

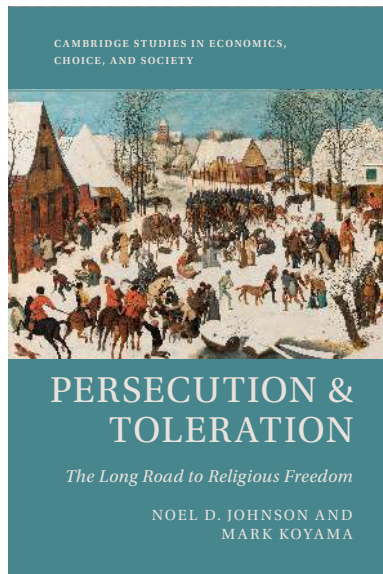
Persecution & Toleration: The Long Road to Religious Freedom

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George Mason, PPE Seminar, Spring 2019

FOUR QUESTIONS

- 1 Why was religious compulsion so prevalent in premodern societies?
- 2 When did the notion that religious freedom was desirable emerge?
- 3 What was responsible for this transformation?
- 4 What were the economic consequences of this transformation?



STRUCTURE

- 1 Toleration, Persecution, & State Capacity
- 2 Religion & the State in the Premodern World
- 3 Why do States Persecute?
- 4 Jewish Communities, Conditional Toleration, & Rent-Seeking
- 5 Climatic Shocks and Persecutions
- 6 The Shock of the Black Death
- 7 State Building and the Reformation
- 8 The Inquisition and the Establishment of Religious Homogeneity in Spain
- 9 From Confessionalization to Toleration and then to Religious Liberty
- 10 From Persecution to Emancipation.
- 11 The Persecution of Witchcraft
- 12 Religious Minorities and Economic Growth
- 13 The Emergence of Modern States, Religious Freedom, and Modern Economic Growth
- 14 Applying Our Argument to the Rest of the World
- 15 Modern States, Liberalism, and Religious Freedom
- 16 Conclusions

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IS A RECENT INNOVATION

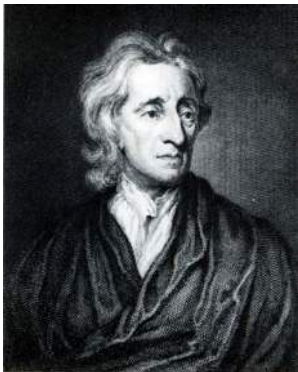
- England

- 1778: Catholics allowed to inherit land
- 1828: Test Acts repealed
- 1856: Catholics can attend Oxford and Cambridge
- 1858: Jews allowed to sit in Parliament

- France

- 1787: Edict of Toleration
- 1791: Protestantism recognized
- 1825 : Anti-Sacrilege Act
- 1905: Separation of the Churches and the State

WHY DID LOCKE AND BAYLE BECOME HEROES OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM?



Locke (1632-1704) proposed full toleration for Protestants but not for Catholics or Atheists.



Bayle (1647-1706) was an influential advocate of religious freedom. He also argued for excluding Catholics from toleration.

WHY NOT SYMMACHUS, VLADIMIRI, OR CASTELLIO?



Paulus Vladimiri (1370-1435) delivered a treatise at the Council of Constance (1414) arguing that Christian and Pagan nations could co-exist in peace.



Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563) preacher and theologian; and one of the first Reformed Christian proponents of religious toleration.

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Answer: The institutional environment was incompatible with religious freedom.

THREE FACTS ABOUT MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS...

- 1 Religion was important for legitimizing many forms of social organization
- 2 Identity rules were pervasive
- 3 There was low state capacity

RELIGIOUS LEGITIMACY MATTERED AT A MACRO-LEVEL



Figure: Coronation of Charlemagne in 800 AD Unknown artist.

WHEN THE PACT BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE FAILED, THERE WERE CONSEQUENCES

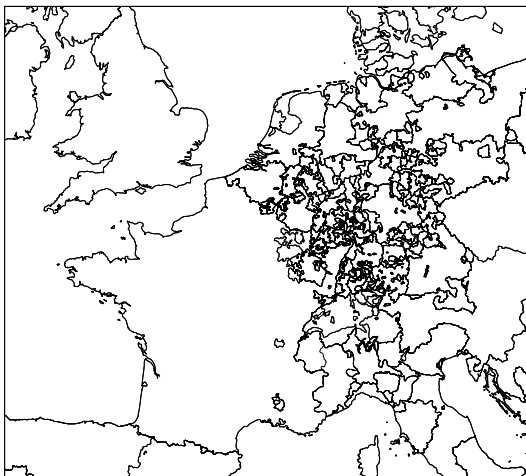


Figure: Holy Roman Empire c.a. 1600.

RELIGIOUS LEGITIMACY ALSO MATTERED AT THE MICROLEVEL

The Tailors of Norwich charged one-half pound of wax to anyone refusing the office of alderman, paid eight pence to the sexton and the keepers and lighters of candles during the religious services, paid four pence to the clerk who organized the annual meetings . . . (T. Smith 1870: 36).

- Richardson and McBride (2009) describe how craft guilds combined material and religious rewards and sanctions to enforce cooperation.
- Religious sanctions depended on members of the guild having a common religious identity. Thus, these were *identity rules*.
- Outsiders (Jews, heretics, aliens i.e. non-residents of the city, women) were excluded.

THERE WAS LOW STATE CAPACITY

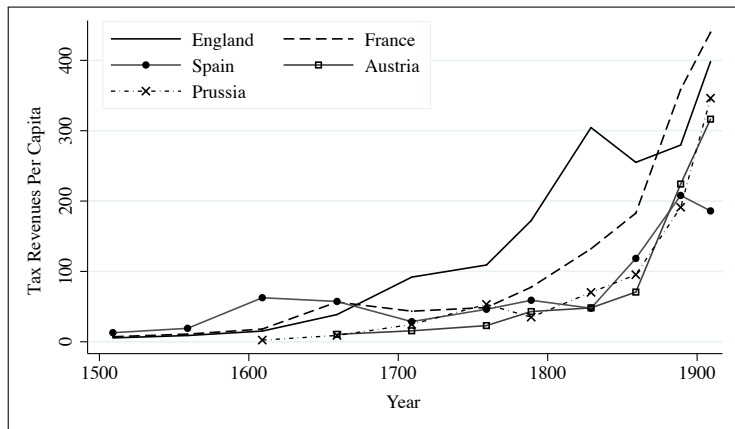


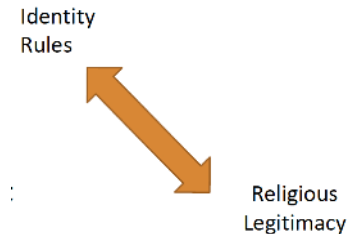
Figure: Tax revenues in relation to unskilled wages for Austria, the Dutch Republic, England, France, Prussia, and Spain between 1500 and 1800. Source: (Karaman and Pamuk, 2013).

IDENTITY RULES AND LOW STATE CAPACITY REINFORCED EACH OTHER



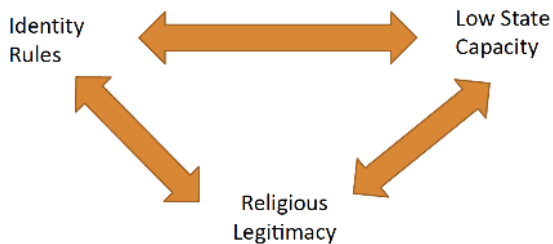
- Identity rules are cheap.
- But reliance on identity rules reduces incentive to invest in state capacity.

IDENTITY RULES AND RELIANCE ON RELIGIOUS LEGITIMACY REINFORCED EACH OTHER

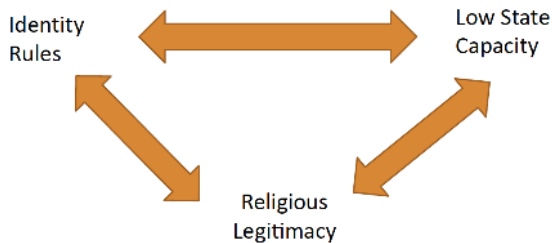


- Religious identity was the most salient identity.
- Prominence of religion strengthen the legitimizing power of religious authorities.

THE CONDITIONAL TOLERATION EQUILIBRIUM

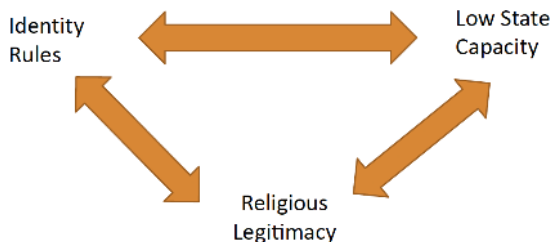


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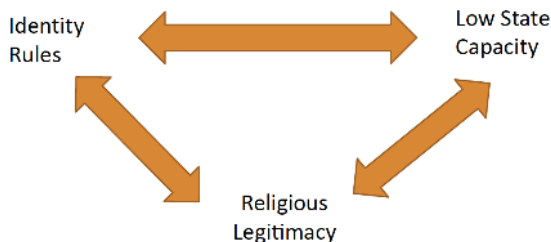
- Religious minorities in precarious position and subject to violence.

THE CONDITIONAL TOLERATION EQUILIBRIUM



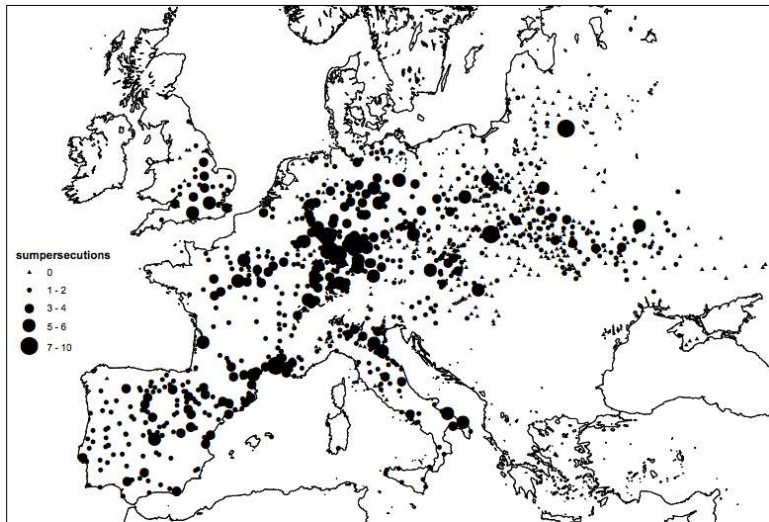
- Religious minorities in precarious position and subject to violence.
- Breakdown due to (a) increases in state capacity due to military revolution; (b) increases in religious heterogeneity due to Reformation.

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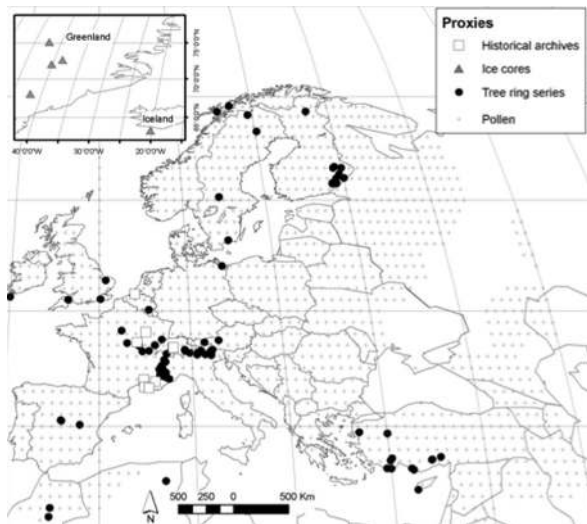
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- Breakdown due to (a) increases in state capacity due to military revolution; (b) increases in religious heterogeneity due to Reformation.
- Adoption of *General Rules* created economic benefits.

CONDITIONAL TOLERATION AND JEWISH PERSECUTION



Symbols are a Jewish city. Circles are Jewish cities with at least one persecution. Larger circles indicate more persecutions. Triangles are Jewish cities with no persecutions. Source: ?.

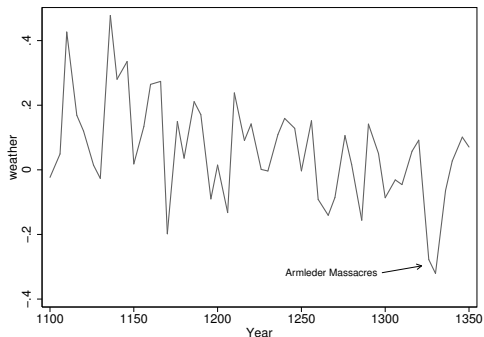
TEMPERATURE PROXIES



CITY-LEVEL PERSECUTIONS



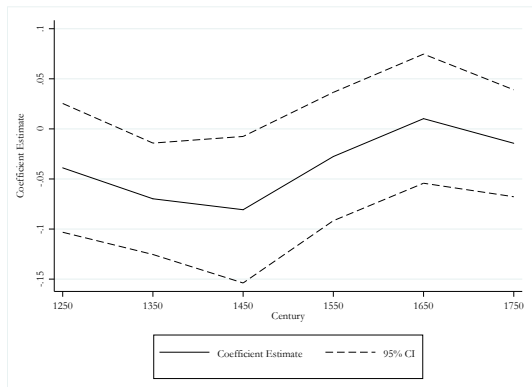
Tomb of Arnold von Uissigheim in parish church of St. Laurentius in Uissigheim. Knight turned highway robber who instigated an 'economically motivated social uprising' that turned against the Jews (? , 188) destroying more than 100 Jewish communities (? , 55-57).



Temperature Deviations (Five-Year Averages) in Kitzingen 1100-1350. The Armlerder pogroms (1336-1338) followed a period of extremely cold weather in Alsace and Franconia.

WHY DID THE RELATIONSHIP WEAKEN BY 1600?

- The Reformation? **Possibly.**
- The Enlightenment? **Too late.**
- Fewer temperature shocks? **No.**
- More integrated markets? **Yes.**
- More powerful states capable of protecting minorities and less reliant on Jewish moneylending? **Yes.**



Baseline persecution probability is about 2%. SD in temperature variation is about 1/3.

AN EXAMPLE OF EARLY MODERN CENSORSHIP



AN EXAMPLE OF EARLY MODERN CENSORSHIP



- Images associated with Habsburg family in particular, were present in painting. E.g. face of Duke of Alba, red coated soldiers, and the standard with 5 gold crosses on white background.

WHY WAS THE PAINTING SANITIZED?

- 1565 Phillip II reasserts the death penalty in Spanish Netherlands. Duke of Alba leads 10,000 Spanish troops to suppress Dutch revolt and restore Catholicism.
- 1577 Painting is with Rudolf II, a Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary and Croatia, King of Bohemia, and Archduke of Austria. He orders the painting “sanitized”.
- This is after Peace of Augsburg (1555) and *Cuius regio, eius religio* (“whose realm, his religion”).
- Rudolf attempted to maintain this peace (e.g. with Letter of Majesty (1609)), but ultimately was deposed.



Rudolf II

THE REFORMATION AND CONDITIONAL TOLERATION

Before 16th century

- European states crushed heretical movements where possible (e.g. Cathars in 13th c., Lollards in 15th c.).
- They enforced religious conformity as part of a *quid pro quo* with the Church.

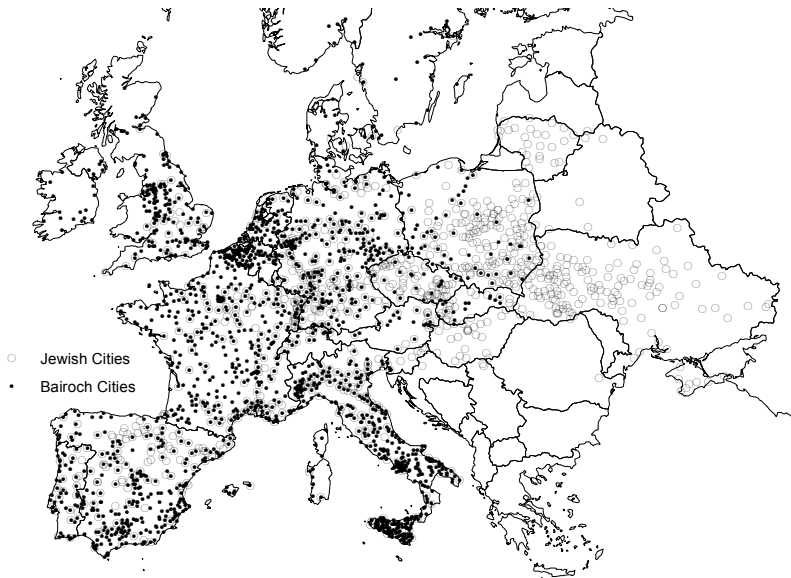
After 16th century

- Technology like the printing press made the spread of Protestantism impossible to contain.
- The Reformation undermined identity rules. More religious sects which were more strictly adhered to (confessionalization).

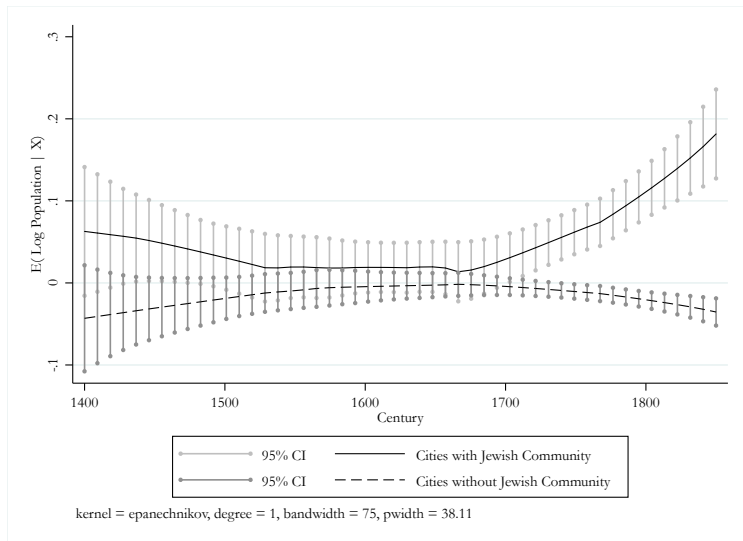
The Effect of the Reformation *interacted* with state capacity

- In high capacity states, intense persecution was extremely destabilizing and was rapidly contained (in Germany after 1555, in France after 1560, in England after 1558, in Dutch Republic after 1575). More general rules were adopted in the wake of these persecutions—identity rules were increasingly abandoned. [▶ French Example](#)
- In low capacity states like Poland, Transylvania or in states that largely escaped the effects of the Reformation (Spain, Portugal, Italy) there was no period of intense persecution. There was also no strong incentive to abandon identity rules.

GENERAL RULES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: JEWISH CITIES AND BAIROCH CITIES, 1400-1850



JEWISH VS. NON-JEWISH CITY GROWTH, 1400–1850



This uses the Extended Sample and Conditions out all fixed effects and controls.

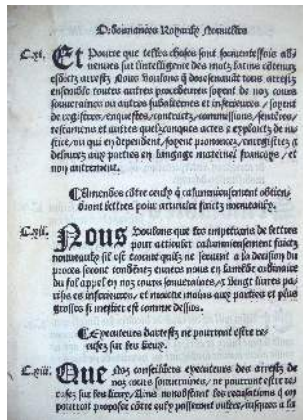
CONCLUSION: IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

- The rise of liberal states and societies required self-reinforcing institutional change.
- Increases in state capacity made these institutional changes self-reinforcing.
- Three phases:
 - Conditional Toleration (pre-1500)
 - Breakdown of Conditional Toleration (states build capacity and the Reformation)
 - Generalized Tolerance (religious liberty)
- More generally, the move from conditional toleration towards religious liberty was also the move from identity rules to general rules—and this was vital for economic development.
- There is nothing in our story suggesting this process was ineluctable. Some states went the other way as they attempted to build capacity (e.g. Spain in 1492). However, the process of state building was an important, perhaps necessary, part of the path towards religious freedom in the West.

LEGAL CENTRALIZATION AND HERESY TRIALS

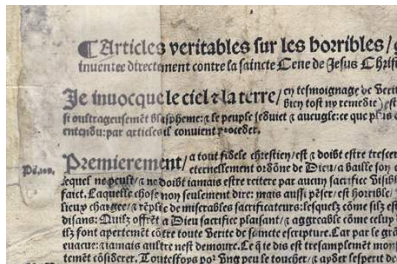


Francis I. Ruled from 1515 to 1547.



The Edict of Villers Cotterets (1539). Mandated the use of French in all legal documents, marriages be recorded, use of Roman Canon Law. Followed by other Edicts defining fiscal and legal system.

THE STATE CONFRONTS PROTESTANTISM



A placard denouncing the Catholic church. Appeared throughout Paris and other cities (and on the King's bedroom door) on the night of October 17, 1534.



Francis I takes part in a reparation ceremony in the center of Paris in the aftermath of the Placards Affair (1534).

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE AFTER EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU (1540)

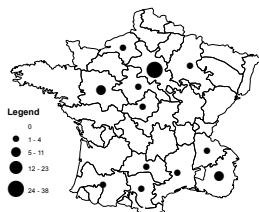


Figure: 1523 – 1539

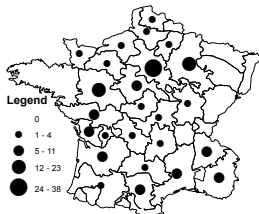


Figure: 1540 – 1549

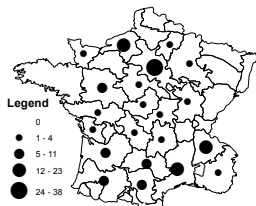


Figure: 1550 – 1560

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE AFTER EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU (1540)

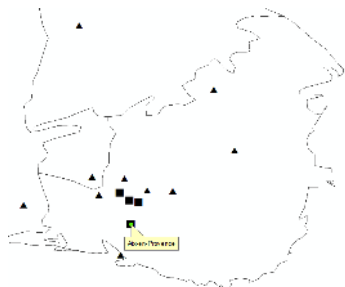


Figure: Distance of heresy executions from high court in Provence located at Aix-en-Provence. Squares represent executions before 1540. Triangles represent executions after 1540. Multiple executions may be represented by one symbol.

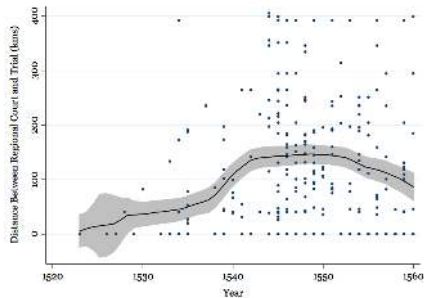


Figure: Distance of trials from regional Parliament, 1520 – 1560. Each dot represents a trial. Plotted line is a kernel weighted local polynomial regression of distance of trial on year (bandwidth = 2). 95% confidence interval shown.

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