs required hard-working hands who accepted

low wages to further their commercial ends.) In the early seventeenth century, care for the poor was implemented through the Poor Laws, the building of alms houses and hospitals and employment generation schemes. Over the later half of the seventeenth century this paternalistic care for God's poor was to change dramatically, so that a moral imperative to *save* the poor and destitute by forcing them to work, as slaves if necessary, was promulgated. This was accompanied with low wages and short holidays to keep them from idleness and sin. This is not an insignificant alteration in a religious ethic which had, since the first Judaic writings, given the poor a special place in religious mythology, and had a strong tradition of charitable acts (see, 1959 p64, Tawney 1936, p263-270, Smith, 1962, pp 436-437, above, Chapter Three). Here we see the example of the Beguines and the Humiliati reach its logical conclusion; labour is holy indeed, and the lazy must be saved from damnation by coercion, if necessary.

The Restoration denied the Puritans any further attempts at national implementation of their theocratic principles, and instead their diminished enthusiasm was internalised into pursuit for individual salvation, as perhaps best exemplified in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (Hill 1966 p253, Bunyan J 1969 edition). The Act of Toleration, passed in the wake of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689, permitted the Puritans and other Dissenters freedom of worship, whilst still prohibiting them from holding public office, or attending University. Denied national influence or scholarship, the business activities of the late seventeenth century Puritans became a key outlet for expression of their calling, so that:

"After 1689 dissenters had to face the perils of worldly prosperity, to which their higher code of business ethics and their more single-minded application both contributed...but as men prospered they lost some of their earlier enthusiasm" (Hill 1966 p294; see also Hudson 1959 p 61, See 1959 p 64).

It is from this period, at the turn of the eighteenth century, that we see most clearly the spectre of the Thatcherite Enterprise culture take shape, as economic endeavours become of ever more importance to Dissenting Protestants, and as such are progressively given increasing religious justification:

"Discarding the suspicion of economic motives, which had been as characteristic of the reformers as of medieval theologians, Puritanism in its later phases added a halo of ethical sanctification to the appeal of economic expediency, and offered a moral creed, in which the duties of religion and the calls of business ended their estrangement in an unanticipated reconciliation" (Tawney, 1936, p239).

4:2:3) The Revolution in Science

Religious revolution in England, however, cannot be understood in isolation. The seventeenth century was a period when new departures were made in a whole range of areas which challenged the traditional, the established. Among these was the explosion in science.

Throughout the whole of the period of the Reformation and growth of Protestantism, science had gone through the most rapid development in its history. From the heliocentric writings of Copernicus in the mid-sixteenth century, to the Newton in the mid-seventeenth, man's view of the Universe was transformed, and especially his view of the place of God and man within the new cosmos:

"There has never been a greater revolution in the history of thought than that marked by the establishment of the Copernican astronomy. The abandonment of a geocentric

universe of matter was logically followed by the relinquishment of an anthropocentric universe of thought" (Smith, 1962 p67).

Luther and Calvin (Commentary on Genesis, 1847-50 edition) both attacked the writings of Copernicus, which challenged belief in the literal truth of the Bible. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in spite of the early opposition of the churches, other sciences than astronomy made leaps forward. Researchers in physics discovered magnetism, optics (Kepler), mechanics, statics, hydrostatics (Galileo, Descartes), the barometer, the thermometer, and chemistry. Euclid was translated into Latin for the first time in 1505, leading to huge advances in reckoning, decimals, logarithms, algebra, calculus of probabilities, mathematical method, theory of numbers, trigonometry, cyclometry, conics and analytical geometry. Exploration and the invention of the microscope led to the collection and tabulation of data in geography, biology, zoology, botany and anatomy. Among thinkers and scientists working in this period were Descartes, Boyle, Huygens, Newton, Leibniz, Galileo, Pascal, Copernicus, Erasmus, Kepler, Locke, Hobbes, Spinoza and Bacon (Smith, 1962 pp 67 - 111). In addition to the revolution in the practice of science and understanding of nature, these developments engendered a paradigm shift in the scholar's perception of the universe:

"The material world was disassociated from the world of God and assumed to be rational, so that it could be apprehended and mastered by observation and measurement" (Nussbaum 1953 p1).

Descartes in particular led the way for the rationalists, by developing a reasoned approach to metaphysics quite different to the Bibliocentric thought which had preceded him:

"That the order of nature is invariable, that the scientific method is the proper approach to philosophy, that the life of reason is the chief hope of and the chief glory of man - these are the truths inculcated by Descartes" (Smith 1962 p186).

The cult of reason, and belief in the power of man's intelligence, begins with Descartes. Although a Christian himself, Descartes opened the way for the removal of theology from science, since his "Christian orthodoxy was tacked onto systems of thought as logically viable without it" (Hampson 1987 p28, see also Descartes, 1968 edition, 1984 edition).

If Descartes was the genius behind rationalism, then Bacon (1561 - 1627) gave birth to modern empiricism. Bacon attacked the Schoolmen for their inability to separate theology and superstition from science, and set out a strongly empirical methodology which gave emphasis to observation and "objective" interpretation of the natural world, free from the constraints of biblical or magisterial teaching (; see, for example, Hampson 1987 p 36, Smith 1962 p151, Bacon, 1975 edition). It bears repeating that the implication - the revolution - of Bacon and Descartes' thought was to disengage God and theology from whole areas of human enquiry, including philosophy, science, and politics. This is a radical change of mindset from the theologically driven centuries which we have reviewed to date. Even the serious epistemological differences between empiricists and rationalists do not detract from the fact that together the new schools of thought tumbled the queen of the sciences from her throne.

Newton (1642 - 1704) extended the scientific revolution, and gave shape to later thought by articulating the laws of gravity. This set in place a deterministic paradigm of interpretation which understood all things to operate in a mechanistic way, following precise laws (see, for example Nussbaum 1953

p27)¹ .It is difficult to express without lapsing into hagiography the impact of Newton's discovery:

"The beautiful simplicity of a single law which appeared to explain the operation of every kind of earthly and celestial movement was a triumphant example of the possibilities of the new learning" (Smith 1962 p37; see also Newton 1952 edition).

Yet there is some dispute as to the *kind* of God implied by Newton's cosmology. Some modern writers claim that God was needed to create, but that the Universe thereafter followed his rational laws (see for example Hill 1966 p 305). Others deny this absolutely, and maintain that divine intervention was still required to ensure the continued functioning of natural laws (see, for example, Hampson 1987 p78). Whatever their position, however, all contemporary writers agree that the importance of Newton in promoting the notion of a deterministic Universe with - at the very least - a first benevolent cause, gave momentum to the development of new theologies which managed to accommodate Christianity within the revolutionary scientific paradigm. In particular, the Providentialism of the eighteenth century (and thereafter) can be shown to have its roots in Newtonian concepts of divinity. Interestingly, Newton himself was a profoundly religious man who gave up science to contemplate theology, and whose personal beliefs include rejection of the doctrine of the Incarnation, the god-hood of Christ (see Hill 1966 p 305).

¹ This has not always been viewed as a wholly positive contribution to the development of scientific enquiry: "For two centuries, then, the effort of Europeans to master their world was caged within the limiting framework of a deterministic system" (Nussbaum 1953 p27)

This whole scientific movement led for the search for answers to age-old questions in rational analysis, experimentation and observation, and not in appeal to scripture or the scholastics. Economic questions began to be submitted to the nascent political arithmetic, rather than to canon law or the schoolmen. By the late seventeenth century the church's teachings on socio-economic matters were no longer the paramount legitimating resource for politicians or groups of lobbying industrialists. Instead, appeals were made to reason, empirical analysis and a rudimentary mechanistic understanding of market operations. Yet the Puritan and Calvinistic virtues which had been the hallmark of post-Reformation Protestant Entrepreneurs left a legacy of belief in thrift, hard-work and independent individualism behind, which formed a strange cultural syncretism with the growth of both rationalism and empiricism.

4:2:4) The Revolution in Political Thought

The discoveries, inventions and theories of the thinkers and scientists, then, did not encourage a belief in a mysterious cosmos ordered according to the whims of an unfathomable God. Philosophy too began to fashion world-views based on mathematical and mechanical, rather than religious models, glorifying reason and natural order. Political philosophy, building on the individualism of the new commerce, and the reason of the new sciences, developed theories of liberty constrained only by those laws needed, rationally, to protect itself. Particularly in England, this thinking became a basic tenet promulgated by Hobbes, the Levellers, Locke and Milton alike.

Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) *Leviathan* (1946 edition) sought to identify and examine the locus of a state's power over its members. Legitimation of (usually) monarchical or imperial states had traditionally made appeal to the so-called divine right of Kings. Hobbes instead maintained that citizens and subjects owed loyalty to the state because it provided a much needed mechanism to protect them from each other. Individuals were "self-moving, appetitive,

possessive" (Macpherson 1962 p265), and rightly so in Hobbes' view. He postulated that they interacted with each other via market-based exchanges, and that these exchanges, as well as the property and person of each individual, required a stable and autocratic society to protect them. No recourse to arguments of divine-right was required to legitimate power and authority under Hobbes' schema, and a god-less political and societal structure could be envisioned. Hobbes' atheism did not assist the spread of his theories during his lifetime, but his work is indeed revolutionary, since for the first time in the Christian West he:

"...eliminated religion altogether as a source of moral values, and based ethics, as well as political theory, on the purely human urge towards self-preservation" (Hampson 1987 p29).

Hobbes moves beyond the religious and mild economic individualism of the Puritans, to set the motive for man's actions wholly in self-interest. Since this is inimical with the Christian tradition to date, small wonder perhaps that only a non-believer could articulate such thoughts. As Drakopoulos has pointed out, Hobbes' moral frame of reference is essentially egoistic and hedonistic. Although Drakopoulos demonstrates that Gassendi (1592 - 1655) had somewhat earlier rediscovered the philosophy of Epicurus and Aristippus, Gassendi retained a providentialist God in his scheme of thought². Hobbes dispenses with the deity, however, and introduces a strongly materialist and psychological interpretation of man's 'moral' behaviour³:

²See Gassendi 1972 edition

³See Drakopoulos (1991) pp 19 - 24 on Hobbes and Gassendi, and in general for a thorough presentation of the place of hedonism in the development of modern economics.

"The concepts of pleasure and pain, as well as that of selfish behaviour, are basic in Hobbes' moral philosophy. The combination of these two constitutes the essence of egoistic hedonism" (Drakopoulos 1991 p23).

The importance of Hobbes for this work is his innovation in dispensing with God as the guarantor of earthly powers, and in his articulation of what would become known as *economic man*, a view of humans which sees them first and foremost as free and self-interested economic agents participating in a series of market exchanges and relations, within which framework the whole of their activity and decision-making can be understood. It will be immediately apparent that this theory is vastly removed from Puritanical notions of humankind striving to better the lot of others and self through a life dedicated to service to God.

John Locke (1632 - 1704) wrote extensively on a range of subjects, from theology to education, philosophy and politics. It is his political philosophy which is of primary concern to us, however, and in particular his elevation of the role of property in the lives of society and its members to almost mythical proportions. Like Hobbes, Locke also saw society in part as a series of exchanges between property owners:

"The theory which...was to become in the eighteenth century almost a religion, was that expressed by Locke, when he described property as a right anterior to the existence of the state...only the freeholders constituted the body politic, and they could use their property as they pleased" (Tawney, 1936 p258; see also Locke 1946, 1960 editions).

Locke also developed further the notion that:

“Moral values arose from sensations of pleasure and pain, the mind calling ‘good’ what experience showed to be productive of pleasure...Just as Newton had seemed to substitute a rational law of nature for unpredictable and often malevolent forces, Locke appeared to have disclosed the scientific laws of the human mind, which would allow men to reconstruct society on happier and more rational lines” (Hampson 1987 p 38-39; see also Locke 1946, 1960 editions).

Locke and Hobbes were to have a very significant impact on Enlightenment thought, and the impact of their work continues to be felt. They are in a very real sense the shapers of much later political theory, as we shall see. Macpherson has described this type of philosophy as “The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism”, and ascribes to it seven main propositions. These are worth citing in full, since the break with an ethical code moulded by the Church Fathers and the Schoolmen is of momentous significance in the history of European development:

i)	What makes a man human is freedom from dependence on the wills of others
ii)	Freedom from dependence on others means freedom from any relations with others except those relations which the individual enters into voluntarily with a view to his own interest
iii)	The individual is essentially the proprietor of his own person and capabilities, for which he owes nothing to society
iv)	Although the individual cannot alienate the whole of his property in his person, he may alienate his capacity to labour
v)	Human society consists of a series of market relations

vi)	Since freedom from the wills of others is what makes a man human, each individual's freedom can rightly be limited only by such obligations as are necessary to secure the same freedom for others
vii)	Political society is a human contrivance for the protection of the individual's property in his person and goods and (therefore) for the maintenance of orderly relations of exchange between individuals regarded as proprietors of themselves

(From Macpherson 1962, pp263-264.)

4:2:5) Conclusion

This section opened with the claim that the seventeenth century was a century of revolution. The revolutions of the Civil War and of 1688 were accompanied by scientific and philosophical changes of huge magnitude. Early Puritanism had promulgated a belief system which promoted thrift, industry, a duty to labour, religious individualism, modest living and charity. By the end of the seventeenth century this had become transmuted in England, at any rate, into an ethic which endorsed competitive trade and interest charging, condemned charity as inappropriate, was economically and theologically individualistic, and had been separated from the heart of economic theory by rationalism and Newtonian mechanistic world-views. The scene had also been set for removing theology from theories of society, ethics, and sociology. The distance travelled from the Scholastics, and even the Reformers, is substantial, yet still more changes were to come with the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution. The Revolution of 1688 brought the Protestant William and Mary to the throne of the United Kingdom, and:

“...men turned away from many-coloured visions to a duller rationality; ...revolutionary sects were transmuted into respectable Dissent,... the squabbles of Whigs and Tories took

over from the fervour of religious conflict; and ... ecstatic ideals of a radical, egalitarian Christianity were watered down into a serious-minded Nonconformity set in suitable antiphony to an accommodating Anglicanism" (Coleman, 1989, pp 107-8).

This is the context of the theological and political thread we are following, as it and we enter the eighteenth century.

4:3) Industry and Enlightenment: Eighteenth Century England

4:3:1) Introduction

If the seventeenth century was the century of revolution, than the eighteenth can fairly be said to have been a hundred years of industry and enlightenment. As in the preceding century, the fabric of society and its understanding of itself changed dramatically. Urbanisation, the growth of factories, and the French revolution are of particular note amongst the many catalysts for changes which we will now review. Although the proper object of our study in this century is the development of ideas in England, nonetheless European and Scottish thought are of great importance, and no rigorous artificial divide between the intellectual and industrial progress of England and her neighbours will be attempted.

4:3:2) Socio-Economic Trends

At the end of the 1730s food prices began to fall back, whilst the price of industrial products rose. Real wages increased gradually, as did disposable income. Workers could choose to work less, and employers began to complain of shortage of workers, and to invest in rudimentary mechanisation. These complaints of idleness, and drunkenness among workers contributed to the increasingly prevalent industrial ideology that maintained that the poor would only be saved from their own sin if kept poor (Hampson 1987, p44 Coleman, 1989, pp 92-94).

Nonetheless, in the early eighteenth century, most people still lived in the countryside, and carried out traditional communal farming. Some changes in crops grown, and improvements in feedstock, seed-drills and ploughs were beginning to take place, as well as consolidation of land-ownership in the hands of the rich (Coleman, 1989, p117; Lane, 1978 p32). Moves to individualistic farming did not become significant until the later half of the eighteenth century, and by 1740, only 3 enclosure acts were passed on average each year (Coleman, 1989, p124).

“Industry was almost equally traditional in its methods, organisation and outlook. Guild regulations...perpetuated customary processes, restrained production and protected established interests. Between 1725 and 1740, industrial output grew at only about 1%” (Hampson, 1987, pp 45-6).

In the area of international trade England was growing beyond simple exporting of a few staple products, and a surge of imports such as tobacco, silk, tea, coffee, spices, cotton, sugar from America and Asia took place, much of which was re-exported. Trade, in contrast to industry, doubled between 1715 and 1740 (Hampson, 1987, pp 45-6) . England was also involved in the slave trade, dominated shipping, finance, insurance and European fashion. In terms of infra-structure, the ports of Glasgow and Liverpool, grew very rapidly over this period, due to transatlantic trade, and improvements were made to many rivers, especially within the North and Midlands. New roads were built, and newspapers began to be produced in the provinces. The seeds of the Industrial Revolution had been sown, and bore fruit in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The period from 1750 - 1850 - the Industrial Revolution - saw a remarkable adjustment of the economic, industrial and social foundation of England. This in turn had a huge impact upon the dominating ethical and religious mindset, and contributed not inconsiderably to the creation of an enterprise ethic. The industrial revolution is also the heroic era of enterprise, and acts as an iconographic symbol for much of the Thatcherite Enterprise Traits.

The growth and development of industry across England was facilitated by great improvements in transportation, with new roads being built and existing roads improved. A system of canals was constructed which by the turn of the century extended for some 600 miles (Lane, 1978 p166, pp 171 -4).

"Exports doubled between 1720 and 1760, and then under the impact of the American War and its immediate aftermath fell away until 1780. Then between 1780 and 1800 exports more than trebled in value...The great surge in the value (and volume) of exports provided the major stimulus to British manufacturers and inventors" (Lane, 1978 p107).

These manufacturers and inventors were to change English life forever. Carding machines, shuttles, and Hargreaves's spinning jenny all began the process of automated production. It was Arkwright's spinning frame, however, too big to be housed in a cottage, which necessitated the building of special workshops, near sources of power, often rivers, and gave birth to the factory system. Once the patent on Arkwright's invention was revoked (1785), cotton-spinning factories sprang up all over the Midlands and North. Whilst water-power was the source of energy, mills were built on the Northern hills, but the advent of steam moved mills onto flatter land to which coals could more easily be brought. The need to be near engineers prompted entrepreneurs to build their mills near towns, and the increasing need for labour swelled the

populations of towns substantially. These mills were usually small, employing around 150-300 people, often women and children, and in labour shortages Poor Relief recipients from other cities could be transported around the country. As mills were established in towns, so the population drifted in from the surrounding countryside, so that by 1851:

"...for the first time over half the population of England and Wales lived in urban areas with populations of over 50,000 people" (Lane, 1978 p198).

This massive move to the towns and the growth of the industrial cities throughout the Industrial Revolution was exacerbated by the enclosure of common land in the countryside:

"In 1700 about half the arable land of the country was cultivated under the open-field system. By 1830 almost all agricultural land was enclosed" (Lane, 1978 p41).

Within 130 years, then, the enclosure of land which had provided grazing for the stock of the rural poor was taken into private ownership, and they had little choice but to become labourers on the new farms of the rich, or to move to the cities in search of work. Since work was now becoming available in factories, and mines, for the first time a majority of the population moved to the towns, and stayed there.

The urbanisation caused by the growth of factories had a profound social, as well as economic effect on the working classes. The first trade unions and friendly societies began to be formed, partly because large numbers of workers lived very close together for the first time. The removal from the village, with its established customs and behaviour, centred largely around the church,

disrupted the social life of the poor, who often found no Anglican church in the vicinity of their new homes. This left them open to the approaches of the Nonconformist churches, and the importance of dissenting sects grew significantly towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Throughout the eighteenth century, whilst Anglicanism remained the faith of the ancien regime, (the landowners, gentry and aristocracy,) Coleman confirms that, as we have come to expect, Dissent was appealing to "small merchants, traders, artisans, manufacturers, and emergent capitalists" (Coleman, 1989, p 108). He is sceptical, however, that the so-called Protestant Ethic had anything more than a "permissive" effect on the development of industrialisation, developing instead what might be termed the weak Weberian line:

"To 'keep your accounts punctual', to believe in sobriety and frugality, to worship a God who is supposed to help those who help themselves: such creeds were unlikely to have done very much for the more spectacular acts of risk-taking and profit-making, but they may have given a helping hand to the vital substructure of capitalism which consolidated and extended the market economy" (Coleman, 1989, p 108).

It was noted in passing that the age of the entrepreneur as hero begins in the eighteenth century. Responsible to a significant degree for the implementation and exploitation of the Industrial Revolution, eighteenth and nineteenth century entrepreneurs have acquired mythical status in contemporary analysis, polemic and comment. Of special interest for us, however, is the fact that whether such people were aristocrats, industrialists or commercial novices, many of them shared membership of the Nonconformist sects:

"There was a disproportionately larger number of Quakers, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Unitarians among the entrepreneurial class. Non-conformists made up only about 3 per cent of the population of England and Wales in the 1770s, yet about 50 per cent of the early inventors and main entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution were Nonconformists" (Lane, 1978 p143).

4:3:3) Philosophy

We have noted above the seventeenth century move towards mechanistic understandings of nature (Newton) and man (Locke). As well as giving new importance to the rationalism of men, these philosophical trends encouraged a belief in a divine being involved at the heart of the machine. (The beliefs of the majority of people, still living in the country, were not significantly or rapidly altered by philosophical trends, of course.) And although we have noted a significant diminution in the absolute dominance of theology and religion in the realm of ideas, it is worth reminding ourselves that:

"The view of political origins embodied in almost all political theories, ...was some version of the Christian view. The state of nature, natural rights, the social contract, patriarchal authority, monarchy could all be related to their place in the divine scheme as Providential and historical episodes and phenomena" (Clark, 1988, p48).

In the early eighteenth century, the relative peace and economic growth enjoyed by continental Europe was mirrored by an optimistic belief in the benevolence of providence. As the scientific discoveries of the past century were assimilated and extended, thinkers began to see order and systems in all manner of things. And behind this observable, rationally-ordered framework,

was seen the hand of God. Belief in a systematically designed cosmos, which was understood increasingly to be created for man's benefit, naturally engendered belief in a benevolent divine architect. Hampson examines this trend of the early to mid-seventeen hundreds, and notes a number of astonishing examples which were used to illustrate this beneficent Providence, from dark fleas being visible on pale skin (Bernadin de St Pierre), tides helping ships come into port (l'abbé Pluche), and the most useful metals being close to the surface of the earth (Clément de Boissy; see Hampson 1987 pp 79-84, Pluche 1735-1736).

These examples demonstrate that the divine will as expressed in creation was aimed at the provision of a world ordered in all respects for the good of man. The discoveries of order in Physics in particular lent credence to these beliefs in a Beneficent Provident:

"The whole philosophy of Newton leads of necessity to the knowledge of a Supreme Being, who created everything, arranged all things of his own free will...If the planets rotate through empty space in one direction rather than another, their creator's hand, acting with complete freedom, must have guided their course in that direction" (Voltaire, in Hampson 1987 p79)

Hampson cites this panegyric of Voltaire for Newton, to demonstrate the importance which Newton in particular had for the development of this concept⁴, and notes that adherence to it overcame religious and political

⁴ See also Vereker, 1967, p42 "The Newtonian law which governed the movements of the heavenly bodies was a pattern for the uniform, regular and unchanging harmony of the divine operations".

divides. Leibniz in particular has come to be associated with this Optimism, and his particular philosophy maintained that our cosmos was de facto the best of the compossibles which God could have chosen at the moment of Creation. That is, simply by being the Universe which God had created for mankind and himself, it *must* perforce be the best that there could be. Evil and imperfections were, in this type of religious philosophy, seen as necessary obstacles for man to overcome on his journey towards godliness (see Leibniz, 1898, 1934).

Leibnizian Optimism has (at least) two significant implications for this argument. Firstly, as the deity becomes ever more the object of reasoned quasi-scientific argument, He is less and less the traditional Christian God of revelation:

"To treat the term God as little more than a scientific working hypothesis must, however, be clearly distinguished from the traditional belief in a particular revelation" (Vereker, 1967, p20).

Secondly, and related to this, is the continued emphasis on religious individualism. We have seen above that the Reformation and the translation of the Bible into demotic language reduced the importance of the clergy as mediators and *translators* between man and God, and how this theological independence came to be reflected in notions of economic independence and especially in the possessive individualism of Hobbes, Locke et al. As thinkers began to apply their reason to the understanding of God, as well as increasingly identifying God with the ordered natural world ("Nature"), the importance of Scripture was downplayed. The reduction of the importance of the shared Scripture in favour of the application of personal reason and reaction to nature as mechanisms for understanding God increased religious individualism, since:

"The propagation of the idea that the truest revelation of the divine law is not through the church or the scriptures but directly to the individual through his rational intuition of fixed, eternal principles" (Vereker, 1967, p30).

Although Leibniz only acknowledged that good *could* overcome evil, Pope followed the doctrine of Optimism to its logical conclusion and decided that, as with the Universe, whatever existed must be for the best. This jump in philosophical thought was to have enormous subsequent consequences, which may explain why the following section from Pope's *Essay on Man* (1869 ed, first published 1732) is among the most frequently cited pieces of English verse, particularly in critiques of the Enlightenment ⁵:

"All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou canst not see;
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good:
And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right"
(Pope, *Essay on Man*, 1869 ed, Epistle I, ll 285 - 94.)

From such Optimism it is possible to draw out a conclusion which contains the germ of much subsequent thought. Since "whatever is, is right", a sensible explanation needs to be found for evil, and in particular for the greed and individualism of contemporary enterprise, the explosion of which must have seemed especially shocking in England after the restraint and asceticism of Puritan businessmen. This "self-love" comes to be seen as natural and God-given, as part of the "best-of-all possible-worlds". Whilst selfishness may have

⁵ See, for example, Hampson 1987 p101; Brumfitt 1968 (ed.) p16, Vereker 1967 p118

unpleasant local effects, furthermore, economic growth is increasingly seen as a positive thing for mankind - or at any rate, Englishmen - as a whole. Therefore, even self-love is good, because it leads towards the greater common good. These assumptions are implicit in the two couplets below, extracted from Books Two and Three of Pope's *Essay on Man*:

"Thus God and Nature linked the general frame

And bade self-love and social be the same"

(Pope, *Essay on Man*, 1869 ed, Epistle III, 317-8 .)

To comprehend the enormous jump that this represents in ethical thought, Pope's verse should perhaps be compared with de Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, which scathingly noted the importance of vice in the economic progress of England, and which proposed that increased wealth and progress could be achieved by allowing play to unfettered selfishness, hedonism, envy and greed (de Mandeville, 1725 edition). Published in 1704, the poem was banned by the state (see Fussfeld 1990 p16). Yet just forty years later Pope's *Essay on Man* could be lauded as expressing the optimistic and positive spirit of the age, for voicing these same sentiments. Furthermore, the contemporary perception of the Universe as designed, as functioning mechanistically towards a given end, combined with optimistic spirit of the age, promoted the notion that this end was mankind's happiness (Vereker 1967 p 36).

This contrasts markedly with the medieval and reformation works we have reviewed, where self-love is seen as a sin, and action is guided instead by a devotion to labour so as to honour God. Pope's couplet also indicates the importance of nature, and Natural Religion and Natural Law were indeed important facets of eighteenth century thought. (In some cases the God of ordered benevolent nature was explicitly called Nature himself.)

This shift in attitudes towards self-centred pursuit of one's own interests could perhaps have been predicted, given the progressive accommodation of ethical thought towards enterprise and business which we have reviewed. Nonetheless, it is highly significant, in that for the first time full moral licence and approval are given to those trying to get rich. For earlier thinkers, it was legitimate for wealth to be acquired as a by-product of an ascetic, hard-working life. It was acceptable from the Church Fathers onwards for wealth to be created as a resource for the provision of charity. The mid-eighteenth century represents the very first appearance of an explicit and firm acceptance of selfish wealth-creation, as a means of promoting overall economic growth. Taken in conjunction with the rejection of charity and provision for the poor, with the religious individualism noted above, and with the thrift and hard work promoted by the Puritans in the previous century, most of the facets of the generic ideal type of enterprise values can now be seen to be in circulation.

Indeed, particularly important for later Enterprise Theology is the concept of a benevolent Providence which ensures that self-centred economic activities tend towards the common good. However, providentialism also undermined literal belief in the power of the Fall, and Original Sin - if this is the best of all possible worlds, and God has created man so as to improve it still further as man strives to be godlike, then it is hard to also see the world as a fallen, inherently corrupt arena. Mankind as a whole and individual men could achieve some significant degree of rightness with God, and progress in the temporal sphere towards a more perfect world was possible. The traditional endless cycle of sin and depravity, only to be overcome for the elect by the grace of God, has no part in the Enlightenment philosophy. Salvation and redemption are to be found in secular striving towards social and economic improvement, and education (Vereker 1967 pp 21-22).

Whether man was free or not was also a matter of some debate. Increased trust in mankind's abilities as reasoners and experimenters - perhaps best witnessed to by the amazing scope of the French *Encyclopédie* (1786 edition) - led to questions as to whether this ability was circumscribed by pre-determinism. Since nature, or God, was seen to have created a cosmos which followed laws, however, did this not suggest strongly that some form of determinism prevailed. Equally, if man was ruled by reason, then acting in a reasonable, consistent manner to the unchanging rule of nature could also be seen to imply determinism. The thinking on this subject in the eighteenth century ranges from the evasive (Pope, in Hampson 1987 p113-114) to the confusingly casuistic. Leibniz, for example, felt that man, like God, was essentially motivated by goodness, and that his decisions were determined but contingent upon the fact that in this Universe behaviour was dictated by the pursuit of the good. Perhaps the most helpful comment on these abstruse concepts is made by Vereker, who notes that

"The hallmark of freedom was less choice than attainment, the achievement of the best possible ends" (Vereker 1967 p26).

Curiously, given the prevalence of Optimism and Providentialism in the first half of the eighteenth century, they were to suffer a significant reversal in the second half, with even adherents (like Voltaire) abandoning the confident cheerfulness of *Bienfaisance*. Following the wars of 1740-48 and 1756-63, and further developments in science, a move away from early eighteenth century beliefs in the *bienfaisance* and underpinning, if indirect, significance of God is evident. It is customary, although not unchallenged, to date the change in attitudes from the catastrophic earthquake in Lisbon, in November 1755. Voltaire's reaction to this disaster, which effectively undermined belief in a benevolent nature, was articulated in *Candide*, which mocked the Optimism he himself had held in earlier years (Voltaire, 1967 edition). In the light of the

recurrent wars in Europe, and the horror of Lisbon, educated Europeans found it ever more difficult to believe in the ordered progress of a kindly nature, watched over by a personal and benevolent God. Voltaire's *Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*, published in March 1756, is a passionate cry of outrage against Leibniz and Pope:

“ ‘Tout est bien, dites-vous, et tout est nécessaire’
 Quoi! L'univers entier, sans ce gouffre infernal,
 Sans engloutir Lisbonne, eût-il été plus mal?”⁶

(Voltaire, 1967 edition)

Yet, if the optimistic spirit of the early enlightenment died with the forty thousand victims of the Lisbon earthquake, many of its tenets outlived the philosophy itself. The mechanistic understanding of nature and economic activity was not challenged, but rather became elaborated and developed. Only the concept of a benevolent Nature / God was largely dropped from this Newtonian paradigm.

Geology - in particular the beginnings of an understanding of evolution - and mistaken experiments purporting to show life being generated, all led to a new attitude which:

“...emphasised the complexity of matter and its apparent capacity to generate life, the existence of anomalies in nature and the revolutionary transformation of nature itself over an immense period of time. Science...seemed to have dispensed

⁶ Everything is good, you say, and everything is necessary,
 What! Would the whole Universe, without this hellish chasm,
 Without engulfing Lisbon, have been at all worse?”

with the need for God as a necessary factor in its explanation of the universe" (Hampson, 1987, p 91).

Indeed, the new findings of science went rather further than this, since it was becoming increasingly difficult for educated men to reconcile what they learned from nature with belief in the literal truth of the Bible, and especially the Flood and Genesis. Having dispensed with the Bible in terms of religious philosophy, leaving it behind scientifically may seem but a small step. Fascinating though these developments were, for our purposes it is advances in the new science of political economy which are of particular importance.

We have seen how Hobbes and Pope sow the seeds of modern economic theory, and these were reaped most notably by Adam Smith. Publishing in the last half of the eighteenth century⁷, Adam Smith ushered in the era of classical economics which continues to dominate modern thought. His major contributions to economics are summarised succinctly by Fussfeld:

"According to Smith, self-interest in a free society would lead to the most rapid progress and growth a nation was capable of achieving. People would save in order to improve their own positions and in so doing would add more capital to the nation's resources. They would use that capital in the most profitable way and in so doing produce the things that others wanted most...In the system of natural liberty there were only three legitimate functions of government: the establishment and maintenance of justice, national defence, and 'erecting and maintaining certain public works' " (Fussfeld 1990 p26).

⁷The Theory of Moral Sentiments, was first published in 1759 (see 1976 edition), and the Wealth of Nations was published in 1776 (see Skinner's 1970 edition).

Smith used the metaphor of an invisible hand, which ensured that in the pursuit of their own interests, individual economic agents would nonetheless be promoting the general economic well-being and tendency towards growth in an efficient way. The market mechanisms, which the invisible hand metaphor explained, led naturally to the demands of consumers being met by the production of suppliers in an efficient and self-adjusting way.

The discussion of Natural Theology and Providentialism above will lead us to see swiftly that this theory is in fact imbued with theological resonance. Vereker notes that in Smith's work:

“Providence itself was all in all. Human co-operation...had been pre-arranged by God, acting through nature, to ensure the results he had in mind” (Vereker 1967 p43).

This first articulation of modern economic theory, then, is couched in language and ideas that are fundamentally religious in nature, and conceive of a Providentialist God who has so shaped economic laws that the pursuit of individual happiness and wealth lead naturally to the betterment of society.

Immediately after Smith published the *Wealth of the Nation*, the French Revolution and American War of Independence led to strong retrenchment in England by the political elite. Conservatism was to delineate the remainder of the century, and the national intellectual conscience was largely occupied with preventing any spark of liberalism turning into the conflagration of revolution. The Napoleonic Wars then took centre stage, and only after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 did Dissent once again give voice to the battle for freedom in religion, trade and economics.

4:3:4) Conclusion

The eighteenth century, then, saw the massive changes in economic and social structure which we noted above; industrialisation, urbanisation, development of the national infrastructure and the heroism of enterprise.

The optimistic Providentialism and Natural Theology of the earlier part of the century emphasised the bienfaisance of an ordered, regulated cosmos, within which even the selfish pursuit of wealth led to positive outcomes. Although the mid-century chaos led to abandonment of the cheerfully positive enthusiasm of Pope and Leibniz, their inheritance of a mechanistic and divinely-maintained environment persisted, finding expression in Smith's economic theories.

Other characteristics of this school of thought have been noted as a move away from doctrines of Original Sin and the Fall, towards a faith in man's abilities to help in the perfection of the temporal sphere, and a uneasy debate over determinism and freedom, with freedom being seen as less to do with choice and more to do with achievement.

4:4) Freedom and Enterprise: Nineteenth Century England

4:4:1) Introduction

Any person who experienced the decade of Thatcherism in Britain will be familiar with the references to Victorian Values. As shall be shown in Chapters Six and Seven, the hallmarks of this era for the Thatcherites were the creation and development of businesses, solid family-based principles, thrift, hard-work, free trade, charity and ascetic sobriety. To what extent this collection of principles was actually embodied in the Nineteenth Century, or tell the whole story of the era, is the subject of the final section of this chapter.

4:4:2) *Industry and Society*

Bendix (1963) has written extensively on “ideologies of management in the course of industrialisation”, and notes that Nonconformist families had, by the mid-nineteenth century, abandoned some of the ascetic Puritanism which had hitherto marked them out. He cites the building of pseudo-Gothic chapels, as opposed to very simple and unadorned buildings, as an example of this behaviour. The nonconformist entrepreneurs remained broadly at odds with the Anglican establishment, however, and nonconformist evangelism among the working classes was extensive. This preaching taught that idleness and poverty were sinful, and that nothing positive could be done by employers to improve the lot of the poor:

“The masses of the people were said to be immoral, their distress the result of indolence or sin. No educational or institutional device would improve their evil habits; only hunger could accomplish that...All the means for their relief, namely moral conduct and the postponement of marriage, were within their power and within their power alone” (Bendix 1963).

This position is in line with English thought from the late seventeenth century onwards, but we should nonetheless remind ourselves that it contrasts significantly with the paternalistic theologies of the ancien regime, where charity and care for the subordinate poor was the duty of the elite within the inherently feudal system.

We have seen above that an increasing trend of radical Protestantism from Calvin on through Cromwell and the Enlightenment was the importance of the individual and his direct relationship with God. The relegation of structural sin to the theological storeroom in the eighteenth century also opened the way for a focus on those individual vices which undermined social progress. Thus, it is

almost inevitable that idleness and frivolity became the most perilous sins a man could be tempted by. This is especially so given the contemporary moral rectitude of the self-interested pursuit of wealth, which essentially crossed greed, envy, selfishness and obsession with money off the list of vices.

4:4:3) Free Trade and Dissent

Nineteenth century dissenters developed an ideology that demanded religious and commercial liberty as the concomitant of individual hegemony. This allowed them to develop their businesses unfettered by state control, but also to pass responsibility for the lives of their workers into the hands of the labourers themselves;

“the English entrepreneurial class had found an ideological basis, on which it could exercise its authority within economic enterprises without condemning the workers to a position of social isolation” (Bendix, 1963).

The belief in dependence was rejected by Dissent, although it remained a shibboleth of the Tory Anglican philosophy, which tried to implement reforms aimed to educating and feeding the poor on a national level, and protecting them in the workplace. These social reforms, as we will see in the next section, were rejected by the entrepreneurial dissenters as an attack on individual liberty and responsibility, as well as a threat to the economic well-being of English industry. Alongside the wholesale transference to individuals of theological and social responsibility, there arose a literature which promulgated the belief that, for those who practised the thrift and hard work preached by the non-conformists, there was a real hope of social and economic advancement. The most famous of the writers of these tracts was Samuel Smiles, whose writings told of successful young men working and studying to better their lot:

"The doctrine of self-help proclaimed that employers and workers were alike in self-dependence, and that regardless of class each man's success was a proof of himself and a contribution to the common wealth. There was evangelical zeal in this appeal of employers to the drive and ambition of the people" (Bendix, 1963; see also Smiles, 1866 edition).

Honeyman (1982) has demonstrated that in fact, very few of the entrepreneurs of the industrial revolution came from humble origins, but rather that the middle and upper classes dominated economic activity during and after industrialisation just as they had before it. She notes that Smiles' work instead of reporting the reality of opportunities available to all through hard work and determination, told a tale that people wanted to believe, a tale of hope:

"Smiles was reiterating in popular form what the contemporary public wanted to hear. Industrialisation had produced so many unpleasant consequences for the working man that the notion of a beneficial concomitant was likely to be well received. Smiles' views were extensively believed at the time, and the idea that new opportunities for social mobility emerged late in the eighteenth century has been largely accepted ever since" (Honeyman 1982 p160).

The identification of Nonconformist Dissent with enterprise shaped much of the liberalism which was the trademark of England in the nineteenth century. Still barred from holding political posts, whether locally or nationally, the Dissenters turned to business and commerce to find their area of self-expression and public activity:

"They consciously advocated free trade to benefit commerce and bestowed their blessings upon expanding industrial enterprises. The morals proclaimed from their pulpits - thrift, honesty, and diligence - belonged to the market place" (Cowherd, 1959, p15).

The crusade for religious freedom became interwoven with the movement demanding free trade, as evidenced by the work of the Anti-Corn Law League, and for the fight for political reform, as demonstrated by the Chartists. The fight against slavery was equally led by the Dissenters. However, the history of the victories won by Dissent in these areas was not a smooth and steady accumulation of rights. Rather, the barometer of public and political support for their demands altered dramatically throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and was affected by the abundance of food and work, the tone of the protest, and so on.

It was in the new northern industrial towns of Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, that Dissent found its greatest following. There were few Anglican churches in these cities, and they had neither their own bishops, nor members of Parliament. The men who had led the growth of industry were barred from participation in the town corporations because of their religious beliefs. The great reformers of the nineteenth century rose from this background - Cobden, Bright, and Attwood - and fought long and hard for freedom in religion, politics and trade.

Yet their belief in freedom was such as to oppose the New Poor Laws, preferring charitable care for those in poverty, and to attack plans for state, rather than church, education, as well as legislation to protect children working in factories. John Bright expressed the spirit of Dissent, (echoing Adam Smith,) on these issues in a speech on education in the Commons:

“ If there is one principle more certain than another I suppose it is this, what a people is able to do for itself, their government should not attempt to do for it” (Parliamentary Debates, see also Bright, 1868 edition, for more along these lines).

The forces of Dissent, then, rallied to the banner of freedom, and won the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act (1828), the Reform of Parliament (1832), participation in Municipal Corporations (1833) and Freedom of Marriage, (1836). All these changes promoted the liberty of individuals to live lives free from government control, for the middle classes to take responsibility for their own destiny. Yet in those areas where legislation was called for, mostly by paternalistic Tory High Churchman, to protect and ameliorate the lot of the poor, these were not supported by the Dissenters, who saw at threat of state power being re-imposed on part of life they believed properly belonged in the hands of the people. Some of these argument have a familiar ring to readers from the late twentieth century, as a description of the position of the Dissenters vis-a-vis industrial reform show:

“The pioneer campaign for industrial reform began almost simultaneously with the Reform Movement. With its demand for Government 'intervention', it clearly opposed the 'spirit of the age' and current belief in the free play of market forces. As a result it aroused bitter hostility in liberal circles. Shorter industrial hours would destroy competitiveness in overseas markets, slash profits and wages and promote idleness and debauchery” (Ward 1970, p25).

Clark (1985) argues strongly for the doctrinal roots in these disputes between the ancien regime and the bourgeois entrepreneurs. The ancien regime, from

the late seventeenth century, was marked out by its belief in the divine authority of the head of the state, and the head of the family, as analogous to the hierarchy of power in the divine sphere (Clark, 1985, p79). This theology was challenged by the discoveries in Physics, which suggested that as God had withdrawn from active participation in his creation, allowing it to follow the newly discovered laws of nature, so:

“...man, if living in a self-sufficient world, would be free to treat the state as a machine and to use or remodel it at will for his purely secular purposes” (Clark 1985 p217).

The discussion of the previous two centuries would give support to Clark's position. Still greater challenge was posed by the Arians and Socinians, who believed that Jesus was not truly God, not a full partner in the Trinity. From this belief led the conclusions that there could be no atonement, no original sin (and therefore that man was fundamentally good and could be left to run his own life free from state or church intervention), no apostolic succession of the clergy, and hence no hierarchy within the church, or, by analogy, outside it (Clark, 1985 p). The position of the radical dissenting campaigner Price is a good example of the Arian theology translated into the socio-political sphere, and his position bears some of the hallmarks of the secularised enterprise ideology of the 1980s in Britain:

“Original sin was rejected as inconsistent with free will. Restraint on the individual conscience was the definition of arbitrary power. Free will was identified as good by the individual's obligation to pursue his religion as his private judgement led him: a concept of natural rights thus filled the vacuum created by the disappearance of Christian obligation. Civil liberty in

general seemed to flow from Price's preoccupation with religious liberty" (Clark, 1985 p330).

Although Dissent returned to the Trinitarian fold by the early nineteenth century, and the national leaders of dissent, especially Wesley, preached the old doctrine of subordination to church and state, and supremacy of the monarchy, church and parliament, Clarke maintains that at the grass-roots level "Dissent ultimately implied a gesture of defiance against the idea of a hierarchical, deferential Anglican society" (Clarke 1985 p378).

This religious revolt, and the huge rise in the numbers of nonconformist Christians, gave birth to the challenges to the ancien regime described above. There is little wonder that among the demands of the nineteenth century radicals was the disestablishment of the Church, or that a number of key votes on reform in the Lords were overturned by the votes of the bishops.

4:4:5) Conclusion

The nineteenth century was certainly a hundred years of enterprise, in industrial, political and religious terms. Freedom became a rallying cry of the dissenters, who built on enlightenment economic theories to demand the market place be liberated, and economic agents within it freed to sink or swim.

What is also apparent is that the poor, who were also brought into the dissenting fold in large numbers, were fed an ideology of enterprise which effectively suppressed state care for them as a corollary of the extension of market place mechanisms. Original sin was laid firmly to rest, as inconsistent with the all important doctrine of freedom. Freedom of choice, of economic activity, of religious expression dominated the century, and was understood in a highly individualistic sense. Freedom as liberation or justice for any outside the

industrialist class is not at issue. Here, indeed, many of the key aspects of Thatcherite Theology come together in an important manner, although some important tenets of the later enterprise era are missing, as we shall discover in Chapter Seven.

4:5) Conclusion

The three centuries dealt with in this chapter are the cradle, in many ways, of the Enterprise Ethic of the late twentieth century. Most of the ideas of importance to the Thatcherite Enterprise Ethic reach their fruition in this period, although they are often not held together at any one moment in time. That is to say, it is within this final section of the *developmental* ideal type, that the phenomena which make up our *generic* ideal type of Enterprise Theology can be most clearly perceived. Whilst the period was one of enormous complexity, the methodology under use has enabled us to undertake a one-sided abstraction of relevant axiological and teleological phenomena, leading to the following broad conclusions:

Firstly, a radical alteration in perceptions about self-love and self-interest is clear, with these now being acceptable because they promote the common good. From Pope's Essay On Man, and Adam Smith to the dissenting entrepreneurs, self-interest is given positive ethical value.

Freedom in religion, politics and - especially - trade have become a clarion call. Myths are promoted which encourage the working man to take control of his own destiny through frugality and hard work, so that he too can enjoy the fruits of success. The ancien regime is challenged for being elitist, paternalistic and archaic, but struggles to protect the poor from the excesses of industrialisation. The radicals who opposed the Corn Laws in the interests of free trade and the need to feed the poor will not subscribe to factory legislation because it interferes with freedom and threatens profits.

All of these themes are to reappear within the Thatcherite ideology of enterprise. Yet the themes that dominate Thatcherism in the twentieth century were, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth, generated within a religious context and strongly based on doctrinal positions.

English Puritan Protestantism, during these three centuries, then, moved from Calvin's opposition to wealth creation untrammelled by a strong traditional ethical code, to one which endorsed all manner of practices anathema to Scholastics and Reformers alike. By the late 17th Century, English divines had moved towards a position which endorsed competitive trade and interest charging, condemned charity as inappropriate, was economically and theologically individualistic, and had been separated from the heart of economic theory by rationalism and Newtonian mechanistic world views. The Providentialism of the eighteenth century reinforced religious individualism, and began the process of rejecting such traditional doctrines as Original Sin, the Fall, Determinism, Mystery and Scriptural revelation.

The Non-conformists of the industrial revolution carried these views further still, and emphasised the self-help morality which would enable any willing and hard working man to make his way in the world to the greater glory of God. Deeply individualistic, this theology saw charity as an evil which created dependence and lethargy, instead of stimulating the poor to better themselves. The Victorian ethos of self-help and enterprise reached its zenith in the writings of Samuel Smiles, whose work exhorted all men to take control of their own destiny and fulfil their duty to God and family by wealth creation.

Only in the England of the Industrial Revolution and Victoria, does a fully articulated enterprise theology occur, unfettered by the constraints of charity and agape. Only here do we find that the individual has pride of place as

against his neighbour, only here do we discover an alliance between free trade and entrepreneurial Protestantism, only here is charity roundly condemned, and the free practice of wealth creation not only cautiously sanctioned but exhorted.

It is the contention of this work that such a full and open enterprise theology marks a point of radical discontinuation from the tradition which preceded it. Until this point, the aim of most religious writers had been to curtail and contain enterprise within acceptable bounds of Christian teaching; controlled money lending, extensive donations to charity, God and neighbour as of more importance than self, labour as a humble duty not the sole route to salvation, and the Christian Community as the locus of salvation via charity, and humble service. This is the tradition which survived from Clement of Alexandria through the Scholastics to Calvin, Luther and the early English Puritans like Baxter. The dramatic shift in English theology that took place during the Industrial Revolution broke with this tradition, and laid the ground for the beliefs of 1980s Enterprise Theologians.

Chapter Five

The Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology

5:1) Introduction

In Chapters 2, 3, and 4 the abstracted development of enterprise tenets was presented in chronological order. This was a useful structure for the retention of context, and for an exposition of the developmental alteration in theological and philosophical positions over time. Before moving on to identification and analysis of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, a review of the historical material presented above is required, to underline the main findings of the three chapters, and point the way ahead. So as to draw out the development of each of the key enterprise tenets over time, this chapter will now represent and summarise the developmental ideal type in a subject-driven fashion. The generic ideal type of enterprise theology will once again be used as a guide, with the following constellation of topics/phenomena being addressed:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) wealth creation and ownership, | 7) family, |
| 2) hard work, | 8) usury, |
| 3) individualism, | 9) rationalism, |
| 4) enterprise creation, | 10) thrift and asceticism, |
| 5) charity, | 11) enterprise capitalism. |
| 6) freedom, | |

Naturally, the divides between subjects is somewhat artificial and much overlap remains. Attempts have been made to keep any ensuing repetition to a minimum.

Having completed the review of Chapters Two to Four, and before progressing to examination of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, it is perhaps also in order to return to some of the methodological and operational matters discussed in the introduction to the study, so as to remind ourselves of the direction and destination of the work. It is hoped that the short methodological discursus presented at the end of this chapter will serve the purpose of orientation and clarification for the reader, and will form a natural link between the preceding historical section, and the more contemporary material to follow.

5:2) Wealth Creation and Ownership

Generic ideal type articulation:

An ascription of positive ethical and religious value to wealth creation.

A related theological approval of property / wealth ownership, rather than ascetic poverty.

The Ancient Greeks disapproved of the pursuit of wealth as the key aim in man's life. It should, however, be noted that Aristotle sees "natural" chrematistics (making money without lending it) as a legitimate way of doing away with poverty and increasing the well-being of city state, and of funding public works.

One of the key motives of self-love is the accumulation about one's person of the prizes of wealth creation. The cult of individualism is the cult of personal property. This contrasts with shared property-holding, and other expressions of communitarian ideals. Plato's resistance to the accumulation of personal property is marked, and he held an essentially idealistic communitarian position. This is to be

contrasted with Aristotle, who was a firm supporter of the private ownership of property.

Gordon noted the view of God's participation in innovation and material development, as man strives to meet changing needs in early Old Testament. In his example of Cain's descendants, he maintains that proto-enterprise and wealth creation are seen to be God given in these Genesis stories:

"Economic development is born of the merciful response of Yahweh ...to men's mistakes and misdeeds" (Gordon 1986 p45).

The notion of wealth creation as responsible stewardship may perhaps be perceived in Gordon's *Wisdom solutions*, where cleverness and ingenuity in stewardship, as in the Joseph story, lead to material prosperity.

However, this very conditional approval of material well-being as a sign of God's favour, is tempered by a thorough-going respect for the environment as God's own property and creation. Rituals such as that of the first fruit, of tithing, symbolise the readiness to return the Land to God. In Deuteronomy, the Promised Land is a gift from God, along with all it contains. As well as respecting the integrity of creation, this also means that all transactions take place within the milieu of the divine ethic, which includes protecting the poor, fairness, and justice.

Although the Pentateuchal Law protects property, for example by its laws against theft and envy, it is not as strong as other contemporary codes in this area, not having the death penalty for property related offences. We have also noted above that for the Jews of the Old Testament, the Land and all it contained

belonged ultimately to God, so that all personal property was essentially contingent.

It was discovered that in the New Testament, selfless poverty is seen as the model of sanctity. As with Moses and Abraham, one is asked to give up important things to follow Christ. Unlike Moses and Abraham, no material reward for this sacrifice is proffered. Freedom in the Jesus movement was freedom from possessions, not freedom to acquire them. The life and preaching of the New Testament wandering charismatics was marked out by acute asceticism and rejection of family, home and material possessions. In Chapter Two, a number of examples of New Testament apophthegmata were cited- especially from the synoptics - which demonstrate this attitude towards voluntary poverty and wealth creation. Service to Mammon was depicted as idolatrous since it gets in the way of a properly dependent relationship with God. Where wealth is written or spoken of with some approval in the Gospels, it is in terms of provision of financial and material support, and especially of the occasional feast for the Jesus movement. (This endearing enjoyment of parties is at odds with their otherwise ascetic behaviour!) Slavery to the idol of material possessions is a key theme of Christian theology from the New Testament through the Church Fathers to the present day mainstream theologians of Chapter Eight, as we shall see.

Paul's position on the modest accumulation of wealth being approved of as a mechanism for generating cash for charity may be seen as a form of stewardship theology; wealth-creation as a means of caring for the human parts of God's creation.

The theme of wealth creation and work as creativity, which would seem to have its roots in the Genesis Eden myths, does not re-emerge until much later, in the

work of Origen (c.185 - 254). Origen saw in work a unique opportunity for man to engage in the process of creativity, which marked him out as God's special creature, and distinct from other animals.

Although as odds with most of the Church Fathers, Clement developed the Pauline line and wrote a theology which legitimated the pursuit of wealth as a means of providing for the poor. Retention of personal wealth was acceptable as long as it was used for the benefit of the community. The other church fathers, as we saw, were close to the position of the prophets and the gospels in their rejection of the pursuit of wealth as something inherently dangerous, which led one away from the path of righteousness.

Wealth-creation is rarely possible without the investment of capital, and it was the church which converted the German tribes away from their practice of burying treasure. Other medieval advancements towards the practice of wealth creation were also instituted by the church. We have seen how monasteries in the middle ages were the first proto-business to generate profits, and to use money as a regular means of exchange.

This was almost inevitably followed by the Schoolmen, in the first European Universities, developing a theology of wealth-creation more extensive and generous than that of Clement, which permitted money-lending under certain stringent conditions, and approved of the holding of private wealth as a way of ensuring better stewardship and harder work. In the two hundred years that separates Aquinas (1220 - 1279) from Antonino of Florence, major strides were taken in the religious licensing of trade and enterprise. Sixteenth century schoolmen, like Lessius and Molina, even developed theories which approved of competitive pricing and condemned monopolies.

Although these theologies, described in more detail in Chapter Three, clearly moved away from the criticism of wealth creation expounded by the Church Fathers, they were contemporaneous with other Church movements which preached poverty and asceticism. These found expression in lay sects, which attempted to live self-sufficient lives, but often ended up as wealthy entrepreneurial groups by dint of hard work and puritanical living. Nonetheless, the rationales for the acceptability of wealth creation continued to see it as a respectable by-product of hard work, and sober living, the main benefit of which was the wherewithal for charity.

This hard work - in whatever calling God had chosen for one - was given great legitimacy at the Reformation, by Calvin and Luther. Calvin in particular, with his support for thrift, hard work, and honest trade, set the scene for the eventual legitimization of wealth creation. It will be recalled that the great divines of the Reformation nonetheless expected the charitable tradition of the Church to be continued, and that Calvin introduced watchmaking to Geneva as an employment generation programme. Wealth creation is acceptable as a means (of avoiding sin, alleviating poverty, and providing charity), and never as an end in itself. Thus even Calvin and Luther remain opposed to usury.

After the Glorious Revolution in England, ascetic Puritanism turned into Dissent, and the Industrial Revolution saw the age of the entrepreneur come into its own. The pursuit of individual fortune became a well-trodden path for the inheritors of Puritanism, and Lane notes that although only 3% of the population, the Dissenters comprised about 50% of the inventors and entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution. Wealth creation had become a way of life, legitimated in its own

economic terms, and no longer needing recourse to theological arguments about stewardship or charity.

The work of Adam Smith, in particular, demonstrated that the individual pursuit of wealth creation would lead to a better and wealthier society for all. Legitimation had been achieved. Wealth-creation came to be associated ever more closely with individualism, and with economic individualism in particular. This discussion is therefore resumed below, in conjunction with individualism, from which, from Hobbes and Smith onwards, it is disingenuous in the extreme to disentangle it.

5:3) Hard Work

Generic ideal type articulation:

A strong belief in the positive moral value of hard work, or labour, justified in doctrinal terms.

Gordon points out that in the Genesis stories, following the Fall man HAS to work to clothe, feed and shelter himself. Is toil thus a divine commandment, as Luther would have us believe? We noted Agrell's discussion of the Hebrew text which indicates that work is at best theologically ambiguous, since creative care of the garden pre-Fall was a blessing and a gift. Following the expulsion, the difficulty of work, the loss of Utopia and man's new self-reliance should be seen as a curse. This would seem to suggest that those aspects of hard work most valued by Enterprise Theologians are, in this section of the Old Testament, actually perceived as a curse, a punishment.

In parts of the Pentateuch work is given approval, and its rewards recognised as valid and earned. Nonetheless, protection of the poor from the rich and greedy is

a constant theme, so that even this approval is tempered and strongly conditional upon proper behaviour. It is only in the Wisdom literature that the hard working, and their economic well-being, praised wholeheartedly over against the poor and "lazy". Only here is it explicitly stated that work is a blessing which will result in material well-being.

Work is not a prevalent theme of gospels, but re-emerges in the Pauline cannon, where the responsibility to work so as to achieve self-sufficiency, is explicitly stated. The Church Fathers, although strongly critical of the pursuit of wealth, nonetheless see in work a form of discipline which would help Christians to avoid the temptations which the devil would otherwise trap them with. Monasticism, with its hard-working self-supporting communities also re-inforced this view.

It has been noted above that the Scholastics, specifically Aquinas, approved of private ownership on the grounds that it encouraged harder work. The lay sects of the middle ages, founded in response to the personal and direct salvation preached by the friars, aimed to live godly lives in a way hitherto reserved for the clergy and monks. The basic position of these sects was seen above to be well expressed by Gerhard Groote in the fourteenth century, when he noted that "labour is holy but business is dangerous" (Gerardi Magni, Ep 32 in Southern, 1978 p348). In spite of the paradoxical fact that both monasteries and lay sects tended to end up fairly wealthy as a result of their labour, dedication and quiet living, there remained a strong antipathy to the pursuit of wealth *per se* in these groups. Nonetheless, the move away from the wandering preachers who begged to provide for themselves, to the sanctification of self-sufficient and hard-working communities, which occurred in the middle of this millennium, is worth note.

The sanctification of the secular calling reached its full articulation with Luther in the middle of the sixteenth century. Godly labour was given a new halo of spiritual meaning, which gave emphasis to the notion of individual salvation, although the move away from determinism was slow. Calvin and Luther both saw a life of steady work as a sign of election, rather than a route per se to salvation.

It is with the rise of Puritanism in England that these ideas took another leap forwards. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Puritan theologies of hard work as the route to salvation had taken root to such an extent that the necessity developed of making the poor work, in order to save their souls. Low wages - even none at all - and few holidays, were ostensibly enacted to keep the poor from idleness and temptation. Laziness has become a greater sin than lack of generous charity for God's poor. In the nineteenth century, this belief that the only help one could give the poor was to pay them little and keep them hungry had become part of what Bendix describes as a managerial ideology.

As structural sin - institutionalised poverty and oppression - became downplayed, and individualistic religion grew in importance, it was perhaps to be expected that individual sin would also gain in importance. However, these sins did not include greed, selfishness, idolatry and envy, but rather laziness and frivolity. Again, a major theological shift has taken place. This was supported by a whole exhortative literature, which promoted self-help, thrift and hard work as the route to the holy rewards of social and economic advancement.

5:4) Individualism

Generic ideal type articulation:

A belief in individualism, as a religious and economic concept, over against communitarianism.

In the vast majority of the Old Testament, the communitarian nature of the People of Israel is of much more importance than any notions of individualism. Self-understanding and identity is bound up with nationhood and cult, and traces of this are still very much in evidence in contemporary Jewish communities.

The Prophetic attacks on self-interest are numerous and strongly condemnatory in tone. Heaton interprets Amos's writings as an explicit attack on self-interest and the pursuit of wealth and power, and Amos's themes were those of most other Old Testament prophets.

The universalism of the Wisdom literature moves away from the cultic community of the Israelite nation, which was collapsing in national disaster and diaspora, towards a focus on the individual and the family. This theology is very different from either Prophets or the Pentateuch, or, indeed, the New Testament, and should therefore not be taken as representative of the Judaeo-Christian faith(s).

The New Testament portrays a succession of communities. This is seen in the wandering charismatics with their small permanent bands who were supported by rural communities, as in the Jesus movement. It is perhaps most clearly apparent in the Jerusalem love community, but is also evident in the Pauline church-based communities of the Mediterranean. These grew into tightly knit religious groups,

where the rich members were welcomed as providers of monies for caring for poor - both inside and outside the church. The property of the rich was to be used for the benefit of the church community (locally and internationally), and also for charitable care of all those in need locally. Although Paul placed more emphasis than the gospels upon individual salvation, nonetheless this is articulated in the setting of the caring community.

The Church Fathers by and large followed an Old Testament line in seeing wealth as belonging first to God and secondly to the community, and only in a very contingent way to the individual. The idealised life of the monasteries saw to it that the concept of community continued to figure largely in religious thought. As Christianity spread, the parish-system, with the priest or local monastery at its heart, kept community at the centre of religion.

However, in the sixteenth century Luther broke this mould by emphasising the role of the individual lay person in relation to God, and much reducing the dependence of the individual believer on both church and pastor. Yet man was still not free to pursue salvation, since God had predetermined who would be saved.

The early seventeenth century English Puritans developed further this doctrine of spiritual equality, which placed upon individuals the responsibility for self-discipline and moral rectitude. Given that the Puritans were largely composed of the new merchant bourgeoisie, small wonder that this struggle for religious independence and liberty was soon allied to the drive towards political liberty and economic independence. It will be recalled that the slogan of the Long Parliament during the Interregnum was 'religion, liberty and property'.

The links between economic independence and self-interest were articulated by Hobbes, who indeed based an entire (atheistic) ethical structure on selfish individual urges towards self-preservation. Locke's theories of moral values rising from pleasure and pain - as being essentially hedonistic - seemed to provide a way of understanding man's behaviour without the need to invoke God. Individualism, freedom, property, and acquisitiveness were purported for the first time to be legitimate and very real facets of human nature.

The Optimism of the first half of the eighteenth century promoted the belief that "whatever is, is right" (Pope). Thus, even things which seem wrong, if part of the system established by Providence, must be part of the divine plan. It was God and Nature, writes Pope, who had ensured that self-love and social-love be identical in outcome. The individual pursuit of wealth would lead to good for all.

It will be remembered that only forty years before Pope's *Essay on Man*, de Mandeville had parodied the making of vices into virtues in his suppressed *Fable of the Bees*. This is an indication of how swiftly the views of the educated Europeans were changing, and the change is critical to this thesis. For the first time theological and ethical approval is given to attempts to get rich, motivated wholly by self-interest and material acquisitiveness. This is far removed from wealth as an incidental reward of acetic hard work, and as a resource for charitable giving, which had been the mainstream position from the Greeks and the Old Testament onwards. Minor alterations in earlier theology had permitted usury, profit and some retention of property, but the wholesale approval of personal greed had been simply inconceivable. This is as true of Cromwell and Calvin as of Aristotle and Amos.

Adam Smith added to this position the Providentialism of his invisible hand, providing a *greater-good* argument for individual greed, by arguing that economic self-interest, given free rein by a liberal state, would lead to the highest level of national economic development. Although by the time Smith wrote, the Optimism of the earlier part of the Eighteenth Century had been largely abandoned elsewhere, still in his concept of the Invisible Hand, mechanistic Providentialism is clearly and explicitly evident, having survived the death of Bienfaisance.

5:5) Enterprise Creation

Generic ideal type articulation:

A particularly emphatic support, justified on moral grounds, for the creation of business enterprises as the most ethically sound of all "callings".

The above discussion on the subject of wealth creation has demonstrated that the pursuit of one's personal economic betterment through entrepreneurship was not to receive moral approbation until the time of the Dissenters. The Ancient Greeks, Old and New Testament, Church Fathers, Scholastics and Reformers all remained suspicious of trade and enterprise creation.

There are, however, a few notable exceptions to this position which merit mention. Firstly, it is possible to interpret some aspects of the Genesis stories, where God assists in innovation and material development, as representing divine approval for proto-enterprise. Gordon, as noted above, uses the example of Cain's descendants.

Secondly, the more expansive, internationalist theology of later Wisdom gave approval to merchant trade with other nations, as a part of its universalist tendency. Thirdly, this approval of international trade is echoed in the Church Fathers, who see the merchants who reallocate goods from areas of abundance to areas of scarcity as playing an important, and morally valuable, role in the sharing out of the bounty of God's creation. Finally, Oresme was seen to place great emphasis on the role of the merchant, and to demand careful management of money by rulers so as to facilitate trade. Nevertheless, these exceptions are noticeable for their rarity, and the angle at which they stand to the bulk of the tradition.

It was only possible for enterprise creation to receive full moral approbation when certain other tenets had been fully accepted. Thus, a positive view of wealth creation, of profit, of individualism, and of hard work were all required before the entrepreneurship which combines them all could be accorded full ethical and religious approbation. Specifically, the following developments were a prerequisite of emphatic, and morally justified, support for enterprise creation:

1. The Scholastics' re-interpretation of tradition to license usury, trade and profit (however reservedly).
2. The Reformation doctrine of calling (*beruf*), and of individual salvation.
3. The Puritan doctrines of self-responsibility and hard-work.
4. Hobbes' and Locke's "political theory of possessive individualism".
5. The post-enlightenment emphasis upon rationalism.

6. The Smithian understanding of the pursuit of personal economic objectives as enhancing the general good.
7. The elevation of the fight for free trade to the moral and religious plane.

This set of circumstances, as the above discussion has shown, was only to be achieved in the time of the Dissenters, who formed the bedrock of enterprise in the early years of the Industrial Revolution. It was to reach its zenith in the self-help ethic of the Victorians, as articulated by Samuel Smiles. It should be noted that whole-hearted approval of enterprise-creation is thus a late development in the tradition, and is only present as a foot-note in the rare examples taken from the earlier material.

5:6) Charity

Generic ideal type articulation:

An approval of charity, rather than centralised provision, in the solution of social problems.

To what extent has (voluntary) charity been discovered to have won approval from the tradition? How does this relate to other ideas concerning centralised provision? Neither of these questions can be answered without an understanding of the tradition's theology of the state, which therefore places first call upon our attention:

5:6:1) Theology of the State

There is no doubt that the cultic community of the Nation of Israel, under the Law of Pentateuch, is a model of a strong state. Nonetheless, as we have noted above, much of the Law was expressly written to assist and protect the poor and weak. Even the courtly Wisdom literature makes clear that oppression and tyranny was not considered consistent with kingship.

The Apocalyptic literature is worth mention here as a form of political and spiritual protest against occupations by empire - whether Babylonian (Old Testament Apocalyptic) or Roman (Revelations). A strong state is a Godly state, trying to enact the will of God.

Constantine's conversion for the first time allied the church with the Roman state, which had been persecuting it for two and a half centuries. For the first time the Church became an organ of great secular power and wealth, and the establishment of monastic orders may be seen as a form of reaction against this move away from the radical Christianity of the early church. Kee has maintained that with the Constantinian turning point, the values of the State - "wealth, power, ambition" - become the values of the Church, and that this was to have significant impact upon the development of theology and actions of church. Indeed, after the collapse of Rome, it was essentially replaced by the Vatican as a cohesive controlling bureaucracy. The very model of the strong modern state can be seen to have been created by the medieval catholic church, which continued to legitimate medieval kingship by rituals at coronations.

The Reformation, and the subsequent wars of religion, separated the Vatican from secular power in Europe to a large extent. However, in England the establishment of the Church of England as the state church saw to it that the Church - State link

was as strong, if not stronger, than ever. The rise of the dissenting Protestant sects, outwith the bonds of the state church, were to play a profound role in the development of the Enterprise Culture, and challenged the ancien regime's adhesion of religion and governmental power. Indeed, it is ironic that those most responsible for the development of the cult of enterprise in England, and in the promotion of its values, were also those who fought most strongly against the rule of law of the established church and the monarchy. Eventually this became modified into the movement for the liberation of trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Adam Smith had noted that the only three legitimate activities of government were law and order, defence and erecting a limited number of public works. The Dissenters in the nineteenth century fought hard to limit the state's activities in the economic sphere, and demanded economic freedom alongside the religious freedoms still denied to them. What they did not support was legislation to protect the poor from oppression and danger in the workplace, seeing this as unwarranted interference in economic and industrial life. (It is perhaps worth remembering at this point that the sole rationale of many of Pentateuchal Laws was the protection of the poor and weak.)

5:6:2) State Welfare Provision

As has been repeatedly noted above, the Old Testament paints a picture of what may perhaps be anachronistically termed welfare state collectivism. The Pentateuchal Law legislates for social action in the here and now, to protect the poor and weak by debt-forgiveness, by the Jubilee legislation, by prohibitions of bribery in court and so forth. This represents a very practical commitment to the enactment of the will of God in the every day life of the people. There is no hint of

any duality between the spiritual and material life of the people, which are part of a seamless whole before God.

Curiously, the seventeenth century Puritans did believe that their interventions in the state and the economy - very much in the here and now - were an attempt to see what they perceived to be God's will enacted in England. It is difficult to imagine a more "interventionist" form of religious expression than revolution and wholesale reformation, yet this is precisely what was attempted by these Utopians.

Nineteenth century industrial ideology rejected the idea of state assistance for the poor and weak, and increasingly moved away from national-level "social engineering". However, one must not overlook the charity and municipal philanthropy which was also a hallmark of the age of Victorian Enterprise, and the example of the Quaker industrialists, and New Lanark, remind us that care for the poor and duty towards the weak did not entirely disappear.

5:6:3) Charity

One of Aristotle's justifications for wealth-creation was that it provided the wherewithal for the creation of public works. This linkage between the generation of funds for charitable donation, and limited approval of wealth creation, was a major and recurrent theme in the developmental ideal type presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The few passages in the works of the Jesus movement which seem to reflect a positive attitude to wealth, do so within the context of charitable giving to the wandering ascetics. The Jerusalem Love Community was entirely dependant upon charity, and was established on a basis of mutual support through donation of assets to the community. Paul spent a large part of his ministry raising funds to support this community, and has, not surprisingly, a strong theology

of charity, as we have seen. As with Aristotle, this is linked to a modest approval of wealth creation, so as to support charity, but also so as to enable self-sufficiency.

The myriad writings of the Church Fathers upon the gross economic imbalances of their day see the solution to these problems in massive charitable giving on the part of the rich. John Chrysostom even calculates at one point that the rich have sufficient funds to alleviate poverty in Constantinople, should they engage in voluntary redistribution. Failure to engage in charitable giving is described as theft, since God intended all things to be held in common. For Patriarchs like Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, charity is simply returning to other people what is rightfully theirs.

Basil is a fine example of charitable activity in practice, and his hospitals, almshouses, and kitchens were so extensive as to be described as a town! The first serious and sustained defence of wealth retention - Clement's *Rich Man's Salvation* - uses as its grounding the argument that without wealth, charity is not possible.

In Medieval times, the Church, and especially the monasteries, became the major recipient of charitable donations, which they then redirected themselves towards the poor. Calvin and Luther retained the belief that wealth was only acceptable as a means of, among other things, charitable giving.

As wealth creation and retention became justifiable in their own right, following the persuasive arguments of Hobbes, Locke and Smith, the link with charitable giving was somewhat weakened. Also, providing sustenance to the idle poor came to be seen, especially by the Dissenters, as a way of leading them into sin.

Rather, the provision of hard work, at minimal wages, was the expression of true care for the immortal souls of the poor.

The Victorian age saw the re-birth of charity as a great virtue, and the philanthropic entrepreneurs of this age cannot be denied the monuments which witness to their generosity to this day: schools, hospitals, almshouses, parks, housing schemes and other public buildings provide teleological support for Aristotle's axiological statement.

Charity, then, has a long and noble history within the developmental ideal type of Western Theology. Nonetheless, this is concomitant with a theology of the state which demands justice and fairness for the poor, and legislation which reflects the demands of God in these areas.

5:7) Freedom

Generic ideal type articulation:

The award of an over-riding moral status to the right of the individual to freedom.

In classical works, freedom is much less strong a motive than duty. Moral rectitude emerges from following one's duty, whether this be the Old Testament moral code as expressed in Law, or Platonic self-realisation. In the Judaic canon in particular, the contingency of man upon God - mankind's essential dependence - makes freedom a concept almost lacking in meaning.

Gordon describes what he terms *Solutions by faith*: giving up freedom and following God in spite of one's own wishes, and cites Abraham and Moses as examples of this type of all-trusting faith. This abjuration of personal freedom is

shown in the Old Testament to lead to material well-being, as in the gift of the Land.

The New Testament establishes a covenant based upon freedom from the law, but this new freedom is seen still as the giving up of oneself in complete self-emptying to Christ. On the other hand, the idolatry of attachment to material possessions is seen as a form of slavery, which shackles a man to physical things, and prevents his achieving the release of freedom in Christ. This concept of slavery to material possessions is a theme which is also common to the Church Fathers.

Determinism formed a major part of the magisterium for many centuries, and the belief that God had pre-determined everything affected understandings of man's potential salvation. Luther and Calvin, for example, explicitly believed that the elect had been pre-determined for salvation, and that the moral rectitude of this group was evidence of their salvation, rather than the means to achieving it.

Even the enlightenment philosophers were reluctant to jettison determinism, and adopted a number of rather bizarre positions to justify its retention. By the early eighteenth century, however, the importance of individual freedom - both spiritual and economic - had become such that determinism could no longer be sustained. Instead, God's hand was seen in the establishment of an ordered world, which could then run along mechanistic lines determined by him, leaving man free to establish his own route to salvation. This development was contemporaneous with changes in the pecking order of sins and virtues; laziness, drunkenness and loose living were the road to Hell, hard work, the pursuit of economic success and political liberty from the state were the road to salvation.

5:8) Family

Generic ideal type articulation:

A (concomitant) view that the family is the key social arena of the individual.

The creation of our developmental ideal type revealed little which would support this particular articulation. The above discussion of individualism indicated that the community - and especially the religious community - were seen to be the key social arena of the individual. There are two exceptions to this general rule.

Firstly, as indicated above, later Wisdom literature is universalistic in nature, and removes from its paramount position the cultic community, which was, in any case, in a state of collapse. Instead, as well as the pan-cosmic community, the home and the family assume a much greater social and moral importance. The family becomes the locus of economic and spiritual life in this setting, and family wealth is to be earned by hard work and careful living. This is a marked departure from the rest of the biblical tradition, but remains a well-developed and interesting fringe theology.

In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, with the rise of individual over community, and the growth in enterprise, the notion of a spiritually valuable family once again began to assume some prevalence. The home as the centre of religious education and practice, and the family business as an economic reflection of this in the outside world, are noticeable characteristics of the centuries of the Puritans, Dissenters, and Victorians.

This should not be interpreted to mean that such a theology of family has strong roots in earlier periods, since, as we have seen, the community is typically seen as the locus for spiritual activity and the exercise of moral responsibility. Indeed, as the examination of the works of the Jesus movement in Chapter Two indicated, the wandering ascetics rejected and abandoned home and family ties so as to follow the path of the New Covenant.

5:9) Usury

Generic ideal type articulation:

Support for the lending of money at interest, as a vehicle for the provision of capital.

The Ancient Greeks disapproved of money-lending for profit, describing such an activity as "unnatural *chrematistics*". That this was a prevalent view in the Ancient World is indicated by the prohibitions on usury throughout the Old Testament, which are extended and dwelt upon at some length by the Church Fathers.

Although it was the Church which converted the German tribes away from their practice of burying treasure, thus creating a more ready supply of capital for lending, a qualified acceptance of money-lending was only to come with the Scholastics, who recognised that in some cases the sharing of risk was entitled to a financial return. Calvin and Luther both preached upon the evils of usury, which was only gradually to become accepted as legitimate by the late English Puritans.

Generally, the tradition does not show any signs of approval for the lending of money at interest.

5:10) Rationalism

Generic ideal type articulation:

A much closer attachment to rationalism than to mysticism and spirituality.

Within the generic ideal type, rationalism is understood to mean a reliance on human reason as the validation of arguments about "real-life", rather than upon spirituality. Spirituality and mysticism, then, are seen in the articulation of the generic ideal type, to belong in the realm of personal morality, whereas the public world, and practical activities, are to be directed by rationalism. Such a stance is thus opposed to notions of social enactments of spirituality.

The early church and the Jesus movement did act in a practical way here and now so as to mirror the in-breaking of the Kingdom. No divide between private spirituality and public materialism was seen to exist, but the word of God and the power of the Spirit were to be welcomed into every aspect of the believer's life. Even Augustine seems rather to see hope for the future as the means of dealing with a sinful present, and the expression of this hope as a search for the holy in the mundane. Whilst this realm is not the divine, the search for echoes of the divine in the earthly is a vehicle for keeping hope for the kingdom alive and sharp. This sophisticated position is somewhat removed from the simplistic duality ascribed to Augustine by enterprise theologians.

We have noted that the Puritans believed that their activities were a legitimate attempt to enact the will of God. God, they believed, intended the betterment of man's life on earth, and they struggled and legislated to bring about a more equal, fairer, freer society. (That this excluded the poor, for the most part, has been

noted above, although the honourable exception of the Levellers deserves mention here.)

Indeed, the first occurrence of a divide between the spiritual world of God, and a material world of man, occurs not in theology per se, but in science. The revolution of Descartes and Bacon was to give primacy to rationalism and empiricism respectively as appropriate tools for the apprehension of the material realm. Theology was no longer seen to be a relevant hermeneutic device for performing scientific enquiry, and the methodologies of reasoned thought, experimentation, and observation took its place. God was removed from science, and the first, revolutionary, step had been taken towards removing him from the material world. This was facilitated by the increasing discoveries of patterns and orderings in the cosmos, from Newton's theory of gravity describing the movements of the heavenly bodies, to the beginnings of economic theory. It became possible to explain, for the first time (in Western Europe, at any rate), terribly important aspects of man's earthly life, without any reference to God or theology at all. It is here, and not in Augustine's thought, that the full duality of the Two Realms doctrine becomes conceivable.

However, the main impact of Newton's work upon philosophy in the short term was in the rise of eighteenth century Optimism, which saw that creation was good, and that a benevolent Providence had not only created it so to be, but ensured its on-going goodness. Mankind could engage in this beneficent cosmos by working to overcome what evil did - and therefore ex ante had to - exist. Alongside the approval of selfish wealth-creation noted above, ran a strong belief that significant improvements to the material here and now were possible, through social and economic development. In an essentially good cosmos, mankind and men could come into a rightness with God, and the created world come still

closer to perfection. Redemption of mankind and the material environment are not only possible, but seen to be almost inevitable. This is inimical with the notion of a Fallen World, in which man is exiled and cut off from God's grace, where sin rules alone and unchallengeable by Utopianism, and where only the elect can be saved.

However, with the turn of the half-century, wars and natural disasters turned European thinkers away from Optimism. Nature seemed less than kindly, and benevolence untenable. Nonetheless, the mechanistic and deterministic philosophy of man and his surroundings remained, although essentially stripped of its theological underpinnings by the fading away of belief in Providence. As geology, biology and economics all found new ways of explaining phenomena without God, and as Biblical Criticism undermined further literal adherence to the Scriptures, God and his world drifted ever further apart. Spirituality and materialism became indeed two realms, but this only began to happen on a very wide scale at the end of the eighteenth century, and was not contemporaneous in any way with St Augustine thirteen centuries earlier. It was, however, contemporaneous with the rejection of the notion of the world as Fallen through Original Sin, and was essentially, even after the mid-century shift, not a darkly negative trend.

5:11) Thrift and Asceticism

Generic ideal type articulation:

An ascription of positive ethico-religious value to "quiet living" and thrift.

The above discussion of wealth-creation demonstrated that the abandonment of material goods to follow God is a significant theme of New and Old Testaments. In

the stories about Moses and Abraham, this is accompanied by a promise of deferred material prosperity. However, in the New Testament, the continued poverty and severe asceticism of the wandering charismatics is perceived to be a good in its own right, by freeing believers from the slavery of commitment to material possessions.

With the birth and growth of ascetic monasticism, the Patriarchs were provided with a model of ascetic living which they seized upon. Their criticisms of the consumptions of luxury are scathing in the extreme, and even Clement engages in lengthy and sarcastic diatribes against profligacy. On the other hand, unquestioning retention and saving of wealth - thrift - is equally condemned as a foolish attempt to store up treasure on earth. Riches are to be utilised for the good of others, not to be saved as sterile specie.

The examples of the Medieval lay-sects indicate a model of quiet living, self-sufficiency and hard work, which were to replace the ideal of the mendicant friars. The Reformation saw a new generation of believers engaging in their calling with hard work and dedication, and - not surprisingly - becoming wealthy. This wealth was not to be squandered in luxury and fine living, for so to do would be to become distracted from the path of righteousness by dangerous material wealth. This theology of quiet living was adopted by Puritans, Dissenters, and Victorians alike, and is closely allied to doctrines of charity. The purpose of personal wealth is not the consumption of luxury, but modest care for one's family (self-sufficiency), and charitable donations. The stance of the tradition with regard to asceticism, thrift, and modest living, then, can be seen to have changed relatively little over time, and was retained by successive generations of Christian writers and thinkers.

5:12) Enterprise Capitalism

Generic ideal type articulation:

A firm belief in enterprise capitalism as the optimum socio-economic framework.

What is meant in this context by enterprise capitalism? Essentially, a free market economic structure which liberates the entrepreneur as far as possible, to engage unhindered in the wealth-creation process. This is a particularly difficult concept to analyse in terms of the developmental ideal type, without indulging in anachronisms, and reading back into the tradition our contemporary understanding of social and economic structures. Nonetheless, there are a handful of enterprise capitalism attributes which may be isolated for review, specifically; a mistrust of state legislation and circumscription of the market place, approval of wealth creation, belief in a strong state vis-a-vis non-economic social control (law and order, etc), and protection of property rights.

The Old Testament is very far from being a nascent free market setting, but is rather a very strongly regulated environment. Fager's examination of the Jubilee legislation gives a fine example of such legislation. These laws were written as an attack on the rich for the religious, spiritual offences of oppressing and exploiting the poor.

The only other examples of theocracies which we have discussed are that which was established in Calvin's Geneva, and the England of the Puritans. In both instances, social and economic interventionism was preached and practised, although again, the dangers of an anachronistic reading of early economic theory should not be overlooked. The liberation of trade, as a concomitant of

religious liberation, was first identified as a hallmark of the Dissenters, and is thus a late addition to the tradition.

The developmental ideal type was also found to have given its approval late, and incrementally, to the other aspects of enterprise capitalism - approval of wealth creation, property rights, etc.

5:13) Final Words on the Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology

In summary then, the developmental ideal type of Western Theology has been shown to relate to the generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology in the following way:

The earliest parts of the tradition, including the Ancient Greeks, the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Church Fathers exhibit a broadly unanimous suspicion of wealth creation, seeing it as a danger to man's spiritual development. It is sometimes seen as of benefit to the wider community (Aristotle), or a sign of God's favour (Old Testament), but approval of wealth is most frequently restricted to its usefulness in the provision of alms (Church Fathers, especially). The Scholastics extended these restricted areas in which wealth creation and retention enjoyed limited religious license, and the concept of the individual secular calling (beruf) of the Reformation enhanced the concept of holy labour. The industrial revolution, however, was the point at which the pursuit of wealth - still allied to quiet living - became not only licensed, but recommended, as the good way for those wishing to assist their neighbours (by adding to the general wealth), and as a means of living a life of thrift, self-help and hard work.

Hard work seems to have enjoyed a general legitimacy which stems from its use as a prophylactic against idleness and the devil (St Jerome). The Wisdom literature is particularly noticeable in this respect. However, it is far from clear that the Genesis myths see post-Fall toil as a blessing, rather than a curse. The lay sects of the Middle Ages are important, in that the path of righteousness starts to be exemplified better by hard working, self-sufficient communities, than by mendicant monks. The significance of the Reformation, in according blessing to secular callings and labour (as a sign of election), should not be understated. However, it is in nineteenth century England that work is perceived to be such a virtue, and idleness such a sin, that the poor are to be forced to work to save their souls.

Individualism, throughout the early tradition, took second place to the (usually religious) community as the locus for salvation-history. This is particularly true of Old and New Testament, and the Church Fathers, although the exception of late Wisdom literature, with its universalism and family-orientation, bears note. Luther's doctrine of individual salvation shifted the focus away from community, but it was with secular philosophy that the urge towards self-preservation and self-interest became associated with the common good. This provided a moral justification for individually-oriented economic activity, which came to be seen as a natural corollary of the individual's pursuit of salvation.

Enterprise creation, dependent as it was upon the related doctrines of wealth creation, hard work, and individualism, only received license in the early Industrial Revolution, but was to achieve an ethical prominence in Victorian times which has led to the belief that it is, in a wider sense, "traditional". Little evidence was found within the developmental ideal type to support this view.

Charity has always been a feature of the tradition, from the Old and New Testament through to the Victorians. Nevertheless, in much of the earliest tradition this is allied with a belief that the state, especially the Old Testament theocracy, has a responsibility to care for the poor. Generally, care for the weak, poor, and socially disadvantaged has enjoyed strong moral approval. The first, and persistent, justification for the generation and ownership of wealth was that it provided the wherewithal for charitable activity.

Freedom was seen to have been generally awarded a lower status than duty, and man's contingency upon God imposes a strong categorical imperative for righteousness and obedience. Pursuit of economic well-being is understood (Old and New Testament, Church Fathers), as *slavery to mammon*, rather than as freedom. The Enlightenment saw the reduction of belief in determinism, which paved the way for new theories of economic and religious freedom.

The family was only understood as the focus of man's spiritual activity by a few Wisdom writers, and the Puritans, Dissenters and Victorians. Generally, duty to community has enjoyed a stronger emphasis within the tradition, with the New Testament actually exhorting abandonment of family (Jesus Movement).

Usury was condemned ferociously by the Ancient Greeks, the Old and New Testaments, and the Church Fathers. Aquinas begins the process of awarding a limited license to money-lending at interest, but even Calvin and Luther remained conspicuously opposed to the practice.

Reliance upon the spiritual, as a guide for everyday activities, is, not surprisingly, a striking feature of the tradition. The concept of a split between public and private, spiritual and material, is late indeed. The rise of the the cult of reason, with the

Enlightenment, set the scene for a reduction of the importance of the spiritual and noumenal, as aspects of one's social and economic life. However, this rationalism does not seem to be well exemplified by the many public charitable works of, for example, the Victorians.

In contrast, the developmental ideal type is unanimous in its approval of quiet living, of asceticism and thrift, and this stance, combined with attacks upon the sinful consumption of luxuries, was seen to alter little.

Finally, the phenomena of enterprise capitalism was seen to be particularly difficult to assess within the tradition. Nevertheless, it was indicated that the very socially and economically interventionist theocracies (Old Testament, Calvin's Geneva, and Puritan England), did not show any evidence of free market beliefs. Approval of wealth creation was seen to come late in the tradition, and protection of property rights generally took second place to protection of the poor. Little support for enterprise capitalism was to be found within the tradition, but this may well be due to the especially anachronistic nature of the concept.

The relationship between the developmental ideal type and the generic ideal type is thus far from simple. Some phenomena, such as approval of thrift, hard work, and charity, seem always to have been awarded moral and religious approval. Some gradually came to be accepted over the centuries, such as wealth creation, and some are never truly accepted (usury). Other phenomena appear suddenly and discontinuously at odd points in the tradition (family, and some aspects of enterprise creation). Still others are suddenly ushered in at the time of the Industrial Revolution, and the Enlightenment (individualism, rationalism, enterprise creation). The generic ideal type as a whole is thus open to criticism of

being an arriviste theology at some points, whilst at others it clearly represents a persistent and ancient position.

The study will now move on to examine Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, using the above discussion as a key part of our analysis. However, it is perhaps helpful at this point to review the direction and destination of the thesis, by undertaking a short methodological excursus.

5:14) Methodological Discursus

5:14:1) Introduction

Before closing the chapter, and moving on from the developmental ideal type to the individual ideal type, a review of the thesis's methodology will be presented. This is intended to act as a bridge between the two sections, and to refocus upon the work's structure and objectives. In the introductory chapter, an ideal-type methodology was developed, following Alves, comprising the following stages:

- 1) Articulation of the basic assumptions concerning the subject
- 2) Brief Review of Earlier Discussions
- 3) Statement of ideal type/s:
 - i) The Generic Ideal Type of Enterprise Theology
 - ii) Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology
 - iii) Individual Ideal Type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology
- 4) Examination of the empirical evidence
 - i) Description of the genesis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology
 - ii) Testing the original assumptions.

5:14:2) Articulation of the basic assumptions concerning the subject

The introduction to this thesis, following Alves' methodology for the construction and analytic use of ideal types, stated five key assumptions, which bear paraphrasing at this point. It was assumed that:

The "Thatcherite Enterprise Culture" contains a set of values and motives which are fundamentally religious in nature, and which are expressed in the actions of agents of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. There is a functional relationship between the spirit of Protestantism and the development of modern capitalism, including Thatcherite capitalism. Analysis of the theological validity of these values, motives and actions can take place through (ideal-typical) historical and theological examination.

The purpose of the present thesis is to test these assumptions, and thereby to achieve its stated aim of identifying and analysing theology as it is encountered within the "Thatcherite" Enterprise Culture. Analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology was to be undertaken in two parts. Firstly, it was considered to be important to clarify the position of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology within the Christian tradition of teachings on enterprise. This in turn would provide the basis of an examination of the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology's internal coherence and philosophical validity. The final outcome of the thesis was anticipated to be a judgement of whether the theology under study was sufficiently coherent and robust to support the political structures built upon it¹.

¹ The second stage of the methodology adopted, a *Brief Review of Earlier Discussions* is fully detailed in Chapter One, and is not deemed to be usefully represented at this point.

5:14:3) Statement of ideal type/s:

i) The Generic Ideal Type of Enterprise Theology

So as to articulate what was understood to be included in the present study's model of Enterprise Theology, a model of the concept was expounded. The facets of this generic ideal type comprise wealth creation, wealth and property ownership, hard work, individualism, enterprise creation, charity, freedom, family, usury, rationalism, thrift, asceticism, and enterprise capitalism.

ii) Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology

Having delineated its objectives, assumptions, methodology, and generic ideal type, the study then proceeded to abstract a model of the development of (mostly) Western Christian teachings on the enterprise-related areas noted above. The previous three chapters of this study therefore were dedicated to the creation of an abstraction of relevant thought and action in the areas delineated by our (generic) ideal type of Enterprise Theology.

This construction of a developmental ideal type has provided a theological yardstick to assist in the later analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, both in terms of identifying the roots and earlier influences of this contemporary abstraction, and also in validating its theological consistency. However, the chronological review of axiological and teleological has also provided a comprehensive introduction to the key issues under study, and has set the context within which modern theologies of enterprise are to be understood. Having provided this foundation, then, it is now time to move on to the modern model of enterprise theology which is our particular object of study, namely that which is postulated to be a key part and parcel of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture.

iii) Individual Ideal Type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology

As reiterated above, the objective of this thesis is the identification and analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. Before analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology can take place it is clearly necessary to delineate the model which will be utilised in this study to represent it. The identification - or abstraction - of the phenomena comprising the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology is thus an integral and indispensable part of the study. The subsequent two chapters will undertake the task of identifying the theological values and actions of Enterprise Culture agents.

Specifically, then, one of the key tasks of this thesis is the construction of an individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. The introductory chapter delineated the importance and relevance of this task within the framework of the ideal-type methodology which has been adopted, and outlined the two-phase approach which will be utilised to perform this operation. Firstly, in Chapter Six, use will be made of the axiological and teleological data available to create an abstraction - or model - which sets out in some detail the constellation of phenomena known as the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Next, Chapter Seven will continue the model-building process by focussing on specifically theological phenomena.

5:14:4) Examination of the empirical evidence

Having constructed our model of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, the next stage in Alves' methodology is to carry out an examination of the model, which he terms *examination of the empirical evidence*. This, as noted above, will take the form of a discussion of the genesis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, drawing upon the material gathered in the developmental ideal type, so as to establish its place in the cannon of Christian thought, and to uncover its roots. Further theological analysis of the individual ideal type will focus upon the internal consistency of the

constellation of phenomena, as well as the work of critics. This analysis will be presented in Chapters Seven and Eight, and Nine and its result should enable us to legitimately test our original assumptions.

Chapter Six

The Thatcherite Enterprise Culture

6:1) Introduction

Chapter Six will attempt to build up a thorough picture of what is meant by the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, utilising the ideal type methodology described in full in the introduction to the thesis, and revisited in Chapter Five. That is, it will construct a one-sided accentuation of its subject, abstracting from the set of available phenomena those of relevance to the subject under discussion, as indicated by the generic ideal type, so as to create a utopian model of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Given the complex and interdependent nature of the subject matter, nonetheless, it will be necessary to visit such areas as economic policy, since, in the words of Margaret Thatcher:

"To pose our commitment to free enterprise as our main purpose and distinguishing mark would be to describe the whole in terms of one of its many parts" (Thatcher 1977 p 104)

Before presenting and analysing the relevant phenomena for our specific ideal type, however, a short section will first review the socio-economic and political context within which Thatcher came to power and governed. Whilst outwith the scope of the one-sided utopian model under construction, such an overview provides a useful general framework of the contemporary milieu within which the phenomena to be abstracted are located, thus placing actions, and especially ideas and policies, within their cultural context.

That there is a clear collection of ideas and policies of paramount importance to the Thatcherite agenda is the near-unanimous view of commentators. Margaret Thatcher has clearly moved ideas and ideology back to the centre

of British politics, since “the 1980s has seen a marked increase in overt ideological conflict. Ideas clearly matter” (Tivey and Wright 1989, p ix, Young & Sloman 1986 p 58, p 60). This alteration in political practice is reflected in the coherent collection of beliefs, ideology and action which gave rise to the term of Thatcherism itself, the subject of this chapter, which has been defined as:

“the distinctive ideology, political style and programme of policies with which the British Conservative party has been identified since Margaret Thatcher became its Leader” (Gamble 1990 p20. See also Krieger 1986 pp 15-17, Young 1993 p 599).

William Pike places the source of all Thatcher's action and thoughts as “the innate preferences and prejudices and the character of her upbringing and genetic endowment” (Pike, in Young and Sloman 1986 p13)¹. Pike's suggestion that her political beliefs had become instinctive by the time she took power are echoed by Riddell. Writing in the middle of the 1980s, Riddell chooses to describe this amalgam of style, policies and ideas as an *instinct*, which hints at the traditional roots of the ideology, and describes its major themes thus:

“Thatcherism is essentially an instinct, a series of moral values and an approach to leadership rather than an ideology. It is an expression of Mrs Thatcher's upbringing in Grantham, her background of hard work and family responsibility, ambition and postponed satisfaction, duty and patriotism...The same themes have cropped up again and again in speeches and interviews throughout the past decade - personal responsibility, the family and national pride. The key lies in her use of language, especially off the cuff in interviews. Words like

¹ The influence of Thatcher's family, and her father in particular, will be returned to in the next chapter.

freedom, self-respect, independence, initiative, choice, conviction, duty, greatness, heart and faith recur" (Riddell 1985, p 7).

These themes and ideas are all closely interlinked, and it is often difficult to extract and isolate Thatcher's views on the economy, the state, the individual, the country and morality, since she herself sees these as part of a seamless whole. This chapter attempts to sub-divide her key themes, so as to facilitate analysis, but there remains a degree of over-lap between the sub-sections below dictated by Thatcher's own thoughts and actions.

The chapter will continue, as mentioned above, with a short summary of the pertaining socio-economic and political situation. This will be followed by the construction of our ideal-type, commencing with a discussion of a key theme of the Thatcher agenda, freedom, and in particular, freedom of choice. This in turn will lead into an examination of those economic and industrial policies which were seen to facilitate freedom of choice, and thence to enterprise itself. After presenting in some detail the concept of enterprise as understood by the Thatcherites, we will turn to the use made of Victorianism as a metaphor and example of enterprise and morality, before discussing ethics as articulated by Margaret Thatcher and her close supporters. (The religious and theological defences of Thatcherism will be presented in Chapter 7, but are very briefly sketched here). Next, the attacks on a variety of "collectivist" policies and institutions will be reviewed, and finally, the strong authoritarian state propounded by the Thatcherites will be examined.

What the chapter will not attempt to do is to summarise systematically the history of the three Thatcher administrations. Numerous recent works have carried out this task in detail, and form a useful source of reference for this chapter (see, for example, Thatcher 1993, Young 1993, Riddell, 1985). Rather, the chapter will focus on the set of political, economic and moral *instincts*

which gave rise to the work of the three administrations, using examples from the Thatcher governments' work to illustrate this belief-system.

6:2) The Socio-Economic and Political Setting of Thatcherism

6:2:1) Introduction

What were the social, economic and political characteristics of the Britain of the 1970s and 1980s which made Thatcherism first a possibility, and then an historical reality? Andrew Gamble has indicated that at least some of these characteristics were far from unique to the United Kingdom, noting that:

“What all states faced in the 1970s was a growth in the number of problems that did not seem capable of being solved by ordinary political means. The space for asserting national sovereignty was shrinking; economic management was increasingly unsuccessful; the structures for mobilising consent for national policies were no longer adequate; and the bases of social order and national identity were under threat” (Gamble, 1990, p3).

An examination of these economic, social, and political will, it is postulated, provide a brief review of the background against which Thatcherism came into being. Its subsequent evolution had a marked effect, of course, upon later socio-economic and political aspects of national - and international - life, and these will be touched upon where appropriate in the development of the Thatcherite ideal-type itself. What is intended here is rather a short overview of pre-Thatcherite conditions, so as to set the context for the subsequent presentation and analysis of the ideal-type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology.

6:2:2) The Political Arena of the 1970s

The decade which preceded Thatcherism was one of a peculiar political turbulence. It opened with the narrow return of Heath's Conservative

government, in which Margaret Thatcher was to be appointed Secretary of State for Education. In February 1974, Heath went to the country, ostensibly on the issue of striking miners, and lost. Tory resentment of the miners, who "humiliated the Heath Government into fighting an election which it lost", was to remain a bitter memory, and a spur to later Trades Union legislation in general, and the battle with the miners in particular (Young, 1993, p366). Unable to form a coalition government, Heath watched Wilson retake power. Following a further election in October 1974, Labour took office with a very small overall majority. In the run-up to the second election, Heath increasingly spoke of the desirability of a coalition Government of National Unity, and sought power in collaboration (Young, 1993, p90).

Young has vividly described Keith Joseph's reaction to Heath's failure (1993, pp84-89). He writes of Joseph's 'discovery' that many of his friends and allies, such as Alan Walters and Alfred Sherman, saw the last Heath government, and especially later talk of a Government of National Unity, as a serious betrayal of principles. Joseph - curiously enough with Heath's initial blessing - founded the Centre for Policy Studies, and their workshops and papers began to move Joseph and his political cohorts, including Margaret Thatcher, towards a "New Right" ideology and set of policies.

Heath's position as leader of the party became increasingly untenable following the two election defeats of 1974, and a leadership election took place in February 1975. When leading candidates Du Cann and Joseph (following a particularly unwise speech) withdrew from the contest, and with Heath's lieutenants out of contention, the first ballot included only Heath, Thatcher, and one rank outsider. Thatcher won, and went on to triumph over Whitelaw, Prior and others in the second ballot. Referring to Critchley's description of this event as *the peasants' revolt*, Young observes that:

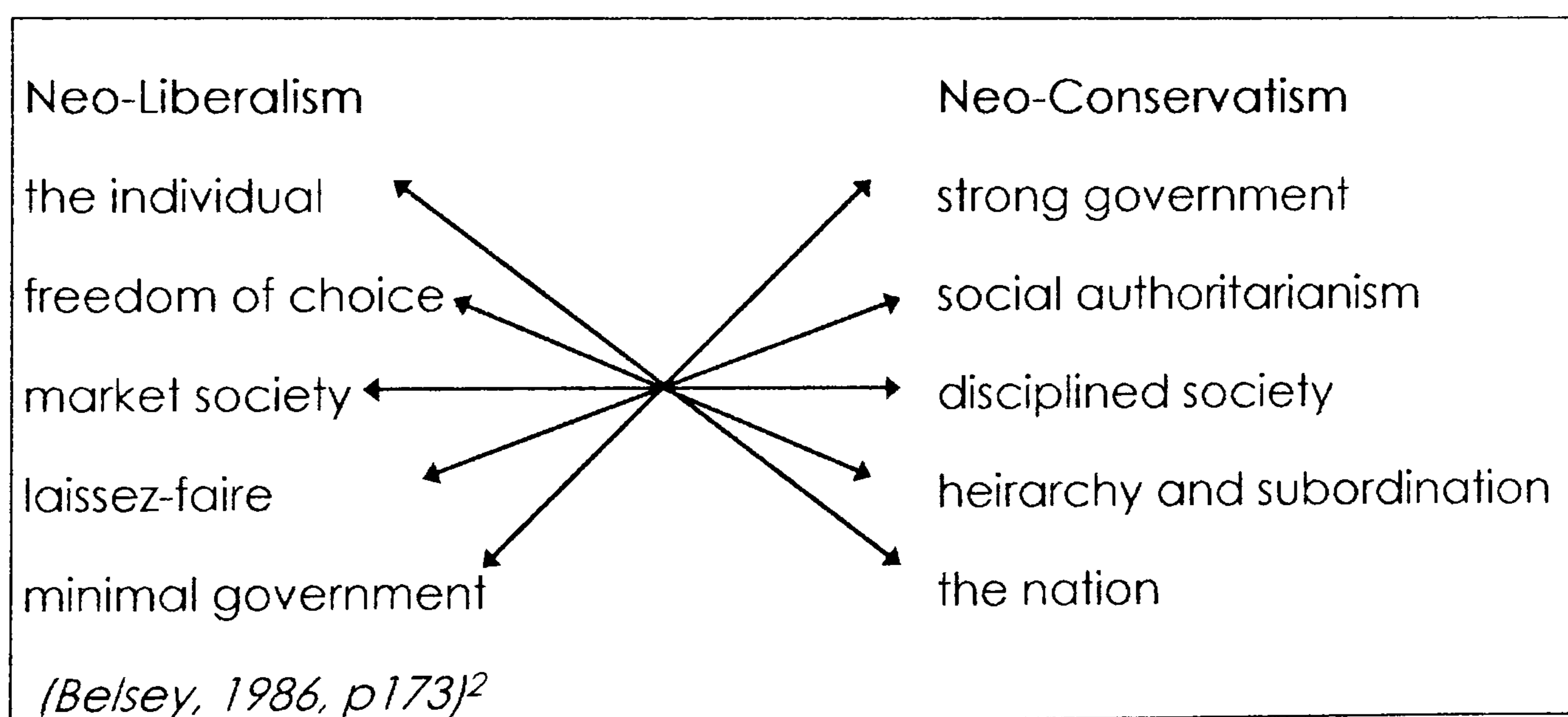
"There could hardly be a more evocative description of an event in which the backbenchers rose up against the leader who had scorned them, oppressed them, and consigned them once again to many years out of power" (Young 1993 p98).

The importance of Thatcher's election was not to become fully clear for some years, but Riddell is surely not overstating its importance when he tempers Young's statement by claiming that:

"The election of Mrs Thatcher turned out to represent much more than a rejection of Mr Heath. It marked a change in style and the start of a battle of ideas. Mrs Thatcher, Sir Keith, and their sympathizers wanted to alter the whole climate of politics...from the mid-1970s onwards the views of what became known as the New Right assumed prominence in intellectual debate and were associated with Mrs Thatcher and her allies. It was the heyday of the counter-attack against collectivism. Economists such as Hayek and Friedman were the new prophets" (Riddell, 1985, p23).

In opposition, then, Thatcher began the process of articulating a radically different kind of conservatism to Heath's, which would bring her and her party to power in 1979. Of what did this New Right conservatism consist? Commentators have noted that, in fact, the New Right fall into two quite separate camps, and Thatcherism has taken ideas from both. On the one hand, there is the Neo-liberalism of the monetarists and market-solution school, whose basic principle has been (somewhat cruelly) paraphrased by Gamble as "markets good, governments bad" (Gamble, 1976, p 30). On the other, the Neo-conservatives were sharply critical of perceived declines in national standards in morality, patriotism, and the values of family, work and church.

The Neo-liberals were to be found, by and large, in the proliferation of think-tanks and less formal groupings which "include the Economic League (founded in 1919), Aims of Industry (1942) and the Institute of Economic Affairs (1957), as well as the more recent Centre for Policy Studies (1974), the National Association for Freedom (1975) and the Adam Smith Institute (1979)" (Levitas, 1986, p3). The Neo-conservatives, however, were associated with Peterhouse College, Cambridge (either as graduates or fellows), and included such luminaries as Roger Scruton, Edward Norman, Maurice Cowling, and Peregrine Worsthorne (see Edgar, 1986, pp 61-70). Belsey (1986, p173) has neatly depicted the main tenets of each of these groups, and his diagrammatic representation of the two schools of New Right thought (which he sees as two separate ideal types) is presented below:



As will be discussed in more detail below, in the examination of social and economic issues, these two positions were combined to create a new political doctrine and set of policies, characterised by a paradoxical belief in both free markets, and a strong state, thereby "squaring the circle between an

² "Neo-liberalism can be seen as the politics constructed from the five points...Neo-conservatism first of all takes all of these points in reverse order and then reverses each one" (Belsey, 1986 p173), thus the (neo-liberal) individual, in first place, becomes the last place (neo-conservative) nation.

intellectual adherence to the free market and the emotional attachment to authority and imposed tradition" (Edgar 1986, p 74). Why was this nascent Thatcherism allowed to so totally overturn recent Conservative policy? Gamble suggests a simple but attractive answer to this conundrum:

"The party needed a new strategy and a new self-confidence to allow it to restore its former dominance of British politics" (Gamble 1990, p83; see also Edgar, 1986 p62; Plant and Hoover 1989, p89).

But mistakes and mishaps suffered by the Labour party during the 1974-79 administration also need to be taken into account here. In early 1976, Wilson's resignation led to Callaghan's premiership, and his early work was well regarded indeed. Thatcher, ever growing in confidence, responded by moving to an increasingly morally-driven position, attacking the nature of socialism itself. When Callaghan decided to seek re-election in the Spring of 1979, rather than the autumn of 1978, he could not have predicted how terrible a winter Labour would have. Pay claims and strikes followed each other with alarming speed and regularity, and the notion of a Labour party as the natural partner of the Unions was badly dented. Indeed, the Unions began to seem to be the very demons which Thatcher and Joseph perceived them to be, although the admixture of fact and legend concerning the winter of 1979 continues to be a bone of some contention:

"The myth of the Winter of Discontent, with its images of closed hospitals, rubbish piling up in the street, and dead bodies rotting unburied in graveyards, was a masterpiece of selective news management in the Conservative interest" (Gamble, 1990, pp 94-95).

The combination of Labour's disastrous winter, and the new vision of the Conservative's charismatic leader were sufficient for the task, when the spring election took place, and in early May 1979 Britain elected its first female Prime Minister, Margaret Hilda Thatcher.

6:2:3) The Economic Arena of the 1970s

The above discussion has indicated the importance of economic policy as a key plank of the Joseph-Thatcher policies, as they developed in the 1970s. A little further examination of the background and content of these issues is thus required to provide a realistic contextual understanding of the evolution of Thatcherism, pre-1979.

The post-war years of the 1950s and 1960s were marked out economically by a cross-party consensus on the merits of Keynesianism. In the immediate post-war years, Keynes, Beveridge, and their manifold sympathisers had argued strongly for a set of interventionist economic and social principles, based largely upon the notion of redistributive justice, and with the over-riding aim of full employment. The economic and industrial composition and management of the nation were, following these precepts, altered to a considerable degree:

"The case for state provision of welfare services and state redistribution of income and wealth gained increasing acceptance. The need for governments to regulate modern industry either through monitoring agencies or through public ownership was also advanced...By the 1950s the foundations of capitalist economy were still intact but the system had been greatly modified by the extensive role for public intervention that had developed" (Gamble, 1986, p 28).

Essentially the post-war years had seem economic policy driven by the key aim of keeping unemployment as low as possible, and using the techniques of direct governmental intervention and investment to achieve this aim. Policies ensuing from the Keynesian consensus included the creation of the Welfare State, nationalisation, governmental involvement and control of incomes and prices, and subsidies for key industries. Only seriously challenged in the mid-1970s, this Keynesianism is well illustrated by the late example of the Heath government of 1970-74 "saving special lame ducks", such as Rolls Royce aero-engines, and Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, by the use of techniques such as government subsidy and nationalisation (Young, 1993, p75). In 1972, legislation was enacted which permitted this same administration "to control all increases in pay, prices and dividends", in the teeth of its election manifesto (Young, 1993, p75).

By 1972, fixed exchange rates had been abandoned, placing new demands on governments' financial administration (Gamble, 1990 p34). Disputes with the unions over substantial pay demands exacerbated the situation, as did the suite of huge oil price increases. In the early 1970s, inflation began to rise steadily and swiftly, and so did unemployment. The traditional Keynesian tools simply no longer appeared to be working:

"By the 1970s it appeared that Keynesian policies had run into the sand. Particularly after the rises in the oil price in the early 1970s, Western economies were faced with stagnation which did not seem responsive to Keynesian remedies" (Plant and Hoover, 1989, p22; see also, for example, Gamble, 1986, pp 28-33).

The recession of the early 1970s had forced Healey, then the Labour Chancellor, to borrow from the IMF in the autumn of 1976, in order to support

sterling. In return for their loans, the IMF insisted that austerity measures be introduced, which included the monetarist policy of reducing inflation to control the money supply. How had this radical (or radically rediscovered) policy come to find such favour?

Milton Friedman was primarily responsible for re-introducing to academic economics in the late 1960s the notion that the key to economic management was a tight control of the money supply. Wrestling with the problem of why Keynesianism could not control inflation, he found a solution in neo-classical economics. What was radical about monetarism was that it challenged the accepted Keynesian position that when an economy ran into trouble, increased government expenditure - funded if necessary by public borrowing - would create jobs and stimulate economic activity, thereby restoring the economy onto a healthy footing. The monetarist argument questions the basic assumptions of Keynesianism, since:

"Its proposition, at its simplest, is that the cause of inflation lies entirely with the supply of money in an economy, and restraint of inflation (a primary objective) can be achieved by (and only by) regulating that supply. The quantity of money should only be allowed to rise as economic activity rises: it cannot induce such activity. Government borrowing creates money because its credit is always acceptable, and therefore should always be held down to what the economy already requires" (Tivey, 1989, p 146).

Not least amongst the implications of the adoption of monetarist theory, is the elevation of low inflation to the position of primary economic objective, toppling the long-held aim of full employment (see, for example, Gamble, 1990 p 19).

Initially, a handful of academic institutions - "Chicago, the London School of Economics, and Manchester", (Gamble 1990 p32) - adopted Friedman's position, but his ideas began to spread outwith academia, and soon recieved currency within the circle of think-tanks, advisors and intimates surrounding the new Thatcherite camp. Keith Joseph and Margaret Thatcher, following their academic advisors from the Institute of Economic Affairs, were swift to adopt his policy proposals (see, for example, Gamble, A 1990, p19).

The Thatcherites combined monetarism with American supply-side macro-economic theories, as well as those of the Austrian school, as represented by Hayek. Hayek proposes that freely competitive markets are the optimum method of co-ordinating the dispersed information and needs of individual and corporate economic agents within the market place, and thereby creating an innovative and healthy economic-industrial sector. It is no coincidence that the Austrian school of economic theory is also noted for its emphasis on the importance of the entrepreneur as an agent of economic development, market-clearing and innovation/progress (see, for example, Hayek's seminal 1944 work, "The Road to Serfdom").

In 1977 the party's economic reconstruction group, which included Howe and Joseph amongst its members, publshied a document called *The Right Approach to the Economy*. Its contents were later to be reproduced in the 1979 manifesto. The document was "cautious and unmenacing" in style (Young 1993 p 107) ,and, as Riddell has pointed out:

"The policies for reducing inflation reflected Sir Geoffrey's preference for persuasion and education. The framework was to be set by the published target of a steady reduction in the rate of growth of the money supply and a parallel steady

reduction in the size of the public sector's share of the national income" (Riddell 1985, p 32).

However unambitious the original economic proposals of the Thatcherites, as Plant and Hoover have suggested, monetarism, and supply-side theories, were intended to have an impact upon Britain which extended beyond the economic, and embraced issues of morality, and social cohesion, as will now be discussed (Plant and Hoover, 1989, p 31).

6:2:4) The Social Arena of the 1970s

If the economics of the New Right were dominated by the Neo-liberals, then its social policy was strongly moulded by the Neo-conservatives:

"New Right Conservatives ... are preoccupied with the problems of civil society and political culture. They place great stress on the problems of the family and the erosion of patriarchy; on the schools, and the standards and contents of education; on the multiplying threats to public order, on the problems of racial and sectarian divisions; on the churches and the threat to public and personal morality; and on the limits to democracy" (Gamble 1990, p60).

In contrast to the Neo-liberals, whose main preoccupation is with freedom and the reduction of state controls, the Neo-conservatives emphasise duty, and the importance of the state and its agencies in enforcing proper standards. Freedom, for the Neo-conservatives, is curtailed by the individual's responsibility to family and nation. A strong state is needed to, literally, police, church and educate the masses.

Nonetheless, in spite of the importance of the traditional Neo-conservatives, the social policy developments, which were an important part of the evolution of Thatcherism, are also closely linked to the liberal rejection of Keynesian economics. It was strongly argued that the creation and sustenance of a welfare state undermined the responsibility and motivation of citizens to take control of their own needs. A dependency culture had been created. This, through other interventionist policies, like incomes controls, subsidies and nationalisation, had been extended to the industrial sphere, so that the provision of work, and maintenance of individual businesses and whole industrial sectors, was now mistakenly understood to lie in the government's area of responsibility. The nation was thus doubly dependent upon government, and this was anathema to the New Right, who saw it as the cause of low levels of enterprise, of personal responsibility, and of moral decency and fibre. Thus the Neo-liberals arguments, or at least their conclusions, came to coincide with those of their traditional brethren, and both expressed criticisms of the poor in a tenor close to that of the Victorians:

"Poverty is not just a matter of the possession of resources, it is also a question of the cultural attitude and dispositions of many poor people. Under the welfare state the poor have grown increasingly reliant upon the state and lost their sense of initiative. The work ethic had been weakened. Many poor people have lost their sense of obligation to their family and to the wider community" (Plant and Hoover, 1991 p70).

Much of the Neo-conservative writing was stimulated by the perceived permissiveness of the 1960s, and the rise in homosexuality, illegitimacy, and feminism in particular (Gamble, 1990, p 198, David, 1986, pp136-168). Some sections of the Neo-conservative school even came close to racism in their pursuit of British - or, more properly, English - heritage, and Enoch Powell is

perhaps an extreme example of this. Enoch Powell can now, with the benefit of hindsight, be seen to have been preaching many *"Thatcherite"* doctrines, throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, including reduction of state intervention, and the importance of a firmly monetarist economic policy (Gamble, 1990, p72). Nonetheless, his name remains more closely associated with the infamous "rivers of blood" speech which, in April 1968, recommended in uncompromising terms the reversal of immigration to Britain from the colonies. (See, for example, Young, 1993 pp 61-62). Powell, then, was perhaps the first Conservative "intellectual" to square the circle combining Neo-conservatism and Neo-Liberalism.

The major determining factors which led to the evolution, and acceptance, of Thatcherism in the 1970s have been briefly set out above. They have been shown to include a rejection of the interventionist practices of the Heath governments, a re-discovery of liberal economics, and a re-statement of traditional conservative social and moral values. The set of principles and policies which were to become known as the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture certainly contain elements drawn from both poles of the New Right, as we shall now demonstrate, by moving on to begin the creation of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology.

6:3) Freedom

6:3:1) Introduction

Freedom has been a great motif of the whole Thatcherite revolution, and freedom of choice and opportunity in particular. Many of the attacks made on the Left, particularly before the first Thatcher election victory, accuse the ever-expanding collectivist state of removing from individuals the freedom to make their own choices and create their own future. These criticisms are couched in both moral and economic terms.

6:3:2) Freedom of Choice

As a liberal economist, Thatcher believes that the most efficient form of economic activity is that where all but a minimum of state provision takes place within a freely competitive market. This, she argues, promotes innovation and the survival and growth of those firms most likely to create wealth. It affords rights to the consumer, and creates a variety of secure jobs. It creates incentives for entrepreneurs, thereby stimulating further the economy. Durham (1989) has summarised her position thus:

“Markets, it is argued, are more conducive to liberty than planning, and the state should restrict its activities to guaranteeing the market's ability to function (for instance by its property laws and monetary policies), and a limited number of other tasks, mainly law and order, defence and a minimum standard of welfare” (Durham 1989 pp 62-63).

In moral terms, for the Thatcherites, choice encourages people to take responsibility for themselves and their own decisions, whether for the purchase of goods, of health, housing or education. Through their choices people shape the kind of retail, property, education and health system that best meets their own needs and desires. This participation in the creation of the socio-economic future is a good in its own right. The act of making choices is furthermore perceived to have a positive moral value, since:

“Choice is the essence of ethics: if there were no choice, there would be no ethics, no good, no evil; good and evil have meaning only insofar as man is free to choose” (Thatcher 1977 pp96-97).

Freedom of choice means a reliance on the market as the most efficient allocator of resources and goods. That Thatcher believes the market to be a value-free system of rewards and penalties - and therefore fair to all - is demonstrated by her promotion of market-solutions to all kinds of problems, from health-care to education, and even to the despoiling of the environment (Thatcher 1993 p 641). Freedom of choice also means independence from the state for Thatcher, and this is part of a heritage which includes protection by law and a duty to help others:

“In our philosophy freedom to choose goods, services, education and housing is steadily extended; savings and thrift are encouraged so that citizens become independent of the state rather than perpetually dependent on it. We believe practical care and concern for others is not confined to demanding State benefits, but as a common purpose of daily life, in which the freedom of all is protected by a just and impartial rule of law. These are the principles upon which the Western way of life was built” (Thatcher 1977 p62).

It is a peculiarity of Thatcherite writing, that the importance of an economic good, (such as the extension of consumer purchasing power into areas like education, health and housing,) is couched in terms of freedom, independence, teleology³, justice, and tradition. That is, the Thatcherites combine radical economics with a very traditional ethico-social mindset. These are, as we shall see below, sometimes made explicit, but more often are latent in the Thatcherite ideology, which may go some way towards explaining their strength.

See above, “purpose of daily life”

The freedom of consumer choice, which becomes operational through the freedom of the market place, has a further dimension, which is closely linked to the moral aspects of economic freedom. Thatcher has always been vehemently opposed to socialism and communism, seeing them as evil systems which remove freedom of choice, freedom of opportunity, political freedom and economic freedom from people. Her adherence to economic freedom should be understood within this framework, and as a constituent part of a wider set of freedoms to which Thatcher believes it is causally linked:

“All my reading, thinking and experience has taught me that once the state plays fast and loose with economic freedom, political freedom risks being the next casualty” (Thatcher 1993 p 425).

For the Thatcherites, then, freedom of choice is primarily economic freedom, which is essentially a liberal position. This stance is, nonetheless, held in conjunction with a belief in a strong state, in terms of law and order; a conservative position, which explicitly seeks to curtail certain freedoms. This paradox merits further examination.

The economic freedom of choice is postulated only to operate within a free-market system. Freedom is defined as the absence of coercion in the making of economic decisions, whether these be about consumer goods, education, health-care or housing (Levitas, 1986, p91, Belsey, 1986 p185). The strong state is required to protect this concept of freedom, by enacting and enforcing legislation which prevents economic coercion, whether by unions, or by public sector involvement in the market place. Elsewhere, however, the Thatcherites argue in favour of a strong state as a means of restoring traditional values, and here one must question whether moral coercion is not being given the approval by them which is withheld from economic coercion.

Belsey sees the logical resting place of this theory as being some way removed from the usual meaning of freedom. He notes that Hayek sees the market mechanism as issuing signals to which individuals merely respond:

“Here the market and its price system have been objectified, and people merely follow its signals as if they were trains on a track. Where is individual freedom now? So the teleologically-viewed market issues instructions and requires obedience”
(Belsey, 1986, p185).

Belsey raises an important point. If the market place indeed is postulated to operate as an efficient ordering machine, then to some degree, the responses of individual economic agents are determined by this machine. To what extent is the notion of economic freedom compatible with the dependence of individuals upon market mechanisms?

Two major difficulties, can thus be seen to pervade this key tenet of (economic) freedom of choice. Firstly, how far is this compatible with other aspects of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, which place much emphasis on the role of a strong state. Secondly, is it accurate, or reasonable, within their own terms of reference, to see individual participation in the market place as free and unconstrained? These issues will be returned to later, following discussion of other important and closely related matters.

6:3:3) Freedom Of Opportunity

Closely related to the concept of freedom of choice, is the related doctrine of the importance of freedom of opportunity. From the beginning of the Thatcherite movement, its members were aware of the criticism that their style of freedom was of little use to those without the financial resources to make choices in the market place. By defining freedom as liberty to exploit one's

talents and spend one's wealth as one wishes, one necessarily excludes those who have neither talent nor financial resources. A response to this argument was given by Keith Joseph in his book "Equality", where he defines and defends the Thatcherite concept of freedom. Given the explicit intellectual debt of Thatcherism to Joseph's conversion after the fall of Heath's government, it is worth exploring his discussion of freedom in some detail. Joseph argues that the major freedom due to individuals is equality of opportunity, which:

"...requires that no external barriers shall prevent an individual from exploiting his talents. No law shall permit some men to do what is forbidden to others. No monopolist shall make use of his dominant position to deny to others rights which he enjoys himself" (Joseph and Sumption 1970, p29).

Once again, then, we see the resting point of the Thatcherites' theory of freedom in the *absence of economic coercion*. The argument continues by maintaining that all members of a society should have the right to use their talents to pursue their economic well-being. While such opportunities for advancement through hard work and creativity are open to all, freedom exists. This kind of freedom cannot, however, co-exist with distributive equality, which aims to raise the economic well-being of the poor:

"It may be argued that discrimination against the rich and in favour of the poor is morally right; but it cannot be suggested that it is not discrimination. To that extent it cannot be denied that it offends against equality of opportunity and therefore against liberty" (Joseph and Sumption 1970, p31).

Furthermore, any attempts to re-distribute wealth, to tax its producers, or to fix wages, are not only seen to interfere with this paramount freedom but are not even practicable:

“The fair wage and the just price has failed ever since the Roman emperor Diocletian and the perplexed rumination of the medieval schoolmen⁴” (Joseph and Sumption 1970 p73).

Re-distribution is also seen to fail because it shifts control into the hands of state apparatchiks, who will be just as competitive and individualistic as their free market counterparts (Joseph and Sumption 1970, p39). It suppresses enterprise and industrial progress, and therefore inhibits the creation of jobs for the poor, the wages from which would enable them to participate in the freedoms of the market place.

The argument that some members of a society cannot participate in freedom of opportunity and expenditure, without positive discrimination in their favour, is rebutted by Joseph on a number of grounds:

- practical (re-distribution does not work),
- economic (re-distribution prevents industrial progress),
- theological (wealth creation is not unchristian, and offers scope for charity⁵),
- political (re-distribution leads to totalitarian mismanagement and corruption)
- philosophical (liberty is more important than equality).
- justice-related (in a pluralist society, no one moral system can legitimately be used to underpin decisions about re-distribution).

⁴ It is to be hoped that Chapter Three demonstrated that the medieval schoolmen were some way from being perplexed on this issue!

⁵ See Chapter Seven, below.

Chapter Seven will examine in some detail the theological underpinning of the Thatcherite concept of freedom, which is cognate also with the philosophical defence of freedom of opportunity. Under discussion will be the question of whether economic liberty is, under the Christian ethic, more important than equality, and whether the role of wealth creation in the provision of funds for charity is a necessary and sufficient theological justification for the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture.

Perhaps the most interesting of the other defences of freedom of opportunity, however, is the final point, concerning the difficulty of selecting a legitimate moral system for the allocation of resources, outwith the market place. Again, there are two main difficulties with this stance. Firstly, the arguments against distribution themselves are hardly free of ethical value judgements. One cannot state, for example, that liberty is more important than equality, or that wealth creation is not un-Christian and yet attempt to remain aloof from moral judgement. Both of these assertions are profoundly ethical in nature, and contain a whole raft of value-laden assumptions. To utilise a theological defence is to adopt a particular moral standpoint (,however briefly, since Joseph was not, of course, a Christian).

Secondly, once again one is faced with the difficulty of the contradictions inherent in Thatcherism itself, probably stemming from the Neo-conservative, Neo-liberal divide. The problem in this instance is well put by Plant and Hoover:

“Part of the strategy is...to argue that in modern society there is not sufficient moral agreement to seek to constrain market outcome through public policy... and yet, so far as personal morality is concerned, the conservative capitalist wants to argue in favour of the maintenance of certain sorts of traditional values” (Plant and Hoover, 1989, p235).

Freedom of opportunity is required by the Thatcherites, because amongst other reasons, it does not presuppose a certain kind of value-system. Nonetheless, the promotion of freedom of opportunity has as a corollary the concomitant promotion of enterprise values, like self-help and hard work. This is hardly compatible with claims that freedom of opportunity is not a morally-circumscribed concept.

Furthermore, freedom of opportunity not only *profers* the path of entrepreneurship and wealth creation as a route out of poverty, but it effectively also closes other routes which more interventionist governments had created. The Thatcherite programme, but cutting benefits, and budgets for social development projects, severely narrowed the choices for economic survival which faced the poorer member of society. And they did so in a way which encouraged the adoption of their value-system, with the applause it offers for enterprise, individualism, and hard work. This was particularly so in the mid-1980s, when those on benefit were threatened with their withdrawal, unless they participated in Employment Training, and thousands of people signed up for the Business Enterprise Programme. Is it reasonable to describe people as engaging in freedom of opportunity, if they only have one choice?

These, then, are the two major freedoms of Thatcherism - freedom of choice for consumers in a market place which includes health, education and housing, and freedom of opportunity. Both are essentially economic freedoms, and at their simplest mean nothing more than the absence of economic coercion. The Thatcherite notions of freedom are not free of contradictions and difficulties, however, and we have especially noted that:

- Freedom to the market place may also be seen as subservience to market dictates.

- Freedom from coercion may not be compatible with some of the activities of the strong state, particularly those seeking to enforce a traditionalist moral stance.
- The statements made to support freedom of opportunity, especially those which make recourse to theology, and which give liberty predominance over equality, are themselves value-loaded, against the thrust of other strands of the defence of Thatcherite notions of freedom.
- The theological and philosophical arguments for Thatcherite freedoms at the very least require deeper analysis.
- Freedom of opportunity is a misnomer if the policies which stem from this principle force one particular opportunity to be sought.

All of these issues will be re-visited below, as the creation of the Thatcherite ideal type continues, and related topics are incorporated into the discussion.

6:4) Economics and Industry

6:4:1) Introduction

Before moving on to explore the economics of Thatcherism, let us pause briefly to review a metaphor which Mrs Thatcher repeatedly used when explaining her economic policies, that of a housewife balancing a household budget. Whilst Alan Walters saw this as a positive benefit in the formulation of economics (Young and Sloman 1986 p 67), other commentators have been less charitable. It is almost possible to hear the tone of voice used by Young and Sloman as they invite their readers to:

“...summon up the picture of the good housekeeper, the Grantham grocer’s daughter, the Prime Minister who really does believe that the thrifty principles of home management are a perfectly sufficient guide to the management of the national economy” (Young and Sloman 1993 pp 66 - 67; see also Young 1993 p 312).

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of this metaphor for the present study is that even in planning national economics, the idea of the family, thrift and balancing the books is before Thatcher’s eyes. John Nott could be forgiven for believing himself part of a nineteenth century liberal cabinet! (Bruce-Jardyne 1984 p 156).

We have already noted that freedom of choice for consumers within an open and competitive market is a major facet of Thatcherism. This is complemented by an economic policy designed to produce the necessary incentives and stability deemed imperative to encourage entrepreneurs and business to optimise their economic activity. The key policies associated with this broad economic aim, as discussed above, have been the implementation of monetarism as an attempt to drive down inflation, a programme of de-nationalisation, and the passing of legislation to curb the influence of Trades Unions. Other industrial measures included a package of reforms aimed at assisting the smaller firm, and encouraging start-ups (see, for example, Tivey 1989 p 146).

We will be examining each of these elements in turn. Let us first remind ourselves of the paradigm on which this economic policy was based, to contextualise the economics of Thatcherism within the overall Thatcherite moral code:

“At the heart of the Conservative mission is something more than economics - however important economics might be: there is a commitment to strengthen, or at least not undermine, the traditional values which enable people to live fulfilling lives without being a threat or a burden to others” (Thatcher 1993 pp 278 - 279).

Yet, as we have noted above, these traditional values must incorporate the freedom of the economic agent within the market place, and the reduction of state “coercion” of the market place, through misplaced interventionism, is perceived to be a key infringement of this freedom. Monetarism, reduction of state involvement in the economy, and privatisation are, then, the key defining characteristics of Thatcherite economics.

6:4:2) Monetarism

It was noted in Section 5:4:3 that Geoffrey Howe's originally stated economic policy was not vastly removed from the approach that the IMF had forced on Healey. The context in which the policies were applied was, however, when during the first Thatcherite recession, there was no change in direction, in spite of clear signs that the monetarist approach would lead to a substantial rise in unemployment and bankruptcies in manufacturing industry (see Riddell 1985, p66 and Gamble 1990 p 102). This adherence to a policy which would lead to economic evils was justified by the need for a free economy governed by monetarist policies as an absolute value in the establishment of the new Britain. Indeed, Thatcher described her economic policies in moral and societal terms:

“Unless we elevate the reduction of inflation to a first priority in policy, moral values, our social and political institutions and the very fabric of our society will fall apart...Inflation is a pernicious

evil capable of destroying any society built on a value system where freedom is paramount" (Thatcher 1977 p 18).

The move from Keynesianism to supply-side/monetarism, as this demonstrates, was never envisaged as a simple alteration in economic policy. It represents rather a paradigm shift from an economic system which has full-employment as its aim, to one in which this is secondary to the reduction of inflation, and where the moral implications of this paradigm shift are recognised explicitly by the key protagonist (see also Bruce-Gardyne 1984 p 59). Again, the moral and philosophical nature of this policy is apparent.

6:4:3) Reduction of Public Expenditure and State Control

The economic aspects of the reduction of state involvement and public expenditure are closely linked, and will be dealt with together here. A significant tranche of public expenditure in the 1960s and 1970s had gone towards supporting the large nationalised sector, and the returning of many public companies to the private sector was a major priority for reasons of efficiency as well as in order to cut the public budget (see Section 6:6:4, below).

As well as the monetarists' economic motivation for reducing public expenditure, there is a political and ideological content to this policy. The involvement of the state should be kept to a minimum in areas where individuals can be empowered to make their own choices, or private enterprise can be utilised instead:

"State intervention is criticised on three main grounds: because in practice it produces worse results than do market solutions; because administrative and bureaucratic methods are inherently inferior to markets as a means of allocating

resources; and because it is objectionable on moral grounds" (Gamble 1990, p47; see also Durham 1989, p65-66; Thatcher 1977 p12; Plant and Hoover, 1991 p29, p56).

Gamble goes on to describe how the New Right economists, particularly those associated with the Institute of Economic Affairs, produced a series of case studies ostensibly demonstrating that in the arena of public provision, a market solution could always be found which improved upon existing state alternatives, which were seen to increase dependency. In areas like housing, health and education, the stage was set for reforms of public policy to facilitate the replacement of state resource allocation by market-based alternatives (Gamble 1990 pp 48-49). These market-led solutions were intended to be less of a drain on the exchequer, and perhaps to altogether do away with much government expenditure, as well as being of higher moral standing, due to their incorporation of the key Thatcherite principle of freedom. Levitas (1986 pp81-91) describes in some detail the Omega File prepared and published by the Adam Smith Institute, which similarly proposes a series of market solutions in areas where state provision had become the norm.

Although later New Right proposals were so radical that even Mrs Thatcher felt herself unable to support them (see Thatcher 1993 p 277, Young 1993 p 339). Her moral dislike of dependency was such that the opportunity to dramatically alter the shape of the welfare state was welcomed by her in favour of a new system characterised by:

"...the discouragement of state dependency and the encouragement of self-reliance, greater use of voluntary bodies including religious and charitable organisationsand, most controversially, built-in incentives towards decent and responsible behaviour" (Thatcher 1993 p 628).

The first Thatcher government saw the passing of the 1980 Housing Act, which provided incentives for the purchase of council houses, and therefore their removal from the public sector. This, according to Peter Riddell, had a strong metaphorical content:

"The most widely noticed distinguishing marks were the double-glazed windows and neo-Georgian front doors in houses which had been bought by their occupiers. These exemplified very much the world of Mrs Thatcher's values of independence and self-reliance" (Riddell 1985 p155).

The second Thatcher administration began in 1981 seriously to withdraw the state from activities which it saw as properly the domain of the private sector. This was demonstrated by the insistence on the contracting out of services such as cleaning, maintenance and catering in hospitals, schools and local authorities. It was expressed in the encouragement for private pension schemes, private health care schemes, the option of private care within the NHS for those with the money to jump queues, reduction of universal entitlements and the expansion of the assisted places scheme for those wishing to attend private schools. All of these reforms were justified in terms of cutting public expenditure, as well as increasing competition and / or choice (Riddell 1985 p138; Gamble 1990 p19).

Unemployment benefit was steadily cut over the Thatcher decade, and pensions and child benefits have declined in real terms (See Kreiger 1986 p 95-96 for the implications of this policy). Cuts in grants to the arts, in support for education - particularly in Universities - in funding for local authorities and the NHS have also been symptomatic of the attempt to remove the state from

people's lives, to make public bodies more self-funding, and to reduce public expenditure thereby.

Later Thatcher governments have enacted legislation which enables hospitals and schools to "opt out" of local government or board control, if they so choose. This is said to increase institutional autonomy, responsibility, and competition.

Diminutions in the power of local authorities have been effected by the reduction of the housing stock, rate-capping of high spending councils, abolition of the metropolitan councils, and the creation of mechanisms for the removal of schools, council estates, colleges and hospitals from local-government type bodies. This indicates that one of the major targets for the removal of state involvement is local authority control. Cynics note the preponderance of labour-controlled councils as a key motive for this policy (e.g. Gamble 1990, p 115).

6:4:4) Privatisation

Following the end of the first Thatcherite recession in 1981, the government began in earnest its programme of privatisation. The list of nationalised industries transferred into private ownership included "British Aerospace, Cable and Wireless, Britoil, British Telecom, British Gas, the water industry, and electricity generation and distribution, but there were many other smaller and ancillary industries involved" (Tivey and Wright 1989 p147; see also Bruce-Jardyne 1984 p 79). Privatisation also had a symbolic significance, however:

"Mrs Thatcher has embraced the theme and the dream that we should have an irreversible widespread ownership of assets and capital in the nation and that this...was the antidote to

British Socialism" (Howell, in Young & Sloman 1986 p74; see also Gamble 1990, p124).

Privatisation, then, was not only intended to reduce public expenditure and state control, but also to extend share-ownership and consumer choice. These aims have all been presented in moral terms by Thatcherites and commentators.⁶ Familiar arguments, using the catchphrases of market efficiency and freedom, are used to defend privatisation, as well as deregulation. As Levitas (1986) notes, writing of the Adam Smith Institute's Omega File:

"Major themes throughout the reports are deregulation and privatisation. Specific policy proposals are supported by appeals to accountability, efficiency, and freedom,...It is assumed that greater accountability will always be achieved by limiting the role of government and increasing the role of the market" (Levitas, 1986, p83).

In terms of its economic policy and legislation, then, the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture set out to impose the discipline and efficiency of the market place upon as many areas of economic life as possible. The end results of this policy were anticipated to be not only reduced public expenditure, but also a reduction in the level of non-market "coercion" of economic agents, and increases in freedom of choice and opportunity. These objectives would also be supported by the use of monetarist policies to control inflation. Freedom and efficiency of the market place were the acid test of Thatcherite economics, and a coherence between the attitudes to freedom, and the actions of the three administrations in the management of the nation's

⁶ For detailed accounts of the privatisation programme, see Bruce-Gardyne 1984 pp 79 - 83; Young 1993 , pp 358 - 363, pp 499 - 500, p 520, p 527; Thatcher 1993 pp 676 - 687.

finances, is incontestable in relation to the three aspects of policy discussed above.

Nonetheless, the Thatcherites did indeed intervene in the market place, in order to achieve certain other of their objectives, and once again, the spectre of the contradiction between the demands for freedom, and for the nurturing of traditional values, can be seen. Perhaps the prime example of intervention in the economy were the repeated and numerous attempts to stimulate *enterprise*, often understood as individual involvement in wealth creation through the generation of new businesses, as well as the protection and development of the existing small firms sector. It is to this facet of Thatcherism which we now turn, noting first that at first blush there would indeed seem to be some inherent tension between this interventionism on the the part of an administration so fundamentally, clearly and consciously opposed to any coercion of market freedom by the state.

6:5) Enterprise

Cuts in public expenditure, as well as increased oil revenues, and the funds raised by privatisations, allowed the Thatcher government to reduce direct taxation. The most significant reductions were for the highest income earners, and are justified as being incentives for those in the nation who do most to create wealth, a group particularly close to the heart of the former Prime Minister. Indeed, a senior civil servant commented that:

"I think she instinctively dislikes anyone not helping in the wealth creation process" (Cooper, in Young & Sloman 1986 p 49).

It is therefore not surprising that the support of enterprise and wealth creation has been a key feature of Thatcherite policy. Unfettered wealth-creation was expected to provide jobs, support the national economy, and do away with the need for an extensive welfare state. Entrepreneurship was furthermore seen to embody many of the traditional values to which the Thatcher school so often referred. The small business sector was supported by government initiatives designed to:

“encourage the formation and expansion of small businesses - the heart of the entrepreneurial spirit, in the view of Mrs Thatcher. The emphasis has been on removing obstacles and providing incentives via over a hundred separate actions” (Riddell 1985 p 183; see also Young & Sloman 1986 pp 71 - 72).

The promotion of the icon of the small-business owner-manager has been peculiarly important. The values said to be represented by such people are those which we have seen are valued as morally positive in their own right - thrift, hard-work, independence, self-responsibility, wealth-creation, family-orientation, and as a living example of Victorian capitalist values. The promotion of these values have supported the notion of freedom as articulated by Joseph and Thatcher, inasmuch as “ enterprise and initiative supplanted fairness and equality as legitimating maxims” (Kreiger 1986 p 91).

It is worth re-iterating at this point that under discussion here is the attitude of policy-makers during the ten years of Thatcherite government, rather than the attitudes of entrepreneurs themselves. Indeed, in so much as any one opinion can ever be ascribed to such a heterogenous group, it has been found that the concept is felt to be of little relevance to them (see Blackburn, Curran, et al 1990) . Nonetheless, the general approval of entrepreneurial values, which

Scase and Goffee (1982) identified, does show general agreement with the Thatcherite view :

“The entrepreneurial middle class functions to legitimate capitalism by providing a material basis for certain “system-maintaining” values. Despite sources of differentiation, proprietors tend to emphasise the desirability of the market, personal ownership, and profit as the major means whereby resources can be rationally allocated in society” (Scase and Goffee 1982 p191).

This understanding of the importance of both enterprise, and the small firms sector, is not, however, universally shared. Ritchie (1987) has claimed that there is not one enterprise culture, but four (at least!); that of the subjects, that of the analysts, that of the sceptics, and that of the believers. The subjects are those who live the experience of enterprise, the small-firm owner managers. The analysts are those who study the enterprise culture, applying reason and building models to understand it. The sceptics view it as a vehicle to:

“...verbalise and perhaps morally anaesthetise, the petty, self-interested, speculator-trader mentality which sustains current casino-capitalism” (Ritchie, 1987, p3).

Finally, there are the believers in the enterprise culture, who market the concept, and who believe with “faith and conviction”, who appear “faithful, enthusiastic, and inspirational”, who carry out “evangelising missionary work” (Ritchie, 1987, p4). It is primarily the believers - including Thatcher and her advisors - who are of interest to our argument. The ecclesiastical language which Ritchie has chosen to describe their commitment to the enterprise culture is not an accident, and reinforces the central thrust of this thesis, that

Thatcherism has a profoundly religious content and articulation at the heart of its ideology. Indeed, Ritchie goes on to describe 'Revivalist' enterprise believers, who seek "societal transformation through self-styled 'cultural revolution'", as expressing religious-theological notions such as self-transformation (Ritchie, 1987, pp 7 - 8). Ritchie's description of what the believers maintain is also insightful and is worth citing in full, as the Thatcherite creed of enterprise:

"Everyman has 'entrepreneurial' potential; small businesses are the time-honoured natural engines of economic growth and prolific new job generators too; that the modern Britain of the 1960's and 1970's sadly neglected these salutary home-truths; and that their 'new Britain', inspired with some 'vision that works', is fast becoming another 'enterprise society' just like the USA and its counterparts" (Ritchie, 1987, p4).

Given the importance of Hayek as an influence upon Thatcher and her associates, it is instructive to review his thoughts on the importance of enterprise. Belsey reviews his position, as it is set forth in "Knowledge, Evolution and Society" (1983), and notes that Hayek begins by praising the first traders and money lenders, who in the teeth of religious and cultural opposition, began the process of developing "commercial morality, an exchange economy and the market society" (Belsey, 1986 p 178). It is explicitly noted that usury was long opposed by Christianity, and that this presented a temporary stumbling block to progress. After two or three millennia had passed, this project had become sufficiently ingrained in Western civilisation to no longer be deemed revolutionary, but to have assumed the place of tradition. The key protagonists - heros - in the market system as understood by Hayek, nevertheless remain the owners of small family firms:

"It was the order of small scale capitalism, the petit-bourgeois world of the independent farmer, craftsman, journeyman and merchant...The family, the patriarchal family, was important to the new order, for the enterprises were family- based" (Belsey, 1986 p178).

Hayek's mythology of the entrepreneur thus sees his heroes as establishing a new traditionalism, based upon the family, and upon direct participation in the market exchanges, but born out of struggle with established religion.

For Thatcher, as much as for Hayek, the owners of small firms are seen to embody those traditional values which she holds most dear; responsibility for family, hard work, wealth creation, and thrift. By freeing and instigating these values more widely, more people would be enabled to participate directly in the market place, with substantial gains to be won by the national economy. Paradoxically, those subscribing to, and enacting, these deeply traditional values would at the same time be the most free, by liberating themselves from market place constraints. There are some important points which demand airing at this juncture. Firstly, the small firm de facto lacks market place clout because of its size, and is thus deeply constrained by the vagaries of the market place. Economic freedom for the small firm owner is typically an illusion, given the power of larger organisations, and especially the demands of lenders and stakeholders. Secondly, the freedom of the market place is, in the Thatcherite analysis, to be purchased only at the expense of subscribing to a particular view of society, one which emphasises competition, self-reliance, and thrift. Again, one must ask, what price individual freedom? Thirdly, the importance of family as the focus of small firms in the mythology we have been discussing, reduces the importance of the individual, and the key economic agent becomes the family unit, or rather, the pater familias. Thus, economic freedom is offered only to a restricted and special group within society, one

which does not include Thatcher herself (this issue of family is returned to below, under Victorian Values). Finally, the question of state intervention in the market must be addressed. By promoting enterprise, the Thatcher administration was extending to one part of the economy what it explicitly and vehemently refused to others; subsidies, special tax provisions, and some degree of protection. In order to achieve the end of promoting entrepreneurship, intervention in the market place was justified, and the support of small firm creation and growth was a major plank of Thatcherite economic policy. Once again, the underlying contradiction between the conservatism of the Thatcherite's social theorising, and the liberalism of the majority of their economic thought, rears its head.

6:6) Victorian Values

Margaret Thatcher has explicitly referred to the Victorian era as the hey-day of enterprise. But these references are notable for her attempt to demonstrate that the self-interest which she is accused of promoting is typically accompanied by benefaction and works of charity, for example:

"The Victorian age, which saw the burgeoning of free enterprise, also saw the greatest expansion of voluntary philanthropic activity of all kinds...The Victorian age has been very badly treated by socialist propaganda. It was an age of constant and constructive endeavour in which the desire to improve the lot of the ordinary person was a powerful factor" (Thatcher 1977, pp110-111; see also *ibid* p97, Young and Sloman 1986 p 85).

Peter Riddell raises the spectre of an influence whom we have discussed in Chapter Four, and whose homilies on independence and self-improvement

can indeed now be seen to be remarkably close to the position of Thatcher herself:

“The dominant vision has been that of middle-class achievement and striving, a world of Victorian values and Samuel Smiles” (Riddell 1985, p231 See also Bruce-Jardyne 1984 p178).

As with so much of Thatcher's thought, the origins of these values are often given as being the beliefs of her father, Albert (see, for example, Young 1993 p5). Given the middle-class nature of these Victorian values, it is perhaps not surprising that Kreiger describes suburbia as the “reality behind the catchphrase”, noting that it was the suburban, lower-middle class vote which won the first election victory for Thatcher. He somewhat scathingly refers to “the ‘new Victorians’ of the shopping mall and package tour”, but astutely notes that the ideological focus of the Tory party has “shifted from the playing fields of Eton to the housing estates of Grantham” (Kreiger 1986 p 63). Denis Healey felt that Thatcher had “hijacked the Tory party from the landowners and given it to the estate agents” (Healey, in Young and Sloman 1986 p 55).

Certainly, one important aspect of Victorianism for the Thatcherites, as well as its enterprise ethic, free-trade movement, and the model of the radical non-conformists, is the rise of the middle-class, what Thatcher calls “ordinary people”. Thatcherite “ordinary people” are free individuals, but also members of traditional families, and communities. Self-reliance, hard work, thrift and increasing property ownership enable *bread-winners* to “do well” in providing for strong nuclear families. These families in turn are the locus where children learn the traditional values needed to replicate their parents' solid success, and from whence the charity of the voluntary sector springs to the aid of the less fortunate. Families of ordinary people are thus seen as providing the bed-

rock of the nation's moral and economic foundations. Thatcher's commitment to the Victorian constructions of family life, complete with pater familias teaching morality and discipline to well-cared for children, is a recurring theme in her work, and merits a special section in her memoirs, where she writes that

“We could only get to the roots of crime and much else besides by concentrating on strengthening the traditional family...the stability of the family is a condition for social order and economic progress; the independence of the family is also a powerful check on the authority of the state” (Thatcher 1993 pp 628 - 630).

The concept of the traditional family has a subtext, however, which does not sit entirely easily in the mouth of Britain's first female prime minister, in that for each pater familias, there is anticipated to be a female warming the hearth. The Victorian concept of family sees “the man as breadwinner and economic provider and the woman as economic dependent but consumer of goods and services in the market on behalf of her family” (David, 1986, p139). Economic freedom within the market place may liberate men from coercion, then, but women are disenfranchised from participation, metaphorically and hortatively, if not literally.

Some commentators have less than generously seen the belief in Victorian values expressed primarily in Thatcherism through “greatly increased expenditure on law and order...and a strong interest in developing a more active role for the voluntary sector” (Deakin 1989 p123).

The emergence of an enthusiasm for acts of charity, and an encouragement of voluntarism as a means of aiding the poor and disadvantaged is indeed a major theme of Thatcherism. It is the corollary of reducing state expenditure on

care for these groups, and includes the trend towards care in the community, within which individuals are made responsible not only for themselves, but also for others. The place of the individual (*pater familias*), making choices for himself, owning property, engaging in voluntary work, being enterprising, but above all taking responsibility for himself in freedom from the state, is central to the Thatcherite cosmos (see, for example, Thatcher 1977, p97, 1993 pp 626 - 627). For all the importance of these Victorian Values, however, as Gamble has pointed out:

"The New Right does not represent a simple return to a nineteenth-century politics of liberal political economy and Victorian values...Their doctrines are not intended to recreate some lost golden age but to make the free economy the new Utopia which can guide the development of contemporary industrial societies" (Gamble 1990 p37)

Nonetheless, Mrs Thatcher's own commitment to these values has been clear throughout her public life, and she herself writes that "I never felt uneasy about praising 'Victorian Values' or 'Victorian Virtues' " (Thatcher 1993 p 627).

6:7) Morality

Margaret Thatcher, and several of her leading supporters and advisors, have not held back from seizing the moral high ground. There are several explicitly theological apologetics of Thatcherism, which show a high degree of sophistication, and these will be dealt with fully in the following chapter. However, since her *soi-disant* Christianity forms the basis of Thatcher's morality, they will be introduced briefly in this section.

In several of her own speeches, Thatcher refers to her Christian belief as shaping her political views, and her Methodist up-bringing is well known.

Particularly singled out for defence are the doctrine of freedom of choice, which is implicitly linked with the Christian doctrine of the same name, and the respectability of self-love and wealth-creation.

Self-love and wealth-creation are justified in language which is familiar to us from the Puritans onwards, and which maintains that as long as one loves others as much as oneself, the Christian imperative is being met. Wealth-creation is seen as a morally praise-worthy activity inasmuch as it enables the wealth-creator to help others, and provides jobs and wages for others.

Freedom of choice is seen as being that which defines a moral creature, as we have seen in paragraph 6:4, above. Unless one is free to take decisions which have a moral character, one is not a moral agent. Unless one has the opportunity to be a moral agent, one can never fulfil one's responsibilities to God and others, because one can never be good. Therefore, runs the implicit corollary, by removing from people the opportunity to take their own decisions, the collectivist state removes the opportunity of salvation from people. This is clearly some way removed from the determinism and pre-election of Calvinism. The Tory party is itself seen to be an embodiment of the religious tradition of the nation. Indeed, this claim is made quite explicitly by Thatcher herself:

“The Tories began as a Church party, concerned with the Church and the State in that order, before our concern extended to the economy, and many other fields which politics now touches. Religion gives us not only values - a scheme of things in which economic, social, penal policy have their place - but also our historic roots” (Thatcher 1977 p 105).

6:8) Attacks on Collectivism

6:8:1) Introduction

From her time as leader of the opposition until the present day, Margaret Thatcher has been irrevocably opposed to any form of “collectivism”. This term has been used to describe the encroachment of the state into areas properly the domain of the private individual, and the power of a range of institutions over business, as well as national and international socialism.

The nationalisation and subsidisation of ailing private companies had been particularly criticised by the Thatcherites, as had the increased role of the state in the provision of health, education, housing and welfare payments. Heavy taxation to pay for these initiatives were attacked fiercely as removing incentives. The unions were decried as removing the freedom of the employer. National pay bodies and advisory councils which set parameters within which industry was constrained to operate were also condemned. Many early attacks on collectivism and socialism explicitly warned of the dangers of becoming like a satellite soviet state, and Reagan's view of the “evil empire” was clearly shared.

Once in power, this rhetoric was turned into action and legislation. Many consultative, advisory and interventionist bodies were abolished, with the aim of reducing the public sector's size and influence. The power of the unions was undermined, by a series of legislative changes, enacted slowly at first, and by head-on confrontations, as at Wapping and with the miners.

As we have seen above the privatisation programme first concentrated on returning state industries to private hands, either by selling them off to private concerns as a whole, or by stock-market sell-offs. This policy was then extended to the national utilities, in the name of encouraging competition. Without selling off schools, hospitals and universities or prisons, the internal structure and

management of these organisations has been altered dramatically. Schools and hospitals have been removed as far as possible from local government and put in the hands of local governors. Many organisations have been forced to contract-out aspects of their activities. Dramatically reduced funding has curbed the freedom and independence of the Universities, and new initiatives have tried to make undergraduate courses meet employers' needs.

6:8:2) The Confrontation with the Unions

As MacInnes (1987) has pointed out, the antagonism of Thatcherism to the unions is consistent with the economic theory of Hayek and Friedman:

“Hayek's view was that trade union action, by introducing an element of monopoly in the labour market and raising wages, drove up unemployment” (MacInnes 1987 p47).

Friedman's monetarist stance differs extensively from Hayek's Austrian rejection of macro-economic theory, although he did claim that inflationary pressure could be created by union-led expectation of regular and substantial wage increases.

The major criticism levelled against the unions was that they prevented market forces from operating effectively, and the image of the extensive industrial unrest of the 1970s was used to demonstrate the threat posed by the unions to the well-being of society. This demonology of trades unions was an explicit part of the anti-"collectivist" rhetoric of the Thatcher governments, which felt in particular that negotiated national pay settlements were a distortion of market conditions, and quickly moved to dismantle many Wage Councils.

Three significant pieces of legislation curbing union power and rights were passed during four years, and confrontations with the unions entered into. The first Employment Act (1980), began the legislative attacks on the Unions by:

“abolishing the trade union recognition procedures and restricting unfair dismissal and maternity leave rights...it made secondary picketing unlawful and opened secondary industrial action (i.e. sympathetic action) to claims for damages by removing immunities” (MacInnes 1987 p 54).

In addition, closed shops were restricted, and the conscience clause extended beyond religious rationales for non-unionisation (MacInnes, op cit; see also Tivey 1989 p147). Norman Tebbit's 1982 Act strengthened the legislation regarding closed shops, allowing retrospective claims for damages from dismissed (non-unionised) workers for increased damages. Injunctions and sequestration of assets for unlawful actions were allowed by the Act, and employers' freedom to sack strikers increased (MacInnes 1987 p 54).

The third Act (1984) demanded secret ballots for election of union executives, and before industrial action. Members were given the option not to pay union political levies, and benefit payments to strikers' dependants were to have strike pay deducted, whether or not it was actually received (MacInnes, 1987 p 54).

Behind the legislation was a deep hatred of the trade union movement, perceived as the exemplification of the worst evils of socialism by the Thatcherites. Prior asserts that Thatcher “ always loathed the trade unions” (Young and Sloman 1986 p 72), and Young describes the confrontation over GCHQ as being a battle between good and evil (Young 1993 pp 322 - 323).

The confrontation with the miners is particularly noteworthy for its ideological content, and seems to have been, if not deliberately engineered, then certainly encouraged, in line with an early (1978) plan by Nicholas Ridley which proposed, among other things, building up coal stocks, and changing union legislation (see, for example, MacInnes 1987 p46, Thatcher 1993 pp 339 - 378, Young 1993 pp 367 - 379). Kreiger sees this incident in class terms, writing:

"It is a very rare post-war European government that would intentionally invite bitter and unregenerate class struggle in an effort to restore a political balance in class forces" (Kreiger 1986 pp107-108).

The battle with the miners was seen as an ethical crusade against the evils of socialism, as Thatcher shows, in a chapter entitled "Mr Scargill's insurrection":

"The coal strike was about far more than uneconomic pits. It was a political strike...What the strike's defeat established was that Britain could not be made ungovernable by the Fascist Left. Marxists wanted to defy the law of the land in order to defy the laws of economics. They failed, and in doing so demonstrated just how mutually dependent the free economy and a free society really are" (Thatcher 1993 pp 377-378).

6:8:3) Opposition to Socialism and Communism

The very strong language used above indicates the depth of revulsion which the Thatcherites in general, and Thatcher in particular, felt towards socialism and communism. This is clearly a kind of moral outrage against what is perceived to be the removal of the essential human freedoms, whether economic or political. Symbolic language and metaphors are also used to explain the terrors of the left, in a way that moves beyond mere political

critique almost into demonology. A further example of this horror of communism was given in a speech about the environment made in September 1988. Mrs Thatcher compared the problems of the industrial West with those of the former Eastern Block, noting that:

"The scarred landscape, dying forests, poisoned rivers and sick children of the former communist states bear tragic testimony to which systems worked better, both for people and the environment" (Thatcher 1993 p 641).

One of her key shared beliefs with her friend and ally Ronald Reagan was that the West must do everything in its power to dominate and liberate the Eastern Block. Thatcher, and other writers, describe their joint stance using phrases like:

- "crusade for freedom" (Thatcher 1993 p 776),
- "the cause" (ibid.),
- "co-religionists in this reassertion of their faith" (Young & Sloman 1986 p 129)
- "crusading missionary spirit" (Young 1993 p 225), and
- "members of the same church...defying the infidel " (ibid. p225),

This ire and righteous indignation was appeased by the collapse of communism, and Thatcher is proud of her role as adviser to Gorbachev and other Eastern block leaders, believing that this may have contributed to the introduction of market-economics and democracy (see, for example, Young 1993 p 389, p 616, Young and Sloman 1986 p104).

In Britain, her opposition to socialism exhibited many of the same expressions and opinions which characterised her loathing of communism, and the same crusading spirit was evident in her first conference speech, before the 1979 election, when she proclaimed that "Britain and socialism are not the same thing, and as long as I have health and strength they never will be" (Thatcher, in Young 1993 p 103). Elsewhere she claims that "socialism...played on the worst

aspects of human nature. It...literally demoralised communities and families" (Thatcher 1993 p 625). Young somewhat floridly describes her mission against socialism as:

"...a battle not merely against the enemy but the Antichrist...the chance to banish from our land the dark, divisive clouds of Marxist socialism" (Young 1993 p352).

6:9) The Strong State

Concomitant with the free market and a reduction in the role of the state, a strengthening of the remaining state duties is promoted: stronger enforcement of the minimal rules of the market, a strong national defence, a safety-net to cope with the excesses of the market, and means for dealing with - and punishing - the perceived lowering of national values. In practical terms, this translates into a strong and loyal police force, tight immigration policies, increased defence expenditure (until the fall of communism), and no relaxation of secrecy laws. This paradoxical aspect of Thatcherism has been noted by many commentators, including Durham, who writes that:

"Getting the state off the people's back and putting statist forces to rout is combined in Thatcherism with an equivalent emphasis on the restoration of authority" (Durham 1989, p 63; see also Gamble 1990, pp 31-32).

The need to provide a credible defence to the dangers of communism lead to extensive rearmament. The need to curb the unions and inner-city unrest led to increasing police involvement in both these socio-political arenas. An attempt to root out the "enemies of the free society" who had penetrated "the Universities, the schools, the media, the Unions, the Churches, the Civil Service, even the security forces" led to centralisation and the reduction of funding for

education, union legislation and confrontation , warnings to bishops to keep out of politics and look to the nations morals instead, and the promotion of more amenable civil servants and senior police officers (Gamble 1989, p 58).

The paradox which lies in the combination of the strong state with policies promoting economic freedom is not wasted on David Edgar:

"It's possible to see Thatcherism not as a liberatarian ideology, calling for the dismantling of the state, but as the articulation of demands for the reassertion of the paternal authority of the state over its pampered and infantilised subjects, for the firing of the indulgent nanny and the hiring of the no-nonsense martinet. From this perspective, the crucial role of the free market is not to emancipate the entrepreneur, but to chastise the feckless, an instrument not of liberation but of discipline" (Edgar, 1986, p75).

Yet this to oversimplify a complicated set of beliefs, inasmuch as we have seen that the majority of the Thatcherite economic policies were indeed designed to liberate the market, to reduce state intervention, and to free individuals to act as wealth-creating economic agents. The tension which Edgar describes so elegantly is surely to be found in the combination within the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture of elements drawn from both the Neo-conservative and Neo-liberal wings of the New Right. The Thatcherites themselves attempt to conjoin the two poles of New Right thought by insisting that the coercion of the strong state is limited to those areas where the protection of market freedoms is required. Nonetheless, some questions remain to be answered concerning the paramouncy of individuals as against family and nation, and the reduction of state control in economic areas, combined with its growth in social areas. Economic freedom is linked to the desire to instill traditional values, and both

are to be protected by the full force of the law, enforced severely and extensively.

For the ideal type of Neo-conservatism, as described by Belsey, and presented above, a major focus of attention was the preservation of the nation. Levitas has noted just how strongly this circumscribes freedom, and notes that:

“ Freedom is redefined to coincide with a view of the good (i.e. virtuous) society, in sharp contrast to the concept of freedom inherent in neo-liberalism and free market economics. It resembles closely the notion of true freedom being willing subordination to God (or in this case the nation) which has traditionally been preached by the established Church” (Levitas, 1986 p 92).

Not surprisingly, a strongly nationalistic foreign policy, which chooses to ally Britain closely with New-Right America rather than Social-Democratic Europe, is also part of this aspect of Thatcherism. The Falklands War symbolises many of Thatcherism's principles: a firm defensive role, nationalism, a reminder of the “greatness” of the nineteenth century, the importance of the alliance with America, and the personal charisma of the leader herself (Young 1993 p 281).

The boundaries of the state may have been rolled back, then, but where state involvement remains it has become increasingly centralised and authoritarian. The aim of Thatcherite developments towards this strong state in a free market economy are perhaps best expressed by Thatcher herself, who describes the quest for sufficient *stability* being created by the state on a number of levels providing people with the wherewithal to concentrate on pursuing their freedom of opportunity:

“It was the job of the government to establish a framework of stability - whether constitutional stability, the rule of law, or the economic stability provided by sound money - within which individual families and businesses were free to pursue their own dreams and ambitions” (Thatcher 1993 p14.)

6:10) Conclusion

This chapter has, following an overview of the evolution of Thatcherism, attempted to begin the process of creating an ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, concentrating on those phenomena known demotically as the Enterprise Culture. Key phenomena which have been abstracted so as to create this one-sided utopia have included:

- Freedom of choice and individualism
- Freedom of opportunity
- The economics of the free market
- Reduction of state involvement in the market
- Enterprise and family
- Victorian Values,
- Anti-collectivism,
- Morality as a legitimating paradigm, and
- A strong state to ensure the implementation of these objectives.

That there are some seeming paradoxes contained within this ideal type can be seen to a large degree to be the result of the combination of Neo-conservatives attitudes to tradition and authority, and Neo-liberal demands for economic freedom. Some of the key areas of concern and dubiety which were encountered related to the questions of whether:

1. Market place freedom is not rather subservience to a new set of (market) dictates, particularly for the smaller firm.
2. Participation in the market place is contingent upon subscribing to a well-circumscribed set of socio-economic tenets (such as the importance of family, thrift and hard work).
3. Rejections of re-distributive policies on the grounds of specific moral content in a pluralistic age do not beg questions concerning their own ethical groundings.
4. The decision to intervene in the market place in defence of certain kinds of economic agents (small firm owner managers) is consistent with the withdrawal of intervention elsewhere.
5. There might be a fundamental contraction between the two poles of New Right thought which meet in Thatcherism.

As we move on, in Chapter Seven, to examine more closely the philosophical and theological underpinning of Thatcherism, by extending further the individual ideal type under construction, it is to be hoped that the resolution of at least some of these issues will become clear. However, should they fail to do so, we should not forget Ruth Levitas's ironic warning that:

"It is only from an idealist position that it could appear even remotely plausible that logical contradictions in themselves undermine the strength of the Thatcherism" (Levitas, 1986, p11).

The axiomatic values expressed above were seen to have been replicated in action throughout the three Thatcher administrations, and examples of

Thatcherite philosophy in practice were given. The programme has been succinctly - if somewhat loadedly - summarised by Thatcher thus:

"In our first term we revived the economy and reformed the trade union law. In our second, we extended wealth and capital ownership more widely than ever before. In our third we would give ordinary people the kind of choice and quality in public services that the rich already enjoyed" (Thatcher 1993 p 572).

These political acts were the practical reflection of a complex philosophy, as we have attempted to demonstrate. Based upon the values of economic, social and moral freedom, of thrift, of hard work and a commitment to the family, Thatcherism created itself as a political response to the perceived decadence and decay of post-war Britain. This was a crusade indeed, fuelled by a profound sense of moral rectitude, and passionately pursued. The morality upon which Thatcher stood so firmly, convinced that it was indeed the high ground, was thoroughly religious in content and nature. This in itself is a peculiarity in a modern British politician, and it is to Thatcher's religious beliefs that we turn in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

Theologies of Enterprise

7:1) Introduction

In both the introduction to this study, as well as in Chapter Five's methodological excursus, it was established that a major task in achieving the thesis' objective, is the construction of an individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. A two-phase approach to this task was proposed.

The first phase, carried out and documented in Chapter Six, created a model of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, by abstracting phenomena (both teleological and axiological), of particular relevance for the one-sided perspective which shapes the study. Nevertheless, given that our perspective is ethical and theological, it was perhaps a surprisingly wide spectrum of phenomena which were found to possess moral and religious content, and were thus included in Chapter Six's model. The ideal type with which the chapter concluded was represented thus:

- Freedom of choice and individualism
- Freedom of opportunity
- The economics of the free market
- Reduction of state involvement in the market
- Enterprise and family
- Victorian Values,
- Anti-collectivism,
- Morality as a legitimating paradigm, and
- A strong state to ensure the implementation of all these objectives.

Chapter Seven will now continue the development of the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, by examining the theological defences and

underpinnings, used to ascribe positive moral value to the above constellation of phenomena. Having completed the identification of the individual ideal type, its analysis will become the major focus of the study, using the twin tests of historicity and internal consistency as discussed extensively above. Some part of this analysis will be undertaken in Chapter Seven, as an integral part of the presentation of the ideal type, and it will be extended into the final two chapters of the study. Successful analysis will enable the testing of the original assumptions which circumscribe the present thesis. Thatcher herself has described her mission in rousing words:

"Let me give you my vision: a man's right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the state as servant and not as master: these are the British inheritance. They are the essence of a free country, and on that freedom all others depend" (Thatcher, in Young 1993 p 103).

The historical review in Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five indicated the religious roots of some of these values, whether theologically, or because of the pioneering influence and example of church "enterprise".

The discussion will now move forward, to examine more closely what the specifically religious content of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture is. This is facilitated by the fact that a number of apologists for Thatcherism are also committed Christians, and have sought explicitly to justify one in terms of the other. The chapter will start with a short section re-inforcing the importance of religion to Mrs Thatcher herself, and attempting to explain her conception of theology and the church. Although Thatcherism stretches beyond its main protagonist, her views and beliefs are nonetheless of particular relevance.

Secondly, the chapter will deal with the apologetic writing which aims to theologically justify key enterprise concepts. For many of the component parts of Thatcherism discussed in Chapter Six, there exists at least some attempt to provide a Christian under-pinning for adoption and promotion of the tenet. Indeed, much of the Thatcherite writing on theology takes the form of a defence for wealth-creation, individualism, or freedom. It is to these defences that we shall turn next, focusing on the writings of Thatcher and of those associated with the Social Affairs Unit.

Beyond these relatively simple and disjointed defences of one or more enterprise tenet, there is a deeper and broader body of writing, which attempts to provide a coherent theology of modern capitalism, or of the enterprise culture. At this level, less work exists, with the two most notable theologies of enterprise being those by Novak (1982) and Griffiths (1984). These two writers have attempted to pull together the views developed in the series of ad-hoc defences into a unified whole. Their unified schemes therefore merit investigation separately from the ad-hoc defences, being qualitatively and quantitatively different in nature. The third section of this chapter will review and analyse these holistic theologies.

It should further be noted that although there is a paucity of material aiming to draw together many or all of the enterprise themes into a single consistent theology, some of the "ad-hoc defenders" draw on this New Right Christian paradigm. For example, many of the other writers noted above explicitly look for coherent theological underpinning in referring to doctrines of creation, the of the two realms, of the place of the incarnation, and so on. These briefer and more diffuse notes will be used to supplement the co-ordinating theology of Novak and Griffiths, so as to build up a picture of the religious and philosophical beliefs which may be termed the theology of enterprise.

As well as presenting this Enterprise Theology, the present chapter will subject it to analysis and criticism, as noted above. The doctrine will be examined for consistency: is there, for example, a contradiction between pronounced beliefs in the fall, original sin, and the two realms, and those in the imago dei, freedom and responsibility, and the duty to create? The soteriology, teleology, ethics and iconography/hagiography of enterprise theology will also be discussed. Theological criticism levelled by non-right thinkers against enterprise theology will be presented in Chapter Eight. The aim here is rather to examine whether Enterprise Theology is valid within its own frame of reference.

7:2) The Theology of Thatcher

The construction of a Thatcherite ideal-type in Chapter Six highlighted moral underpinning, a significant part of New Right philosophy. Mrs Thatcher and her commentators do not hesitate to assert the religious content of this moral paradigm, nor the importance of religion to her:

"I believe in... 'Judaeo-Christian' values: indeed my whole political philosophy is based on them" (Thatcher 1993 p509¹).

Whilst the remainder of this chapter will concentrate on the content of Thatcherite theology, it is important first to establish the relative importance of religion and theology to the former prime minister herself. Perhaps the place of religion in the life of Margaret Thatcher, and the importance which she accords it, was best demonstrated by her choice of words upon entering Downing Street for the first time. Commentators noted with surprise that the prayer for peace of St Francis of Assisi was invoked as illustrative of the spirit of Thatcherism. This surprise turned to scorn and sarcasm as peace seemed increasingly low on the Thatcher agenda (see, for example, Bruce-Gardyne

¹ See also *ibid.* p 753, Young & Sloman 1986 p 15, Young 1993 pp 418 - 9)

1984 p177, Young 1993 p137², Young and Sloman 1986 p 79). Yet Thatcher maintains that this prayer accurately reflected her mission, as:

"St Francis prayed for more than peace...The forces of error, doubt and despair were so firmly enshrined in British Society, as the 'winter of discontent' had just powerfully illustrated, that overcoming them would not be possible without some measure of discord" (Thatcher 1993 p 19).

In this statement, the nature of Thatcher's belief is clear; the battle against the socialist powers of darkness is indeed a crusade! Her theology was presented in formal public speeches no less than three times, including the famous *Sermon on the Mound* to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Her memoirs suggest that her religious beliefs not only permeate her political life, but her private life as well. She describes Jimmy Carter and George Thomas approvingly as "deeply committed Christians" (Thatcher 1993 p 68 and p 34). She prays, or attends church, at moments of significance in her life. Examples of this occur after the murder of her friend and colleague Ian Gow (ibid. p 414), on her visit to Moscow (ibid. p 479), and waiting for news of the Brighton bomb (ibid. p 381). The night before the 1979 election her final thoughts before sleep are "man proposes and God disposes" (ibid. p 15). In 1988, Young tells us, she read the Old Testament from cover to cover (Young 1993 p 425 - 426). Clark (1993, p2) is surely right to claim that "Mrs Thatcher took religion very seriously and was motivated by a specifically religious concept of her mission as prime minister".

² "As a promise it was misleading, and as a bid for saintly association it misfired, since, although attributed to St Francis of Assisi, the words are in fact a piece of nineteenth-century piety" .

There is unanimity among commentators in ascribing the roots of this personal and political belief-system to Thatcher's upbringing, and especially to the influence of her father. Alfred Roberts was a Methodist lay preacher, the owner of a small business, and a councillor. The family went to church twice on Sunday, and Alfred's pietism shaped the family's life and attitudes. Hugo Young describes Alfred in terms which will by now be familiar:

"He was by nature a cautious thrifty fellow, who had inherited an unquestioning admiration for certain Victorian values; hard work, self-help, rigorous budgeting and a firm belief in the immorality of extravagance...The spiritual dimension through which this commitment to self-help was filtered was entirely of a piece. Alfred and Beatrice Roberts were both dedicated Methodists" (Young 1993 pp5-6³).

Young goes on to note that the Roberts' family followed an "attenuated" version of Methodism, which placed almost exclusive emphasis on "order, precision and attention to detail" (ibid. p 6). Whether attenuated or not, Mrs Thatcher not only adopted her father's beliefs, but expected that everyone else should hold them too. When the prelates of the Church of England spoke out against the effects of Thatcherism, her response was a shocked incredulity. The then Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, aroused her ire by the non-triumphant tone of the Service of Thanksgiving for victory in the Falklands. Young sees in this disagreement the beginnings of "a long, sometimes venomous distancing" between Thatcher and the Church of England's leaders.

Perhaps the most verbally violent disputes between the Thatcherites and the Church of England hierarchy arose after the publication of *Faith in the City*, in

³ See also Young and Sloman 1986 p 15, p 19

1985. This review into the state of the inner cities was profoundly critical of Thatcherism and its effects, as we shall discover in Chapter Seven. The Conservatives, shocked at this confirmation that the established Church was some way from being the Tory party at prayer, rose in unanimous condemnation. *Faith in the City* was damned as being collectivist - even Marxist - and as having no place for individual salvation and action within its society-based framework (see Young 1993 pp 416 - 417). Mrs Thatcher herself gave the impression of being particularly disappointed, since she saw the Church as the most important natural guide and instigator of the family values and voluntarism she so fervently espoused (Thatcher 1993 p 629, p 631).

The Bishop of Durham was particularly singled out for charges of political and theological heresy. Voicing support for the miners, questioning the enterprise culture, doubting the literal verity of the resurrection, he was dismissed by Thatcher as the first cuckoo of spring. The tabloid media assisted with the demonisation process of this former Professor of Theology, until he became viewed as "a many-sided incarnation of the devil" (Young 1993 p 417).

Curiously, Thatcher glosses over her differences with the Church of England in her memoirs, restricting herself to occasional swipes, en passant. For example, she refers to meeting with Richard O'Brien in 1979, who was then Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, and also of the committee to appoint the new Archbishop of Canterbury. Mrs Thatcher wryly remarks what a pity it was that Sir Richard had not managed to combine his two jobs so as to provide a training scheme for the bishops (Thatcher 1993 p 31). Later, she visits York Minster during the Miners Strike, after the fire caused by lightning, and makes a reference to this being seen by some as "divine punishment...for the wayward theology of leading Anglican clerics" (ibid. p 365). The only outright criticisms of clerics are of Cardinal O'Faiach, for his perceived Irish nationalism

(ibid. p 408), and of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy, who she sees as being in the pocket of the communists (ibid. p 479).

Mrs Thatcher is more forthcoming about her feelings on Judaism, and her affection for Lord Jakobovits in particular. She borrows phrases from him (ibid. p 408), wishes that Christians of similar rank would "take a leaf out of the teaching of Britain's wonderful former Chief Rabbi" (ibid. p 510). Whilst careful not to deny the importance of the New Testament, she is respectful of the Old Testament Law, as well as seeing herself as a supporter of Jews in Britain, Israel and the former Soviet Union (ibid. pp 509 - 510; see also Young 1993 p 423).

Chapter Six began to illustrate the content of Margaret Thatcher's religious beliefs, which centre around notions of freedom, enterprise, duty to the family, hard work and thrift. This section has attempted to demonstrate the depth and nature of her religious commitment⁴. It has shown that the former Prime Minister not only based her political thought - and hence the enterprise culture - upon her theological beliefs, but that these, inherited from her father, shaped her private life. Her disagreements with the Church of England assume still greater significance when the great importance of Church and Christianity to her are realised. The next section of this chapter will now review the theological apologetics of the ethics of enterprise. Having examined the nature of Thatcher's beliefs, we will review the content of Thatcherite Theology.

7:3) Theological Apologetic for Enterprise Values

7:3:1) Freedom

Introduction

We noted in Chapter Four that freedom of choice and opportunity were key components of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Not surprisingly, then, we also

⁴ "Mrs Thatcher really cares about religion and reads and thinks about it!" Clark 1993 p10

find a duet of strongly argued theological justifications for this position. These encompass:

- 1) A soteriological argument, based upon the need to choose a good path, only possible in a free society.
- 2) An argument which attacks Christian theologies of the perceived alternative - redistributive justice - as dangerous radical millenarianism.

The Soteriological Defence of (Economic) Freedom

Although man is born sinful, into a world fallen from grace, he may seek salvation through freely choosing to follow the good. This is the only route available to find God, and in making it such the Creator also permits man to choose evil. Without this possibility, choice, and hence freedom, would be meaningless. The Enterprise Culture, with its many-faceted composition, is the form of society which most readily permits man to exercise this freedom and to find his way to God's grace:

"The freedom to be Christian depends on freedom to sin. The acceptance of the imperfect world where the individual seeks to better himself through the love of God and of his neighbour is a fundamental principle implicit in all Christian tradition" (Pomian - Sczednicki and Tomsy, 1984, p117).

This is one of the most notable themes in the writing of Margaret Thatcher herself, as we noted in Chapter Six above, where she is quoted as stating that "good and evil only have meaning insofar as man is free to choose" (Thatcher, 1979, p96-97). Elsewhere she writes that:

"There are many difficult things about freedom: it does not give you safety; it creates moral dilemmas for you; it requires self-discipline; it imposes great responsibilities; but such is the destiny of man and in such consists his glory and salvation" (Thatcher, 1989 p70).

Other writers note that the political and economic freedom provided by the framework of the free market in a democratic state is necessary for teleological reasons. Only within a state which offers liberty to its citizens is man free to fulfil his divine destiny:

"The inner spiritual liberty of man proclaimed in the Gospels implies the outer and social freedom needed for its completion" (Opitz 1970 p 93 ⁵).

An implication of this doctrine of freedom is that Thatcherite individualism also has a theological content. Making one's own choices emphasises self-responsibility, and this focuses freedom firmly on the self. It should also be recalled that among the criticisms made of Faith in the City was that it neglected to promote individual salvation. Implicit in Enterprise Theology is that personal spiritual salvation, rather than communal striving to achieve the Kingdom of God in the here-and-now, is the religious objective of all true believers.

Thus, this argument states that the route to salvation is to be found in each individual choosing the good path, and that this ethical freedom of choice is contingent upon economic and political freedom. (The second theological

⁵ See also Young 1993 p 419 on "the free will that linked the earthly and the heavenly kingdoms"

defence of freedom of choice and opportunity moves one stage further, as we shall shortly see, and decries the alternative to economic freedom - redistributive justice.) Individualism will be discussed in more detail below, but at this juncture it is important to answer the second proposition of this argument, namely that religious and soteriological freedoms depend upon a type of social and economic liberty which is only expressed within the Enterprise Culture. Novak terms this the argument from autonomy, and claims that "a market system enhances the individuals scope for and frequency of acts of choice" (Novak, 1993, p10).

The claim that a modern Western market democracy is the only suitable societal structure for the enactment of Christian freedom, and the winning of salvation, is open to obvious criticism. Claiming that true freedom, and true salvation, can only be won when "the outer and social freedom needed for its completion" is present, effectively removes the soteriological franchise from the vast majority of history. For neither the Old Testament, nor the New, nor the work of the Patriarchs and the Scholastics, nor any Christian work which predates the later stages of the industrial revolution, was developed within such a framework. The vast majority of Christian history has taken place within highly regulated and autocratic socio-political frameworks, in which the social and economic activities of each individual were very much determined by laws and customs. Some examples may perhaps assist in the illustration of this point:

Karayiannis noted that, for the Ancient Greeks, "entrepreneurial activities were circumscribed by social, ethical, and other considerations" (see above, page 52). Considerable attention was given, in Chapter Two, to describing the Old Testament Laws which were created by the possessors of the land to reflect their understanding of God's wishes. These laws were seen to have as their primary concern not the freedom of economic agents, but the responsibility of

society, and all its members, to care for the poor. Thus, written into the very constitution of early Israel, was the legislation which demanded forgiveness of debts, return of capital assets to their original owners, and tithing of production. The Jewish states were circumscribed by a whole raft of laws which deliberately restricted economic freedoms so as to protect the poor, and these laws were deeply religious in nature. Freedom is clearly and unambiguously ranked below equality. Not only was salvation not seen to be contingent upon the type of freedom postulated by the Thatcherite school, but a quite different socio-economic structure was demanded, for essentially religious reasons.

The gospel passages which were reviewed did not demand that the Christian take all he has, and participate in the free market. Nor did they hint that such a socio-economic ordering was a necessary corollary of the freedom to be found in obedience to God. Rather, the dangers of over-attention to economic activity, and wealth creation, were depicted in no uncertain terms, and were seen to offer slavery to mammon, rather than freedom of choice.

The restrictions which Roman Law placed upon the communities of the Church Fathers were also discussed, and were seen to clearly limit economic activity and freedom by insisting upon the hereditary practice of trade. The Church Fathers, nonetheless, focused their socio-economic preaching not upon the need to free up the markets so as to facilitate liberty and thus salvation, but rather upon the iniquities of the rich and the structural sinfulness of unequal distribution. Even the later scholastics explicitly stated that each individual should know and respect his own station, and not attempt to move beyond it.

Were the founders and fathers of Christianity then to be understood to be engaged in evangelism for a faith which could not offer a true route to salvation until parliamentary democracy and the fully free market came into being? Hardly. Although the issues of whether individual freedom is necessary

for salvation has yet to be examined, the second plank of this argument, that such freedom is dependent upon social and economic liberty, has been demonstrated to be distinctly lacking in credibility.

Arguments attacking radical millenarianism

We spent some time in Chapter Six reviewing Joseph's philosophy of freedom. He also provides a theological justification for his demand for freedom of opportunity as against redistributive justice. The Christian roots of distributive egalitarianism are not, it is claimed, to be found in the New Testament, but in the ascetic monastic movement, and in the radical millenarian sects such as the Levellers, neither of which offer a model for the everyday life of a nation. The radical millenarians view, Joseph notes, entails a period of violence whilst redistribution takes place, which is felt to be distinctly unchristian.

Pomian - Sczednicki and Tomsy likewise refer to the example of Thomas Muntzer, a German radical millenarian utopian, to demonstrate that attempts to establish and maintain a system based upon redistributive justice have not enjoyed success in the past, and are severely flawed for a number of reasons (Pomian - Sczednicki and Tomsy, 1984, p117). Firstly, as with the Anabaptist experiment, "the community became reduced to a state where corruption and bestiality reigned supreme and very soon nothing was left except bones and ruins" (Pomian - Sczednicki and Tomsy, 1984, p117). That is to say, there is an inevitable and historically identifiable decay, or entropy, which is a part of the dynamic of such social experiments. Secondly, the focus upon social reform removes the metaphysical content from Christianity, by replacing the requirement for individual salvation with utopianism. Thirdly, utopianism shows a misplaced understanding of the incarnation and of eschatology, since:

"The teachings of Christ point not in the direction of changing society but in the direction of changing the persons through a spiritual conversion" (Pomian-Sczednicki & Tomsy, 1984, p118).

This argument for freedom, then, asserts that re-distributive justice is unbiblical, and is rather the province of radical - and often violent - utopianism. What is meant by the Thatcherite Theologians when they write of re-distributive justice? The term implies some concerted effort, whether by Church or State, to remove assets and wealth from the hands of the rich, and place them in the hands of the poor. Freedom, on the other hand, leaves decisions concerning charity entirely in the hands of individuals, free from legislative or moral suasion. Once again, it is important to ask how closely this position reflects mainstream Christian teaching. Is it accurate to maintain that re-distributive justice is anathema to the founders of Christian thought and theology? To answer this question we shall briefly review the work of the earliest formative thinkers and divines. Secondly, is it justifiable to maintain that all attempts at creating a society based upon re-distributive justice were undertaken by the Church's "*lunatic fringe*"? A few contra-indicative examples will be used to combat this argument. Finally, is it legitimate to maintain that intervention in social and economic matters is *de facto* unChristian? Again, early teachings will be cited to indicate that this argument too is somewhat flawed.

The first appearance of re-distributive justice in the developmental ideal type was the ideal city-state of Plato's Republic, where all goods were to be held in common. This was to be contrasted with the aristocratic Aristotelean view of the importance of private property. In the Old Testament, the earliest writings seek solution to the problem of scarcity in work, innovation, divine mercy, and wisdom. Yet the socio-economic context within which these solutions were developed, as Gordon's model shows, was not one of a settled society, but related to the historical phases during which the believers were sojourners and

guest workers. Once some form of societal organisation was developed, in the wilderness and in the nascent theocracies, the solutions to the problem of scarcity depended upon abandonment of concern for material goods, in the solution by faith, and the generous social legislation of the solution by written legislation.

The Jerusalem community was shown (above, pp 90-91) to have abandoned the pursuit of an economic living, realised their assets, and shared the resultant proceeds. The very earliest post-resurrection Christians, that is to say, elected to follow the path of redistribution of wealth and assets. As the accommodation with richer Christians was made, in the church of Paul and the Fathers, wealth accumulation was ethically permissible for a Christian only when utilised as a vehicle for charity, or redistribution. The exception to this position was Clement, who introduces the concept of property providing freedom and opportunity for men to act in a charitable manner, and thus achieve salvation. Karayiannis, Avila and others have noted that the wrath of the majority of the Church Fathers was kindled and inflamed by the rank inequality between rich and poor, and their calls for charity are explicitly seen by Karayiannis as an attempt at producing significant redistribution of wealth to address this evil. A major theme of the Fathers, echoing Old Testament Promised Land theology, was that God had made all things to be held in common, and some of the Fathers (Nanzanius and Chrysostom, for example,) see any form of ownership as theft. These theologies are some way removed from the wholesale attacks upon redistribution and communitarianism which the Thatcherite school advocate.

The second stage in this argument attempts to demonstrate that Christian attempts at redistribution have always met with failure and sin. A few illustrative examples selected from the developmental ideal type should be sufficient to indicate that this position is some way from accuracy or fairness. The early Jerusalem love community indeed met with famine and great poverty, but we

have indicated the importance of exogenous factors in this instance, specifically the great famine of AD 48. Furthermore, although perhaps not a terribly effective method for providing long-term sustenance to a community, their quasi-communist system has never been accused of either violence, sin or corruption. Saint Basil, an established and recognised Father of the Church revered down the centuries, created in his diocese a system of social support so extensive that his new building was described as a complete town. Calvin, hardly to be perceived as a villain of radical millenarianism, and so often a hero of the Protestant Right, engaged in social engineering of the first order, even bringing watch-making to Geneva as a means of providing employment for the poor. The lay-sects of the Medieval period, and especially the beguines and Gerhard Groote's sect, were based upon concepts of shared labour and shared consumption. So successful were these sects, that the last beguinage in Bruges only dissolved its order after the first world war! Ascetic monasticism, equally, can hardly be ascribed a foot-note in religious history, and has, since its inception in the Egyptian desert, offered a functioning and effective communal model of life which has been much admired and replicated in Christian communities ever since. It is therefore not only erroneous, but probably deliberately misleading, to suggest that each and every Christian experiment in communal living and enactment of re-distributive justice, has been violent, corrupt, unsustainable and sinful. No theological support for the freedoms of the market place as inherently and necessarily superior to re-distributive systems can thus be established by the argument from historical example.

The final argument against redistributive justice, and therefore for economic freedom of the market, hinges on the statement that any form of social engineering is misplaced. This position is determined by the Thatcherite eschatology, which sees salvation as individual, and delayed. This subject will be revisited in more detail later, when we examine theologies of the Kingdom of God. However, it is worth noting, *en passant*, that from the Old Testament

linkages between economic and religious behaviour (see above, page 72), to Jesus' theology of the in-breaking of the kingdom, to Calvin's social management of Geneva, the divide between the divine spiritual sphere, and the secular material sphere, is narrow indeed.

Conclusion

Of the theological defences for freedom, then, none has been shown to be proof against counter-arguments. The position of Thatcherite theologians on this issue does not seem to pass the test of historicity. The second plank in the ideal-type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, consists of defences of Wealth Creation, and it is to this issues which we now turn our attention.

7:3:2) Wealth Creation

Introduction

Economic freedom, and the entrepreneurial activities of individual agents, are, as we have seen, postulated to be the morally and theologically correct alternatives to re-distributive justice. Freedom furthermore creates wealth, and this in itself should be seen in a positive ethical light.

The true Christian view is seen to be that material wealth and its creation, providing they do not become ends in themselves, are a means of doing goodness, and of increasing local prosperity. At the very worst they are value-neutral (Joseph and Sumption 1970, pp 5-6). Wealth creation encourages charity, and is an effective way of increasing general prosperity, and thus improving the lot of the poor. Among his free choices, man must decide what to make of his life's work. The vocation of wealth-creation is supported by these writers in theological terms, as evidence of the wise use of God's resources, and helping to provide for the poor. The free market economy, as the optimum vehicle for wealth creation, is a much more effective system than re-distributive

justice. Wealth creation itself, as the above arguments indicate, is seen to be theologically positive since:

- 1) It ensures material and societal progress.
- 2) It offers an effective vehicle for the creation of funds to be used in good works and charity.
- 3) Stewardship of the resources entrusted to man is best served by wealth creation.
- 4) Wealth creation is a form of participation in the divine creative process.
- 5) Wealth creation follows logically from the doctrines of work and self-sufficiency.

Source of Material Progress

Joseph emphasises, as does Mrs Thatcher herself, that care for the poor is an important part of the British Christian tradition, but claims that this is not inversely related to the freedom of others to create wealth, to make consumer choices and to exploit their own talents. Indeed, an enterprising society is more likely to ameliorate the lot of the poor than a centrally-controlled redistributive one (Joseph and Sumption 1970, pp 21-27).

The typical argument, as indicated above, runs thus: poverty is not a good thing; it limits human beings in their attempts to live a spiritually fulfilling life. Capitalism is the best system of wealth creation man has yet discovered, therefore it is to be commended.

To deny freedoms to some because others cannot share them is decried as being “economically wasteful and morally indefensible” (Joseph and Sumption 1970, p125). The real argument which distributive egalitarians have, it is claimed, is with “human nature itself”, with the ambition, the pursuit of

material goods, the competition, that are part of the make-up of human beings. (This has undertones of the theology of the fall and original sin propounded by other Thatcherites, which we will discuss below.) Yet it is seen to be precisely these characteristics, and historic freedoms and inequalities, which have led to the elevated standard of living enjoyed in Britain today. (Joseph and Sumption 1970, pp 40 -41, & 62). Indeed, without these aspects of human nature, and people who embody and express them, no societal progress would be possible.

Novak puts forward a similar argument to this, which he calls the epistemic argument, maintaining that "markets are an inescapable fact of life and an important source of much-needed knowledge" (Novak, 1993, p9).

This is, as is immediately apparent, an essentially economic argument used to support a religious principle. No recourse is made to theology, beyond the observation that human poverty is a sin, and is evil in itself. Even the most vehement critic of the Thatcherite school would be hard pressed to disagree with this statement, or to maintain that it is uncannical. The argument which is based upon the premise of the sinfulness of poverty, however, does not draw on religious or theological material. Instead, it argues from economic theory and history that the most successful method for the reduction of poverty has been shown to be Western democratic capitalism - the free market. The remit of this thesis does not extend to such arguments, but, before moving on, it should at the very least be noted that this not an uncontentious statement.

Source of Funds for Charity

Wealth creation is also justified, along the lines proposed by Joseph and Sumption above, on the grounds that enables us to "make spiritual and humanitarian impulses effective and in particular to get rid of poverty". Capitalism is seen to be the best way to achieve this aim, and free market

capitalism in particular (Dawson 1984, p19). The pursuit and accumulation of personal wealth provides a ready source of funds for distribution as charity. As a corollary of reduction in state social welfare expenditure, an increase in philanthropy in the style of the Victorians is recommended:

"The Victorian Age, which saw the beginning of free enterprise, also saw the greatest expansion of voluntary philanthropic activity of all kinds, the new hospitals, new schools, technical colleges, universities, new foundations for orphans, non-profit making housing trusts, missionary societies" (Thatcher, 1977 pp 110-111).

Those who create wealth have a moral and religious responsibility to use it not only for their own satisfaction, but to better the lot of the poor. This cannot happen unless man is free to create wealth. Self-interest in pursuing wealth is acceptable, because it increases material well-being generally, and also provides the resources for unselfish acts.

The developmental ideal type indicated a strong and sustained support for charitable giving, whether as regulated by the legislation of Old Testament Israel and Judea, as exhorted by the writers of the New Testament and the Church Fathers, or as practised by the Victorians. Indeed, one of the few persistent aspects of the tradition, as viewed through our one-sided perspective, was that charity was imbued with religious approval. The rare early justification for wealth creation (Aristotle, Clement, etc), was that it provided the wherewithal for charitable giving. This argument, then, would appear to have a firm basis in the developing cannon of Christian thought.

Stewardship

Stewardship of God's resources demands successful wealth-creation:

"Creating wealth must be seen as a Christian obligation if we are to fulfil our role as stewards of the resources and talents that the Creator has provided for us" (Thatcher, 1989, p126).

Griffiths describes God's commission to man in similar terms:

"Man has been created with an urge to control and harness the resources of nature in the interests of the common good, but he is subject to his accountability to God as trustee to preserve and care for it. This process is precisely what an economist would refer to as a responsible form of wealth creation" (Griffiths, 1984, p52).

The Church Fathers echoed Old Testament theology in arguing that all natural resources had been given to men in common, and that a part of engaging with God's creation was to share this bounty. Thus, celebrating the provisions of creation by utilising them to generate shelter, food and other essentials is indeed a part of the tradition. However, it belongs to a set of (Patristic) beliefs which also view property as theft, and the self-interest of the rich as one of the most serious of all sins. The argument from stewardship is valid, that is to say, particularly given the Genesis commission to man, but the aim of stewardship of creation is not the pursuit of personal wealth. Rather, the outcome of care for and exploitation of God's bounties lies - as with the argument from charity - in the provision of the necessities of life for all. Stewardship is to be understood in a communitarian, rather than an individualistic, sense.

Participation in the Divine Creative Process

Novak ascribes this view of wealth-creation to the present Pope, but it is in fact a common defence of wealth creation. He summarises the Pope's position thus:

“What makes humans distinctive among the other animals, he held, is their capacity to initiate new projects (especially life projects); that is, to imagine, to create, and to *act*, as distinct from merely behaving...In this he saw the Imago Dei: humans made in the image of the Creator, in such a way that to be creative is the essential human vocation. In this, too, he saw the endowment of a fundamental human right to personal economic initiative” (Novak, 1993, p 12).

Griffiths also makes this point:

“At the heart of the process of wealth creation stems from a fundamental human drive, the result of man being created in the image of God” (Griffiths, 1984, p53).

As we shall see in the next chapter, critics of Enterprise Theology note that it is a rather limited view of Divine and mortal creativity to suggest that only in enterprise generation and wealth creation is the imago dei doctrine to be found. Man has scope for creativity which extends beyond enterprise, and there are more significant aspects of the divine personality which place their demands upon him, such as brotherly love, self-sacrifice and spirituality.

Work and Self-sufficiency

The Pauline doctrine of work and self-sufficiency is also used to justify wealth creation, although it is not clear that this was originally intended as an

instruction to progress from material independence to wealth, since it is in the Pauline epistles that the equation of money with the root of all evil is made:

"We are told we must work and use our talents to create wealth. 'If a man will not work he shall not eat' wrote St Paul to the Thessalonians. Indeed, abundance rather than poverty has a legitimacy which derives from the very nature of creation" (Thatcher, 1989 p252).

The question of work cannot be dismissed lightly. We examined the Genesis commissions for man to work, as well as noting the work ethic of St Paul and the Church Fathers. There is, in this instance, a strong tradition of Christian support for the concept of hard-work as a duty, which predates (Weberian) Calvinism by almost two millennia. Griffiths also uses the imago dei doctrine to sanctify creative work:

"Man was not created to live in a vacuum; neither was he created for a life of complete leisure...The fact that man has a desire as well as a need to work results from his being created in the image of God" (Griffiths, 1984, p51).

Where, perhaps, it is possible to quibble with the arguments of the Enterprise Theologians, is in their assumption that the religious sanction given throughout the tradition to hard work can be used as a special justification for wealth creation. The Church Fathers would certainly have taken vociferous issue with this point, and it is difficult to see why enterprise should be seen as an especially valid form of labour.

Conclusion

This view of the Christian vocation as one of increasing material prosperity is somewhat at odds with most of the Old Testament, New Testament and the writings of the Church Fathers. Approval for charity, for stewardship, creativity and hard work are indeed promoted in the tradition, where many attacks on poverty are also to be found. However, the jump from this stance, to one of wholesale approval of enterprise is tenuous indeed, since the tradition also warned strongly against slavery to the pursuit of riches, and recommended wealth creation only as a means of raising funds for charity, and providing necessities for the needy. Indeed, we discovered in Chapters Four and Five that it was only with the Dissenters and their successors that the conjunction of the above tenets with individualism led to the award of religious blessing to wealth creation in a sustained way.

7:3:3) Self-Love, Competition and Individualism

The type of wealth-creation usually associated with enterprise cultures takes the form of individualistic pursuit of profits. This is justified in the secular writings as the promotion of rational self-interest which, through the allocations of the invisible hand, benefits the whole of society by the creation of a higher material standard of living, jobs, and so on. There are three main arguments which are utilised to defend individualism-as-self-interest by the Thatcherite theologians:

- 1) Self-interest as Care for the Family
- 2) Self-interest as Communitarian
- 3) Competition as Theologically Legitimate

Self-interest as Care for the Family

The individualistic nature of much economic activity is often criticised as unattractive selfishness by the opponents of enterprise cultures, yet we have

seen that it is defended as rational care for one's family by the Thatcherites. In her Speech on the Mound, Thatcher cited Paul's epistle to Timothy, and the assertion that "anyone who neglects to provide for his own house (meaning his own family) has disowned the faith and is 'worse than an infidel' " (Thatcher, 1989, p 253).

The family is a special locus for the enactment of non-selfish action. It is clearly presented as the spiritual home of man, as the moral school and the seat of his most pressing responsibilities:

"Nature, and perhaps the Creator, has shaped family life to teach as a matter of course the role of virtue" (Novak, 1982, p167).

Charity, in a very real sense, is seen to begin at home. The examination of this enterprise tenet in Chapter Five indicated that there were just two places in the tradition where such a view was presented. Wisdom literature subverted the more usual Old Testament doctrine of communitarianism in favour of Universalism and family-centredness. The Puritans, Dissenters and Victorians echoed this view. Yet these two instances of family-focus were the exceptions in a tradition which otherwise persistently and repeatedly emphasised the community, and especially the religious community, as the locus of spiritual life. The folk-tradition of the theological significance of the family is therefore a late addition to the developmental ideal type, and one which is directly at odds with much of the rest of the tradition.

Self-interest as Communitarian

As one might have come to expect, other theological cannons are also wheeled out to justify individualism, usually termed "self-love" rather than "selfishness" in these writings. Some space is given to explaining that the true

enterprise culture demands co-operation and community, social interaction and charitable acts, often mirroring this section from Novak⁶:

"The 'self' in self-interest is complex, at once familial and communitarian as well as individual, other-regarding as well as self-regarding, co-operative as well as independent, and self-judging as well as self-loving" (Novak 1982 p93, also pp 134-5).

Thatcher makes a similar point:

"The admonitions 'love thy neighbour as thyself', and 'do as you would be done by' ...do not denigrate self, or elevate love of others above it. On the contrary, they see concern for self and responsibility for self as something to be expected, and only ask that this be extended to others" (Thatcher, 1977 p107).

Their general understanding of responsibility for others is typically restricted to charity, which, as we have seen, is a legitimate argument from tradition and doctrine. Nonetheless, the concept of serving self as being in some way necessarily linked to serving others would seem to have its roots in the thought of Hobbes, Pope, and Smith. It was these writers and philosophers who announced that God had so designed nature that "self-love and social be the same", and the passages cited above echo their stance. The communitarian tradition of the Old and New Testament, of Plato and of the Church Fathers tends rather to emphasise self-sacrifice as a means of service to others. Curbing one's own desires is an important part of such traditional teaching, and permitting oneself to pursue wealth and self-interest is to fall prey to the slavery

⁶ That Novak's thought can be taken as representative of Thatcherism is demonstrated by her ringing endorsement of his work, which "put into new and striking language what I had always believed about individuals and communities" (Thatcher 1993 p 627).

of mammon. It is thus somewhat doubtful whether the disingenuous linkages made between self-love and social by the Thatcherite theologians can be ascribed to Christian doctrine, drawing rather upon the earliest classical economists.

Competition as Theologically Legitimate

As well as much work along these lines, there are also a few explicit justifications of competition, of which Novak's is the most developed. He claims that:

"Judaism and Christianity...envisage human life as a contest. The ultimate competition resides in the depths of one's own heart. Much is to be gained, much lost" (op cit. p344).

Novak goes on to maintain that due to the freedom to choose one's own path, those who choose well will succeed materially, because of the correlation of the nature of the Creator and His acts, to the actions of those who choose His way within the framework of the created natural world. According to Novak, in this struggle to choose the right way, one uses as a yardstick one's own experience and potential, and also the success of others in achieving similar goals. Thus all choices in this existential ethics are competitive, because man is striving to surpass himself and his fellows in virtue and in fulfilling his vocation. The ultimate measurement is, of course, the judgement of God. If this struggle is moved into the economic sphere, it translates into competition, but since this takes place within the context of choosing the right path, and striving with all one's might to fulfil one's vocation to the best of one's abilities, it is to be applauded (Novak, 1982 pp 346 -348). Harris makes a similar justification of competition / self-interest, describing it as "what Adam Smith upheld as 'the effort of every man to better his condition' " (Harris 1984 p 96).

The most succinct and successful argument against this position is made by Griffiths himself, who acknowledges that "it is ...wholly inappropriate for competition to be a ruling principle within a spirit-filled community (Griffiths 1984 pp 71-73). The tension between competition and communitarianism, between aggressive self-interest and agape, is not so easily resolved as Novak would have us believe, as we shall see when reviewing the work of critics of Enterprise Theology in the next chapter. The communitarian nature of Old and New Testament beliefs, of the responsibility for provision of succour for the needy, of love and care for one's brothers is some way removed from competition, as the discussion of these issues in Chapter Five has shown.

Conclusion

None of the arguments in favour of individualism has been demonstrated to be especially persuasive, with little support from the tradition for self-as-family, for self-love as communitarian, nor for competition as being inherently theologically legitimate. Rather, the contrast between these views, and the community-based tradition, with its emphasis on agape and self-sacrifice (not least the self-sacrifice of the cross) stand in some contrast to the position on Enterprise Theologians.

7:3: 4) Government Policy

Introduction

In Chapter Six we examined some of the most important policies promulgated and enacted by the Thatcher administrations. In particular, we discovered an economic emphasis on free markets, competition, monetarism, the reduction of public expenditure and state control of the economy, privatisation, and an increasing use of legislation to defend law, order, education and property rights. Theological defences of these axiological and teleological phenomena takes one main line, focusing upon the impossibility of legislating for morality.

The Impossibility of Legislating for Morality

The reduction of state control and social welfare expenditure is justified in terms of the impossibility of legislating Christian morality into place. Because we live in a fallen world, we cannot expect any social or political system to achieve the care for others which may, to the contrary only happen when individuals choose freely to take responsibility for their neighbours:

“It...remains to this day impossible to legislate the things about which He talked and preached, simply because the ethic of the Kingdom was love and the source of its power supernatural” (Griffiths 1984 pp 44-45).

Furthermore, the Thatcherites assert that, even were it possible to legislate for Christian morality, there is little or no guidance within the canon which could serve as a guide for such theocratic law-makers:

“The Bible, as well as the tradition of the Church, tells us very little directly about political systems or social programmes. The nearest we get is Christ telling his disciples to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and unto God that which is God's” (Thatcher, 1989, p64).

The function of laws, rather, is to curb man's wickedness and the worst excesses of the fallen world. The concept of man's innate sinfulness is pronounced in Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, although rare in Twentieth Century thought:

“Man is inherently sinful and in order to sustain a civilised and harmonious society we need laws backed by effective sanctions” (Thatcher 1989 p 69).

Once again, one is forced to conclude that this stance is somewhat at odds with the tradition as uncovered in Chapters 2-5. A few examples should suffice to illustrate that, as in the theocracies of Israel, Geneva and England, legislation to promote the ethical and religious doctrines of the day were explicitly and deliberately created and enforced. As discussed under the concept of *Freedom*, earlier in this chapter, the possibility and desirability of legislating morality is strongly embedded in much Judeo-Christian thought. The use of cannon law to prohibit usury, for example, persisted until late indeed, and was explicitly supported by Luther and Calvin. Underlying the theology of the Enterprise School at this point is an assumption about divisions between the realms of private spirituality and public behaviour which draw heavily on concepts of the "Two Realms". As we shall see below, (Section 7:4), such theology postulates that it is wrong-headed, misguided, and theologically incorrect to indulge in social-engineering driven by religious or ethical beliefs. The Kingdom of God is not of this world. Against this stance, it should be noted that the Jesus movement strongly believed that at the heart of the gospel was a message of the in-breaking of the Kingdom in the here and now. To describe this as one of the hallmarks of Christianity is not an exaggeration, and is witnessed to by the persistent social activism of theologians and Church leaders down the centuries, from Chrysostom to Calvin, from Paul to the Puritans.

6:3:5) Enterprise

Introduction

Important aspects of Thatcherite beliefs specifically related to enterprise have already been covered above under the headings of wealth-creation and individualism. However, there remain a number of other enterprise values which also receive religious legitimation in the writings of the "Thatcherites".

Griffiths writes approvingly of the values which we identified as comprising the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture:

“I find it very hard to understand the development of capitalism and industrial society in the West without taking into account those distinct cultural and religious values which shaped the ethos of personal responsibility, honesty, thrift, diligence and rational calculation, values which upheld private property rights and which provided a distinct perspective on work and profits...the economic process is related in an important way to cultural and religious values” (Griffiths 1984 pp 30 - 31).

The theological defences of enterprise values, then, are centred upon the notion that certain traits associated with idealised entrepreneurship are essentially religious in nature. Some of these have been discussed above (work, wealth creation/profit), but others merit examination here. These include:

- 1) Personal Responsibility
- 2) Thrift
- 3) Private Property Rights

Personal Responsibility

In her second speech at St Lawrence Jewry, Margaret Thatcher emphasised the importance of personal and individual responsibility, as illustrated by the personal nature of both New and Old Testament commandments, addressed in the first instance to individuals:

“The New Testament is preoccupied with the individual, with his need for forgiveness and for the Divine strength which

comes to those who sincerely accept it" (Thatcher, 1989, p122).

Whilst this is a perfectly respectable theological position, it is incomplete in that it fails to acknowledge that the route to individual salvation is to a large extent driven by the need to care for others. The communitarian nature of the developmental ideal type has been repeatedly referred to, but is once again of relevance. Furthermore, the pursuit of one's individual salvation does not imply divine sanction for economic individualism, as such arguments suggest.

Thrift

Thrift, and ascetic quiet living were seen in Chapter Five to have been an integral and persistent aspect of the tradition. Related to a rejection of luxurious living and ostentation, religious approval of asceticism and thrift have always enjoyed Christian blessing.

Private Property Rights

Griffiths uses a somewhat peculiar argument to justify this point:

"The starting point for the Pentateuch... was that...all property was owned by God...ultimate ownership rested with God; nevertheless he delegated dominion over the land to families. As a result private property is the norm for ownership in the Old Testament" (Griffiths, 1984, p56).

Private property may indeed be the norm in the Old Testament, but it is heavily constrained by the assumption that all belongs in the first instance to God. One is very far from free to view assets and wealth as belonging to any one individual or family in an uncircumscribed way. Debts are to be forgiven, land returned to its original owners, and the poor to be cared for from these

resources. The Church Fathers extended this position still further, with Chrysostom stating unequivocally that any personal wealth above and beyond that required for necessities, was nothing more than theft from the needy. We also noted that private property was even felt by some Church Fathers to have been caused by original sin, and that the Old Testament Laws on property were very much laxer in the punishment permitted than contemporary equivalents. It is dubious to argue that private property is a well-established part of the tradition as Griffiths claims. Rather, it would seem to have been introduced as a part of what Macpherson has termed *the Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, by Hobbes, Locke et al.

Conclusion

The tradition to which Griffiths is referring is really post-enlightenment. Whilst this is western, whether it can honestly be called Christian to the extent Griffiths insists is doubtful.

7:3:6) Attacks on Collectivism

Born from the cradle of the Cold War, Thatcherism was notable for its vociferous attacks on socialism and communism in general, and re-distribution of wealth and collectivist state control in particular. Thatcher speaks for all of the Enterprise Theologians as she approvingly quotes from a speech made by Ronald Reagan following a visit to Moscow, and comparing the New Right Christendom with the Eastern Block:

“Our faith is in a higher law...we hold that humanity was meant, not to be dishonoured by the all-powerful state, but to live in the image and likeness of Him who made us” (Reagan, in Thatcher 1993 p 777).

Theological arguments are given for this rejection of collectivism, and include:

- 1) Defence of Freedom
- 2) Defence of Wealth Creation
- 3) Anti-utopianism
- 4) Atheism of Marxism

Defence of Freedom

Some of these arguments centre on freedom, and the lack of it said to pertain in a centralised state; how can man make choices and hence function ethically if the state usurps this role? This is a by now familiar theme, and subsumes within itself the two arguments for freedom examined above, namely, the Soteriological Argument for Freedom, and the Attack on Radical Millenarianism. We have examined above, (Section 7:3:1) both of these arguments, and noted that they can be criticised on the following grounds:

It is difficult to argue that Western Market Democracy is a pre-requisite for individual salvation, when so much of Christian history has taken place within quite different socio-economic systems.

Some aspects of these socio-economic systems, such as the extensive welfare legislation of the Old Testament, deliberately curtailed freedom of the kind valued by the Thatcherites, for explicitly religious reasons.

The gospels, in particular, emphasis the dangers of over-commitment to economic activity, rather than the opportunities it offers for individual salvation.

The writings of the Old and New Testament, and of the Fathers, urge economic re-distribution upon the rich as a critical part of their struggle for salvation, emphasising that God has given all things to mankind to be held in common trust. Freedom of economic and social activity is strongly curtailed by their ethical pronouncements.

The Christian tradition incorporates several noble and noteworthy examples of attempts to construct quasi-communist, and wholly collectivist, socio-economic communities. These include the earliest Jerusalem Love Community, the Medieval lay-sects, and the Monastic movement as a whole.

The use of the arguments for Freedom to attack collectivist political structures can thus be seen to be not without difficulties, in terms of its relationship to the tradition of Christian teaching, as abstracted in the developmental ideal type.

Defence of Wealth Creation

Economic critiques claim that socialism, communism and even trades unionism inhibit wealth-creation and thus prevent the reduction of poverty. This argument was also noted above, and it was noted that, as an issue of technical economic theory, not drawing upon directly theological material, it was perhaps best left to the attentions of economists. It was, nonetheless, noted in passing, that, as the example of the growth of Communist China illustrates, it is an argument with which some economists can and do take issue.

Anti-utopianism

Other arguments question the role of the state in superimposing itself on the relations of a society, and thereby breaking down the communion of community. A rejection of utopianism, defended via the theology of the Fall, leads enterprise theologians to reject the very notion of trying to create a brotherly heaven on earth as at best misguided and at worst blasphemous.

It has been pointed out above that much of Christian theology is concerned with precisely this matter, *vis*: the balance between the in-breaking Kingdom, and the delayed eschatology of the Parousia and post-mortem salvation. Whilst this will be discussed in full in Section 7:4 below, at this juncture it is worth mentioning that the stance of enterprise theologians is not uncontentious. The (collectivist) Christian communities which have just been cited, as well as the demands for social justice of the Prophets and Fathers of the Church down the centuries, provide an indication of the Church's active involvement in attempts to improve the material lot of man.

Atheism of Marxism

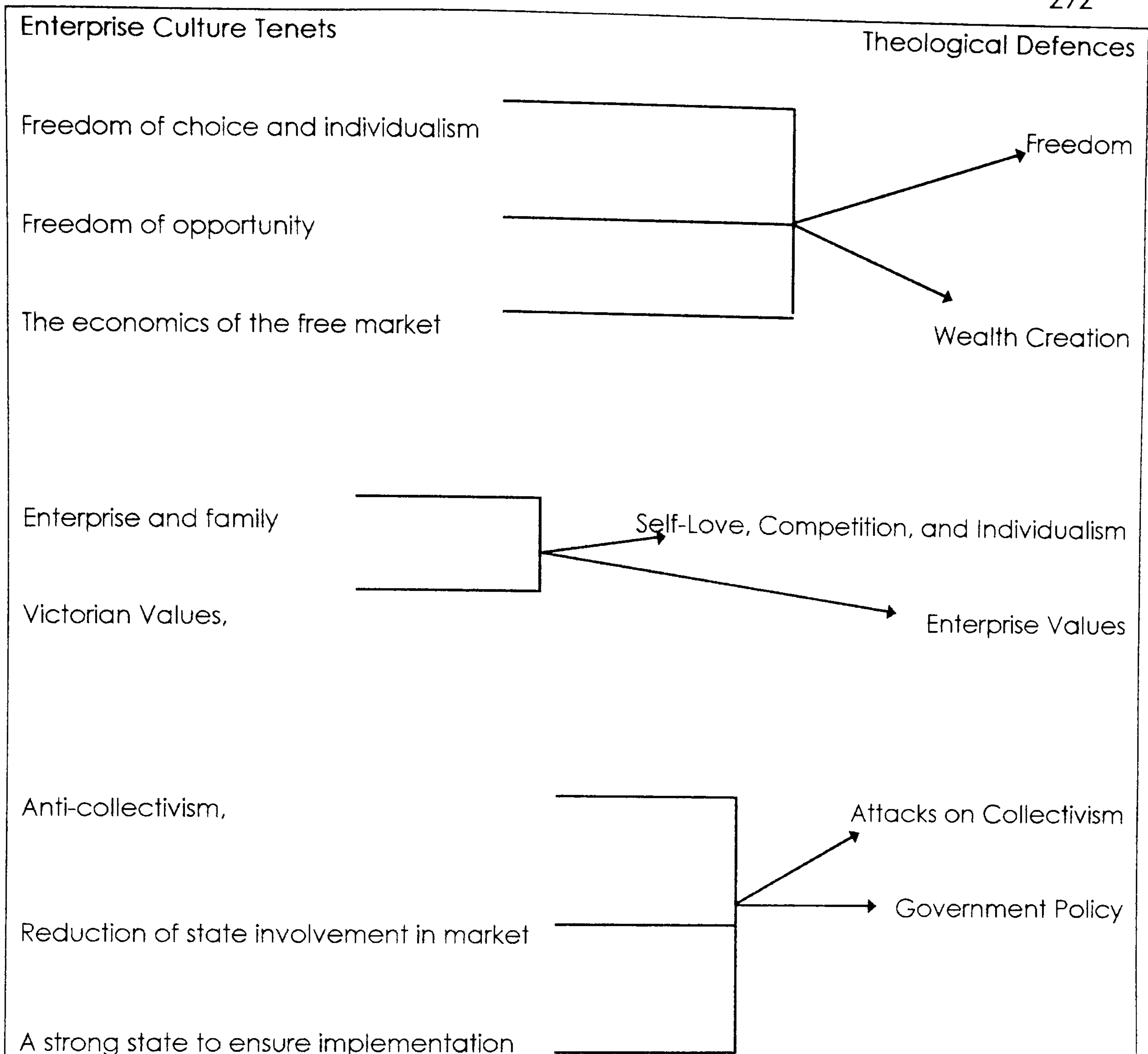
Finally, the point is repeatedly made that Marxism has atheism at its heart, and is *de facto* incompatible with Christianity. Opitz, the earliest of the enterprise theologians, is particularly virulent in his condemnation of communism, and extends his definition of socialism / communism to include the moderate Keynesianism of the New Deal (Opitz 1970 pp 174 -180). He goes so far as to claim that "Karl Marx is regarded by many as the evil genius of this age" (op cit. p175), and warns against fifth columnists and hidden carriers of the infection of The Enemy. This is demonology in its most literal sense.

Many British critics of Enterprise Theology, as we shall see in the next chapter, are also at best suspicious, and at worst condemnatory of Marxism, and would state emphatically that the repression suffered under states espousing this political philosophy should be condemned no less strongly than the perceived inequities which they lay at the Thatcherites' door. Latin American theologians, however, have made significant accommodation with Marxism, in particular adopting aspects of its analytic methodology, but Europe has remained much more wary of such developments. The critics of Enterprise Theology would support the Thatcherite theologians in their rejection of Marxism, then, but

would strongly question whether this was grounds enough for the rejection of all social and economic intervention by Government aimed at improving the lot of the poor and needy.

7:3:7) Conclusion

These, then, are the theological apologetics used to defend the collection of social, political, philosophical, ethical and economic beliefs which make up the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. They can be added to the phenomena abstracted in Chapter Six, and thus to the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, as constructed thus far. This ideal type, as its abstraction progresses, is perhaps most simply and clearly represented in diagrammatic form:



The individual ideal type, at this stage in its construction, illustrates the key tenets of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, which are shown in the first column of the diagram. The theological defences utilised to support each of these tenets are presented in the second column. The grouping *across* the columns of the diagram indicates that the individual ideal type addresses three main strands of phenomena: economic, ethical, and socio-political.

A large set of theological arguments were called upon within each of the individual defences of enterprise tenets, and these are also most simply represented and summarised in tabular form. Column one lists the defences for and column two the arguments utilised within each defence.

Defences of Enterprise Values	Arguments Utilised
Freedom	Soteriological Argument Attacks on Redistributive Justice
Wealth Creation	Source of Material Progress Source of Funds for Charity Stewardship Participation in Divine Creation Work and Self-Sufficiency
Self-love, Competition, & Individualism	Care for Family Self-interest as Communitarian Competition as Theologically Legitimate
Government Policy	Impossibility of Legislating for Morality
Enterprise Values	Personal Responsibility Honesty Thrift Private Property Rights Work Profits
Attacks on Collectivism	Defence of Freedom Defence of Wealth Creation Anti-utopianism Atheism of Marxism

Discussion of these arguments has demonstrated that many of them are not wholly compatible with the tradition of Christian theology as elucidated in the developmental ideal type of Chapters 2-5. These divergences from the mainstream will be the subject of further analysis in the remaining chapters of the study.

The arguments used call upon a particular theological paradigm, which, as will have become apparent, includes reference to the Fall and Original Sin, to the distinction between the Kingdom of God and the worldly society (anti-Utopianism), to man made in God's image with a mandate to work to create wealth, motivated equally by self-love and charity for others, and to the tradition of Christian values as part of our national heritage. Hints of other beliefs, such as a particular theology of the trinity, of salvation and of the role of the Church were also visible. We shall now move on to present and discuss this underlying theological paradigm, and, upon completion of this examination, present the completed individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology.

7:4) The Theological Paradigm of the Enterprise Culture

7:4:1) Original Sin and The Fall

There is a unanimity in the enterprise theology writings which emphasises the critical importance of the fall and original sin (see, for example, Novak 1982 pp 350 - 351, Griffiths 1984 p63, Oddie 1984, pp 128 - 131, Miller, 1984, pp 78 - 80, Opitz, 1970 p 179). Because man is no longer perfect, nor can ever become so in this life, political and religious leaders should not act as though he were. The world is full of sin, it is not in a state of grace, and no social engineering can ever alter this fact.

This belief often expresses itself as a profound anti-utopianism, a kind of compromise oriented view of the world, which can be stated demotically as "things are never going to be perfect, so there is no point in trying for that; the best we can do is contain the worst evils by legislation and present opportunities for the good to flourish through hard-work and self-responsibility". This is essentially, then, a satisficing rather than an optimising approach. It is unrealistic to expect the capitalist system to deliver universal justice, happiness and moral purity, because, de facto, no socio-economic system ever could:

“As a Christian I am bound to shun Utopias on this earth and to recognise that there is no change in man's social arrangements which will make him perfectly good and perfectly happy. Therefore I do not claim that the free enterprise system of itself is automatically going to have these effects” (Thatcher, 1989, p68).

The doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin are used frequently in precisely this way, to attack the utopianism of the socialists on the grounds that it does not take account of man's postlapsarian state of sinfulness, but clings instead to a belief in man's abiding goodness. Oddie accuses such Christian Socialists of Pelagianism, an ancient heresy which claims that man is not born full of sin, but is able to choose whether to sin or not, and hence has control over his own salvation. From this he extrapolates that Christian Socialists find evil and sin in human social constructs, rather than in man himself, and that there is therefore hope for the achievement of the Kingdom of God by an alteration of these structures for the better. Oddie pours scorn on this type of theology as being heretical, utopian, and misguided, since it assumes that man can overcome his innate sinfulness to create a human society in the image of the divine realm. (Oddie 1984, pp 128 - 131) We will see below, in the discussion of the two realms and the incarnation, that the notion of the impossibility of acting so as to improve the material lot of mankind, to alleviate poverty and suffering, is a dominant theme of enterprise theology.

There are more specific references to the importance of the Fall; Robert Miller writes of the four wounds of the fall identified by Thomas Aquinas, which are lust, ignorance, weakness of will, and malevolence. At least some of the vagaries in the enterprise system are caused by these wounds, since:

"Ignorance is of prime importance, as Milton Friedman and Hayek have pointed out; the economy is such that it is impossible to know when and to what degree macroeconomic discretionary intervention is desirable...Weakness of will can also be exemplified with ease in the management of the economy under the neo-Keynesian dispensation" (Miller, 1984, pp 78-79).

Because, Miller explains, politicians and civil servants have been made fallible and weak-willed as a result of the fall, Keynesian interventionism cannot be relied upon to reduce unemployment or improve the economy, and Churchmen should therefore stop demanding that such measures be enacted to better the lot of the poor (Miller, 1984, pp 78-79 ; see also Opitz 1970 p179).

The extreme positions of Miller and Oddie are the logical extension of the milder theologies of the Fall propounded by Griffiths, Novak et al. What makes this universal insistence on the importance of the fall somewhat surprising is that we have discovered already how important freedom of will is to such writers. Freedom of will, to choose good or evil, and especially to express one's vocation creatively in dutiful enterprise, and hence to select for oneself the route to salvation, is a major justification of the inherent economic liberty of enterprise. It is not clear that this is at all consistent with a belief in the fallen sinful nature of man, unable to lift himself closer to God by his own efforts, and incapable of determining his own salvation, through the grace of God.

It is not de facto theologically unsustainable to postulate that the enterprise culture is an appropriate socio-economic system for giving mankind the freedom to choose to behave morally and hence to exercise his God-given right to accept or reject the divinely ordained path to salvation. Nor is it necessarily ridiculous -although it may be archaic- to maintain that man's

original sin, and powerlessness before God's plan, prevents him from so acting in the physical world as to participate in the winning of his own salvation ⁷. However, it is difficult to imagine any way in which these two positions can be reconciled. Perhaps this is why no such attempt is made, nor its need alluded to, in any of the writings examined. This dilemma is noted by the critic Alves, who notes the traditional recourse to faith and mystery as the means of dealing with such inconsistencies:

"The determinism of divine providence and the freedom of the human being must be affirmed and lived by faith, but their compatibility remains a mystery" (Alves 1985 p108).

Other theological arguments are, however, used to explain why the world is imperfect and man must expect to suffer in humility, such as Novak's theology of the Incarnation.

7:4:2) Incarnation

In most Christian theologies, the place of the Incarnation is paramount. The purpose of Christ's life and teaching, its place in salvation history, is usually at the very centre of any systematic exposition of a theological system which calls itself Christian. It is that which marks out Christianity from Judaism, and the Passion in particular is typically given as the ultimate act of divine intervention in the transformation and meaning of creation. Yet only the Catholic Novak, of all the enterprise theologians, develops a theology of incarnation, and this is non-mainstream, concentrating simply on the choice of God to accept the limitations of an earthly life by taking flesh:

⁷ Such a pronounced view of mankind as inherently sinful is not widely adhered to in many theological circles, where there is a tendency to see much sin as being structural, and man as being "sinned against" by the structures he has created. This significant divergence from Enterprise Theology will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

“One of the most poignant lessons of the Incarnation is the difficult teaching that one must learn to be humble, think concretely, face facts, train oneself to realism...The Incarnation is a doctrine of hope but not of Utopia. If God so willed his beloved Son to suffer, why would he spare us? If God did not send legions of angels to change the world for Him, why should we idly dream of sudden change for us? Christian hope is realistic, braced for darkness and cruelty, alert to the forces of unreason and sin” (Novak 1982, pp 340-341).

It is notable that this deeper level of theology used to justify the enterprise culture / free market economy, is negative in tone. That is, it uses religious rationales to explain that the world is not, nor ever could be perfect and neither is man. Given man's imperfections, the enterprise system, in combination with a strong legislature and parliamentary democracy, offer the best framework for man to exercise his liberty. This is the road to salvation, even if the system also causes suffering and injustice. We live in a fallen world, and man must suffer like Christ. These things can not be laid at the door of the enterprise culture, because it is God who has chosen that the world should be thus. (It is somewhat peculiar that these arguments are used in conjunction with a theology of incarnation, which stresses the importance of the divine intervention through Jesus in God's history.) The corollary of strong belief in a fallen world full of unchangeable suffering and unalterable misery, in which it is vain to struggle to improve the condition of man, is expressed in the view that:

“ The single greatest temptation for Christians is to imagine that the salvation won by Jesus has altered the human condition. Many attempt to judge the present world by the standards of

the gospels, as though the world were ready to live according to them. Sin is not so easily overcome" (Novak 1982, p343).

Instead, enterprise theologians believe that the transformation achieved by the passion of Christ is wholly spiritual, and it is only in the internal world of the individual soul that the struggle to achieve the Kingdom of God takes place.

That this should be practically the only message taken from the life and death of Christ by the enterprise theologians is worth examining. So far, we have seen references to Aquinas, Augustine, and other later Christian philosophers. Much of their arguments are based either on medieval metaphysics or the Old Testament. Little attention is given to the writings of the gospels, except for the injunction to "render unto Caesar", and some scant apologetic justifying the seeming inconsistencies between their views and the teachings of Christ. Samuel Brittan, a leading force in monetarist economics, suggests why this might be so:

"On any straightforward examination, many New Testament sayings seem strongly opposed both to rationalising, calculating aspect of market economics and to the private gain motive...Most attempts to show the compatibility of Adam Smith economics with Christianity lean heavily on the Old Testament and / or philosophical interpretations of the New, and warn against literal quotation of the text of the latter" (Brittan 1985, pp 6-7).

Griffiths, for example, explicitly recognises that much of the New Testament, where wealth is mentioned, attacks those who put prosperity before godliness. Yet he puts these criticisms aside by emphasising that the parable of the talents encourages stewardship, that Christ came to change man's spirituality and not

his economic policies, and that the Old Testament offers a more feasible approach to these issues, since:

“We must look for something more robust than the spontaneous sharing of the early Church” (Griffiths 1984 pp 9).

Whatever the theological validity of constructing a Christian religious paradigm almost entirely upon the Old Testament, it should not be forgotten that the exegesis in Chapter Two which dealt with the Old Testament Canon at length, identified only the Wisdom Literature strand as offering grist for this particular mill. The Prophets were, if anything, even more violently outspoken than the evangelists in their rejection of wealth, and the Pentateuchal Law effectively created an early welfare state, with detailed provision for the care of the poor and the weak. Here again, it would appear that the foundations upon which the enterprise theologians are building are shaky indeed.

7:4:3) The Two Realms

The concept that Christ's entire message is to be understood in terms of man's spiritual life, and that therefore the New Testament teachings on wealth and poverty are personal rather than societal, is very prevalent. Enterprise Theologians are completely opposed to the belief of “radical” theologians that it is the role of the church and its members to strive to create the Kingdom of God on earth.

This partly because of their theology of the fall, which means that the world is not in state of grace now, nor ever could be, before the second coming. It is also due to a sharp distinction between the spiritual life of individuals, striving personally to live within the metaphysical kingdom, and the physical and material life of society. Augustine is cited extensively to justify this belief, with

Opitz (pp 193 - 211), Griffiths (p62), Novak (p126) and many others writing of the distinction between the City of God and the City of Man:

“Christian social thought from its beginning has been premised on the understanding that man is a creature whose destiny projects him beyond society and history. Human political arrangements are, therefore merely provisional and probative; the ultimate arrangements are out of our hands. This concept has been called, after Augustine, the idea of two cities: the City of God and the City of Man. Man, it is asserted, holds his citizenship papers in two realms, the earthly and the heavenly” (Opitz 1970 p193).

The City of God is seen metaphorically as the New Jerusalem, as the Kingdom of God, as the spiritual home and goal of the Christian. This has eschatological overtones, inasmuch as the concept of the New Jerusalem has connotations of the Parousia, of the coming of God in glory to establish his reign on earth. Novak states that it is futile to attempt to create the Kingdom of God on earth “prematurely, before the endtime” (Novak 1982, p68). The City of Man is, figuratively speaking, Babylon, the city of corruption, exile, and sin. In his temporal life man is in exile from God, cut off from grace and unable, due to sin, to act in a godly way of his own volition (Oddie 1984 p131).

“Because the Kingdom of God depends for its very existence on an inward supernatural power, it is impossible to translate it into contemporary social, political and economic institutions” (Griffiths, 1984 p62).

However, collectivist churchmen have made the mistake of thinking it is possible to create the Kingdom of God on earth:

"The Kingdom of God has been secularised into utopia-by-politics. The idea of the two cities - Jerusalem and Babylon - has been central to Christian Social thought from the earliest days. But no longer...If politicians and a few other people will only take the advice of these ecclesiastical evangelists of an earthly paradise, the Kingdom of God on earth is due at any minute" (Opitz, 1970, p204).

Novak maintains that, because the City of Man can never become the City of God, "the political system of democratic capitalism cannot, in principle, be a Christian system" , since "it is obviously not the City of God or the New Jerusalem" (Novak, 1982, p351 and p126). This is another slant to his argument that we should not expect to see God in earthly structures, since the division of realms into the spiritual and physical prevents this ever being a possibility. Rather, we should encourage state and society to become religiously pluralistic.

This view is not entirely consistent with other claims that the enterprise culture is inherently a good and fair system, and has developed, at least in part, because of Western Europe's adoption of Christian values as the guiding principles of society (See above, for example, Griffith's point that "the economic process is related in an important way to cultural and religious values" 1984, p31). Similarly, the theology of the two realms calls into question enterprise creation theology, which sees man as taking a very active part in the material world as his dutiful collaboration in the divine creative act.

7:4:4) Creativity

We have seen above (Section 7:3:2) that the creation of wealth is justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, it is a proper use of the resources God has given us,

secondly it is a way of fighting poverty, and thirdly, it allows man to participate in the divine act of creation. God has created the world, but the creation is not complete. The world is ripe and ready for man to participate in its creation. The exploitation of resources and the creation of wealth are not only valid but desirable ways for man to participate in the divine creative act. Indeed, because God has created man in his own image, it is natural that the desire to create should be so strong in man (Griffiths 1984 pp 52 - 53).

"Biblical Christianity placed emphasis on the world as God's world and the universe as his creation. The image of man which emerged was of a creative, evaluative, resourceful person, with a mandate to transform his environment in response to his earthly calling" (Griffiths 1984 p 31).

Griffiths even notes that creation is not only God's, it is also inherently good (Griffiths 1984 pp 50-54) . God has so created the world that it has the potential to provide with abundance, to meet all man's needs and do away with poverty if he exploits his god-given and god-reflecting creative urges to the full. By rejecting the potential of the material world, Socialist Christians are in grave danger of committing the heresy of Manicheism, which dismisses the created world of matter as evil, and from which "it follows that any involvement with the material world, including the extraction of its natural resources and their manufacture into material goods, is corrupting" (Dawson 1984 p13). The analogy of wealth-creation and divine creation is particularly common:

"There is a striking parallel between the traditional theological account of how God freely created the universe ex-nihilo and the description of creation of new goods and products by entrepreneurs by economists of the 'Austrian' school of

subjectivist economists...Aquinas gives the impression of being an 'Austrian' theologian" (Miller, 1984, p81).

When we reviewed the work of St Thomas Aquinas on the just price, on usury, and on trade, we discovered a theologian grappling to develop a theology for proto-enterprise which reflected the Athenian snobbery of Aristotle, and the mistrust of the Church Fathers. Aquinas developed, as we saw, a set of rules for constraining enterprise within morally acceptable bounds. This is hardly the work of a "free-enterprise in a fallen world" theologian.

We have noted the theological justification of enterprise and wealth-creation, as a way of man participating in the divine creativity. These arguments are not without potency, if removed from the more extreme contexts into which they have been squeezed. Novak adds a teleological dimension to this argument, by writing that it is man's purpose to use his creativity to improve upon the gifts of the natural world, which, since the Fall, is disordered:

"Creation left to itself is incomplete, and humans are called to be co-creators with God, bringing forth the potentialities the Creator has hidden. Creation is full of secrets waiting to be discovered, riddles which human intelligence is expected by the Creator to unlock. The world did not spring from the hand of God as wealthy as humans might make it. After the Fall, ignorance and disorder became commonplace" (Novak, 1982 p39)

Yet we have seen how strongly the doctrine on the Two Cities is used to maintain that Christ did not give us any guidance as to the creation of wealth, and how the doctrine of the Fall is used to insist that any attempts to create a God-like earth are futile. Because the disorder of the Fall cannot be undone

until the endtime, Novak has already warned us against well-meaning social reform. Seemingly, then, the one exception to human beings acting in concert to better the physical world, is in the creation of wealth. The creation of wealth seems to take place in a pre-lapsarian material creation, or a post-parousia City of God, and is implemented by men made in God's image with a divine duty to create as part of their Christian path to salvation. Why the act of wealth creation should be suspended, in some way, from the sin-laden City of Man, in exile from God, is not made clear. It does not, to say the least, seem consistent to give special dispensation to wealth creation for theological reasons, but to rule out any attempts to improve other parts of society's economic structures for rather different - if not completely contradictory - theological rationales.

7:4:5) Providence

A number of capitalist theologians see Providence in a strengthened version of the invisible hand of the free market, which acts to allocate resources efficiently, and which works mysteriously and with a kind of market information omnipotence. Although Griffiths rejects the Deism of Adam Smith, which distances God's involvement in human activity, he does note that the notion of the invisible hand has strongly religious overtones:

"For Adam Smith, God is 'the Great Architect of the Universe' or 'the Great Director of Nature' or just 'the invisible hand'"
(Griffiths 1984 p107).

Griffiths denounces this view of the universe because it removes the personal God from his rightful place as the giver of purpose involved in, and judge of, everything that takes place within the world and the market. Novak similarly agrees that the concept of the invisible hand does not go far enough, since God as providence is omnipresent in a purposeful way, rather than being distant and neutral as in Smith's deistic image:

“The image of God underlying ...the free market... is Phronimos, the practical provident intelligence embodied in singular agents in singular concrete situations” (Novak 1982 p112).

Kee is somewhat cynical in his comments on this type of belief in providence, which he sees as providing an *ex cathedra* excuse for the pursuit of self-interest and the trickle-down theory of improving the lot of the poor, since “if there is not a scrap of evidence to support such an economic theory, it could still be pursued by faith if we came to believe that God' invisible hand so ordered things” (Kee, 1986 p113). Kee goes on to quote a passage from Gray, which also explicitly ascribes Deist and Providential implications to the writings of Adam Smith:

“Herein lies the a priori element in Adam Smith; there is a natural order, appointed by a wise Providence, in which self-interest will supply the necessary drive to make the machine go, and will also so act as to produce equilibrium between contending forces. This leads to what is in the main a wholly optimistic view of a world in which a beneficent deity has arranged the progress and harmony shall result from the free-play on instincts which are frankly self-centred and self-concerned” (Gray 1951, quoted in Kee, 1986 p113).

The basic premise of 'conviction economics', then, is that the invisible hand of the free market is the hand of God. There are weak and strong versions of this theory: the weaker version, which seems to be held by Thatcher, Harris, etc, is that it is God who has created the world so that it seems as though an invisible hand is operating. This is essentially a weak Deist view, in which God is distanced from the actual market transactions, but is the cause and purpose of

the system. Opitz would seem to share a variant of this view, believing that since

“Christianity is geared to human nature and the free economy accords with the nature of things, so this is a natural pairing off” (Opitz 1970 p112).

Griffiths and Novak, on the other hand, claim that God-as-Providence is involved in each and every human (and hence economic) transaction. This second stance smacks rather of straightforward determinism, but this is never spelt out. Determinism, would of course, not be easily compatible with their other beliefs in a freely-entered into opportunity for man to take part in the creative process, and to choose good or evil as his own road to salvation. In such quasi-traditional theologies, God is typically seen as being outside the human spatial-temporal continuum, “existing” instead in his own divine eternal moment. That is, He exists in all eternity at once, and because He is also all-knowing, his knowledge encompasses everything he has done/ is doing/ will do. This knowledge must also, so the metaphysical logic runs, include everything that man will do, and since God has always known everything that every man will ever do, how can we be free?

The usual response to this is that being all-powerful, God can choose to limit his power by rejecting his knowledge of man's actions. However, if God is involved, as the invisible hand of Providence, in each human transaction, it is difficult to see how he could curtail his knowledge of his own “actions”. It is inconceivable that God could limit his knowledge of his own divine purpose and being. Therefore, any theology which places God as Providence in the centre of each human transaction, also posits determinism and the loss of human freedom. And human freedom of ethical choice, and freely-entered into creativity, have been shown to be critical tenets of enterprise theology.

The theologies of Providence, although incompatible with any doctrine of freedom, do loosely tie in with views of a fallen world dependent on God for any hope of salvation, which enterprise theologians have also been shown to ascribe to. The problem in this instance is rather that theologies of the Fall and Original Sin, as well as the Two Realms, are profoundly pessimistic in tone. The physical world is in exile from God, is full of sin and wickedness, which is why any attempts to build a Utopia to mirror the Kingdom of God on earth should be rejected. But, as Gray points out, belief in a Beneficent God ordering the universe so as to make the best for all from man's sinfulness is a positive, optimistic theology.

The enterprise theologians have a very strong doctrine of sin; we noted Novak's claim that sin is so powerful that even the incarnation did not radically effect the human condition. Yet they also claim God has so ordered the cosmos that the effect of sin is minimised, or wiped out, by the invisible hand and the operation of the free market. This means, either sin is not so serious as was claimed - which is difficult to accept given their other writing on the subject - or the free market is more important as a salvation mechanism than the incarnation and passion of Christ. It is to be hoped that this dilemma represents an inconsistency in their thinking, rather than a profoundly disturbing soteriology which places wealth creation above Christ in the divine process of redemption from sin. Atonement solely through enterprise is, to say the least, not typical of the type of traditional theology which these writers claim to espouse.

7:4:5) Doctrines of The Trinity

Enterprise theologies utilise the doctrine of the Trinity to justify the type of pluralist human community which prevails in a capitalist system. Because the Trinity is a metaphor of community, of three as one, it becomes a way of

legitimizing the tri-partite community of enterprise, individuals, mediating institutions, and the state:

"The relevance of the Trinity is to emphasise both the individual and the State, as well as a large variety of mediating institutions which form the basis of a pluralist society. As far as economics is concerned these include corporations, partnerships, trade unions, professional association" (Griffiths 1984, p55).

Novak also makes this point, this time referring to the triune systems of politics, the economy and the moral-cultural sphere, although using rather more metaphysical language to do so:

"I find attractive - and resonant with dark illumination - a political economy differentiated and yet one. Each of its component systems has a certain autonomy from the others; each system is interdependent with the others" (Novak 1989 p338-339).

The use of the Trinity as a mystical metaphor for describing the metaphysics of modern society displays an innovative creativity for which Novak must surely be placed among the first ranks of theological entrepreneurs.

7:4:7) The Church as Guardian of the National Heritage

At least some parts of the attacks on the Church's moves towards a "social gospel", and utopian Christianity, are justified on the grounds that by adopting these new tasks, the Church is neglecting its older, more important responsibilities. Among these duties, which include giving a spiritual lead to the country, is the protection of traditional family / national values.

Given the emphasis on traditional family values, and the ethics of Victorian England, it is unsurprising that the place of the Church in safeguarding the heritage of national traditions is given emphasis by these writers. The function of such values is indicated by Berger, who writes:

“Capitalism does not legitimate itself; it depends for its legitimation upon traditional values, such as those furnished by religious morality” (Berger 1987 p207).

The sociologist of religion David Martin summarises the trends in the contemporary Church of England which he most laments within an article entitled “From Established Church to Secular Lobby”. His litany of complaints includes “the secularisation of the state, in its efficient and dignified parts, the separation of regio and religio, peoplehood and the faith” (Martin 1984 p 141).

The linkage between state and Church, and in particular between King and Church, has been noted as of especial importance to the development and legitimation of Western Europe, with its mercantile and trade-oriented character, in previous chapters. Martin recognises that as the Church leadership moves to the Left, and begins questioning the values of enterprise explicitly and publicly, the role of the church in legitimating the status quo is significantly diminished. The participation of the church in major state occasions has always been a key facet of this state-church link, and the uproar created by then Archbishop Runcie's “unpatriotic” sermon in the memorial service following the Falklands War gained its power to shock for this reason; it upset traditional understanding of what the Church is there for in times of war.

Martin goes on to note that the Church - or at any rate the “clerisy” - is a repository of the national cultural heritage, a human safety deposit box of the rich traditions of the whole people, past and present. The abandonment of the

Common Prayer Book is seen as a betrayal of this trust in favour of a less publicly significant modern liturgy (Martin 1984, p142). Martin does not consider it relevant to question whether a book of prayers first published in 1662 might perhaps not meet the needs of modern church-goers, since that is not at issue. It is the British - or, more properly, the English - national values of hard work, enterprise, respect of one's betters, patriotism and pride, and obeisance to the Sovereign and her ministers, which are to be preserved. That is the key function of the Church of England, according to Martin.

The historical links between the Tory party and the Church of England are likely to be a significant factor in the demands of these modern conservatives that the Church revert to its traditional role. We have already noted some of Thatcher's words on this issue, but they bear some repeating at this point:

"The Tory party in its origin was the Church of England in politics, for the old concept of a partnership between Church and State lies very near the heart of traditional Tory thinking, and in that the Church had primacy because it was concerned with those things which matter fundamentally to the destiny of mankind" (Thatcher 1989, p63).

Later in the same speech Thatcher spells out what those "things" are: "honesty and responsibility and justice, ...a purpose and an ethic", and claims that the church is the vehicle by which faith brings these values to the nation (Thatcher 1989, p68).

7:4:8) Ethics of Enterprise

There is surprisingly little in the theological writings on the enterprise culture which relates directly to the ethical code which believers should follow. It is, however, possible, to construct some loose ethic of enterprise paradigm from

injunctions and exhortations scattered throughout the books and articles which we have reviewed.

1) Man must work in order to fulfil his divine vocation of labour, creativity and stewardship.

2) Wealth creation, through holy labour, allows man to distribute some of his earnings as charity, and to mirror the divine creativity through enterprise.

3) Man should accept the fallen nature of the world, and not struggle bootlessly to build blasphemous earthly egalitarian utopias.

4) Although some genuinely, but mistakenly, believe in left-wing Christian theologies, the true path to salvation is through adoption of the above three maxims. A conservative political stance, which protects (and curbs, where necessary,) the free market economy, comes closest to embodying these values, and should therefore be respected.

5) Each of us has a special responsibility to our families, which are the centre of a man's social interaction, and the seat of his main duties. Traditional family units have a specially positive moral value.

6) Entrepreneurship is an especially commendable form of work, since it is highly creative, often family-centred, and replicates a model of "Victorian values" which the enterprise ethic particularly approves of, to wit: thrift, hard work, self-determination and responsibility, family-focus, creative stewardship, wealth creation, and , often, charitable works.

7) Man has been given the freedom to choose right or wrong. The exercise of this choice, although it will often be abused because of fallen man's sinfulness, is the meaning and embodiment of ethics.

8) Crimes against property, whether by outright theft or fraud, are particularly to be condemned. The biblical exhortation to proper stewardship of property sanctifies its ownership, and warns against redistribution, theft or envy-driven polemic.

9) Man should support a strong state, which protects us all from the worse excesses of the markets and those whose exercise their free choice in the direction of evil. The state has a particular responsibility to protect sanctified property.

10) The reward for following these ethical guides will be eschatological justification, or post-mortem salvation. Salvation is won on an individual basis, and this reinforces the responsibility of each of us for ourself.

7:5) Conclusion

Chapter Six developed an ideal type of Thatcherism, which included the concepts of freedom, of reduction of state control, of enterprise, of individualism, and of wealth-creation. This chapter has examined the theological defences of these concepts put forward by the Enterprise Theologians, as well as the underlying paradigm upon which the defences were built. The chapter opened with a demonstration of the importance of religious thought to the key protagonist of Thatcherism, the former Prime Minister.

It was then discovered that freedom of choice, in moral terms, is placed at the centre of Enterprise Theology, and encompassed the duty to take responsibility

for one's own life, and an entirely personalised soteriology. The freedom required to take meaningful choices, we were told, could only exist within a market economy, in a state which abjured dependence.

Wealth creation offers a way of dealing with poverty, because it provides resources which can then, through quasi-Victorian voluntarism, be shared in line with the personal choices of the wealth-creator. Wealth-creation also offers a way of engaging in the divine creative act so as to fulfil man's stewardship obligations. Enterprise is a particularly fine example of individual self-sufficiency combined with wealth-creation and hard work. Novak even maintains that it is man's job to reorder the cosmos through creativity and enterprise. Self-love is thus put to God's use.

Original Sin means that it is impossible to work towards a Utopia on earth, since the earth can only be redeemed eschatologically. Legislating for a welfare state will fail because of the weakness and ignorance of bureaucrats, as well as because of its Utopian tendencies. However, Original Sin necessitates strong legal and statutory controls to deal with man and society's innate wickedness. Sin is so prevalent and virulent that Novak feels it is a mistake to view the Incarnation as having impacted on it seriously. Augustine's doctrine of the two realms is also used to prohibit thought of temporal Utopias; the spiritual world of God is to be kept quite distinct from the fallen physical world. We found that there were a number of inconsistencies in this Enterprise Theology. In particular, if individual salvation is to be achieved by creative stewardship as enterprise, in conjunction with voluntary charity, then this suggests that there is a way open for man to address the sin which so tarnishes the world. If abundance is the natural order of things, and therefore wealth is morally good in some sense, to what extent does this cohere with the notions of Original Sin and the Two Realms? If the invisible hand of God can be seen in economic transactions, then a belief in the Beneficence of Providence is required. Yet such a positive

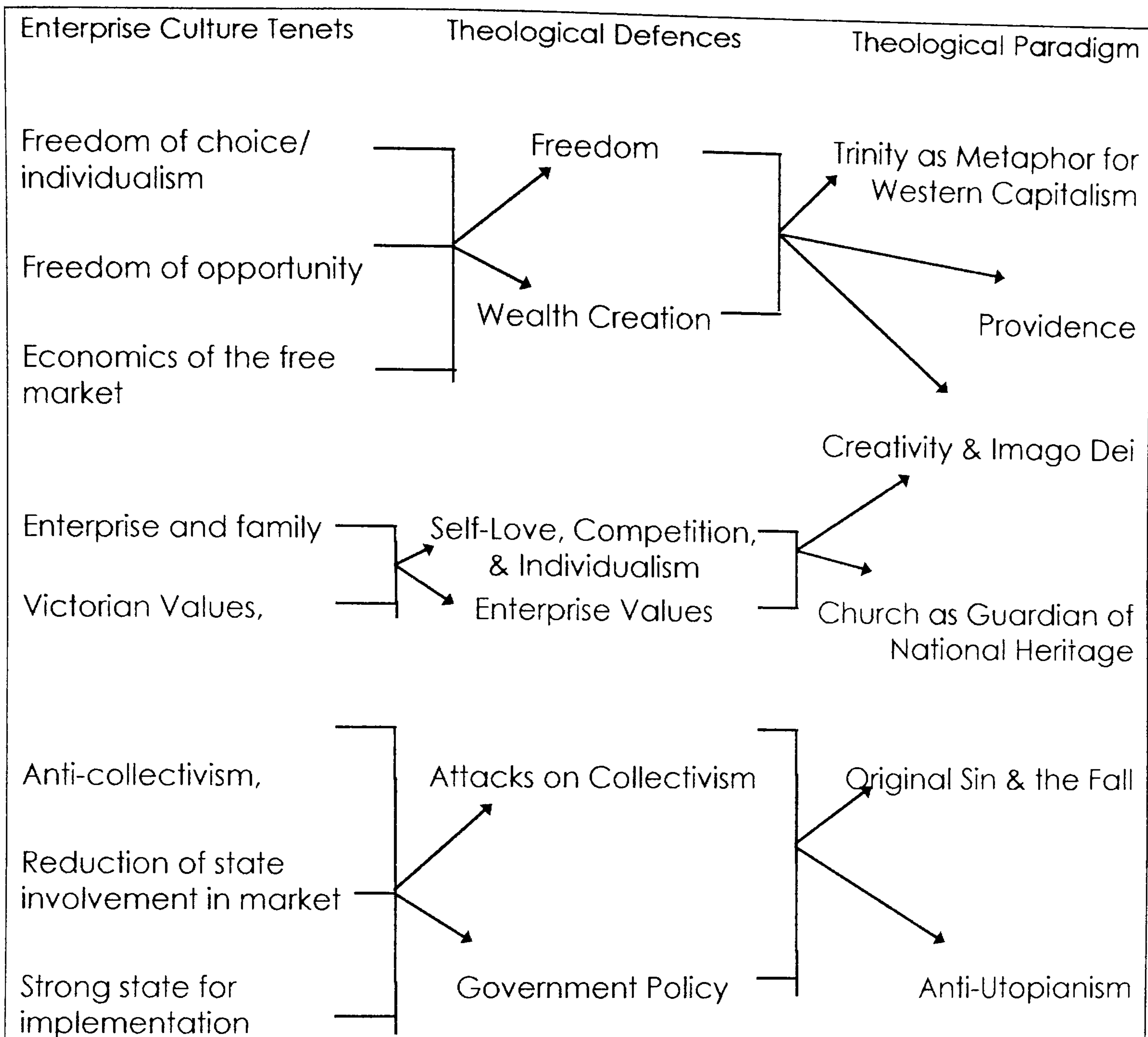
view of the ordered creation is some way removed from the profoundly pessimistic theologies of a fallen world beyond hope of even partial redemption.

Furthermore, we noted that many of the references to the Bible and other parts of the Church tradition do not tally with the uncontentious exegesis of earlier chapters. Nowhere, except briefly in Griffiths' work, is there any serious attempt to deal with the critiques of the pursuit of wealth, of worldliness, of material property, of structural exploitation of the poor, which were the hallmarks of the Old Testament and the first 500 years of Christianity. The wrestlings of the Schoolmen, as they attempt to develop a moral framework to contain proto-enterprise are disingeniously represented as Austrian economics. For all the emphasis on tradition, and traditional values, the Enterprise Theologians seem to ignore all difficult parts of the cannon, and give the impression of picking and choosing at random and out of context. The most striking example of this is the almost complete absence of any theology of the Incarnation, and the distorted focus on only parts of the Old Testament.

It should, nonetheless, be noted that the concept of participation in the divine creative act, and the theology of work as having moral value in itself, cannot be discarded as easily as much else in Enterprise Theology.

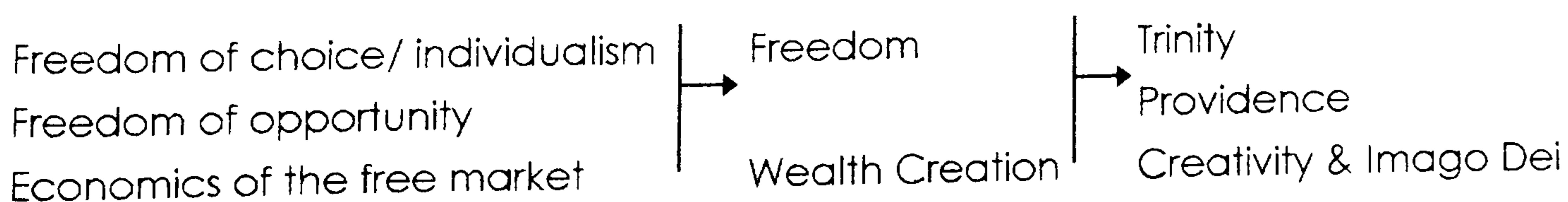
Chapter Eight will include a short section on post-Thatcher Enterprise Theology, which attempts to build upon such positive theological conclusions in a rather more rigorous fashion than has been evident in this chapter.

The identification of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology is now complete, and its analysis has begun. Incorporating the paradigmatic aspects of this theology to the schema which concluded Section 7:3 , a diagrammatic representation of our entire model can now be presented:



This abstraction requires a little further explanation and elucidation. The ideal type we have constructed can be seen to fall into three broad cross-sections, which can be categorised as covering economic activity, individual morality, and socio-political matters. Rather than attempting to expand upon the ideal type as a whole, let us take each of three cross-sections in turn. Our aim here is to review, summarise, and clarify the ideal type which has been constructed, rather than to analyse it:

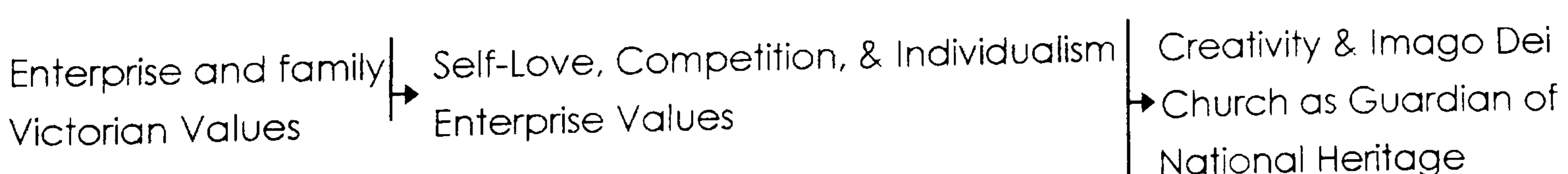
1) Economic Acitivity



In the first cross-section of the ideal type, the enterprise tenets which were abstracted articulated belief in freedom of economic choice and freedom of opportunity. These freedoms were defended in theological terms by recourse to two main arguments. The first of these was soteriological in nature, presenting the need for moral freedom as a pre-requisite of salvation, and postulating that only within a democratic market system could such moral freedom be exercised. The second argument defended economic freedom, by attacking the alternatives as constituting dangerous, violent and sinful radical millenarianism. The economics of the free market, based upon the individual pursuit of wealth creation, are defended as being the optimum system for the prevention of poverty, and of promoting human reflection of divine creativity, as well as of enhancing opportunities for stewardship.

The theological defences in turn are rooted in a paradigm which sees the market system, and its triune structures of individuals, mediating institutions, and the state, (and/or politics, the economy, and the socio-cultural sphere) as reflections of the Trinity. Human creativity, and especially wealth creation, are justified by frequent reference to the creativity of God, and to the imago dei doctrine. The operations of the invisible hand are interpreted as the providential ordering of God. The Neo-liberal nature of this strand of the argument, with its emphasis upon the predominance of freedom, is noteworthy.

2) Individual Morality



In the second cross-section of the individual ideal type, the focus is upon individual morality and values. Promotion of the values of enterprise and Victoriana were abstracted from the rhetoric and actions of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. Theological defences were then mounted, which incorporated justifications for the specific values of wealth creation, hard work, charity, thrift/asceticism, competition, individualism and family-focus. These defences attempted to draw upon the traditions of Christian teaching, so that, for example, the Genesis commission myth was utilised to legitimate work and wealth creation. Much use was made of later "traditions", which were found to emanate primarily from late Puritan England, including family values. Their paradigmatic resting place was in two main doctrines. The first of these was the further use of the Imago Dei / Creativity argument, to validate the personal adoption of entrepreneurial economic activity. Secondly, the Church was postulated to be the natural national guardian of the set of (Victorian) values which were under defence.

By contrast to the Neo-liberal tone of the economic cross-section, the Thatcherite stance on personal morality and values is decidedly Conservative in nature, promoting perceived traditionalism.

3) Socio-Political Matters



The final cross-section of the ideal type addresses matters societal and political. Specifically, the Enterprise Culture was noted for its attacks upon collectivism, for its insistence upon the reduction of state control in the market, and upon the concomitant need for a strong state to protect market freedoms. Theological attacks were launched upon collectivism, which was

attacked as being utopian, as being opposed to freedom, and as being dependent upon atheistic Marxism. Non-interventionist Government policy, on the other hand, was justified as recognising the impossibility of legislating for morality.

The paradigmatic tenets upon which this strand of the argument were based upon a metaphysical anti-Utopianism which emphasised the importance of Two Realms theology. A strong theology of Original Sin supported this view, by asserting that achieving an earthly paradise is impossible, post-Fall.

This cross-section combines both Neo-liberal ideas (eg, reduction of State intervention), and Neo-conservative concepts (such as the need for a strong legislative state).

Having identified and specified the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, our major task is to continue to its analysis. Thus far, we have uncovered some serious difficulties in terms of internal consistency and theological accuracy. Chapter Eight will now go on to subject it to the criticisms of the professional theologians, before our concluding arguments are presented in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Eight

Theological Attacks on The Enterprise Culture

8:1) Introduction

The analysis undertaken in Chapters Six and Seven concentrated upon addressing matters of immediate interest uncovered during the construction of the ideal type. These, de facto, related to internal consistency, and to the use of the Western theological tradition as presented in Chapters Two to Five. Before drawing together and examining further these disparate analyses, it is relevant to present the critiques of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology made by (professional) theologians. Having completed this task, we will then be in a position to consolidate analysis of the ideal type, and reach conclusions regarding its theological validity and internal cohesion.

The chapter will commence with a short introduction to the Critical School, before progressing to present an overview of two important influences upon them, the Christian Socialists and Liberation Theologians. Next, using the same structure as Chapter Seven, their theological analyses of enterprise values will be presented, dealing first with attacks (or defences) of particular tenets, and then with the content of the underlying theological paradigm.

Throughout the 1980s several leaders of the British Churches, including very senior Bishops and Theologians, engaged in extensive public conflict with the Thatcherite Enterprise propagandists. Many of the writings examined in Chapter Seven were in fact written in response to the moral, social, and theological condemnation of Jenkins, Sheppard, Kee, the "Faith in the City" Report, Vincent, Seabrook and others.

In broad terms, this school of thought, often driven by the writings of church leaders living in the inner city, is characterised by a strong identification with the Old & New Testament position on the primary importance of care for the Poor, who are the *Children of God*, and to whom both the Old and the New Testaments speak in a special way.

This does not return to the Early Church's glorification of poverty in itself, however, which is roundly condemned as a degradation which prevents people from achieving their full potential, and brings with it great suffering. One of the chief desires of these writers is that by participation in creative and rewarding work, all people will be materially, spiritually and socially fulfilled.

Strong themes in these works are the importance of the Incarnation, and a "mixed eschatology" which, whilst still accepting the divine *not yet* of the parousia, also finds a duty for working towards the Kingdom in the here and now. Strong incarnational theology supports this partly-realised eschatology by referring to Christ's practical works and care for the marginalised.

These two key tenets of the Anti-Thatcherite polemical theology have led, curiously enough, to large-scale involvement by the polemicists and their supporters in alternative enterprise. Community Businesses, Training Workshops, Credit Unions, Food Co-ops, Fair Trading Companies, Community Centres, and Nurseries have all been created across the country by church groups strongly opposed to Thatcherite Enterprise, yet seeking to serve their community in a practical way to alleviate the worst excesses of poverty. It is a fascinating irony that those most opposed to the enterprise culture have worked the most creatively and entrepreneurially of all church leaders and members. At the heart of this activity is a strong belief that the Incarnation necessitates involvement in the here and now, quite different from the laissez-faire providentialism of the Enterprise Theologians.

Other key themes of these critics include justice, fairness, a right to participation, environmental responsibility, attacks on racism and a deep discontent with the individualism which separates neighbour from neighbour. An explicit influence on these writings has been the Liberation Theology of Latin America, which has adopted Marxist historical analysis to create a theology of, by and for the Poor. Although some Critics strongly reject the Marxist affiliations of Liberation Theology - including Sheppard and Jenkins - all recognise the power and applicability of the Theology for the Underside of History which the Latin American Catholics have developed.

This chapter refers to those theologians opposed to the Enterprise Culture as "Critics". This designation should not be seen to infer that these theologians are simply reacting to the Thatcherite theologians, nor that they represent a minority grouping. Rather, the Critical school of thought broadly represents the mainstream position of British churchmen and theologians to the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, and the contemporary (Protestant) position on matters of social and economic theology. However, the early 1990s have seen the beginnings of a new school of Critical Enterprise Theology, which attempts to weld together what they perceive to be the best that enterprise, entrepreneurship, and the free market have to offer with elements of more traditional Christian suspicion of industrial capitalism. The writings of this new school will be examined in this Chapter, and suggest an interesting way forward for the complex relationship between Theology and Capitalism.

It is worth noting at this juncture that the writings of the Critics is, theologically speaking at any rate, of a higher quality than that of the Enterprise Theologians. The majority of Critics are priests or theologians, with a life-time of theological study behind them. We have seen that the Enterprise Theologians (with the exception of Novak) are typically economists or politicians, with a

strong interest in the Church and a degree of self-directed theological study. This difference in knowledge and skills should be taken into account when comparing the two theologies, and may go some way towards explaining the inconsistencies and contradictions which were discovered in Chapter Seven.

In order to facilitate comparison with the Enterprise Theologians, the same structure and order is followed below. By reflecting the concerns of the Enterprise Theologians, as presented in Chapter 7, the structure of the present chapter is prohibited from representing the priorities which the Critics would give to particular elements of their Theology. Before progressing with the review, however, it is necessary to add a little contextual material to this presentation, by noting two major influences on contemporary Critical Theology - Christian Socialism, and Liberation Theology.

8:2) Christian Socialism

The Christian Socialist Movement has had a major influence on later work, and a short exposition of its history and theology is thus a useful precursor to an analysis of the contemporary Critics, who share some commonality with the Christian Socialists, without being entirely or necessarily identical. Indeed, that the contemporary church in Britain should be politically vocal and more or less left of the current centre, is due in no small part to the heritage it has received from the Christian socialist movement, of which it has been written:

“Taken as one great movement it may come to rank in significance with the Reformation because of its radical effects on church life and theology. It could be regarded, with some justification, as the most palpable and decisive Christian response to the market economy” (Atherton, 1992 p117).

The roots of this movement, as described by Atherton (1992), are to be found in the person of FD Maurice and "the fragile little group collected around him from 1848 - 1854" (Atherton, 1992 p141). The theology of this group moved away from atonement towards the incarnation, with a concomitant focus on practical responses to material and social problems. The group gave strong support to the nascent co-operative movement, which "expressed the principle that every man was in Christ, and stood in opposition to the principle of selfish individualism and its corollary of competition" (Atherton, 1992 p142).

Maurice's theology of work was production focused, and we shall see below that an emphasis on the creative sanctity of productive work is a major hallmark of the Critical school. This theology of co-operative production was strongly incarnational, drawing on the *imago dei* concept of man made in God's image, and continues to be a dominant theme of modern Critics:

"Consumption is merely human element in life; production is the divine. God is the eternal producer" (Maurice, in Reckitt 1989)

In the Twentieth Century, perhaps the most representative figure in the continuing story of Christian Socialism is RW Tawney. Tawney's theological writings and actions, which were consciously intended as an attack on Capitalism, bewail the immorality of an economic way of life which promoted greed, selfishness and individualism. His response addressed moral, practical and personal issues, with a longing for strong grass-roots Christian communities, and government informed by the ethical principles of the Early Church.

"The task of rejecting capitalism and rebuilding society on such a basis involved... a total response encompassing practice,

theory and theology, church life and personal lifestyle. Tawney epitomises all these characteristics" (Atherton, 1992 p136).

Tawney's holistic attacks on unfettered Capitalism, and his equally holistic solutions for rescuing society and people from its grip, have also continued to be a hallmark of Critical Theology, which typically mix theory with praxis and analysis; argument and reflection with practical examples, action and proposals¹. His masterpiece, "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism", contributed significantly to the subject which this work is also attempting to discuss.

William Temple was also a key twentieth century influence, and established the Church's duty to speak out on social issues (Clark 1993 p17-19).

8:3) Liberation Theology

It has been noted above that Liberation Theology is a highly significant influence and reference point for the Critics. Many cite Liberation Theology, its writings and leading proponents in their own work². There are also striking similarities with Liberation Theology, which may not be specifically acknowledged.

The *mélange* of reflection and analysis, with practicality, as a hermeneutic tool has strongly Marxist roots. In terms of modern international theology, this methodological approach is a key defining characteristic of Third World Liberation Theology, perhaps the most significant, and certainly the most radical, influence on Western Critics.

¹ For a detailed presentation of Tawney's life, work and influence, see Wright, 1987

² See for example Sheppard 1983 pp 145 - 158, Taylor 1990 p21, Kirk 1989 pp15 - 32, Jenkins 1988 pp112 - 113 Atherton 1992 p117, Harries 1992 pp59-72

Liberation Theology came into being in Latin America, although markedly regional variants have now been created throughout Christian communities in the Third World. A major point of difference from Western radicalism, is that Liberation Theology grew from the Catholic Church in central and Southern America, although it has enjoyed little Vatican support, and has often been in conflict with the teachings and dictats of Rome. The driving force behind the generation of Liberation Theology was what Assman described as "the realisation of our objective situation as oppressed and dependant people" (Assman 1973).

The catalyst for the development of Liberation Theology is usually seen as being the Second Vatican Council, in late 1965, where a re-focusing took place within the Catholic Church towards the laity and their needs, and away from ecclesiology. The impact of Vatican II has often been compared with the Reformation, since the visible signs of both included "great creativity in preaching, forms of worship, new forms of ministry, forms of congregation, church governing and new theologies" (Berryman, 1984, p26). This new direction prompted those ministering to a community in poverty - and often under the governance of military dictatorships - to begin to address the political and social needs of their congregations more directly, in terms of spirituality, material well-being and theological thought.

Revolutionary priests, like Camillo Torres, the sociologist who put his theoretical position into practice by joining the Colombian guerrillas, and dying in action in 1966, gave a practical example of the lengths to which such a ministry could be taken.

In 1968, the Medellin Conference of Latin American bishops took place, with the bishops and their advisors using the threefold Marxist hermeneutic to apply Vatican II to Latin America. The papers issuing from this conference talked

explicitly about empowerment, grass-roots basic communities, the poor as authors of their own progress, and revolutionary theology (Witvliet 1985 pp 121 - 122, Berryman 1984 p27, Gutierrez 1983 pp25 - 107).

With such encouragement from the continent's religious leaders, a theology and practice of "being with the poor" came into being, and priest - theologians (including Gustavo Gutierrez, Helder Camara, Francisco and Ernesto Boff, and Hugo Assman) started to articulate a radical new methodology and theory of Incarnational Theology . Berryman summarises the major themes of Liberation Theology as follows, and the important influence of this Latin American radicalism will become clear when we turn to contemporary Western Critics, and when the position of the Enterprise Theologians is recalled:

"1. The notion of a 'separation of planes' (spiritual and temporal) was rejected in favor of a concept of a single history of humankind, thereby undercutting the justification for the exclusion of the church from 'political' questions.

"2. An ideological critique of the church's action (for example, preaching or theology) revealed that it was not 'above politics'.

"3. While the definitive kingdom was seen as beyond history, it was said to be built up by partial realizations within history.

"4. Conflict, even class struggle, was seen as a part of history and could not be covered over by appeals to the 'unity of the church' " (Berryman 1984, pp 28-29).

Priests and nuns started to use Freierian techniques of education and empowerment with members of poor communities, and their joint analysis led

them to reject a capitalist system which kept the means of production out of the hands of the workers. A socialist political stance was widely advocated, often on the grounds of enacting divine Justice, and prophetic condemnations of wealth and greed issued. Christ was seen as The Liberator, and a powerful, active Christology has been developed (Boff, 1987).

In Liberation Theology, the place of the Church is seen to be side by side with the poor, engaged actively in their struggle to reclaim the land from which they had been metaphysically and economically exiled. The metaphor of Exodus, of leading people into a new Promised Land, is especially strong, and use is made of the social denunciations of the Old Testament prophets. The positive impact of Liberation Theology is celebrated, as a way out of exile and oppression:

"What we are confronted with...is a foreign land, passage through a desert; testing and discernment. But in this same land, from which God is not in fact absent, the seeds of a new spirituality can germinate. This spirituality gives rise to new songs to the Lord, songs filled with authentic joy because it is spirituality that is nourished by the hope of a people familiar with the suffering caused by poverty and contempt" (Gutierrez, 1984, p19)³.

³ For overviews of Liberation Theology, see for example Atherton 1992 pp150-152, Witvliet 1985, Berryman pp 25-32 , Kee 1986 pp58 - 86, Gutierrez 1983, Sheppard 1983 pp 145 - 158

8:4) Attacks on Apologetics of Enterprise Values

8:4:1) Introduction

Having reviewed two important formative influences on Critical Theology, we will now turn to that Theology itself, and examine its stance on those tenets identified in Chapter 7 as being of special significance for the Enterprise Theologians, and which were therefore used to provide a framework for the Chapter:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Freedom | 4) Government Policy |
| 2) Wealth Creation | 5) Enterprise |
| 3) Self-Love and Individualism | 6) Attacks on Collectivism |

8:4:2) Freedom

Introduction

It has been noted in Chapters 6 and 7 that freedom of choice and the taking of responsibility for one's own destiny are the basis of the Enterprise Ethic. Perhaps surprisingly, the concept of freedom is also important to Enterprise Critics. Their discussion of freedom can be seen to fall into three broad areas:

1. Freedom of Opportunity as Demanding Social and Economic Equality
2. Contingent Freedom Circumscribed by Duty
3. Slavery to the Market and its Constraints

Demands for Social and Economic Equality

A clear demand is made in these writings for all people to have the opportunity to freely engage in all that society has to offer, and to use their abilities in a fulfilling and meaningful way unconstrained by any barriers.

"God the Creator made people in His own image: that includes His purpose that all of us should be able in some sense to put our stamp on the world and to know that we have the power to make choices which will affect our destiny and that of others" (Sheppard, D 1983 p12).

The familiar Imago Dei doctrine is thus utilised by critics of the Enterprise Culture to justify the importance of individual human freedom. The significant gap between the two schools, however, comes at the next stage in their respective arguments. The Enterprise Theologians, it will be recalled, moved on from the statement of the importance of individual freedom to assert that the free market was the optimum socio-economic sphere for its enactment. By contrast, their Critics steadfastly maintain that no meaningful freedom of action and opportunity can pertain whilst social inequalities exist, and that the free market creates, sustains and/or exacerbates these inequalities. They strongly disagree with the Enterprise Theologians on this point, and baldly state that a free market economy is simply not an acceptable or successful way of extending this freedom to all members of society (see, for example, Plant et al 1989 pp 77 - 95). Directly addressing the writings of Joseph, reviewed in Chapter 4, Plant et al write:

"Poverty feels like un-freedom and is un-freedom; and in a rich society poverty feels like injustice - and is injustice. This is a way of thinking about freedom that is both faithful to the principles of the incarnation and true to the experiences of poor people" (Plant et al 1989 p93; see also Harries 1992 pp 110-112).

Without the meeting of basic needs such as health care, housing, education, employment opportunities, and so on, the freedom of the market is held by these writers to be meaningless. True freedom is a highly desirable thing, but is

not available to a large minority under the market system. However, even though readily acknowledging that "the greatest gift the enlightenment has left us is the recognition of the right of all people to freedom of thought and conscience", there remains an anxiety that "the freedom to make one's own decision about what is good" is not an option open to Christians ⁴.

Contingent Freedom Circumscribed by Duty

A further difference between the two schools of thought relates to their understanding of the concept of freedom. The Enterprise Theologians explicitly describe freedom in terms of individual rights and choices. The Critics add to these freedoms the duties and shared responsibilities which individuals owe to each other. Although such ideas are raised by the Enterprise Theologians in the context of Victorian Values, curiously enough the contradiction between individualistic freedom and the constraints of corporate duty are not fully faced up to. For the Critics, however, freedom is dependent upon communal obligation. This, it is maintained, is a firmer base for an equitable society than "the unacceptable inequities of a society based on paternalism, market forces or individualism" (Hake, A 1989 p56).

The limitations placed on human freedom are that, because the freedom has been given to us by God, we are answerable to him for how we make use of it. Made in God's image and for his purposes, our freedom is a gift from him, contingent upon his grace (Willmer 1989 p40).

Slavery to the Market and its Constraints

The market economy is perceived to treat us each as consumers, and not as neighbours freely participating in a gracious community of mutual support, which leads Willmer to ask:

⁴ See, for example, Newbiggin, L 1986 p139 - 141

"In the distorted freedom necessary to a consumer society, can we find the freedom to develop communities of resistance, endurance and innovation?" (Willmer 1989 pp 45 - 46).

Many references are made to the idolatry of belief in the market system, and to the notion that this stance of faith constrains contemporary economic and philosophical thinking in such a way as to deny any effective freedom on the part of the policy makers. That is, freedom under the market is no freedom at all, since it necessitates that the nation follows a particular prescribed path, no matter what the consequences for society, individuals and industry. Newbiggin, for example, describes money as a *fetish*:

"Money is perhaps another example of the principalities and powers of our time...Money has truly become a fetish, a power which demands and receives absolute devotion" (Newbiggin 1989 p207).

Several writers note that, by assuming that economics is comparable to the Newtonian paradigm of physics, and can therefore be said to comprise a set of objectively true and value-free laws, economists and politicians have abdicated both their freedom and their responsibility. The teleology of free-market economics is also called into question. Free to do nothing except follow the dictates of the market, one is stripped of direction, purpose and the chance for personal fulfilment - spiritual or otherwise (see for example, Storkey 1986 pp18 - 71, Newbiggin 1986 pp30 -34, Boerma 1989 p124). The word *slavery* is even used to describe the relationship between the market place and those who choose to live under its operation (Newbiggin 1986 p203, Storkey 1986 p77).

Conclusion

In summary, then, freedom is a powerful concept for the Critics, who believe with the Enterprise Theologians that, made in God's image, man's greatest gift and responsibility is the freedom to choose his or her own path through life. However, because so many are cut off from the most basic of resources and opportunities, they do not feel that any real degree of freedom is available to many of today's poor. God's freedom places responsibilities upon man to use that freedom in a Christ-like way, by choosing service to others as a major part of life. This liberating freedom is seen to be full of purpose, community feeling, love and humility. The freedom of the market, by contrast, is constricting and empty of meaning, pushing people into a life of individual production and consumption, or of alienation from these activities, without direction or purpose except the idolatrous pursuit of growth.

8:4:3) Wealth Creation

Introduction

Given the rhetoric used to accuse the Free Market System of idolatry, slavery to the invisible hand, and systemic inequities, it is not surprising that wealth creation is also subject to some demanding scrutiny, and found wanting in some instances. However, this criticism is not all-encompassing, and some approval for wealth creation is to be found in the arguments, which focus upon:

1. Legitimacy of Participation in Industry / Wealth Creation
2. Demands for Justice in Wealth Creation and Distribution
3. Enterprise and Incarnation Theology

Legitimacy of Participation in Industry / Wealth Creation

There is by no means universal disapproval of wealth creation per se in the Critical writings, with some writers supporting the view that:

"God does call His people to create wealth. Obeying that calling need not involve us in an inhuman rat race. The Church needs to be more visibly present in the world of commerce and industry, for the belief that God calls people to be involved in wealth creation is doubted on all sides" (Sheppard 1983 p131).

Harries (1992) applauds the merits of wealth-creation in terms of man striving to provide for himself and his family, because industry is "part of God's good creation", and since only by affirming the whole of wealth creation can Christians hope to bring about improvements in its operation (Harries, 1992 pp74-75).

Demands for Justice in Wealth Creation and Distribution

Yet Harries also notes the problems caused by wealth creation, which include damage to the environment, the fact that wealth creation in reality does little for the poor majority, and because its pursuit can over-simplify distinctions between ends and means. Life is not so simple to allow the argument that making more money reduces poverty to obtain, without questioning how that money is made, and what uses it is truly put to thereafter (op cit. p78). Perhaps the most representative summary of the Critical School's position on wealth creation, however, is made by the writers of Faith in the City:

"The creation of wealth must always go hand in hand with just distribution. The product must have some intrinsic value, and its production must have due regard to social and economic consequences. There is a long Christian tradition, reaching back to the Old Testament prophets, and supported by influential schools of economic and political thought, which

firmly rejects the amassing of wealth unless it is justly obtained and fairly distributed" (The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985, p53).

This position is some way removed from that of the Enterprise Theologians, who place strong emphasis upon the need for the market place to be left free to operate in an unconstrained way. The Critics are essentially demanding that constraints (moral, if not legal) be put in place to limit the damage which an unfettered pursuit of wealth creation can, in their view, inflict upon individuals and community.

Of particular interest and discussed in more detail below, is that for several of these writers, all work is to be highly valued, and whilst the entrepreneur by no means occupies the moral high ground unchallenged, wealth creation itself is not a bad thing: it is the fair distribution of profits that is called into question. This position has clear echoes of Maurice's reference to God the producer. This point is an important divergence from the Enterprise Theologians, who are content that wealth creation offers the potential for redistribution through charity, whilst increasing the general economic well-being of the nation.

Enterprise and Incarnation Theology

Enterprise and innovation in all their forms, (rather than simply as expressed through the vehicle of the firm) are applauded as purposeful reflections of divine creativity (Harries 1992 p91). Furthermore, we have noted above the extensive involvement of the Critical movement in what might be termed Third Sector Enterprise. Books and articles are peppered with examples of Incarnational Theology at work, in the creation of a whole range of organisations/places aimed at serving the material and spiritual needs of community.

The metaphor of Christ's healing is sometimes used to explain the parabolic nature of this work. although more usually the idea of the pre-figuration of the Kingdom is the rationale used, as well as the now familiar concept of participating in the divine creative act. (See below, under The Kingdom of God, for some examples of Church-led enterprise, and further discussion of this issue.)

8:4:4) Self-Love and Individualism

The position of the contemporary Critics vis-à-vis individualism and self-love is not dissimilar from that of the medieval scholastics, and of Luther and Calvin. Acquisitive individualism, leading to greed, selfishness and exploitation of others, that is to say, comes in for a fair amount of criticism. An economic system which relies on self-interest is not capable of producing equitable results, and leads men away from the more Christian path of mutual love and care. It is the system which justifies individualism which is criticised, typically, rather than individualism itself. (Although linked characteristics, such as greed and selfishness and acquisitiveness are roundly and explicitly condemned as idolatrous and sinful, see below, under Original Sin and the Fall.) These, then, are the major arguments utilised by the Critical School:

1. Ethical Dangers of a Self-Interested Socio-Economic System
2. Theological Value of Community
3. Soteriology of Service

Ethical Dangers of Self-Interested Socio-Economic System

Newbiggin could hardly be more emphatic in writing:

“The myth of the 'invisible hand' that ensures that the untrammelled exercise of covetousness by each individual will produce the happiness of all is surely the most malignant

falsehood that has ever deceived the human race"
(Newbiggin 1986 p121).

Similarly, Boerma writes of his:

"...shame and embarrassment for a society that refuses to be a community and instead prefers to be a place of conflict between the strong and the weak, with an economy based on individual interest and profit rather than on the common good" (Boerma 1989 viii; see also Jenkins 1988 p114).

This point is developed by Jukes, who notes that, whilst there are no explicit Scriptural condemnations of competition, it has a tendency to promote behaviour which is indeed sinful, such as "the search for dominion over another human being or the exclusion of any individual's duty to promote the common good" (Jukes, 1993, p39).

It should perhaps be noted that the moral wrong-headedness of the pursuit of self-interest is taken as a given by most of these polemicists, and little analysis or argument supports their view. It is simply seen to be de facto ethically reprehensible for a society to be based on self-interest. Only Harries sees in self-interest a necessary condition for human survival (Harries 1992 p91).

Theological Value of Community

Several of the Critics note that the importance of the family in Enterprise Culture pronouncements is in essence an acceptance of at least some community values, and some powerful relationships which extend beyond the

individual⁵ (see for example Storkey 1986 p132). Other writers take a less categorical and condemnatory stance, and concentrate on promoting the communal alternative to individualism, or on emphasising that the market, too depends on "some sense of community and integration" (Plant et al 1989 p83). This point, of course, was also made by the Enterprise Theologians, although it was tempered by their continued emphasis upon the individual.

The social good, and its pursuit, for these writers, are posited not simply as being morally superior as *means*, but as facilitating more valuable end results than the encouragement of individual self-interest. A society whose members aim to promote the common good will produce a more spiritually fulfilled, and materially just, national (and international) community of individuals:

"Rather than the appeal to self-interest contributing to the social good, we could appeal to the pursuit of the social good and the satisfaction of self-interest which followed from that. Such a motive can lead many to find zest in the much-needed work of wealth creation, and to refuse to give up the elusive goal of fairer distribution" (Sheppard 1983 pp 144).

This position is expressed in other terms by some writers, who claim that alienating and narrow-minded selfishness is not the same as enlightened self-interest, which will choose the long-term good for oneself *and* others, over against short-term material gain for oneself alone (Taylor 1990 p59). This smacks a little of casuistry: one is able to accept self-interest if one re-defines so that it really means communal, or shared interest.

⁵ A Marxist analysis of the place of the family in capitalist ideology would draw attention to the need to encourage efforts and investment which will only be fully realised beyond the lifetime of any one individual.

Storkey develops this argument a little further by pointing out that dedicated customer-service, as recommended by leading business strategists, means putting the other - in this case the customer - first, which he interprets as a commercial and moral imperative to "love one's neighbour as oneself, whether in the provision of a car-park for the customer, in thoughtful packaging or in opening up new low-cost products for the consumer" (Storkey 1986 p30). This argument has interesting parallels in some studies of entrepreneurship, which demonstrate that a major motivating factor at the start-up phase for many entrepreneurs is a desire to operate a morally upright business, which translates into a concrete decision to put the needs of the customers before profits (see Scott, 1980).

As one might expect, then, and as the above excerpts indicate, the Critics focus much more on *community* than on the individual, and maintain that following the community's good is the optimum social and personal strategy. Newbiggin (1986 pp118 -119) uses the metaphor of the Trinity to emphasise the categorical relatedness of all creation, which should be replicated in human relations, in "binding covenant relations of brotherhood" (see also Plant et al 1989 p95, Pobe 1987 p59). The emphasis on community, rather than the individual, as the hallmark of a Christian society, is pronounced:

"The context of the community, with reciprocal obligations and rights for all members, and a basis of belonging together with mutual respect, provides a foundation upon which the apparently insoluble confrontations of a society based largely on conflicting rights, and the unacceptable inequities of a society based on paternalism, market forces or acquisitive individualism, can be approached with hope" (Hake, 1989 p56).

Soteriology of Service

There is a paradigmatic and doctrinal reason for the differences we have encountered between Critics and Enterprise Theologians, and this reason is clearly identified by Rowland (1988), who points out that there is a strong tendency for contemporary "Enterprise" Christians to focus on the individual's salvation in the future end-time, rather than the community's struggle to live out the kingdom in the present (Rowland, 1988 p152). That is to say, those who wish to avert Christian involvement in social and political issues have concentrated on future salvation for the individual as the central message of Christianity. Or, put the other way round, those who focus on the forthcoming parousia, and concomitant atomic soteriology, can see no place for active socio-political engagement in the here and now. Many examples of this disengagement from the present, accompanied by criticisms of utopianism, were noted in Chapter Seven, where the resting point of the most pronounced Enterprise Theologians was eschatological atonement through wealth creation. The realm of spirituality and theology is personal, and is not contiguous with the material realm, the Earthly City.

The opposite stance is taken by Critics, who emphasise the importance of the Incarnation as a call to participate in the struggle to create a pre-figurement of the Kingdom community. Because Christ became flesh, lived an earthly life, and enacted examples of neighbourly love, modern Christians should do the same. The Kingdom is not-yet, but "the more seriously we take the future promise of God's kingdom, the more unbearable will be the contradictions of that promise which we meet in the present" (Sheppard 1983, paraphrasing Moltman). The path to God is not to be found by seeking one's own salvation through self-interested wealth-creation, but by following the lesson of the Incarnation, where physical needs are taken as seriously as spiritual needs:

“Jesus heals people before he preaches to them. He satisfies human and bodily needs first. This means that community needs have to be met first, that the city writes the agenda, that the poor and needy and sick have the priority, that I am ‘saved’ by the life of Jesus, not by anything else” (Vincent 1986 p98).

This difference in the doctrinal paradigm underpinning the two schools of thought will be discussed further below. It is of critical importance to understanding and analysing the differences between the two groups of writers and activists, as well as of ascertaining where each group stands in relation to the tradition and theology of earlier generations. At its heart is a profound divergence in soteriology, with the Enterprise Theologians insisting upon a spiritual, individual path to salvation, and their critics instead explicitly demanding service to others in the present, material world. As Christians, this is a matter of the most fundamental significance for writers from both schools, treating as it does with the eternal life of believers:

“One's eternal destiny will be determined by the quality of our duty to the Creator as expressed by the care and service exercised in respects of one's fellow human being” (Jukes, 1993, p31. See also Robinson, 1993, pp60-61).

8:4:5) Government Policy

Introduction

Much of the writings under examination had as their explicit purpose the questioning of the policies and beliefs of the Thatcher government that was in power at the time, and especially the establishment of the Enterprise Culture at the ideological heart of the nation. There is therefore much in the works that addresses these issues, and a small but representative selection of this work will

be surveyed in this sub-section. The writings, once again very much at odds with those of the Enterprise Theologians, who stated the impossibility of legislating for morality, cover the following ground:

1. Politics as Part of Creation
2. Negative Moral Results of Policy
3. Criticism of Free Market Economics

Politics as Part of Creation

It proved necessary before engaging on the writing presented in this chapter, for Critical writers to provide justification for this activity. Throughout the 1980s Churchmen and Theologians were reminded by the secular Enterprise Believers that the Church had no place in politics.

This criticism was addressed head-on by most Critics, who almost uniformly used a variant of the argument that God has created all, and therefore all is subject to his will. Because political decisions and policies reflect a particular moral standpoint, they are subject to the moral questioning of the Church and its members, who have a universal mandate:

“The economic, political and cultural life of society is not just the business of secular communities, it is also the business of religious persons. The one who would have eternal life can never be rightly isolated from secular questions; for such a person no area of human life can be immune to the message of salvation and the demands of God” (Pobee 1987 p33; see also Newbiggin 1986 p89, & 95-96, 1989 p220, Jenkins 1988 p11).

Because the reach of God's creation and demands encompasses all of human existence, it must also, de facto, address the political sphere, which

cannot cry sanctuary and seek dispensation from religious and moral criticism. This is particularly so, given the negative results which some Thatcherite policies were seen to have created. Such results were not simply negative in a social or economic sense, but in terms of morality and theology.

Negative Moral Results of Policy

Many of the Critics express very strongly the view that, given the negative social effects of government policy, theological criticism of it is demanded of them. Since the policies have results which the Critics view as being morally reprehensible, moral condemnation is not only appropriate but necessary. The tenor and depth of feeling of the Critics is exemplified by the list of woes which Father Ken Leech lays at the door of the New Right:

“The nuclear commitment, the neglect of the alien, the orphan and the widow, the oppression of the poor, the maintenance and extension of inequality, the encouragement of selfishness and greed, the creation of a climate in which racism, bigotry and intolerance can flourish more than at any point in recent years - all these things are done in the name of the ‘moral order’ “ (Leech in Schwartz 1989 pp17-18).

David Jenkins became the best known theological critic of the Thatcher government, and gained a name in the British tabloid press as a socialist / communist agitator of extreme theological views. As the third most senior cleric in the State Church, and a former Professor of Theology in a Department not noted for its radicalism, this was perhaps to overstate the case. Bishop Jenkins' criticisms of socialism, for example, were less well reported. There is no doubt, however, of the directness of some of his statements on Thatcher's Enterprise Culture, and in particular its failure to face up to the problems of the poor:

"The government...seem to be indifferent to poverty and powerlessness. Their financial measures consistently improve the lot of the already better off while worsening that of the badly off. Their answer to civil unrest seems to be to make the means of suppression more efficient while ignoring or playing down the causes" (Jenkins, 1988 p 8).

The Critics, then, assert that, given the nature of its policies, the Thatcherites have moved into the ethical sphere themselves. Their policies are open to theological critique precisely because they are seen to have led to results which are theologically objectionable, particularly the increase of poverty. It should be noted that most of the Critics practiced as priests in peripheral urban parts of the nation, and were thus particularly aware of the deprivation which increasingly pertained in such places. It was seen as an integral part of their Christian witness to condemn policies which they believed had brought the inner cities and peripheral estates close to social and economic collapse.

Criticism of Free Market Economics

Other criticisms of the policies of the Thatcher governments focus upon economic legislation, and attack the underlying free market theories which were extensively discussed above.

Bishop Jenkins questions what he describes as the "current Conservative Quadrilateral", which "consists of the individual - free choices - in and under the market - which produces wealth" (Jenkins 1988 p 12). Privatisation is challenged also, on the grounds that nationalised industries are already owned by the people (Jenkins 1988 p 78), and because both public and private enterprise "are public in the sense that they affect, depend on and are accountable to a large sector of the public" (Storkey 1986 p110). The

distinction between public and private spheres, even in the realm of economics, is challenged, then.

Economic theory comes in for criticism on a number of other grounds, such as the lack of moral purpose or metaphysical validity of monetarist capitalism. Essentially, these arguments accuse New Right economics of being teleologically nihilistic. The fight against inflation does not have as its goal the betterment of man's material and spiritual life, they claim. Critiques are also made of the enlightenment engendered view that the free market is an effective and suitable economic structure:

"The underlying problem remains the belief in naturalism, the competitive market system which is self-regulating and which will sort out our problems if we leave it alone and do not distort it. Monetarists have made themselves priests and prophets within this dogmatic system" (Storkey, 1986 pp 31-32).

The perception of the market as a value-free, self-controlling mechanism which works in the interest of all is explicitly rejected then, by some critics, who emphasise instead that leaving all to the market's dictates is economically dangerous, and teleologically vacuous.

In the proposition of broad alternatives to present structures and macro-socio-economic policies, some writers follow the Liberation Theologians in recalling the Mosaic model of economic legislation, with its relief of debts, injunctions to tend the poor, and nascent employment law (see, e.g. Storkey 1986 p155).

8:4:6) Enterprise

Introduction

As with wealth creation, the Critics position is not delineated by outright hostility to enterprise. Rather, they demand an extension of its meaning. Furthermore they are often extensively involved in Alternative Enterprise, and some later writers have even tried to incorporate aspects of what might be termed entrepreneurial philosophy into their theology. The Critics' arguments, as they relate to enterprise, can therefore be paraphrased thus:

1. Extension of Concept of Enterprise
2. Participation in Alternative Enterprise
3. Theological Accommodations with Enterprise

Extension of Concept of Enterprise

There is little hostility to the small firm and its owner manager. Only Storkey refers explicitly to "Adam Smith's enlightenment doctrine of self-interest preached by generations of self-justifying entrepreneurs" (Storkey 1986 p100). However, there is a clear demand in many of the writings that creative enterprise develop beyond "the notion of small businesses into a much wider range of small scale efforts at innovation, modification and experiment. We need to add to the notion of self-help in getting on in a narrowly industrial and profitable way and developing this in the direction of social self-help" (Jenkins, D 1988 p 31). Social self-help is called for, and seems to be understood in terms of a community, rather than an individual self-help model of enterprise (see also The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985, p187).

Participation in Alternative Enterprise

It was noted in the introduction that many of the Critical writers are also associated with innovative and enterprising grassroots initiatives which aim to combat poverty, injustice and social deprivation. This implies strongly that the vehicle of creative and innovative enterprise in its broadest sense is wholeheartedly supported by Critics, and it is the particular features of the Enterprise Culture as represented by the Thatcher government which brings forth their opprobrium.

Although many examples of this involvement could be presented, we shall restrict ourselves to just one; Dunn et al (1986) present illustrations of the in-breaking of the Spirit in the North of East of England. The examples chosen and described include a Youth Business Initiative Scheme, Traidcraft (then relatively small scale), a day centre for the mentally ill, Start-up Workshops, and YTS Training Workshops. Although their research is restricted to the North East of England, such examples are widespread, and some (Scottish examples) have been described and reviewed in Dodd, 1989. The comments of these ecclesiastical entrepreneurs are typical of Critical teaching of the Kingdom, and merit reproduction here:

“We believe that the church as a sacrament of God's presence with his people must be a sign of his kingdom in the midst of the community - not simply a sign of love and care but also a sign of justice and peace” (Pedley in Dunn et al 1986 p 50).

Theological Accommodations with Enterprise

Reference has been made to a new trend towards an accommodation with enterprise, which has become apparent in the very recent past. This school - from which the recent work of Atherton (1992), Harries (1992) and Sedgewick

(1992) will be used as an illustrative sample - is being moved towards by theologians not previously noted for any inclination to "negotiate" with enterprise. Essentially, this new school proposes a new type of theology which can perhaps be seen as a form of syncretism with the Enterprise Culture. Hints that this might happen were already apparent in the qualified approval of (wealth) creation, innovation and work-as-vocation given by some Critics. These new theologies continue to reject wholesale other aspects of the Enterprise Culture, such as inequality, far-right economics, delayed eschatology, and the subservience of all else to the pursuit of money. Nonetheless, this fascinating evidence of the influence on enterprise on theology merits some discussion.

These arguments begin from the position of regret that the Church has not chosen to engage fully with the market economy, nor to recognise the significance of the changes in society and the economy which have been wrought in the last century:

" Most Christian leaders, theologians and Churches have never accepted or understood the revolutionary impact and character of these changes...What does not help is the perennial temptation for theologians to return to pre-modern understandings, and the confusion it generates over the relationship between economics and market economics" (Atherton 1992 p45).

The new school of Critical Enterprise theologians review the benefits and deficits of enterprise and the market place, attempting to utilise the techniques of economics and entrepreneurial studies so to do. A summary of their conclusions is listed below:

i) "No effective substitute exists" for the market economy, which, in spite of its faults, is the least harmful economic model for modern society	Atherton, 1992, p61, pp227-228, Harries, 1992, p103
ii) Socialism / Marxism has been thoroughly discredited by mainstream economics	Atherton, 1992, p49, p57, Harries, 1992, p151
iii) Competition and profit should be understood in economic, not ethical terms, as a necessary part of the market economy	Atherton, 1992, pp58 - 59
iv) Self- interest and freedom within the market economy are expressions of god-given traits and virtues	Harries, 1992, p91 Sedgewick, 1992, pp87-88
v) Dynamic entrepreneurial skills are to be valued in their own right, and also as parabolic symbols of freedom and creativity	Atherton, 1992, p57, Sedgewick 1992 pp33-58, pp143-5, Harries, pp74 - 75, p91
vi) Enterprise should be defined broadly, and should certainly include community enterprise and ethnic enterprise	Sedgewick, 1992, pp61-63, p76, Harries, 1992, p117
vii) The market is a human, social construct "which brings order out of potential chaos"	Atherton, 1992, p62
viii) The market has already been 'socialised' to some degree, and is not simply to be equated with the New Right's political position	Atherton, 1992, p64, Sedgewick, 1992 p143
ix) The market must be made to face up to and address the problems of poverty, greed, the environment and first world/third world relations, and so on	Atherton, 1992, p240, Sedgewick, p165, Harries, 1992 p78, pp84-5, pp110-112, pp149-163.
x) By iterative interaction with the market place, Christian social thought can facilitate this process of making the market more ethical, and yet can transcend it	Atherton, 1992, p271, Sedgewick 1992 p 179, Harries 1992 p175.

The most important of these points for the present study is the value ascribed to entrepreneurship. This indicates that the Enterprise Culture has impacted upon the development of modern theology, an interesting footnote to the influences of religion and theology upon the development of the Enterprise Culture,

examined above.⁶ Sedgewick's summarises the relevance of enterprise, charting a 'middle way' between the New Right and their Critics:

"the values expressed in small firms are not inimical to Christianity, and may well resonate with them...Innovation, creativity, sensitivity to those one interacts with, risk-taking and a search for responsible freedom are all facets of enterprise. In turn, this can be related back to the dynamic sustaining of values by the work of God in Christ" (Sedgewick 1992 p58).

Later, Sedgewick expands upon this theme, with particular emphasis upon the parallels between enterprise and creation / creativity, along similar lines to the Enterprise Theologians cited in Chapter Seven. Enterprise, in the work of this new school, is, however, extended to include "alternative" community enterprise, and it is anticipated that the Church and Christians should involve themselves in entrepreneurial activities of this type...no accusations of *dangerous utopianism* are to be found in these works.

Indeed, it should be re-iterated that Sedgewick, Atherton, and Harries remain as suspicious of naked individualistic materialism as any of the Church Fathers. The gurus of the New Right, Hayek and Novak, for example, are explicitly challenged and found wanting (see for example, Atherton 1992 p61, Harries 1992 p 96-102). The step that they have made towards the Enterprise Culture is rather in asserting the value of a socialised market economy as the least harmful economic model, and in adopting the metaphor of enterprise itself as a suitable parable for modern Christian life. This is a not-insignificant step. What is the role of the Church in this new scenario? Atherton maintains that it:

⁶ This is explicitly recognised by Sedgewick (1992 p174).

"...has an essential role to play in nourishing those values that both resource and restrain the performance of market economies. It confirms the identifying of the cultural-moral realm as an order of creation, and as an indispensable institution, an intimate correlate of the market economy" (Atherton 1992 p69).

What this new school of Critical Enterprise Theologians is demanding, then, is that the Church fully engage itself with the socialised market, so as to provide Christian underpinning to the market, and also to recognise the positive benefits of enterprise (in the widest possible sense) as vocation.

8:4:7) Collectivism

Introduction

The Thatcherites included within their understanding of collectivism Marxism, Socialism, Unionisation, National Ownership, and, arguably, social action not centred upon the family and/or individual. The Critics adopt the following complimentary duo of positions with regard to collectivism:

1. Rejection of Marxism
2. Importance of Community and Communal Action

Rejection of Marxism

Many of the Critics explicitly reject Marxist and Socialist collectivism and are certainly not as committed to purely collectivist economic solutions as the Liberation Theologians and early Christian Socialists (See for example, Newbiggin 1986 p114, 1989 p207, Jenkins 1988 p111, Sheppard 1983 pp151 - 157). Many of these criticisms adopt the same arguments as the Thatcherites,

criticising the (perceived) economic failure of Marxist regimes, as well as its inherent atheism.

Indeed, the lone tentative support for collectivism to be found in the writings of the Critics, is voiced by Jenkins, who notes "there are many reasons for uncertainty at least about collective actions" but urges Britain to "try again...at working our ways of common, collective and corporate action through the institutions of the state and of local government" (Jenkins 1988 p77).

Importance of Community and Communal Action

The term collectivism itself, however, is rarely used, but the importance of community, of communal action and solidarity are regularly invoked.

"Community lies at the very heart of God. The Kingdom is people drawn into relationship to God and one another in a corresponding community. It is non-hierarchical. It is not oppressive" (Plant et al 1989 p92).

The importance of community to these writers is theological in nature, and relates to their incarnational theology, as well as beliefs about the in-breaking of the Kingdom. Community-based expressions of faith are seen to be a fundamental part of the gospel message:

"The evidence of the gospels makes it clear that Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God had from the start profound social and political implications. It was to be embodied in a community in which the normal priorities of wealth, power, position and respectability would be

overturned..." (The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985, p49).

But this is not the whole picture, since individual salvation and the personal call of the gospels is also important to the Critical school. The statement from Faith in the City - specifically attacked for saying nothing about individual soteriology by the Thatcher government - continues:

"...Yet it must always be remembered that this proclamation took place in the context of an intensely personal concern for individuals, families and local communities" (ibid, p 49).

8:4:8) Conclusion

The work of the writers reviewed in this chapter can be seen to adopt a markedly different position from the Enterprise Theologians with regard to the majority of Enterprise Values examined, although they are far from antagonistic to all enterprise tenets. A schematic comparison of the arguments utilised by the two schools will establish this point, and summarise the above discussions:

Enterprise Values	Arguments Utilised	
	<i>1) By Enterprise Theologians</i>	<i>2) By Critical Theologians</i>
Freedom	Soteriological Argument Attacks on Redistributive Justice	Demands for Social & Economic Equality Contingent Freedom Circumscribed by Duty Slavery to the Market and its Constraints
Wealth Creation	Source of Material Progress Source of Funds for Charity Stewardship Participation in Divine Creation Work and Self-Sufficiency	Legitimacy of Participation in Industry/ Wealth Creation Demands for Justice in Wealth Creation & Distribution Enterprise & Incarnation Theology
Self-love, Competition, and Individualism	Care for Family Self-Love as Communitarian Competition as Theologically Legitimate	Ethical Dangers of Self-Interested Socio-Economics Theological Value of Community Soteriology of Service
Government Policy	Impossibility of Legislating for Morality	Politics as Part of Creation Negative Moral Results of Policy Criticism of Free Market Economics
Enterprise Values	Personal Responsibility Honesty, Thrift Private Property Rights Work, Profits	Extension of Concept of Enterprise Participation in Alternative Enterprise Theological Accommodations with Enterprise
Attacks on Collectivism	Defence of Freedom Defence of Wealth Creation Anti-Utopianism Atheism of Marxism	Rejection of Marxism Importance of Community and Communal Action

The Enterprise Theologians were found to defend (freedom of choice and opportunity) by using a soteriological argument (no freedom, no salvation), and by attacking redistributive justice. By contrast, their critics demand that the market be constrained so as to ensure that social and economic equality is

also provided for. They assert that freedom is contingent upon God, and therefore circumscribed by his demands, which impose a duty of service to others. They also note that freedom within the market may equally be interpreted as slavery to its dictates.

The Critics, nonetheless, explicitly provide legitimating arguments for participation in industry and wealth creation, whilst demanding that justice be sought in the creation and distribution of wealth. Their incarnation theology places upon believers the obligation to follow Christ's model of care for others, of healing, feeding, and sheltering those in need, which has often been translated into action as involvement in Alternative Enterprise. Some of these arguments presuppose agreements with the Enterprise Theologians, inasmuch as both schools see wealth creation as a form of stewardship, as a source of material progress for all, and as a way of reflecting god-like behaviour. The major difference is that, for the Critics, this does not licence a wholesale approval of "free" wealth-creation, but places it firmly within the confines of justice, service and duty. Similarly, they warn of the dangers of a socio-economic system founded upon self-interest, emphasising rather the theological value of community. The soteriology of the Critics centres upon subsuming the self into service for others, rather than in individual religious and economic freedom.

The Critics assert the right of Theologians and Churchmen to engage in discussion of politics, since it too is a part of God's creation. Furthermore, the negative moral and theological effects of some government policies demand that they, as the Old Testament prophets and the Patriarchs, speak out against injustice. Specific criticisms of free market economics can also be found, some of which focus upon its teleological emptiness, and dogmatic rigidity. All of these arguments stand in direct contradiction to the Enterprise Theologians assertion that since it is impossible to legislate for morality, and given the

doctrine of the Two Realms, the Church has no place in commenting upon government policy, nor should it look for religious principles to be embodied in such policies.

The Critics, however, exhibit signs of a more highly developed theology of specifically entrepreneurial values, than the Enterprise Theologians themselves, demanding that the concept of enterprise be extended, participating in alternative enterprise, and even attempting some theological accommodation with certain aspects of entrepreneurship.

The Critics do not, as the Enterprise Theologians would have us believe, preach the values of Marxist / Socialist collectivism. Indeed, the majority are explicitly opposed to such political creeds, in spite of their borrowings from Liberation Theology. Rather, the Critics emphasise the importance of community, communal action, and society, over against the individual. This falls some way short of the political extreme-leftism of which they stand accused by the Enterprise Theologians, without adopting the wholesale individualism of the later school.

Significant differences have been discovered - as one would expect - between the Enterprise Theologians and their Critics. However, the Critics do not indulge in wholesale rejections of all enterprise tenets, but rather develop a position which, whilst warning of the dangers of wealth accumulation, individualism, self-interest, and some government policies, nonetheless is open to concepts of stewardship, creativity, and entrepreneurship.

Given the divergence at the level of enterprise values, one would also anticipate that significant paradigmatic differences would pertain between the two groups, which has also been indicated, for example, by their contrasting soteriologies. It is to this paradigm that we now turn.

8:5) Critical Theology of Enterprise

8:5:1) Introduction

In Chapter Seven, the Theology of Enterprise which was found to underpin the individual defences of enterprise tenets/values, was modelled utilising the following phenomena:

- Original Sin and the Fall
- Incarnation
- The Two Realms
- Creativity
- Providence
- Doctrines of the Trinity⁷

Once again, the format of Chapter Seven will be utilised in this chapter.

8:5 2) Original Sin and the Fall

Critical theologies of sin tend to focus rather more on the structural sins of a society based on economic growth and profit maximisation, rather than on individual sin as the result of the Fall, and explicitly criticise the Enterprise Theologians for their refusal to acknowledge the importance of structural sin:

“An effective contextual theology of capitalism would...recognise in fuller theological terms that the basis of 'sin' is both individual and structural” (Roberts, 1993, p76).

⁷ Chapter 7 also examined the concepts of the Church as Guardian of the National Heritage, and the Ethics of Enterprise. Insufficient material was uncovered within the Critical school's works to include these within the present chapter.

Where individual sin is condemned, it tends to be the old medieval sins of greed, selfishness, covetousness and avarice which come in for strong criticism:

“A Christian awareness includes facing human sin and injustice, especially those forms which are closest to us. They have structural forms. They are buttressed by self-justification and convincing arguments. We deceive ourselves and the economic truth is not in us. Maximisation is often a synonym for selfishness and injustice” (Storkey 1986 p203).

Newbiggin echoes the scholastics, Calvin and Luther in his attacks on the individual sins which accompany a sinful societal model built upon self-interest and an ever-increasing desire for growth:

“Traditional Christian ethics had attacked covetousness as a deadly sin, and Paul had equated it with idolatry: the putting of something that is not God in the place of belonging to God...The eighteenth century, by a remarkable inversion, found in covetousness not only a law of nature but the engine of progress by which the purpose of nature and nature's God was to be carried out” (Newbiggin 1986 p 109).

Again and again in these writings, sins perceived to be associated with the unfettered activities of the free market are named and condemned. (There are strong stylistic parallels, which can hardly be supposed to be accidental, with the prophetic books of the Old Testament.)

Idolatrous dedication to the “piling up of wealth and the irresponsible enjoyment of luxury” are criticised by Bishop Jenkins (Jenkins, D 1988 p 51). He asks fundamental questions of:

"the age-old idols of riches and self and power for one's own - old idols erected into unbridled pursuit of consumption, unrestrained competition and unfeeling individualism" (Jenkins, D 1988 p 101⁸).

Given the importance of Original Sin for the Enterprise Theologians, interpreted as the innate sinfulness of man in general, and individual men and women specifically, the very different position of the Critics needs to be underlined. Structural sin is recognised, and especially those sinful structures which cause not only poverty, but also lead people into the personal sins of greed and materialism. This is markedly different from the New Right position articulated in Chapter Seven.

8:5:3) Incarnation

We noted that in Enterprise Theology, there is little reference to the Incarnation, and practically none to the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which traditionally holds a central place in Christian Theology. The Critics, by contrast, call extensively on the parabolic and metaphysical significance of the Incarnation as it shapes their response to the poor of the nation (see, for example, Plant et al 1989 pp93-94).

The Incarnation, as the physical embodiment of the Divine choosing to suffer alongside His people, and intervening directly in their lives in a practical as well as a spiritual way, informs the whole of Critical theology. In particular, it is seen to place an imperative upon Christians to follow the Incarnational example and engage with the world in the here and now, in a pragmatic and practical

⁸ Other writers echo this theme of idolatry. See, for example Storkey 1986 pp 62-63, Vincent 1982 p123

way. It is this theology that has led to the community entrepreneurship described above, and which is the justification for the political and economic discussion entered into by these Churchmen.

This is significantly different from the "Two Realms" theology of the Enterprise Theologians, who have a vision of the Kingdom of God located entirely in the Divine Infinite and the as yet unrealised Eschatological City. That is not to say, as we shall discuss further below, that the Critics have a fully realised eschatology; their theologically sophisticated position is of a mixed eschatology, which sees the Incarnation as calling man to work in and for the present, whilst accepting that theocratic utopias are an impossible and probably dangerous dream before the final Divine intervention of the end-time (see for example The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985, p70).

Given this cavil, the Incarnation remains a very strong call to the Church of today to work alongside, with, and for the poor, to improve the lot of the neighbour with love and grace, and to cry out in the style of the Old Testament prophets against contemporary social injustice and sin.

"The Gospel of the poor may further remind us that the incarnation is less of an occasion for arguing over the exact nature of Christ's person as God's declaration of how essential and creative it is to stand with and stand by those from whom it seems prudent to keep a distance" (Taylor, M 1990 p22).

As Michael Taylor, Director of Christian Aid, notes, the Incarnation does not provide a comfortable message. The Creation is not complete, and, just as the Incarnate Christ by taking flesh accepted the limitations of his milieu, one must

not shrink from the difficulties, unpleasantness and suffering which the message of the Incarnation demands.

John Vincent, a leading Methodist, has spent all his ministry in the inner cities of Britain, and is recognised as the country's leading Urban Theologian. A fierce and public critic of Thatcherism, his ten years of collaborative work in inner city Sheffield have led to innovative advances for the spiritual and social life of the local community. During the late eighties, the Methodist Church elected him as their moderator for a year, a clear signal to the Enterprise Theologians of their collective decision to support Vincent's radical stance. He writes, of the theology that has shaped his work, that:

“Incarnation means digging in, becoming one with a certain place and a certain people, staying there, becoming limited by the limitations there, disciplined by the disciples there. Incarnation has been the basis of all significant change and innovation in the Church, because significant change and innovation have been based on the commitment over significant periods of time to the men and women in one place” (Vincent, J 1982 p15).

Other church leaders from the Inner City have used the theology of Incarnation similarly to articulate the Divine Imperative which informs their ministry, and their acceptance of the difficulties this causes in facing the structural and personal sins with which this brings them into contact. David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool throughout the eighties, writing after the Toxteth riots, states that:

“The Incarnation meant truly entering into a world where there was indignation, corrupt authority, sickness, adultery, betraying,

agony and bloody sweat. If we believe God is really incarnate, He is frighteningly close; then he meets us where we are, calls us to take the steps from there which can actually be achieved" (Sheppard 1983 pp 55-56).

8:5:4) The Kingdom of God & The Two Realms

Much is made in Enterprise Theology of the writings of St Augustine, and in particular of the City of God, which is contrasted with the City of Man. It was noted in Chapter Six that there is a fairly substantial body of work which deals with the theology of the city. The earthly city has traditionally been used as a metaphor for the unholy, whereas the divine city, the archetypal Jerusalem, is short-hand for the coming Kingdom of God. We will examine in this section the position of the Critics on the theology of the city, which incorporates not only the Augustinian notion of two realms, but also builds on traditional reflections on the city to develop a Modern Urban Theology.

Alongside the Incarnational Theology presented in the previous section is a great deal of work which examines questions raised by the Kingdom of God. It was demonstrated above that the Enterprise Theologians justified their laissez-faire stance by reference to Augustine's City of God, distinct and separate from the physical and contemporary world. Any attempts to work towards the Kingdom in the here and now are condemned as being utopian nonsense, and almost blasphemous in usurping God's role in bringing in the City of God in the end time.

The Critics, as indicated already, have a mixed eschatology, which believes that Incarnational Theology places us under the demands of the Kingdom here and now. In 1986, a group of writers published a short book entitled *The Kingdom of God and North-East of England*, which attempted to not only develop an appropriate contemporary theology of the Kingdom, but also to

use the parabolic method of giving "living examples" of the expression of this theology. There is no simple correlation between these living examples of the Kingdom and an earthly utopia, however, but a strong recognition that:

"The kingdom of God is always 'transcendent'; it lies beyond the limits of our ordinary knowledge and action. The kingdom is *God's*. It is God exercising his rule over what is his" (Dunn, et al 1986, p7).

However, this is not to say that the Kingdom of God has no relevance to the way one interacts with others and moves to shape the present:

"Life could be lived already in the light of the coming kingdom, but life in the kingdom, society solely under the rule of God was not yet" (Dunn, et al 1986, p7).

There is an acceptance of the paradox that is at the heart of all Trinitarian theology: God has been and will be for ever, but his rule is not yet. Till then, following the example of the Incarnation, and by the grace of the spirit, one lives still in the light of the kingdom that is still to come. (For further examples of this type of theology, see Newbiggin's exegesis of Augustine's *City of God* [1986 p104-105].) This is a long way from the unsophisticated belief in the 'Kingdom-among-us' ascribed to the Critics, sometimes implicitly, by some of the Enterprise Theologians. It is also some way from the Enterprise Theologians' position, which is that since the Kingdom is wholly in the future, working towards it, and in its light, in the confines of this fallen world, is not appropriate. The Enterprise Theologians' theology of the Two Realms, and the division between the spiritual relationship with God now, and physical enactment of the Kingdom's message solely in the future, could perhaps be described as metaphysical *laissez-faire*.

Dunn et al follow their theological analysis of Kingdom theology with the attempt to reflect biblical teaching discussed above (Section 8:4:6), illustrating like the gospels how the Kingdom is "already breaking in and mirrored in familiar events and situations" (Dunn et al 1986 p 15). Their choice of illustrative initiatives is a fine example of the ironic situation noted above, namely that the Critics are committed to and impressed by, community based entrepreneurship. The theological rationale for this is made explicit by Dunn et al:

"No theological exploration which fails to earth itself in practical activity can be said to be Christian and incarnational. But prayerful and worshipful exploration of God's world and his will for it always leads us into caring, costly and risky action" (Wright in Dunn et al 1986 p 40, see also Clark 1993 p85⁹).

The Critical position on the Two Realms, and the Kingdom, then, is radically different from that of the Enterprise Theologians. It is both more complicated, and truer to the traditions presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Whilst focused on innovative action to show the light of the kingdom now, and valuing work and creativity (much as the medieval sects previewed above), there is no diminution in the ultimate grounding of Christianity in the not-yet of eschatology; as Bishop Jenkins writes:

"Christianity is not a this-worldly religion. It is the most this-worldly of other-worldly religions" (Jenkins 1988 p 46).

⁹ For some Scottish examples of church-led alternative enterprise, see Dodd 1989

In the introduction to this section, it was noted that the idea of the city has also been the focus of discussion and reflection. Why does the city have so important a place in Critical theology? Firstly, there are traditional theological reasons indicated above. Secondly, the city in the West is the locus of poverty. For those Churchmen who choose to ally themselves with the poor, developing and articulating a theology of the city, an urban theology, is part of that identification process. Many of the Critics live and work in the inner-city, and their theology draws on this experience.

Thirdly, the city is society in microcosm, "the city is corporate human power in positive self-assertion and activity. It is the framework within which problems occur and within which they may be tackled...it is at any time a statement about the bounds and possibilities of human beings" (Willmer, 1989 p33).

Fourthly, there is an undercurrent of what might be termed theological economic geography, predating contemporary writers. It will be recalled that the initial attempts to come to terms with nascent capitalism and mercantilism took place when the first population shift from country to town took place. Each subsequent wave of urbanisation also provoked a response from the theologians of the time, as Chapter Three demonstrated. That is to say, the city, and its development, have represented the development of capitalism, and the theological responses to capitalism have therefore often used urbanisation and aspects of the city as a frame of reference. This theme is apparent in contemporary works:

"No longer is the city symbolised by the Town Hall where a political community deliberates about its well-being and development; the city's symbol is the shopping centre where people can find what they want" (Willman 1989 p45).

It is therefore not surprising that the city features extensively in the writings of the Critics. Perhaps the most significant work of the Critical community was 'Faith in the City', the in-depth report by a specially appointed Church of England committee in the mid-eighties, which examined the social, religious, economic and ecclesiastical problems of England's Inner City. This, and the subsequent work of the Church Urban Fund, set the tone for an interventionist approach, sharply critical of the government's inner city policy:

"The state is now revealed as a powerful element in causing the deprivation of the Urban Priority Areas" (Hake 1989 p53).

For those writers whose major theme is to demand a "siding with the poor" the city has a particular importance, but is interpreted in a variety of ways. For Boerma, the city represents the status quo and the prosperous establishment, and he notes that Jesus was put to death outside the city by its inhabitants (Boerma 1989 p50). Similarly, Rowland emphasises the hostility and suffering which Christians can expect from the city:

"Jesus went up to Jerusalem expecting hostility and death. Those who follow him can expect a similarly hazardous path...the hierarchy in Jerusalem, wedded as it was to the Roman imperial system, preferred the compromises of the old order to the uncertainties and changes of the new" (Rowland 1988 p 28 - 31).

Vincent also notes that even Jerusalem was sometimes a symbol of evil for the prophets, but goes on to use Augustinian language to write of "the mystery of the new city", prefigured in Jesus's work and in the acted parables of intervention and social enterprise in the "present city made already new" (Vincent 1982 p122).

8:5:5) Creativity

We have seen that the Critical theologies of Incarnation and the Kingdom of God translate into creative action. It is small wonder, then, that a "high" theology of creation has also been developed. In the examination of attitudes to enterprise, we noted in passing that the creative value of many kinds of work is underlined, and not simply that of entrepreneurial wealth creation. In particular, work is seen to have a role to play in creating more than wealth and profit-maximisation.

Creative work contributes to social, spiritual and physical progress. Creative callings are defined in their broadest sense, to include " being a mother, a craftsman, an artist, an entrepreneur" (Sheppard 1983 pp 132; see also Mayhew 1985 p60). God is sustainer of his creation, as well as its creator, however, and non-creative but sustaining work has an equal right to be valued.

"Work is about joining in the development of God's creation; it is about sustaining the good fabric of society. Real work calls for some real input; it is disciplined and purposeful" (Sheppard 1983 pp 122 -3).

As well as the good fabric of society, Critics are concerned with the integrity of creation, with the good stewardship of natural resources. It will be recalled that the Enterprise Theologians also wrote extensively on the theme of stewardship, and on man's dominion over the earth. These were seen to provide a rationale for the exploitation of natural resources, and the progressive development of industry.

The Critical position is marked by a strongly environmental tendency. This equates stewardship of God's creation with a need to maintain that creation as an undespoiled and unabused whole. Critical environmentalism is also strongly linked with an antagonism towards the practice of Western industry and government towards the third world, which is seen to have been particularly vulnerable to over-zealous creativity. Respecting the integrity of creation means not indulging in careless exploitation of the world's natural and human resources, and creative Christian stewardship should take this into consideration.

Ulrich Duchrow, a German Lutheran theologian, has written extensively on these issues, and his work has been a major influence upon many Critics. Atherton reviews and paraphrases Duchrow's work, noting that:

"For Duchrow, the contemporary Christian task is crystal clear; its overriding concern must be to accept the universal challenge of the global economy, for that is where God is...The much heralded growth of the West, through its market economies, is part of an international capitalist system, and gained at terrible expense of the vast majority of the world's population" (Atherton 1992 p126).

Duchrow is convinced that the inequity and sinfulness of the global economic system is so pronounced and extensive that renouncing it - and even actively fighting it - is a confessional issue of the same magnitude as Luther's denunciation of contemporary Catholicism, and Bonhoeffer's outspoken criticism of Nazism. This insistence that the failure to cry out in the prophetic voice against the global economic structures amounts to 'ethical heresy' is cited by Boerma (1989 p123), Atherton (1992 p129) and others. It is taken very seriously indeed by the Critics, who are otherwise noticeably reticent to treat

with terms like heresy. (It will be recalled that the Enterprise Theologians regularly call "foul" and invoke ancient heresies in the attacks on the Critics.)

Michael Taylor, Director of Christian Aid, also makes the connection between greedy stewardship of the creation, and (Third World) poverty:

"We have raped the earth ruthlessly exploiting its resources and upsetting the delicate balance of nature. We cut down the trees, sometimes unthinkingly for fuel, sometimes greedily for profit, until eventually the rain does not fall. ...The hungry remain hungry and in parts of Africa, for example, where the worst effects of our lack of stewardship coalesce, millions starve and die" (Taylor, M 1990 p10).

Jenkins also notes that "the 'green' agenda is clearly real and clearly urgent", and goes on to state, in Duchrovian terms, that there is a need to break up global markets and control multi-nationals (Jenkins 1988 p137, see also Schwartz 1989 pp35-40).

Creativity is also used as a clarion call, summoning Christians to engage in the struggle to bring about justice and equity for the poor. As stewards of the creation, we must exercise justice, respect and love as we carry out that responsibility (Storkey 1986 p71). And the imago dei doctrine implies that, made in God's image, we should act creatively ourselves:

"We are made in the image of God, and God is a creator, forever going beyond what is, and making something out of what is not. God is unmasked and revealed most clearly in the marvellous creativity of Jesus, who...inspires a (religious) movement which is not devoted to maintaining a fixed

tradition (beyond the tradition of remembering his creativity) but to turning the world upside down for the better, so that among other things the poor inherit the earth" (Taylor, M 1990 p14).

Finally, on the subject of Creation and Creativity, Storkey notes that as stewards of the Creation, we are responsible for it, and not the other way around! Ceding our responsibility to the 'impersonal' control of the market place is to allow ourselves to become "pawns" of that creation, rather than its responsible masters (Storkey 1986 p70).

8:5:6) Providence

Apart from a few scathing (references) to the Invisible Hand, no reference or allusion to Providence is made in the Critical body of work. The concept of a providential God, distant from his creation, but visible in its workings, is entirely alien to the Critics, whose Incarnational theology leads them to believe in the power of the Spirit enabling man to carry on the work of Christ in a pre-figuring of the end-time.

God is made visible on earth, that is to say, by the actions and love of human beings. His nature is emphatically not seen to be hinted at by the market mechanisms which, they maintain, are rather that which stands between society and a more Kingdom-like present.

8:5:7) Doctrines of the Trinity

Although not often fully articulated, the Critical school has an orthodox, and fairly "high" theology of the Trinity. The Father creator and sustainer is frequently referred to, and the importance of the Incarnation has received much discussion above. The importance of the Spirit as a guide, support and inspirer to those who attempt to make the present earthly city closer to the

eternal and not-yet divine city is also mentioned not infrequently. Jenkins summarises this theology thus:

“As God is in himself, so he is in the flesh and blood of Jesus, and so he is in the continuing presence and work of the Holy Spirit....Transcendence, particularity, immanent and continuing working, are all engaged together. But none of them is reduced to another” (Jenkins 1988 p 49).

Boerma also comments on the economic trinity, in what seems to be a reference to Novak's position, noted in Chapter Seven:

“The Church must learn from the inside out to unmask the true nature of the current economic system...The Holy Trinity stands opposed to the economic 'trinity' of property, capital and labour” (Boerma 1989 p124).

8:6) Conclusion

This survey of what has been dubbed the 'Critical' school has revealed substantive differences from the Enterprise Theologians. A strong trend to side with the poor has caused a number of European churchmen to condemn various perceived aspects of the Enterprise Culture, including greed, self-interest, the market economy, global capitalism, environmental irresponsibility, and profit-maximisation.

Curiously, what has not come in for criticism is enterprise itself. Indeed, it is possible to make a case for the view that Critics have a stronger entrepreneurial bent than the Enterprise Theologians themselves. They have certainly echoed the small firm owner-manager's view of enterprise as service to the customer; they have frequently engaged in or reported entrepreneurial

activities, both in the economic sense, and in that of creating radical social and material change; they have emphasised that much work beyond business generation is creative and entrepreneurial, and they have called for a move away from multi-nationals towards the smaller, community-based firm. This trend is particularly clear in the work of the new variant of Critical theology, as articulated by Harries, Atherton and Sedgewick. The notions of creativity and freedom, responsibility and sensitivity to local needs, have been combined with a general acceptance of market economics to create an entrepreneurial theology.

It is noticeable that the Critics represent a continuation of the theologies of wealth creation and economics examined in Chapters Two to Five. They are concerned to moralise and make more just economic life, to see a purpose for man beyond wealth-accumulation, and to use enterprise as a vehicle to care for the poor and deprived. Co-operatives, community businesses and shared resources are both advocated and put into practice. In view of the findings of earlier chapters, all of this can be seen to be firmly in the tradition of the earliest Christians, of the Church Fathers, of Aquinas and Antonino, Luther and Calvin, and of the Dissenters.

It is possible to argue that the narrower tradition articulated by the Enterprise Theologians stands against and aside from an older and continuous, although ever-developing, Christian tradition of enterprise theology. It is to this discussion that we will turn in the concluding arguments.

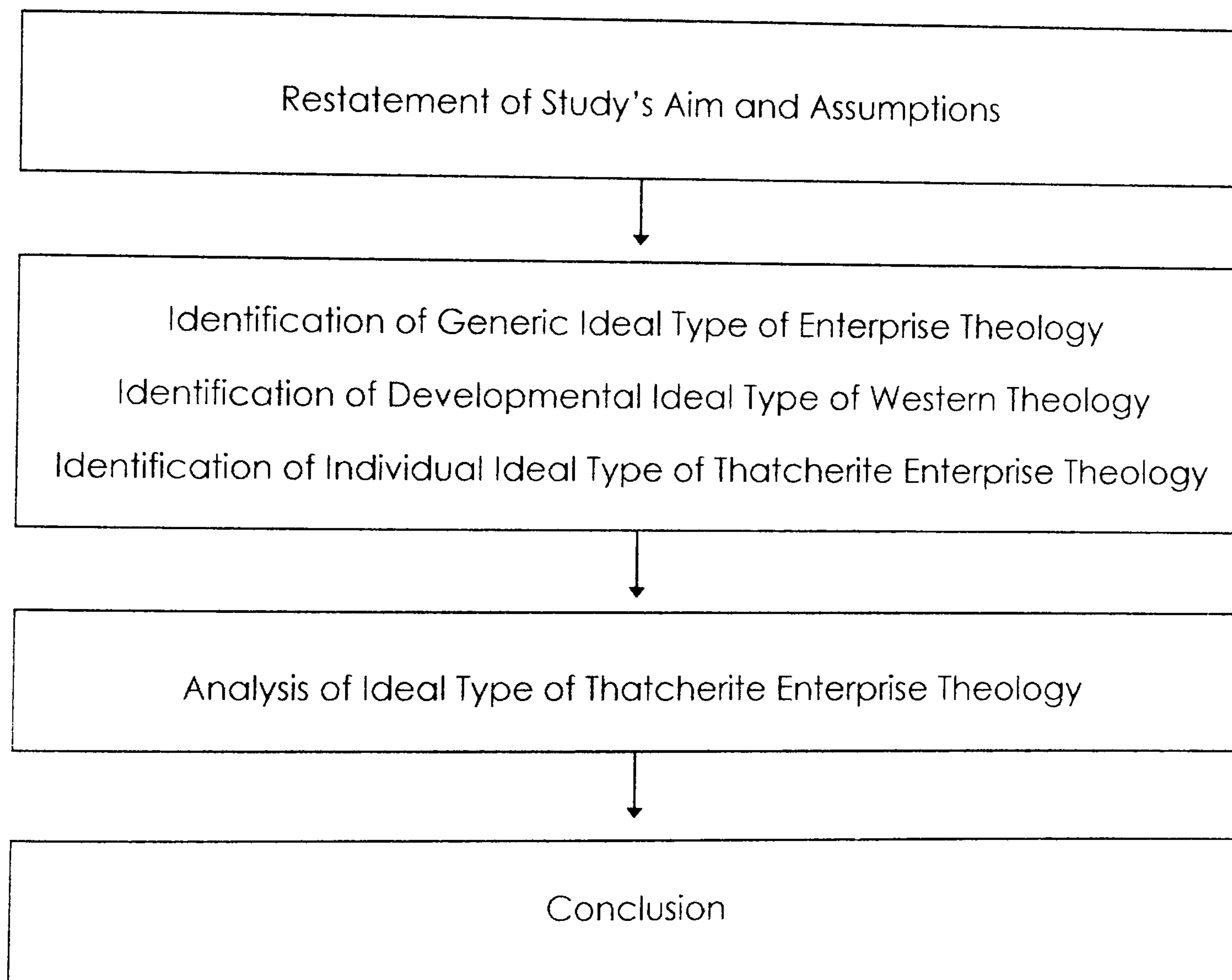
Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9:1 Introduction

9:1:1) Chapter Structure

This concluding chapter will draw together the evidence collected throughout the study, and utilise it so as to test the assumptions stated in Chapter One. To achieve this objective, the following structure will be used:



9:1:2 Aim)

In the opening chapter, the aim of this work was given as describing and analysing the Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, so as to develop a scholarly estimation of its heritage, coherence, and theological sustainability. That is to say, does this theology, peculiar to 1980s Britain, belong to a recognised

tradition of Christian teaching? Is it a sufficiently consistent theological framework to *underwrite* the political theory and praxis of the Thatcher government in the way that its adherents believed? Can Thatcherite Enterprise Theology answer the twin tests of historical and theological analysis?

A positive answer to this question would, de facto, impute to Thatcherite Enterprise Theology a philosophical heritage, and an intellectual validity. A religious paradigm could be shown to exist which would indeed underpin the political stance of the Enterprise Culture's progenitors. A negative, or incomplete finding would, by contrast, call into question the groundings of the Enterprise Culture itself. This issue is of no little import to Thatcherism as a political and philosophical doctrine, in as much as its leading exponents have chosen to make their religious rationales the bedrock on which the philosophy has been both built and justified. If the twin tests are not found to validate the claims of Enterprise Theology, then it is thus not only this theology which is undermined, but the edifice of political beliefs and actions which it has supported. Nevertheless, Ruth Levitas' telling comment on these matters should not be forgotten; logical inconsistency and inappropriate use of traditional ethical teachings never yet dethroned a political ideology in practice. *Reductio ad absurdum* is not an especially appealing election slogan:

"In examining the structure of the New Right's ideology, we are not suggesting that this is all that needs to be said, still less that the logical contradictions between its various strands will be its downfall...To focus upon the ideas which sustain the New Right is not to underestimate the importance of the economic context in which they occur and the class interest which they defend" (Levitas, 1986, p 20).

9:1:3) Assumptions

Following Alves' process for operationalising Weber's ideal type, one of the first tasks undertaken within the study was the articulation of the set of basic assumptions which underpin the study, and which the remainder of the thesis set out to test. Successful testing of these assumptions was intended to result in the achievement of the aims of the thesis, namely, the identification and analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. (This would, of course, pertain, whether the assumptions, once tested, were found to obtain or not.) The assumptions themselves were inductively abstracted by the writer, following Weber's methodology, as schematised by Alves. The five assumptions, first presented in Chapter One, are:

1. That there pertains a functional relationship between the *Spirit of Protestantism* and the development of modern capitalism.
2. That the *Thatcherite Enterprise Culture* is supported by a set of religious values and motives.
3. That these religious phenomena are/were expressed in the actions of relevant agents.
4. That this *Thatcherite Enterprise Theology* can be described as a development of the Weberian ideal type of *Protestant Capitalism*.
5. That the theological validity of the theology can be tested, by examining its relationship to the tradition upon which it draws, and by examining its internal consistency.

This concluding chapter will draw upon the evidence collated throughout the study to test the five assumptions, and thereby to achieve the study's stated aim.

9:2) Identification of the Generic Ideal Type of Enterprise Theology

Pages 15 -16 of the introductory chapter discussed three genres of ideal type. The first was a general, or generic, ideal type, used to abstract models of broad, general, extensive concepts, such as bureaucracy, or the Spirit of Capitalism. Secondly, individual ideal types applied general types to specific, and carefully circumscribed "historical" examples, such as the bureaucracy of a given place and time. The third and final genre of ideal type examined was developmental, and abstracted a model of a causal nature, reflecting alterations over time, but nonetheless adhering to the principles of ideal type construction. (It will be recalled the hallmarks of an ideal type were that it be a one-sided accentuation, incorporating concrete individual phenomena into a unified, but utopian, analytic construct.)

So as to test the thesis's assumptions, three ideal types were developed; a generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology, a developmental ideal type of Western Theology, focusing on enterprise values, and an individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. The first of these ideal types acted as a guide for the thesis, by articulating the general model of Enterprise Theology to be utilised within the study. This generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology was articulated as follows:

1. An ascription of positive ethical and religious value to wealth creation.
2. A related theological approval of property / wealth ownership, rather than ascetic poverty.

3. A strong belief in the positive moral value of hard work, or labour, justified in doctrinal terms.
4. A belief in individualism, as a religious and economic concept, over against communitarianism.
5. A particularly emphatic support, justified on moral grounds, for the creation of business enterprises as the most ethically sound of all "callings".
6. An approval of charity, rather than centralised provision, in the solution of social problems.
7. The award of an over-riding moral status to the right of the individual to freedom.
8. A concomitant view that the family is the key social arena of the individual.
9. Support for the lending of money at interest, as a vehicle for the provision of capital.
10. A much closer attachment to rationalism than to mysticism and spirituality.
11. An ascription of positive ethico-religious value to "quiet living" and thrift.
12. A firm belief in enterprise capitalism as the optimum socio-economic framework.
13. The (teleological) expression of all of the above, through actions which demonstrate, for example, hard work, wealth creation, business generation.

This generic ideal type, then, acted as a guiding model in the construction of two further ideal types, which drew upon empirical data to abstract constellations of relevant phenomena. The identification and analysis of these ideal types have formed the bulk of the study, and it is to these that we now turn.

9:3) Identification of the Developmental Ideal Type of Western Theology

9:3:1) Introduction

Assumption Five asserts that it is possible, and indeed relevant, to subject the (postulated) Thatcherite Enterprise Theology to historical analysis, by examining how well it coheres with the tradition of Christian teaching upon which it draws. Such analysis is predicated upon a strong working model of said Christian tradition, from its roots in Ancient Greece and Judaism, to Victorian England. It was therefore necessary to construct a one-sided model of this tradition, focusing specifically upon the constellation of phenomena of special relevance for this study. (I.e., those axiological and teleological phenomena presented in the generic ideal type of Enterprise Theology.)

This developmental ideal type of Western Theology was constructed chronologically in Chapters 2-4, and presented using the phenomena-driven format of the generic ideal type in Chapter 5. A brief summary of the model is nonetheless useful at this juncture:

9:3:2) Wealth Creation and Ownership

The Ancient Greeks did not approve of wealth creation assuming a position of primary importance in a man's life, although Aristotle saw fair trading - natural chrematistics - as a means of alleviating poverty, increasing the state's well-being, and providing funds for public works.

Whilst the Old Testament, in some instances, sees the ownership and accumulation of wealth as a sign of God's favour, generally the tenor of the books of the Prophets and the Law is more concerned with issuing warnings against the spiritual dangers and injustices which can issue from unfettered pursuit of wealth. Another important theme stems from the concept that all within the Land is a gift from God, given to all, and thus his writ of justice, and the Judaic religious ethic, must always have prominence over self-interested wealth-creation. The circumscription of wealth creation was expressed in laws which set out to protect the poorer and weaker members of society, and which included provision for forgiveness of debts, and the return of the land to its original (mortal) owners. The exception to this general tone of suspicion towards the creation of wealth can be found in the universalistic Wisdom literature, where approval of trade and hard work are conjoined into a stronger theology of wealth creation.

The New Testament, as with the Church Fathers, uses as its image of sanctity self-abandonment before God, which includes the renunciation of the accumulation and retention of wealth. Again, the dangers of Mammon are emphasised, and the sole approval of wealth limited to its use in philanthropy and self-support. Paul and Clement have a somewhat more benevolent attitude to these positive aspects of wealth creation, but nonetheless are some way short of wholesale approval of entrepreneurial activity.

The medieval Schoolmen, under the influence of the newly-rediscovered Aristotle, extended the Pauline and Clementine licence of wealth creation, and even allowed usury under a few stringent conditions. Arguments in defence of wealth accumulation and retention concentrated on stewardship, and the benefits of the associated hard work. The teleological expression of this theology was to be found within the lay sects, who strove for an ascetic life of self-sufficient labour, by contrast with the mendicant monks. Not

uncommonly, the by-product of hard work, fair-dealing, and thrift was quite extensive wealth creation, as with the Humiliati. Calvin and Luther added to the growing approval of wealth creation, by endorsing still further secular hard work, thrift and honest trade.

However, it was following the Glorious Revolution that the English Dissenters completed the process of ascribing full religious approval to the pursuit of wealth creation. Cut off from other means of economic and social mobility by a raft of legislation, they turned to business, and applied in this sphere their beliefs of asceticism, hard work, fair dealing, and the importance of the individual secular calling. The work of Hobbes, and Locke (as well as Smith's theory of the invisible hand), whereby the pursuit of personal economic benefit lead to an increase in general economic well-being, provided a Providential argument for the validity of wealth creation.

9:3:3) Hard Work

The Genesis stories present an ambiguous picture of the theology of work, with the cultic, creative service of tending the garden pre-Fall being replaced, or perhaps supplemented, by the curse of self-sufficiency and toil. Old Testament approval for hard labour is generally tempered by warnings as to its potential dangers if not combined with care for others. Only the Wisdom literature praises the hard worker unreservedly over the lazy, and approves extensively of his subsequent greater material rewards. Paul and the Fathers value hard work as a means of achieving self-sufficiency, and of avoiding temptation and the sin of idleness. This view was also propounded by the Scholastics, and the founders of the lay-sects whose position was paraphrased effectively by Groote: "labour is holy, but business is dangerous" (Gerardi Magni, Ep 32, in Southern, 1978, p348).

A fuller theology of the blessing of secular labour was developed at the Reformation, with the concept of the *Beruf*, or earthly calling, awarding a special recognition to earthly work which had hitherto been reserved for clerics, monks and ascetics. However, this recognition saw hard work within a secular calling, with its concomitant rewards, as a sign of election, rather than as a prescribed path to salvation. The late Puritans and Dissenters in England took this final step, returning to the stance of Wisdom literature in damning laziness, and recommending hard work, as a route to divine approval. Laziness, drunkenness, and frivolity came to be seen as greater sins than injustice, greed and envy, so that those who worked hard - even in the pursuit of their own self-interest - were seen as models of religious propriety.

9:3:4) Individualism

Plato's quasi-communistic ideal, as presented in the Republic, contrasts with Aristotelean support for the rights of the individual, although he nonetheless had a strongly developed philosophy of the importance of the city-state. The Old Testament is centred around notions of the communitarian nature of Judaic society, which is only diluted by the familial and individualistic universalism of Wisdom as the community collapses into diaspora.

The New Testament is once again strongly community-based, notwithstanding the call to individuals. Indeed, the call to individuals is perhaps best understood as a call to join in the community enacting the in-breaking of the Kingdom, whether this be the Jesus movement, the love-community of Jerusalem, or one of the Pauline churches. Such communities were notable for their use of the resources of the rich to care for their poorer members, common table-communion, and love and service to others as a prime duty. The Patriarchs echoed these themes of duty to care, and common use of property, enhanced by the model of the monastic community.

Luther's emphasis on the importance of the individual, and his relation to God, was to alter significantly the obtaining belief that the community's religious activities were necessarily, and communally mediated through the person of the priest. Puritanism extended the doctrine of theological self-determination, which became more pronounced as determinism was quietly side-lined. Hobbes and Locke used the tools of rationalism to put forward the theory that man, motivated by the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain, would act in such a way as to better the general good. This was re-inforced by the natural theology of the early eighteenth century, which optimistically saw all aspects of the created world as signs of the benevolence of the Creator. Thus, even naked self-interest, natural and widespread as it was, must have a place in the divine plan, namely, increase in the general economic and social well-being. Therefore, self-interested individualism was not only acceptable, but morally right.

9:3:5) Enterprise Creation

In Chapter Five we noted that approval of Enterprise Creation was contingent upon the legitimation of other phenomena within the generic ideal type, namely wealth creation, individualism, rationalism and hard work. The above arguments have indicated that these phenomena were granted wholesale approval late in the period covered¹, being contingent upon:

- The limited scholastic license of usury, trade and profit.
- Luther's theology of secular calling and individual salvation
- Puritan belief in the value of hard work and self-responsibility
- Enlightenment elevation of rationalism
- Optimistic interpretation of the positive nature of self-directed acquisitiveness

¹ The very limited number of exceptions, which show approval of forms of enterprise creation, are discussed on p203.

- Smith's theory of the pursuit of personal economic well-being enhancing the national economy.

9:3:6) Charity

The importance of philanthropy, and its high moral status, has been shown to be one of the constant themes discovered within the developmental ideal type. The earliest, and highly circumscribed, admissions of the benefits of wealth creation allow it as a means to provide funds for charitable works. Aristotle, Paul, Clement, and the Scholastics adhere to this view. The New Testament, and the other Church Fathers approve of, and exhort, charity, without sanctioning wealth creation (, although the earning of a living wage to ensure self-sufficiency is sometimes permitted).

Whilst the recommendation and practice of philanthropy remained a defining characteristic of Christian communities down the ages, wealth creation discovered other justifications, so that the link between the two concepts was slowly broken.

It should also be noted that, in the Old Testament, as in Calvin's theocracy, the provision of care for the poor as a responsibility for the State, as well as for individuals, was important.

9:3:7) Freedom

The contingency of man upon the word of God gives freedom a particular interpretation within the tradition. Freely choosing the way of God imposes a set of duties upon the believer, many of which centre around care for his fellow-man. Freedom is closely linked to duty, and is furthermore understood as spiritual liberation from the trappings of the material world. Over-adherence to material goods is seen as slavery to Mammon, rather than as liberated economic activity.

Indeed, the concept of freely following God's way, although evident in the New Testament, does not feature in the Old, where membership of the chosen people in and of itself determined participation in the divine community, and demanded obedience to the Law. This idea is mirrored in much medieval theology, where the all-knowing, all-powerful God is understood to have pre-determined who will be a member of the elect. This belief was held particularly strongly by the great Reformers, who saw individual salvation as being determined by the choice of God, and not by the behaviour of the believer. Walking in the light, by petic following of the *Beruf*, was a sign of salvation, not a path to it.

As belief in individual and economic freedom grew, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of determinism became increasingly hard to reconcile with contemporary notions of the importance of the choices and actions of individual men. God was seen to have created the natural world, so that it followed a set of identifiable and comprehensible patterns, and was thus pre-determined, although self-sustaining. Mankind, on the other hand, stood over against the rest of Creation, and was individually free to choose the path to salvation, just as he was free to make economic choices. Naturally, as the importance of personal salvation grew, so did the significance of personal sin and damnation.

9:3:8) The Family

As the discussion (above, Section 9:3:5,) indicates, community is of more importance as a locus for spiritual action, than the family, for the majority of the cannon. Exceptions are to be found in the late Wisdom literature, which conjoins its approval of hard work and wealth creation to a strong theology of the family. The England of the Puritans, Dissenters, and Victorians is likewise marked by a belief that the family is the heart of the religious community. As

with the Wisdom writings, this substitution of the family as the object of religious duty and responsibility, is combined with a diminution in perceptions of the importance of the community.

9:3:9) Usury

Another phenomena which enjoys unanimous support throughout the majority of the cannon is the complete prohibition upon usury. The lending of money at interest is condemned as unnatural (Aristotle), as unjust (Old Testament), as sterile (Church Fathers), and as greedy (Luther and Calvin). The Scholastics permitted some return for the undertaking of risk, but the taboo upon the lending of money at interest remained strong. The Jews (prohibited only from extracting interest from co-religionists) filled the gap in the market place, but the approval of Christian participation in this field arrived late indeed, as classical economic theory developed rational justifications for the charging of interest which over-rode religious considerations.

9:3:10) Rationalism

In Chapter Five we saw that, within our generic ideal type, rationalism was to be contrasted with spiritualism as a tool for understanding and relating to the physical world. The growth of rationalism was thus anticipated to be accompanied by a diminution in the perceived significance of the demands of the spiritual realm upon the activities of men in the here-and-now.

The over-riding importance of religious beliefs in defining social action were, it was discovered, a given for the writers of the Old and New Testament. To be a believer entailed necessarily replicating theological tenets in the material world, whether through the mediation of Old Testament Law, or through participation in the in-breaking Kingdom. Likewise, the Patriarchs demanded alterations in behaviour, especially from the rich, as a corrolary of membership of the Christian family. In the life of the Spirit, all things are subject to the

demands of God. Again, this view pertained until late in the tradition, and was altered not by theology, but by science, which built upon the enlightenment revolution to raise rationalism and empiricism to a place of predominance as determinants and explicands of human behaviour, and the natural world. Nevertheless, Optimisme saw the hand of a benevolent Creator as having shaped this rationally-comprehensible world, and believed that man could also participate in Creation by acting so as to improve the material sphere. This belief was illustrated by, for example, the great Quaker entrepreneurs, who, in the age of Victoria, created business ventures explicitly designed to accomodate and reflect their religious beliefs.

9:3:11) Asceticism and Thrift

The Old Testament requires, especially in the Solutions by Faith, that man abandon all he has, and unquestioningly follow God. Often, this rejection of earthly goods is rewarded by later material prosperity, as was enjoyed by Abraham, and as in the gift of the Land. The New Testament adheres to the first part of this theology, and demands renunciation of wealth and high living, without promising earthly rewards. The dangers of attachment to luxury are explicitly warned against, as also in the works of the Patriarchs. It should be remembered that the Church Fathers of the Fourth Century were, following the Edict of Milan, in a position to witness extensively at first hand the lives of the rich and the powerful of the Empire. Their reaction to the profligacy and luxury which they encountered was ascerbic and uncompromising. Even Clement, often cited as an apologist for the rich, was moved to declaim:

“It is strange that while most people are starving, one man can enjoy great pleasures. This is not a human quality, nor decent social behaviour...The Christian knows that God did not give us power over the use of material goods, but only power over the

usage of essential goods. Furthermore, he wants this usage to be in common" (Paedagogus, 2, XII).

This passage contains the two essential and complementary aspects of traditional teachings regarding asceticism. Firstly, the consumption of material goods should be limited to the essentials of life, which are generally given as food, water, and shelter. Luxury consumption is not to be countenanced. (This is a somewhat more austere theology than that of the Jesus movement, who were, as we have seen, not averse to the occasional feast.) Secondly, the possession and usage of even these essential goods is to be tempered by the theological understanding that God has given all things in common trust to humanity, so that individuals have a duty to use their material goods for the benefit of their brothers. Asceticism is strongly linked to charity and sharing, rather than to the accumulation of the wealth which is saved by its practice. Thus, thrift, if understood as retention of saved income, does not receive the same approval as quiet living.

The Patriarchal theology of asceticism was exemplified by the austere and communal lifestyle of monastic communities, as well as by the medieval lay-sects, and was a hallmark of the Calvinistic and Puritanical theocracies. Indeed, it is evident today, not only in the direct inheritors of these traditions (as, for example, found in peripheral Scotland,) but in a general Christian rejection of over-indulgence and the consumption of luxuries.

9:3:12) Enterprise Capitalism

In Chapter Five, it was noted that utilising this distinctly modern concept as a tool for construction and interpretation of the historical developmental ideal type, was difficult in the extreme. However, the importance of welfare legislation in Judaic Law, prohibitions on usury, the gradual and late approval of wealth creation, and the Post-Enlightenment move to sanction of self-

interested economic activity and rationalism indicate that many of the composite facets of Enterprise Capitalism did not find favour within the tradition, or found it late indeed.

9:4) Identification of the Ideal Type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology

9:4:1) Introduction

Having completed the development of the historical ideal-type, the thesis then moved on to identify the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. This was a two part operation, with Chapter 6 abstracting from the phenomena which comprise the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, and Chapter 7 examining specifically theological phenomena. The individual ideal type was presented in diagrammatic form at the end of Chapter 7, but before re-introducing this schematic summary of the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, it is worth revisiting the path which led us to it.

9:4:2) The Thatcherite Enterprise Culture

Hugo Young has summarised the basic characteristics of Thatcherism in terms of:

“...a guiding belief to which she referred in almost all situations. She saw a smaller state, a more market-oriented economy, a citizenry required to make more choices of its own. She wanted weaker unions and stronger businessmen, an enfeeblement of collective provision and greater opportunities for individual self-help. All of these she succeeded in filling with powerful moral purpose” (Young 1993 p 604).

In Chapter Six these guiding beliefs were examined in some detail. The first determining characteristic which was noted as differentiating Thatcherism from other late twentieth century philosophical movements was that it firmly moved

ideology back into the centre of the political arena. *Conviction politics* came once again to the seat of British government, with its battle cry of Freedom.

Furthering the freedom of individuals to take decisions about their economic and social lives was the stated over-arching purpose of the Thatcherites. This was justified by their theological beliefs on the grounds that only entering into free choices enables man to act in a way that can be meaningfully described as ethical. Non-dependence on the support of the welfare state not only encourages men to engage in ethical decision making (whether of positive or negative moral value), but also to take responsibility for themselves and their families.

Those who do take on this responsibility can, it was declared, make the most of the freedom of opportunity offered by Thatcher's Britain. By hard work and enterprise, diligently pursuing their economic advantage, such dutiful citizens will not only better themselves, but will promote the national economic well being.

Indeed, the Thatcherites perceived a clear congruence between their ethics of freedom, and the operation of the free market. Just as unfettered freedom was seen to be the optimum state in which man could thrive, so a market place rendered as free of trading restrictions as possible was seen to be the optimum economic environment for the nation's financial well being.

Of particular importance to the operations of the liberalised and - where possible - privatised market place were the entrepreneurs, those who chose to go into business for themselves, and who became the icon of the Thatcher decade. The thrift, long hours, dedication and self-responsibility of the small business owner manager symbolised all that became known as the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture. The Victorian image of the working man made good,

resonant of Smiles and his doctrine of self-help, was never more strongly endorsed than in the development of the myth of the entrepreneur.

Individualism, or at any rate, care only for one's immediate family, was another of the trademarks of this era, underlined by the famous remark by Thatcher herself to the effect that there was no such thing as society, only individuals and families. Such emphasis on the family group as the sum total of one's responsibilities, and the natural centre of one's efforts and aspirations, was another side of the coin of anti-collectivism, expressed through profound antagonism towards the Trades Union Movement, socialism at home and in Europe, the Soviet Union and the Welfare State. This antagonism was operationalised through the confrontation with the miners, trades unions legislation, privatisation and diminution of state social provision. A key aspect of Thatcherite anti-collectivism, was to reduce the state's involvement in a large swathe of areas, from the running of utilities to the cleaning of hospitals and the provision of index-linked student grants.

The one area where a reduction of the state's level of operation was never envisaged was law and order. The role of the strong state in protecting private property and individuals against crime, and the nation against its enemies, was a somewhat paradoxical feature of the otherwise laissez-faire Thatcher administration. These, then, are the key tenets which were abstracted from the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture, as explored more fully in Chapter 6:

- Freedom of choice and individualism
- Freedom of opportunity
- The economics of the free market
- Reduction of state involvement in the market
- Enterprise and Family
- Victorian Values

- Anti-collectivism
- Morality as a legitimating paradigm
- A strong state to ensure implementation

9:4:3) The Theology of Thatcherism

The thread tying all of these concepts together was the underpinning ideological and moral paradigm which confirmed adherents in their beliefs. From freedom of choice to self-responsibility and anti-collectivism, the moral and theological code of Thatcherism conjoined these disparate themes into a cohesive whole. Whether the ethical code itself can withstand scrutiny and remain intact and cohesive is a subject to which we must return, after a short reprise of Enterprise Theology and its historical development.

The identification of the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology began by reviewing a set of theological defences for the enterprise tenets abstracted above. These comprised the following arguments ²:

Freedom of choice and opportunity have been noted above as being of great importance for the political creed of Thatcherism, so it is small wonder that freedom also occupies a major place in the ethico - theological structures of enterprise thought. The freely taken choice of whether to do good or to sin is seen to be that which makes man moral. Without the liberty to select one's own path, one cannot be said to be functioning in either a good or sinful way, not being fully responsible for one's actions. The free market and a state upon which one cannot become dependent promote the choices which make men moral agents, and offer them an opportunity of salvation thereby

² The names given to each of these arguments in Chapter 6 are shown in brackets and italics, to facilitate cross-reference.

(*Soteriological Argument*). The alternatives are, by contrast, necessarily detrimental to human salvation (*Attacks on Redistributive Justice*).

Wealth creation is valuable not simply because it offers a way of attacking poverty (*Source of Material Progress, and Source of Funds for Charity*), but because it is a form of responsible stewardship of the creation which God has entrusted to us (*Stewardship*). Enterprise is a form of creativity by which man participates in the divine act of Creation (*Participation in Divine Creation*). Creativity is a form of caring for God's world, which he has entrusted to mankind, and it is a respectful response to the goodness of that which God has made. Novak goes so far as to claim that it is man's job to reorder the cosmos through creativity and enterprise.

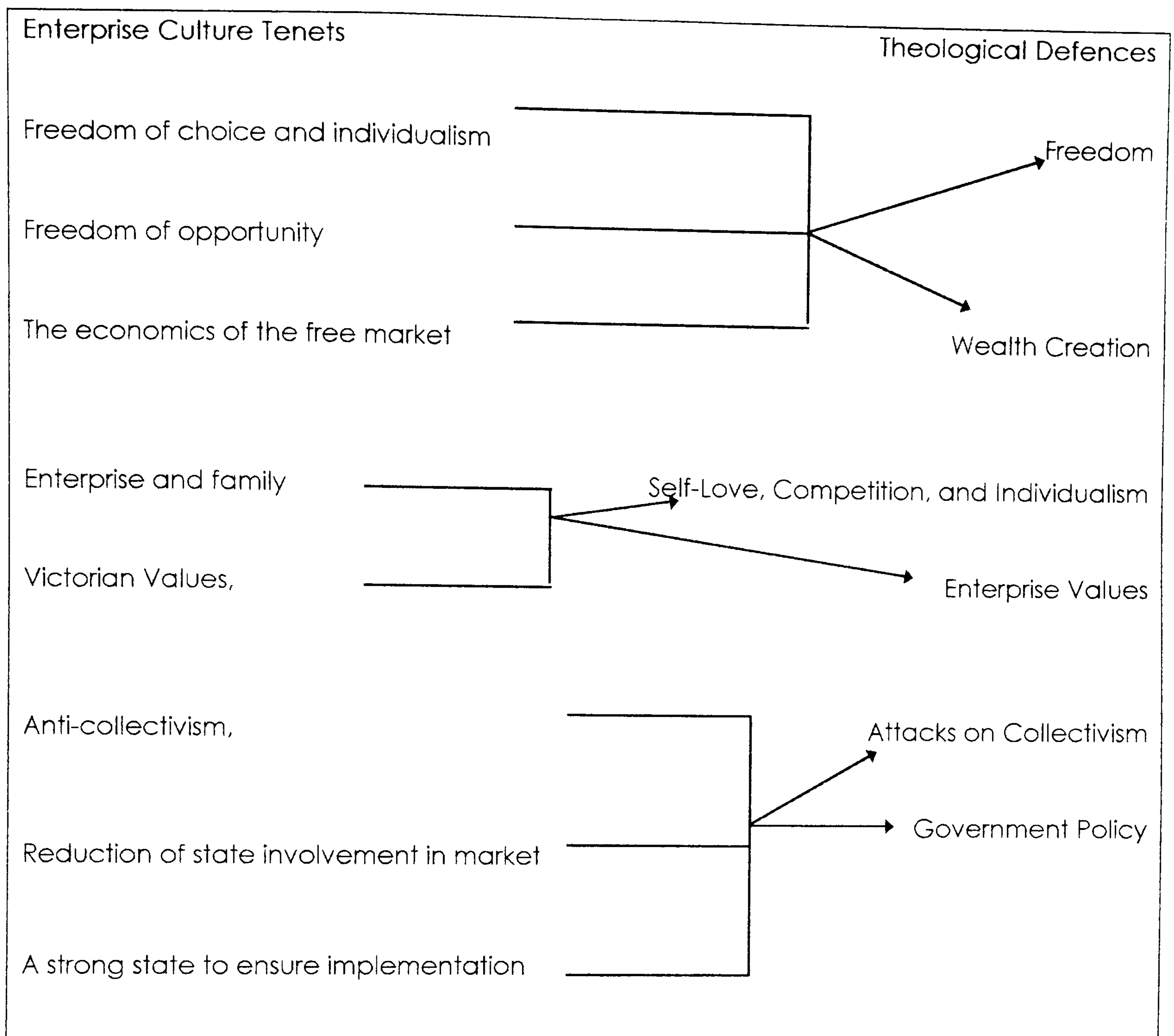
Furthermore, by taking responsibility for one's own economic destiny, one is taking control of a set of decisions about the product of one's labour and capital which further extends one's capacity as a moral agent. (The more choices you make, the greater the opportunity you have for doing good.) The hard work also associated with wealth creation is also granted significant approval. Although no disapproval is expressed of luxurious living on the part of the successful businessman, nonetheless, notions of dedicated hard work and duty suggest an ascetic tenor to this theology (*Work and Self-Sufficiency*).

Self-love, which is used as a more respectable way of describing individualism, is not to be derided, since by pursuing one's own good one is enabling the invisible hand to improve the lot of others, also (*Self-interest as Communitarian*). There are clear echoes here of the Providentialist belief in the invisible hand as the hand of God (*Competition as Theologically Legitimate*). Furthermore, self-love and family-love are motivations for releasing one's God-given abilities and focusing labour and duty (*Care for Family*). Other values associated with Enterprise and Victoriana, are to be understood as traditionally Christian, and

thus strong moral approval should be ascribed to those who live them out (*Personal Responsibility, Honesty, Thrift, Private Property Rights, Work, Profits*).

Government policy is not subject to the demands of Christianity, since it is not possible to impose an other-worldly religious code, spiritual in nature, upon the legislative activities of a secular administration (*Impossibility of Legislating for Morality*). Indeed, the divide between the realm of God, and the fallen world, riddled with Original Sin, is so great that it is fundamentally mistaken to attempt any form of so-called social engineering (*Anti-utopianism*), which, furthermore, would infringe the all-important need for individual social, economic, and ethical freedom (*Defence of Freedom and Defence of Wealth Creation*). However, given man's innate wickedness, a strong state is needed to protect these freedoms. Collectivist states fall into these traps, and are furthermore based upon a political and philosophical creed which is explicitly and thoroughly un-Christian, and indeed, irreligious (*Atheism of Marxism*).

The relationship between the theological defences and the enterprise tenets were summarised (p 325), in tabular form, and this table is reproduced here:



The second stage in identifying the theological content of Thatcherism was to examine the underlying doctrinal beliefs which supported the defences, so as to complete the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. The following paradigmatic stances were abstracted:

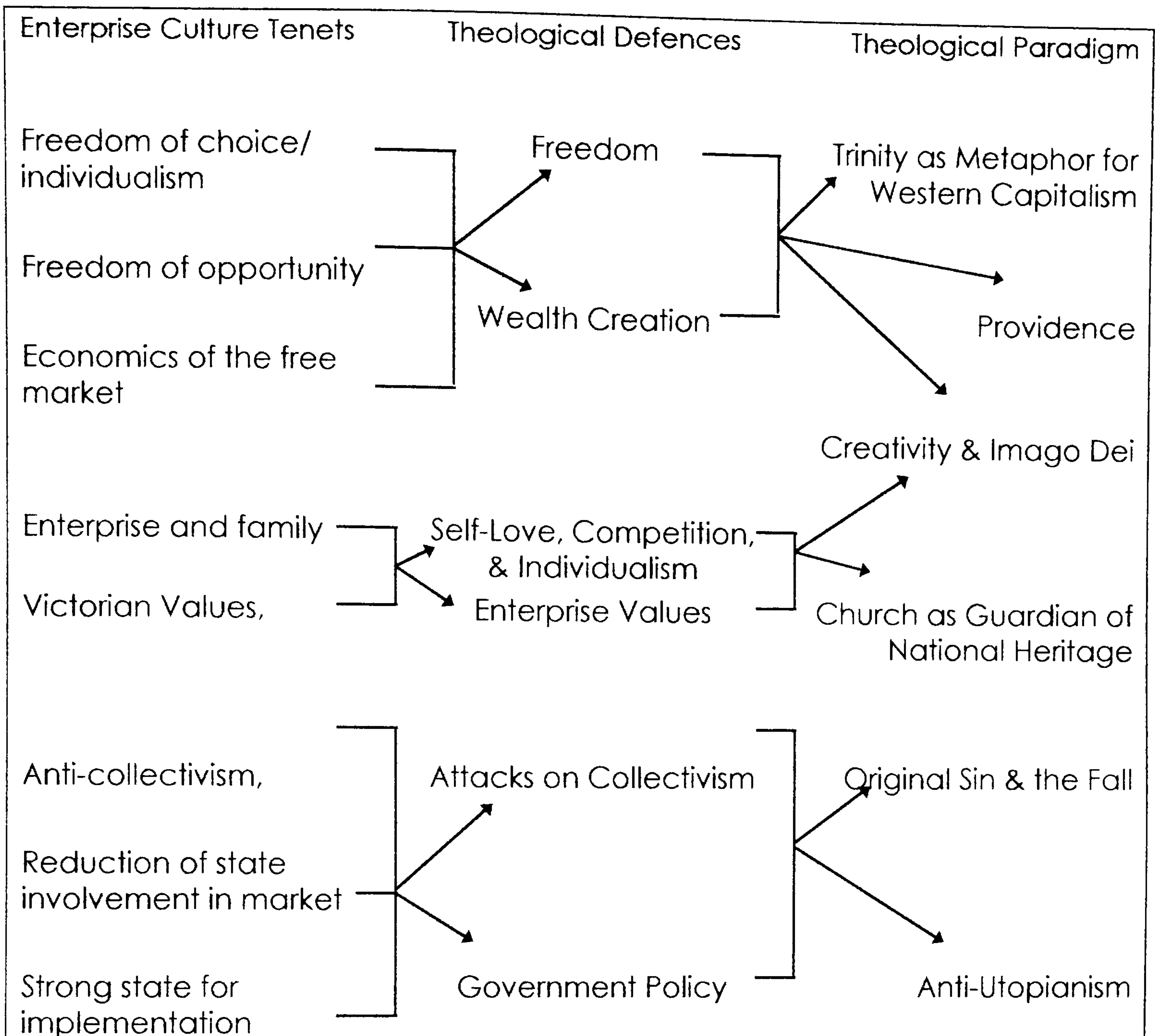
Because of the wickedness abroad in the world as a result of Original Sin, a strong law enforcement and judiciary is required. Original Sin also mitigates against the kind of Utopia preached by Socialists, whose anti-Christian doctrines actually encourage poverty. Since the world is riddled with sinfulness, and creation is not complete, any attempt to create heaven on earth are seen to be guaranteed to result rather in its opposite. Not even the Incarnation and Resurrection dealt effectively with Sin, which must be taken very seriously.

Indeed, The importance of the Incarnation is down-played - almost ignored - throughout the literature. Neither the gospel stories, or the teachings of the Jesus movement, are given much serious consideration. Anti-Utopianism, and belief in Original Sin, are paradoxically combined with a belief that Divine Providence has ordered the world so that the economic activities of individuals will lead towards the general good.

Another doctrine utilised to attack "social - engineering" is that of the Two Realms. Augustine's division of the spiritual life and the material life is claimed to establish two quite separate areas, and is taken as a prohibition on the undertaking of any practical measures which appear to pre-figure the coming kingdom in a physical rather than a spiritual way. However, traditional national values are seen to be those identified above as relating to Enterprise and Victoriana, and a major role of the Church is seen to be their defence. That is, the Church is the guardian of traditional values. No reference is made to the in-breaking of the kingdom through the power of the Spirit. Indeed, the only references to the Trinity at all are Novak's allusion to the three-fold structure of the economic, political, and moral-cultural spheres, and Griffiths' Metaphor of the Trinity which describes State, Mediating Institutions, and Individuals.

In sum, salvation can be won, according to this theology, and sin overcome, only by freely choosing to act upon the duty to create wealth and thus engaging in the divine creative process, to help redeem the fallen world. This will mirror the Creativity of God, and is thus consistent with the Imago Dei argument.

These paradigmatic beliefs were added to the diagrammatic model of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, to present a holistic view of the now-complete ideal type:



9:5) Analysis of the Ideal Type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology

9:5:1) Introduction

Having identified the ideal type, the subsequent task requiring our attention was its analysis. Some of this analysis was incorporated into the identification of the type, and this was supplemented by a review of the work of theologians critical of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology in Chapter Eight. These examinations of the theological and logical legitimacy of the individual ideal type require consolidation and collation. An analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, drawing upon the developmental ideal type, to reflect upon its historicity, and likely roots is also necessitated. We will now turn to these tasks, with the aim of being in a position, at the end of the analysis, to return to our assumptions, and test their validity.

9:5:2) Enterprise Culture Tenets

Freedom of choice and opportunity

The significance of personal freedom, whether of choice or of opportunity, was seen to extend to the spheres of economic, political and social life. Stemming from the ideology of the Neo-liberals, the extension of liberties in these areas was the acid-test of much Thatcherite doctrine and action.

Yet in Chapter Six, it was noted that these freedoms were combined with a pronounced belief in the need for a strong state, to prevent "coercion" from governmental, and quasi-governmental institutions, or from the Unions. (Latterly, this doctrine has been extended to form the basis of Euro-sceptic attacks upon the perceived 'interference from Brussels') Thus the opportunities offered by the welfare state - for employment, for health-care, for education - were to be curtailed to improve freedom of economic opportunity. And the freedom of workers to participate in Unionised activities was sharply reduced, to prevent reductions in the freedom of employers. The dichotomy between the Neo-liberals and Neo-conservatives is apparent in this paradox.

The Thatcherite conception of freedom is thus far from all-embracing, and is contingent itself upon the ascription of higher moral and political value to certain kinds economic freedom, than to other social and economic freedoms. This is incompatible with the claims of Joseph, amongst others, that choosing to promote the freedom of the market is a value-neutral choice. Rather, it is firmly based upon an ethical system which rates economic freedom above certain other freedoms (of assembly, of industrial action, etc), and (explicitly) above the principle of equality.

Furthermore, if the market is seen as a self-regulating machine, as Hayek would have us believe, responding to its signals can be understood as obedience to

its dictates, at least as well as by using a metaphor of free participation. Equally, when reduced opportunities elsewhere, and increased intervention to support the creation of new firms, strongly turned economic agents towards entrepreneurship, how could they realistically be described as acting freely?

Given these not insubstantial criticisms, it must be concluded that the Thatcherite concept of freedom is far from robust. Even before the theological implications of the principle of freedom have been evaluated, these five clear problems with the doctrine have emerged, then:

- It is not clear that freedom of opportunity and choice is compatible with the heavy hand of the strong state.
- The liberty advocated and promoted by the Thatcherites inhibit the exercise of other freedoms.
- The promotion of Thatcherite freedom is inherently based upon certain ethical assumptions, and is far from being value-neutral.
- Following the market-place's lead may be equally well interpreted as obedience to its system, as by a concept of freedom.
- Thatcherite intervention which promoted enterprise creation, and reduced other opportunities, itself led to a diminution of freedom for economic agents.

Economics of the free market / Reduction of state involvement in the market

One of the difficulties with economic theories of a free market, noted above, is that mechanistic views of a market are also, to some extent, deterministic. Following the market is not necessarily to act in a free way. Also noted above,

the tendency of the Thatcherites to intervene in the market place, by for, example, reducing Union power, or promoting enterprise creation, is not compatible with the general belief in state non-involvement in the market. Chapter Six also described the tension between the liberal - often libertarian - economic theories of the Thatcherites, and the traditional, conservative values which they were attempting to instill. Aiming to reduce dependency, to promote self-reliance, philanthropy, and family-care, as well as hard work, thrift, and ascetic living, the Neo-conservatives were unhappy allies of the Neo-liberals, who rejected the right or ability of the state, or governing party, to take decisions in these areas of people's lives every bit as much as in the economic sphere. As with freedom, therefore, there are several serious criticisms which beg important questions about the consistency of Thatcherite economic policy, viz:

- The market is not necessarily free, especially if mechanistic or anthropomorphic theories are used to describe it.
- The Thatcherites clearly intervened in the market place, as and when it suited their own objectives, especially in the promotion of enterprise.
- The attempt to promote traditional conservative values by the use of very liberal economic policies is at best politically confused.

Enterprise, individualism and family

At the heart of the Enterprise Culture, naturally, was a special understanding of the place of business creation, of small firm ownership, and of rapid growth firms, which were conjoined into a philosophy of enterprise. Strongly ideological in nature, this enterprise tenet was also found to have several important flaws. One of the major difficulties uncovered with the political rhetoric of enterprise was its distance from the reality of small business

ownership and creation. This was highlighted by Ritchie's model, which differentiated sharply between "believers" and "participants". In particular, the lack of freedom experienced by the owners of small firms, and their dependency upon market vagaries, upon lenders, and upon family demands, severely curtailed their economic liberty.

It was further indicated that the family-orientation of Thatcherite ideology of enterprise placed at the head of the business and the family a male leader, a *pater familias*. The effect of this, whether intentional or not, was to disenfranchise women, rhetorically, at any rate, from the purported freedoms of the market, except as consumers of goods and services on behalf of their families. Again, the tension between the position of the Neo-liberals, with their battle cry of market freedom for all, and the Neo-conservatives, with their stern admonitions that a woman's place is in the home, are evident.

We also discovered that Hayek, so critical to the development of Thatcher's philosophy of enterprise, saw the gradual triumph of the petit-bourgeois entrepreneur as being won in the teeth of Christian doctrine. This is inimically opposed to the views of Thatcherite theologians, as we have seen.

The problems which we have uncovered in our analysis of this enterprise tenet, therefore comprise the findings that:

- There is a distinction between enterprise as understood by the Thatcherites, and as lived by the small business owner / creator.
- The experience of small business owners suggest contingency and dependency, rather than freedom.

- The family-centred nature of Thatcherite enterprise would seem to withhold its perceived freedom from women, by awarding it almost exclusively to the pater familias.
- The founding father of Thatcherite enterprise philosophy saw its development as having been strongly opposed by Christendom.

Victorian Values

The “traditional” Neo-conservatives clarion cry was the need to return to the national glory of the age of Victoria, with its enterprise, charity, strong family values, firm law and order policies, and international prestige. Our developmental ideal type indicated that many of these values are some way from being traditional, rather being incorporated in Western value-systems at the time of, or just prior to, the nineteenth century. The other major question to be raised at this point is to what extent these values coalesce with the liberal economic and social policies of the other wing of the New Right? At the very least it must surely be conceded that:

- There exists a fundamental difficulty in reconciling “traditional” Victorian values of the Neo-conservatives with the quasi-libertarianism of the Neo-liberals.
- How traditional are these values, anyway?

Anti-collectivism

We have already observed that Thatcher’s antipathy to the Unions led to the curbing of one set of industrial freedoms: theirs! However, whilst one might find aspects of her anti-collectivism extreme, and even misguided, at a personal political level, there is little within the doctrines which is actually inconsistent. The liberals and conservatives stand united on this issue, as communism and

socialism were seen to threaten economic freedoms, and traditional values alike. Indeed, it is possible to postulate that this was the basis of their alliance, and Thatcher herself writes of her greatest victory, shared with Ronald Reagan, as having been to assist in the collapse of the Eastern bloc. Perhaps it is therefore not surprising that the bonds holding the two wings of the New Right together have weakened progressively and consistently since the end of the Cold War.

Morality as a legitimating paradigm

Thatcher has repeatedly and explicitly claimed a strong basis in Christian theology as the moral underpinning of her beliefs. As the next sections will analyse these arguments in considerable detail, it is not proposed to dwell upon them here. However, it is nevertheless worth note that this position differs from that of Joseph - in relation to economic principles of the free market - and Hayek - as regards the myth of entrepreneurship- so that it is reasonable to assert that:

- There is some discrepancy between Thatcher and (at least) two of her key influencers vis-a-vis the moral foundations of their shared ideology.

A strong state to ensure implementation

As indicated several times in the foregoing discussion, the key issue in relation to the strong state is to what extent it can be reconciled with the notion of freedom. Edgar has described the market as "an instrument not of liberation but of discipline", and the reduction of *economic* coercion is seen by many commentators to have resulted in an increase in *social* coercion (Edgar, 1986, p75). The paradox is perhaps best understood as a further example of the divide between Neo-liberal and Neo-conservative thought, disguised by the insistence that a free market demands strong sanctions to protect it:

- The reduction of state control in the economic sphere, combined with an increase in its powers in the social sphere, appears at best paradoxical.

Conclusion

This section has reviewed and extended the analysis of the Thatcherite Enterprise Tenets identified in Chapter Six. A whole raft of serious difficulties - sixteen in all - with the tenets have been uncovered, many of which relate to the dichotomy between the Neo-liberal and Neo-conservative wings of the Thatcherite school.

Taken individually, none of these criticisms is telling enough to undermine the political edifice. Undoubtedly, rebuttals of many of these points could and would be made by the Thatcherites, not the least of which is that, for all its logical inconsistencies, the administration was returned three times by its voters, and thus passed the acid test of efficiency. Equally, within a programme for government of a nation over more than a decade, it is probably reasonable to expect some contradictory stances to appear, and concessions to be made to differing tendencies within the party of government. However, taken as a whole, the problems we have identified do at least cast substantial doubt upon the political coherence of Thatcherite Enterprise Tenets.

To move our findings beyond justifiable doubt into a categorical statement that the entire ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology is untenable, requires that the theological arguments also be found wanting. As the philosophical and religious underpinning of the Enterprise Tenets, we can expect the theological arguments to exhibit a coherence and robustness which it is somewhat unrealistic to demand from actual government policies. Therefore, uncovering logical difficulties in the theological arguments and paradigm, both in terms of internal consistency, and problems in the way the tradition is used, would indeed pose a significant challenge to the ideal type as a whole.

Nonetheless, for a firm conclusion to be reached, the theology of Thatcherism must be found severely lacking in sound historical roots, as well as theological rigour and coherence. It is therefore to the pursuit of this task that we now turn.

9:5:3) Theological Apologetic for Enterprise Values

Chapter Six opened with a demonstration of the importance of theology and religion to Mrs Thatcher, which indicated that it is indeed in religious philosophy that her political beliefs find their underpinning. Her first words to the media, for example, upon entering Downing Street, were to quote a prayer ascribed to St Francis of Assisi, and she herself has explicitly stated:

"I believe in Judaeo-Christian values: indeed my whole political philosophy is based upon them" (Thatcher, 1993, p509).

In Section 9:4:3 above, the identification - or, more properly, the abstraction - of theological defences used to support the Enterprise Tenets was reviewed. Our analysis of these defences, carried out in Chapters Seven and Eight, will now be summarised and extended.

Freedom

In defence of the theological freedom, which in turn supports the Enterprise Tenets of Freedom of Choice and Opportunity, two main arguments were utilised, a soteriological argument, and an attack upon redistributive justice.

The soteriological argument was based upon the need to freely choose the path of righteousness, which was seen to be possible only in a "free" society".

The following critiques of this argument were made:

1. To restrict the winning of salvation to those who live in a Western-style market democracy is to disenfranchise most of Christendom, past and present.
2. Some of the legislation which made earlier societies "un-free" , by Thatcherite standards, was expressly instituted to serve other theological aims, such as care for the poor and weak, as in Ancient Israel.
3. In other earlier "un-free" societies, the attention of theologians and Church Leaders did not focus their social preaching on freeing up the political, and economic spheres, so as to thereby permit salvation. Rather, they concentrated on addressing the inequities of the Rich, which they perceived to be at the root of the problem of poverty (eg, Patriarchs, Prophets, etc).
4. The Critics of Enterprise Theology were found to have argued strongly that freedom of opportunity demands social and economic equality. Whilst true freedom is indeed desirable, in the unequal world created by subservience to the market, it is not equally available to all. Plant has succinctly summarised this critique:

" Poverty feels like un-freedom and is un-freedom; and in a rich society poverty feels like injustice - and is injustice" (Plant et al, 1989, p93).

5. The Critics also pointed out that Christian freedom, contingent as it is upon God, is heavily circumscribed by the demands of duty. Because God has chosen to give us freedom, we must answer to him for our use of it. Thus we must take very seriously indeed the commandments and exhortations of the gospels and the Christian tradition which raise care for and service to others to the pinnacle of personal endeavour. (This critique points towards the very

different understanding of soteriology and incarnation of the Critics, as compared with the Enterprise Theologians, a theme we shall return to below.)

6. It has been a notable theme, from the Gospels onwards, that following the dictates of the world of money, whether understood as free market, or as the quasi-divinity *Mammon*, is to fall into slavery, rather than to espouse freedom. The Christian gospel is intended to bring to mankind a fuller life than that of producers and consumers within a pseudo-deterministic market. This argument is the theological parallel to that we discussed above, which postulated that obedience to the market may be more like blind obedience, than freedom. Furthermore, taking refuge behind the supposedly mechanistic - and thus value-free - operations of the market place, is simply to abdicate responsibility for its malfunctions.

Attacks were also mounted on theologies and enactments of redistributive justice as dangerous, violent and sinful. These arguments postulated that:

- Redistributive justice is anathema to the founders of Christian thought and theology.
- Attempts at creating Christian communities and societies based upon the principle of redistributive justice have been both violent and sinful.
- Intervention in social and economic factors is de facto unChristian.

Against these attacks on redistributive justice, it was noted that much of the evidence garnered in the creation of the developmental ideal type would in fact provide stronger support for the opposite position, thus:

1. Whilst there is little evidence of calls for redistribution at a state level, there are many demands for fairer allocation of resources aimed at individual believers. Examples of this include:

- Old Testament social legislation, including the Jubilee Laws, and the Forgiveness of Debts.
- Gospel, Pauline, and Patriarchal commandments to the Rich to give away their possessions, and/or share them with the Poor.

2. It is possible to cite several examples of Christian communities based upon the notion of common ownership, and of redistribution of assets, which were not only peaceful, but are usually seen to have been particularly holy, for example, the developmental ideal type has commented upon:

- The Jerusalem Love Community
- The Monastic Communities
- The Medieval Lay Sects
- Calvin's Geneva

3. The Christian Church, its precursors, and its members, have a well-established tradition of commenting explicitly and unreservedly on social and economic issues. This issue will be returned to later, but the examples utilised above indicate how far removed it is from historical accuracy.

Furthermore, it is not at all clear that the two halves of the defence of freedom are mutually compatible. Is it reasonable to assert on the one hand that the optimum social and economic context for the winning of salvation is a Western market democracy, and yet on the other to claim that the Church and

theologians have no place in treating with issues of economic and social organisation?

Overall, the quantity and quality of the rebuttals of the Enterprise Theologians' doctrine of Freedom must lead one to the conclusion that it is essentially untenable. Both the arguments constructed by the Enterprise Theologians were found to be open to serious criticism on a number of grounds, and were especially open to critiques which drew directly on Christian tradition (as expounded in the developmental ideal type). Criticisms of the two arguments for freedom have been shown to be close to the tradition, mutually coherent, and numerous. The Enterprise Theologians' doctrine of freedom, on the other hand, has been shown to be some way removed from traditional and contemporary Christian theology, and to be internally inconsistent. It is therefore concluded that this doctrine, as presented and defended, is profoundly and inherently untenable.

If the doctrine of Freedom promoted by the Enterprise Theologians does not fit within the cannon of Christian teachings, where do its roots lie? Probably in the Enlightenment rejection of Determinism, and the subsequent growth of naturalistic classical economics. However, the Enlightenment thinkers' position also included a rejection of the belief Original Sin, (which is of some importance to the Enterprise School,) preferring the notion of a Beneficent Providence. One may therefore postulate that this understanding of freedom has been inappropriately taken from its philosophical home, with little regard for context or corollary.

Wealth Creation

No less than five arguments were marshalled by the Enterprise Theologians to defend wealth creation in theological terms. These arguments justified wealth creation as:

- A Source of Material Progress
- A Source of Funds for Charity
- Enactment of Stewardship
- Participation in Divine Creation
- Enactment of Work and Self-Sufficiency

The argument from material progress was seen to be economic in nature, although it does recognised the importance of caring for the poor, and acknowledges that poverty is a sin, an evil. Wealth creation in the free market is seen to offer the optimum solution to dealing with the problem of poverty. We have noted above that the Critics maintain the opposite position, claiming that pursuit of wealth in a market economy rather serves to further extend poverty. However, since these arguments treat with matters of technical economic theory, and statistics, they fall outwith the remit and scope of this analysis. It is perhaps worth noting in passing, nonetheless, that traditional Judaic and Christian solutions to the problem of scarcity and poverty, have focused on charity, on faith and on asceticism, rather than on wealth creation, as Gordon's model of the Old Testament "solutions", and our review of the Church Fathers, have shown.

The review of our developmental ideal type presented above, Section 9:3:6, noted that the only early and recurrent defence of wealth ownership and creation to be found within the tradition, saw it as legitimated by its generation of funds for charity. This argument for wealth creation can justifiably claim support from the Ancient Greeks, from the Old Testament, from the Gospels and the Fathers of the Church. Indeed, it is also utilised by the Critics of Enterprise Theology, as they delineate their own position in relation to wealth creation. However, it should not be forgotten that the Critics' argument sees Wealth Creation as a means to an end, and does not award it theological sanction in its own right, nor does it remove the requirement that the pursuit of

wealth take place in an ethical and non-exploitative way. (Exploitation extends to despoilation of the environment, as well as taking unfair advantage of other people.)

Therefore, rather than saying that all wealth creation is justified because it can lead to the provision of funds to be used in a philanthropic way, it is perhaps more legitimate to postulate that ethically undertaken wealth-creation is theologically justifiable when it results in the provision of funds for charity, and yet does not become a dangerous diversion from spirituality for its participants. That is to say, a defence of certain examples of wealth creation, valid though it may be, cannot be extended to legitimate all wealth creation. To argue from the particular to the general is to commit the logical fallacy of accident.

The Enterprise Theologians argue that participation in wealth creation is an important, and perhaps the paramount, way of responding to the divine commission of stewardship. We have seen, however, that earlier theologies of stewardship, of caring for and developing the bounties of creation, are informed by a strong belief that God gave these bounties to all men in common. The particularly strong line taken by the Prophets, and by, especially, John Chrysostom, are good examples of this position, which sees the end-result of stewardship in the provision of the necessities of life for all. This is not contiguous with self-interested wealth creation, for which explicit condemnations can be found:

“the source of all evil is excess and the desire to have more than we need” (Chrysostom, Homilies on Genesis, 380B).

A similar argument uses the doctrine of *Imago Dei*, of man made in God's image, to classify wealth creation as an important way for men to participate in the divine act of creation. Against this defence of wealth creation, three

important arguments can be levelled. Firstly, creativity is a far more extensive concept than this argument allows, and to limit it to the creation of wealth alone, without explaining why this step has been taken, is to construct an inadequate argument. Secondly, care for God's good creation is often incompatible with unrestrained wealth creation, which has not been noted for its determination to protect the environment upon which it draws, nor, necessarily, the workers it employs. Thirdly, by following the Imago Dei doctrine to its logical conclusion, other aspects of the divine personality must also be considered, such as justice, spirituality, self-denial, and service. Again, this defence of wealth creation must be considered unsustainable.

The final defence of wealth creation, sees it as a valid enactment of the principles of hard work and self-sufficiency. The exposition of our developmental ideal type illustrated clearly that the principles of hard work and self-sufficiency are important aspects of the majority of the Christian tradition (,with the notable exception of the Jesus Movement). However, once again, similar criticisms can be levelled. It is not, de facto, clear why wealth creation should be postulated to enjoy a greater degree of religious sanctity than, for example, work as an employee, or as a member of the caring professions. The concept of *beruf*, of the sanctity of a secular calling, does not lead, in and of itself, to the award of a special prize for holiness to the wealth creators. We have discussed above the inherent moral dangers of wealth creation, which include self-interestedness, succumbing to the idolatry of mammon, despoilation of the environment, exploitation of poorer brothers and sisters, and so on. Given these, it is especially hard to see why wealth creation should be perceived to enjoy a greater degree of religious approval than, for example, nursing, running a soup kitchen, or being a dustbinman.

In summary, the arguments defending wealth creation are not so tenuous and flawed as those supporting the Thatcherite concept of freedom. However,

they are far from robust. The first argument was economic, rather than theological, although it did note that poverty is a sin. Other arguments have utilised special cases, claiming that because some wealth creation leads to a greater provision of funds for charity, or mirrors God's divine creativity, therefore all wealth creation is theologically valid. This is simply fallacious. Other arguments have pointed out that creativity, stewardship, and hard work are important Christian doctrines. Whilst this is true, it is not reasonable to then move on and maintain that these values are better exemplified by wealth creation than by other forms of work, many of which exemplify rather better other equally important values, such as justice, and service. The defences of wealth creation are, then, based upon reasonable and theologically valid premises, but erroneous and fallacious conclusions are then drawn from these premises. At best, the premises cited would lead us to conclude that some wealth creation, if carried out in an ethical manner, with fair and philanthropic distribution of the resultant profits, offers one of many theologically valid ways of enacting the values of creativity, hard work, stewardship and self-sufficiency.

Strong encouragement of Wealth Creation is rooted, according to the Enterprise Theologians, in the writing of Clement of Alexandria. Yet it was demonstrated that Clement's position was unique amongst the Church Fathers, and that even he saw wealth primarily as a means for charitable giving. Furthermore, the concept of wealth creation / enterprise as the route to salvation by participation in the divine creation, is incompatible with Two Realms theology. The dualism of a strong theology of Two Realms refutes any practical material means of intervening in the physical world, which is utterly separate from the spiritual realm. Equally, Original Sin does not permit man to share in the recreation of the fallen world, which can now only be saved by God's grace in the end time. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the doctrine of wealth creation is incompatible with two other major planks of Enterprise Theology.

Before moving on, however, it should be restated that many Critics of the Enterprise Theologians hold, nevertheless, to a fairly high theology of enterprise and innovation, although their arguments are constructed and defended somewhat differently. The Critics generally defend involvement in entrepreneurship and innovation, rather than wealth creation, and they too draw upon the metaphor of participation in God's creation. However, they warn against the dangers which this can involve, and commend care for employees and the environment as an integral part of legitimate wealth creation. More importantly, they utilise the concept of the Incarnation, and especially the healing (and feeding) work of Christ, to maintain that the creation of employment (as well as wealth) is a modern equivalent of providing for the immediate bodily needs of the poor. Their approval of and participation in "Alternative" enterprise, characterised by its communal ownership and explicitly philanthropic aims, is the outward expression of their belief in the in-breaking of the Kingdom. They also note that all work, and all creativity, is of value, and do not ascribe premier position to wealth creation, unlike the Enterprise Theologians.

Self-love, Competition, & Individualism

Three arguments were developed by the Enterprise Theologians to provide theological legitimation for this grouping of Enterprise Tenets. These were:

- Self-interest as Care for Family
- Competition as Theologically Legitimate
- Self-interest as Communitarian

If the defence of self-interest as a form of care for one's family is to be accepted, then the importance of the family in theological terms must first be established. In the review of the developmental ideal type, it was noted that a

strong theology of the family was an exceptional development of Wisdom literature, later to be re-instated in Protestant England. Far more important within the tradition of Judaic and Christian teaching was the concept of the family of God, the spiritual community, and the duties of the individual within this sphere. It is therefore not illegitimate to cite care for the family as being of significance in theological terms, but it is misleading to suggest that this refers to more than a narrow strand of the canon. It is particularly misleading to maintain that this theology of the family has always been of greater importance to the Christian tradition, than a theology of the community. As we have repeatedly discovered, to the point of lassitude, the community has a critical role in Judaic and Christian thought as the arena in which one's spiritual life, and material duties, should be enacted.

Jukes addresses Novak's peculiar theology of competition directly, acknowledging that there are no direct biblical condemnations of competition, but arguing strongly that it has a tendency to produce behaviour which is very sinful. Hallmarks of such behaviour would include greed, failure to promote the common good, and the attempt to best other people. Whilst not a particularly sophisticated rebuttal, this does draw the teeth of one of the more bizarre of Novak's positions.

Of more significance, and fundamental to comprehension of the differences between the two schools of thought, is the relationship between individualism and community. The Critics of Enterprise Theology are especially united and unambiguous in their attacks upon individualism and self-interest. Nowhere is the gap between the two schools of thought more pronounced. Warnings are issued relating to the ethical dangers of an economic system based upon self-interest. The theological value of community is stated and restated, and most importantly, a soteriology of service is expounded. For the Critics, the Incarnation is of prime importance, and imposes upon Christians the duty to

replicate Christ's care for the needy in the here and now. Self-interest must be consistently and systematically subjugated to the needs of others, to the point of crucifixion if need be. For the Enterprise Theologians, love of oneself should not be placed below love of one's neighbour. Generally their view is that participation in wealth creation - and thereby caring for oneself and one's family, working hard, creating, and engaging in stewardship and charity - is the sufficient and necessary path to salvation. Because the world is fallen, and the Parousia delayed, to attempt more than this for the community or society, is bootless. At this point, therefore, we are confronted by profound doctrinal differences, which demand significant further scrutiny.

None of the three arguments for self-interest are persuasive, then, but having uncovered the doctrinal divergence at the heart of the argument between the two schools, a final judgement upon the merits of the two positions must be withheld until the respective theological paradigms have been discussed, below.

Government Policy

In the area of government policy, the major theological stance of the Thatcherites centred around the impossibility of legislating for morality, given the spiritual nature of Christianity, the fallen nature of the world, and the limited guidance on social issues within the canon. Rather, laws must take account of the sinfulness of fallen man. In particular, the utilisation of market solutions for social problems, rather than the sustenance and creation of a welfare state, is justified using this argument.

Against this defence of limited government involvement, at a policy level, in enacting Christian social values, we come face-to-face with the most serious flaws of the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology. Firstly, all the defences of Enterprise Tenets we have reviewed thus far have as their explicit

purpose the aim of explaining how government policy is indeed informed by a set of religious principles. Theological arguments, even if not terribly successful theological arguments, have been utilised to defend policies and legislation which attempt to put into practice the tenets of freedom, individualism, and wealth creation. Why is it legitimate to legislate for some aspects of morality, or theology, and not for others, such as justice, or equality? This question is not answered by the Thatcherites, but it completely and unequivocally undermines this particular defence, as well as indicating the contradictions at the heart of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology.

As we have also seen, many Judaic and Christian theocracies did indeed legislate so as to incorporate religious principles in law, (including equity, justice, and care for the poor,) as in Ancient Israel, Puritan England, and Calvin's Geneva. There is therefore no support for this defence to be found in the tradition. This critique is supplemented by the Critical School, who assert that all that is, including the realm of politics, is a part of God's creation, and therefore subject to his demands. To set aside politics, and governmental policy, as an area outwith God's remit, is at best to commit the sin of hubris. Furthermore, the effects of renouncing moral responsibility for many social aspects of society, and instead moving them to the sphere of market operations, has resulted in outcomes which are ethically reprehensible, according to the Critics, and which include the extension of poverty, and the denuding of care for the weak and poor, in areas such as health and education.

Also, if the world is so fallen and full of sin that attempts at social engineering are necessarily doomed, why is it seen to be theologically valid to strive to participate in the stewardship of God's good creation? Although we shall return to these themes in more detail below, the theological absurdity of this particular defence is only too clear.

Enterprise Values

The basic argument utilised to defend enterprise values in theological terms, is to state that they are a traditional and integral part of Christian personal morality. These values include personal responsibility, honesty, thrift, private property rights, work, and the generation of profits.

Criticisms of these defences included the assertion that personal responsibility should always be tempered by responsibility for others. The individualism of Thatcherism has already been subject to extensive criticism for failing to take due account of the communitarian essence of Christianity. We have further noted that defence of private property rights is not a significant Christian theme. Indeed, Jewish law makes many demands upon private property which would be anathema to the Thatcherites. The Church Fathers go so far as to see in private property, beyond the retention of essentials, a form of theft.

However, it was noted that hard work, honesty, and thrift / asceticism are indeed long-standing Christian values, and can reasonable be called traditional. It is worth asking to what extent these values are actually replicated in entrepreneurship, but one must concede to the Thatcherites the right to construct their own ideal type of Enterprise, which Ritchie termed the Believers' Enterprise Culture.

We have mentioned above, under wealth creation, the Critics more extensive theology of enterprise, which centres upon provision of wealth and employment for the community, and active participation in alternative enterprise, rather than enterprise values per se. Creativity, and innovation are incorporated into a middle-way theology of enterprise by some later writers, who strive to extract the kernel of theologically valid aspects of enterprise, from

the chaff of individualism, slavery to mammon, and exploitation of other parts of God's creation.

Attacks on Collectivism

The vehement attacks upon collectivism which are so important a part of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, were defended using four theological arguments:

- Defence of Freedom
- Defence of Wealth Creation
- Anti-utopianism
- Atheism of Marxism

The argument for the rejection of collectivism, in favour of the defence of freedom, is contingent upon the validity of the defence of freedom itself. We have found this defence to be singularly lacking in legitimacy, however, not least where it purports to attack Christian attempts at communitarian living as radical millenarianism.

Similarly, the argument from the defence of wealth creation - postulated to be only possible outwith collectivist states - assumes that the defences of wealth creation have been accepted. Yet these defences were also found to be unsustainable, drawing invalid conclusions concerning the primacy of wealth creation from legitimate premises.

The argument against utopianism returns to the theme that attempts to mirror the heavenly order in the here-and-now of the fallen social world are theologically misguided. If this is so, it must surely apply equally to the Thatcherite agenda, as to that of collectivist governments. The theological paradox of seeing participation in enterprise as of profound theological

relevance, but denying the validity of other forms of social engagement due to anti-utopianism, has already been noted.

The Critics of Enterprise Theology agree that Marxist political philosophy is explicitly un-Christian, but do not see herein a sufficient argument for jettisoning all attempts at building and sustaining community, which have a much longer Christian than Marxist tradition. We have revisited above some of the attempts made by Christians to create communitarian communities, including most notably, the Jerusalem Love Community, and the Medieval Lay Sects.

In summary, these four arguments have little to recommend them, and much that weighs against them. Given the over-riding importance of community for Christianity, the arguments lack sufficient weight to convince that this doctrine should be superceded by individualism, nor to maintain that Western market democracies are necessarily closer to the Christian theological ideal than collectivist states (although many other, and better, arguments could be marshalled to make this point, as the Critics have shown.)

Conclusion

In our conclusion to the analysis of Enterprise Tenets, it was noted that the theological defences of these tenets would have to be found especially wanting, to undermine comprehensively a political system which governed for more than a decade, inspite of the logical and political contradictions identified within the constellation of tenets. The above review of the theological defences has found that:

- The defences of the concept of freedom are simply unsustainable.
- The arguments in favour of wealth creation draw invalid conclusions from legitimate premises.

- The defences of self-interest and competition find scant traditional support, and wholly neglect the important communitarian nature of Christianity.
- The defence of reduced government involvement in welfare provision is inconsistent with the remainder of the defences, and open to numerous other critiques.
- Several of the enterprise values defended were found not to belong to the Christian tradition, and are more likely to be post-Enlightenment additions.
- The attacks on collectivism, in the form presented, are not substantial enough to validate Western market democracies, nor to undermine theologies of community.

One is therefore forced to conclude that the theological defences of Enterprise Tenets cannot sustain any serious analysis, and are wanting indeed. Not only do they fail the test of being dependent upon the traditions of Christian teaching and theology, they are furthermore internally inconsistent. These inconsistencies, as well as major points of divergence from the Critical School, indicate that the root of many of these peculiarities lies in the Theological Paradigm of the Enterprise Theologians, that is, in the set of dogmatic beliefs which supports their defences of Enterprise Cultures. The final stage in our analysis of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology will therefore examine this paradigm.

9:5:3) Theological Paradigm

The above discussions, as well as those presented in Chapter Seven, indicated that several aspects of Enterprise Theology do not seem to sit easily with each other - for example, Original Sin and the imperative to participate in creativity.

These contradictions are particularly apparent at the paradigmatic level, as we shall now see, as we undertake the analysis of the following elements of Thatcherite dogma:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Original Sin and the Fall | 5. Providence |
| 2. Incarnation | 6. Doctrines of the Trinity |
| 3. The Two Realms | 7. Church as Guardian of National Heritage |
| 4. Creativity | |

Original Sin stems from Genesis myths, which in Christian thought have been thoroughly superceded by the Atonement of Christ. Although not substantially discussed in the text, the mainstream New Testament and Magisterial position on Original Sin and redemption - until the enlightenment at any rate - can be summarised simply thus: Jesus's self-sacrifice and passion act as a once-for-all Atonement for the sins of the fallen world, and fallen men within it. The New Covenant of life in the Spirit, which follows the resurrection, ushers in a breaking-in of the Kingdom. This is a prefigurement which will not be fully realised until the end-time, the parousia.

We are also familiar with Catholic notions of baptism into church as redemption, combined with repentance and forgiveness of sins. It is not unreasonable to suggest that it is a fairly consistent orthodox theme that the theological significance of Jesus was to provide a solution to sinfulness of postlapsarian creation, to redeem it on the cross. Enlightenment optimism disposed of any lingering adherence to the essentially negative concept of a fallen world, which was not reinstated to a great degree upon the demise of Optimism. Twentieth century theology by and large sees man as sinned against - especially by the evils of structural sin, such as poverty, famine, exploitation and war - rather than sinning. By following the example of Christ, and living in the light of the Spirit, Christians can prefigure on earth the Kingdom.

Nonetheless, the Enterprise Theologians choose to make extensive use of the concept of Original Sin, using it in their arguments against Utopian "social-engineering", and in their attacks upon attempts to create communitarian earthly societies.

The peculiarity of the position of Enterprise Theologians should be immediately obvious, since the role of Christ in addressing Original Sin does not figure in their theology; indeed, it is explicitly rejected by Novak. It is difficult in the extreme to maintain that Novak's statement to the effect that "the single greatest temptation for Christians is to imagine that the salvation won by Jesus has altered the human condition", can be interpreted as Christian (Novak, 1982, p343).

Beyond this point - that a strong theology of Original Sin is simply and undeniably incompatible with belief in an atoning Redeemer - it is also incompatible with the Thatcherites' own doctrine of Creativity through enterprise. If the world is completely fallen, then it is impossible for active participation in enterprise to be interpreted as reflecting divine Creativity, since the fallen world can only be redeemed, re-created, at the end-time.

The Critics of Enterprise Theology insist, by contrast, that sin is structural as well as individual, and that it can be addressed directly by social action. They also include within their list of individual sins some behaviour which they associate with enterprise creation, such as greed, covetousness, idolatry.

Incarnation

As the discussion of Original Sin has indicated, it is the Soteriology of Enterprise which is the single most problematic aspect of its character. By ignoring the Incarnation, the message of the Gospels, and the Atonement of Christ,

Enterprise Theology is difficult to accommodate within the Christian tradition. Novak's salvation through enterprise, the only soteriology we were able to discover in Enterprise Theology, is particularly at odds with a Christian tradition emphasising faith in Christ as the mainstay of salvation, to be expressed in care for his poor.

The position of the Enterprise Theologians on Original Sin, then, informs their soteriology to a significant extent. Attention has already been drawn to the lack of incarnational and pneumatical³ theology in their work. Salvation is not to be achieved through repentance of sins, renouncing riches, and humbly enslaving oneself to the way of Christ, in the power of the Spirit. Original Sin has not, especially for Novak, been overcome by the passion. There is no inbreaking of the Kingdom in even the most moderate enterprise theologians, and almost no reference to the Jesus Movement, except to develop implausible arguments against the rejection of wealth by the gospel writers.

There is no need to review the historical development of soteriology, nor to cite sources, in this section. It is a simple fact of the Christian faith that, as its very name suggests, the place of Christ, his Passion, teachings, and call to the Kingdom, are that which differentiates Christianity from all other faiths.

The Enterprise Theologians, as we noted above, choose instead to see the route to salvation in the Fallen World, as the freely entered into choice to participate in the divine acts of creation and stewardship through entrepreneurial wealth-creation. There are several inconsistencies within this position, which we will return to below. Suffice it at this point to note that whilst this is a theology of sorts, its bizarre soteriology, and complete disengagement from the evangelical cannon, places it at some distance from Christianity.

³ Literally, of the Spirit.

The message which the Critics of Enterprise Theology draw from the Incarnation is markedly different, seeing in God-made-man a call for involvement in the earthly city, and extension of his ministry of service, healing and feeding.

The Two Realms

As a close corollary of their position on Original Sin, the Enterprise Theologians hold firmly to a strong theology of the Two Realms. The fallen material world is not yet open to the in-breaking of the Spirit, and the religious life of individual believers is thus to be enacted on a personal, and spiritual level. In particular, those parts of the canon which condemn the pursuit and accumulation of wealth are not to be understood as operating on a societal level, but rather are exhortations to individual Christians. To try and expound social policy from them is therefore seen to be illegitimate. The City of God, the new Jerusalem, can only be established by God himself in the end-time.

As with their doctrine of Original Sin, the major difficulty with this stance is that it is fundamentally inconsistent with the Enterprise Theologians' belief that, through wealth creation and enterprise, man can engage in divine creativity and carry out his responsibility of stewardship for God's good creation. If the material earthly realm is utterly cut-off from God, then any attempts to alter it for the better - whether through enterprise or *soi-disant* social engineering - must surely be equally impossible. Once again, one is forced to query the special dispensation by which individual entrepreneurship alone is permitted to overcome the fallen and alienated nature of the earthly city.

Enterprise Theology's view of Two Realms Theology, although laid at the feet of Saint Augustine, is more likely to have its roots in the divide between divine metaphysics and man's mastery of nature which occurred in Enlightenment

thought. Yet it is questionable whether this theology is even compatible with its likely source. The Enlightenment philosophers held a positive understanding of redeemed creation, which saw all that was being de facto, good. This is not easily reconcilable with the tenet of Original Sin.

Where the Enterprise Theologians attempt to separate the realms of earth and heaven, their Critics instead adopt a mixed eschatology which places demands for action and involvement in the here and now upon believers, whilst maintaining belief in the delayed Parousia. The Kingdom of God, announced in the Gospel, is breaking into earthly life, and life in the Holy Spirit permits the Christian to participate in this in-breaking.

Creativity

Thatcherite theology links explicitly divine and entrepreneurial creativity:

“There is a striking parallel between the traditional theological account of how God freely created the universe ex-nihilo and the description of creation of new goods and products by entrepreneurs” (Miller, 1984, p81).

Engaging in such creativity, by drawing upon the bounty of God's good creation, is to follow a particularly religiously valid *beruf*, by extending the work begun by God. Given that the world is imperfect, following the Fall, Novak writes, such creativity has a special resonance and importance (Novak, 1982, p39). Thus, while attempting to enact the social theology of Christ, and living out the in-breaking of the Spirit, is explicitly rejected by Novak - because of the Fall - participating in creative entrepreneurship helps repair the wounds of the Fall in a way that even Christ's atonement could not. The Soteriology of Enterprise, therefore, places business generation and growth above the crucifixion as the means for achieving the redemption of the world. This is

fundamentally incompatible with Christian theology, which, not surprisingly, has a marked tendency to give rather more emphasis to the role and person of Christ!

Left-wing Christians who warn of the dangers of participation in entrepreneurship are close to committing the heresy of Manicheism, which sees the material world as essentially evil, and recommends withdrawal from it (Dawson, 1984, p13).

Yet again, the fundamental inconsistency in the position of Enterprise Theologians is exposed: the view of the material world as fallen is essential to their attacks upon utopian social-engineering, but incompatible with their belief in enterprise-as-creativity, which instead accuses their opponents of holding to a Two Realms theology, and even accuses them of a heresy in so doing.

Their opponents, however, wish to extend this doctrine to view all work as offering an opportunity for participation in creativity and service, and place strong ethical demands upon it. Not least amongst these is the call for environmental protection, as part of stewardship of the Creation.

Providence

Linked to the positive view of creativity is the Enterprise Theologians' perception of Providence. The strong version of this stance (as espoused by Novak and Griffiths) explicitly extends Adam Smith's theory of the invisible hand, which we discovered had strongly providential overtones, and essentially maintains that the hand which moves the free market is the hand of God. A weaker line of argument, to be found in the writings of Thatcher, Harris and other, postulates that God has created the world so that it looks as though an invisible hand is operating it. This position allows the Enterprise Theologians to draw Pope's

conclusion that "whatever is, is right", and also to claim divine approval for the free market itself.

The discussion of this belief in Chapter Seven indicated that it brings in its wake determinism. If God is involved in each and every market transaction, He must know, and have always known, their outcomes. If such knowledge exists in the Divine consciousness, and has existed there for all eternity, then the outcomes were always going to happen, were pre-determined. The doctrine of the freedom of individual choices within the market is also fundamental to the Enterprise Theologians, but is impossible to reconcile with determinism.

Furthermore, if sin is all-pervasive within the fallen world, how can operations of the free market be seen to be imbued with divine sanction and theological rectitude? Once again, enterprise, and the free market system which supports it, seem to have been given a form of special status which remove from them the taint of sin adhering to the rest of creation.

Doctrines of the Trinity

It has been evident in much of the foregoing discussion that the Enterprise Theologians' perception of the Godhead are significantly different from that of the vast majority of Christian theology, ancient and modern.

The hand of God the Father is seen primarily as operating invisibly within the free market. His only other significant contributions seem to have been to provide a model of creativity for entrepreneurs, to issue the command for stewardship, and to have brought about the Fall thereby rendering utopian Christianity illegitimate.

The Holy Spirit is important only inasmuch as the preaching of Christ is understood to operate at a spiritual level, and the significance of Pentecost,

and the establishment of the Age of the Spirit, is entirely over-looked by the Enterprise Theologians.

Christ is referred to in an almost entirely negative way by the Enterprise Theologians, who insist that the Atonement has not redeemed the world, that Christ did not usher in a new era of the in-breaking Kingdom, that his gospel of service and love is to be understood in completely personal and spiritual terms, and that his condemnations of wealth are not to be taken seriously.

Given this highly peculiar theology of the individual members of the Trinity, what have the Enterprise Theologians to say of the United Godhead? What they have to say is simply put: the Holy Trinity has a mystical resonance with the trinities of free market democracies: individuals, mediating institutions and state (Griffiths), as well as politics, the economy, and morality/culture (Novak).

Once again, one is presented with evidence that for this school of theologians, the only relevance of Christianity is in what can be stripped from its context and meaning, and used to justify a philosophy of entrepreneurship within the free market.

Church as Guardian of National Heritage

Given that the Enterprise Theologians have taken it upon themselves to re-orientate Christianity so that it focuses upon enterprise, and not upon Christ or the Trinity, what role do they envisage for God's church? Here, we come across the beliefs of the Neo-conservatives, with their emphasis upon "traditional" values of family, strong moral codes, hard work, and thrift. They criticise the Church (and especially the established Church of England), for having swung sharply to the political left, and neglected its duties as guide of the nation's morals and cultural heritage.

Not surprisingly, the Critics of Enterprise Theology counter by pointing out that engaging in “political” debate is to provide a guide for the nation's morals, and that the revered traditional values are not necessarily those which are of most significance for Christianity.

Conclusion

Having reviewed the theological paradigms which underpin the defences of enterprise tenets, it has been established that several of these underpinning beliefs are inconsistent with each other:

- The doctrines of Original Sin and the Two Realms are essentially incompatible with the view of entrepreneurship as participation in Divine Creativity.
- Belief in Providentialism is not compatible with belief in an utterly fallen world.
- The belief in free-market Providentialism leads inexorably to a determinism incompatible with an adherence to the critical importance of individual freedom within the market.

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, many of the positions developed are so far removed from the Christian tradition, that it is hard to see how they can legitimately be termed Christian at all:

- The Soteriology of Enterprise removes the Passion from its central position in Salvation History, and instead postulates (cosmic and individual) atonement through enterprise.

- The theologies of the Trinity do no more than compare it to facets of free-market society.

As with the enterprise tenets, and their theological defences, one is drawn irresistably towards the conclusion that the paradigm of Enterprise Theology is unsustainable to the point of outright collapse. Given the internal incoherence of all three component parts of the ideal type, and especially the distance between its theology, and that of modern and ancient Christian theologians alike, it is reasonable to assert that Thatcherite Enterprise Theology (or, at any rate, this model of it), cannot withstand the twin tests of historicity and logic which were set it. Not only does it fail these tests, but it fails them consistently and dramatically.

9:6) Conclusion

Having completed the analysis of the individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, a return to the assumptions underpinning the thesis is required. Given the evidence gathered and analysed in the study, and summarised above, are these five assumptions valid, or not?

Assumptions 2 and 3 suggested that the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture is supported by a set of religious values and motives, and that these religious phenomena are/were expressed in the actions of relevant agents. The abstraction of the ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology in Chapters Six and Seven, reviewed above, provided strong support for these assumptions. Thatcherite writers have been shown to have developed explicitly religious defences of their political theories of enterprise, and to have expressed these in legislation and policy.

Assumption 5 went on to maintain that the theological validity of the theology can be tested, by examining its relationship to the tradition upon which it

draws, and by examining its internal consistency. Within Chapters 6,7, and 8, and especially within the present chapter, such analysis has been carried out. Furthermore, it has lead to the inescapable conclusion that Thatcherite Enterprise Theology is not only internally inconsistent, but is at a considerable remove from mainstream Christian teaching. Indeed, it was unfailingly discovered that the theology of the "Critical" School was much more cognate with the tradition and spirit of Christian teaching.

Assumption 1 stated that, following Weber, there pertains a functional relationship between the Spirit of Protestantism and the development of modern capitalism. Assumption 4 postulated that Thatcherite Enterprise Theology can be described as a development of the Weberian ideal type of Protestant Capitalism.

It has been clearly established that one particular strand of modern capitalist ideology / philosophy (the Thatcherite Enterprise Culture) has explicitly and extensively attempted to legitimate itself by the use of theology. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the British political party which chooses to advocate and defend free market and enterprise capitalism most strongly, is also that which invokes religion most frequently. What remains unclear is whether the adherence to capitalism stimulates this type of theology, or whether belief in a certain type of theology stimulates adherence to capitalism. Thus, while a *causal* relationship has not been established, a *functional* relationship can indeed be seen to obtain. Although the majority of Enterprise Theologians are Protestant, and typically Church of England, the massive divergence of their theological stance from that of the established Church itself suggests that it is perhaps misleading to continue to view such theology as representing a form of Protestantism. (The Catholicism of its leading light, Novak, should also be taken into account here.) Indeed, given their Soteriology of Enterprise, it is debatable as to whether such theology can any longer be termed Christian.

The aim of the present work was to identify Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, and examine it for historical and logical legitimacy. The task of identifying this theology was undertaken utilising a Weberian methodology, which resulted in the construction of an individual ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology, which was then subjected to extensive analysis.

It was postulated that by testing the above assumptions, a valid conclusion could be drawn as to the ideal type's historicity and logic. This has indeed be demonstrated to be the case. The testing of the above assumptions, drawing on the evidence collected throughout the study, has enabled the following conclusion to be drawn, and to be drawn most clearly:

The ideal type of Thatcherite Enterprise Theology developed in this work cannot withstand historical/theological or logical examination. It is riddled with internal inconsistencies, both political and theological. Its tenets and defences are at odds with the bulk of the tradition of Western Theology, and especially with the core of Christian doctrine, to be found in Scriptural and Patristic work. Most importantly of all, it develops a theology of enterprise which does away with Christology entirely, and replaces the message of the gospels with a belief in entrepreneurship as the route to salvation. Not only is this theology not consistent with itself or with the majority of the tradition, it is, in places, demonstrably and surprisingly, not Christian. The modern inheritors of the Christian tradition have, rather, been found to be the Critics of the Enterprise Culture.

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