

Persecution and Toleration: The Long Road to Religious Freedom

I. Preface

- A. Religious freedom is crucial to liberalism.
- B. Goal of book is to understand the origins of religious freedom in the West.
- C. At best, before liberalism, was conditional toleration.
- D. These created a self-reinforcing equilibrium
- E. The 1500s undermined this equilibrium
- F. Arguments have relevance beyond the historical setting.

I. Acknowledgements

- A. Thanks to a bunch of people.

1. Toleration, Persecution, and State Capacity

1. Introduction

1. Three Myths about Religious Persecution (1-6)

- a) Myth 1: Religious Violence was ubiquitous in medieval and early modern Europe.
 - (1) perpetrated by pop culture.
 - (2) religious violence was usually motivated by politics not religion.
 - (3) the Spanish Inquisition actually rarely killed
 - (4) conditional toleration segmented religious groups into legal spheres
- b) Myth 2: Religious Freedom was from philosophy
 - (1) Locke Spinoza Pierre Bayle
 - (2) Others argued for it before, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus quote on stars
- c) Myth 3: The State did most of the persecution.
 - (1) local and religious leaders also did so
 - (2) The state was mostly out of the way of people.
- d) Their novel account:
 - (1) identity rules: rules based on social identity.
 - (2) Impersonal Rules: apply to all equally.
 - (3) the rise of modern states allowed for general rules to be applied.
 - (4) How the rule of law first developed
 - (a) When states granted law-making power to local elites, identity rules reigned.
 - (5) North, Wallis, Weingast 2009
 - (6) Acemoglu and Robinson 2012
 - (7) State-building is important
- e) **Three claims of the book:**
 - (1) **Chapter 2-6: Rulers used religion to legitimize themselves. Church strong. State weak. Religious legitimization. Identity rules.**

(2) Chapters 7-9: Taxes up. Identity rule tension. Black Death. Reformation. More persecution.

(3) Chapters 10 and 11: States abandoned identity rules as religious legitimation was now unsalvageable.

- f) The rest of the book is the consequences of this transformation.
- g) Counterfactuals discussion.
 - (1) They use a proxy of climate data for agricultural data.
 - h) Correlation between Jewish community and economic growth.
- 2. Identity Rules and Their Removal: Jewish Communities in Central Europe (6-8)
 - a) In Frankfurt after 1462 all Jews were on Judensgasse.
 - (1) subject to regulations
 - b) They did have some freedom:
 - (1) religious and secular leader
 - (2) Hochmeister and Baumeister
 - c) This is a cluster of identity rules.
 - d) Conditional toleration was an equilibrium.
 - e) disappears by late nineteenth century.
 - f) Joseph II of Austria Edict of Toleration
 - (1) loosened regulations on Jews but they had to learn German.
 - (2) Jews did not necessarily like this.
 - (a) The government treated them equally but rabbinical courts lost power and so did Jewish marriage law.
 - (3) changed monopoly laws around Jews.
 - g) Toleration was originally done by autocrats, but liberals picked it up later.
- 3. Conditional Toleration versus Religious Liberty (9-12)
 - a) Tolerance in Latin means to bear.
 - b) It was unpleasant but practical.
 - c) Conditional Toleration was to groups.
 - (1) An individual Jew could be banished from within the Jews still not freedom.
 - d) The questions of where religious liberty applies is continuously revisited.
 - (1) Hijabs, public schools, etc. We have never “achieved” since it is conditionally based. Something will always come into conflict with it.
 - e) **conditional toleration in the middle East**
 - (1) Ottoman Empire: dhimmi’s millet system.**
 - (2) footnote 14**
 - f) Spain Jewish *aljamas*: they condemn a boy to death but the Christians carry out the sentence.
 - g) How did things change?
- 2. The Rise of Modern States and the Birth of Religious Liberty
 - 1. Modern states impose general rules and collect taxes in a territory.

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- a) They have fiscal and administrative capacity.
 - (1) Fiscal is ability to raise revenue.
 - (a) taxes are made or bought.
 - (i) made means investing in a tax apparatus that collects taxes directly
 - (ii) Bought means that they pay individuals to raise some amount usually local lords. they are payed in discretion.
 - (2) Administrative is the ability to enforce rules consistently.
 2. Political authority rests on legitimacy.
 - a) Today states gain legitimacy from democracy and nationalism.
 - b) Sans legitimacy there is only violence.
 3. Pre-modern legitimacy was mostly religious.
 - a) This made individuals comply with taxes without public goods.
 - b) MS: Is defense a public good here? Not so much I guess.
 4. The Rise of the Modern State (13-15)
 - a) After 1500 state capacity grew a lot.
 - b) Absolutism as political ideology.
 - c) FIGURE 1.1: Tax-Capacity of states.
 - d) New taxes hurt economic growth less than previous ones. ??
 - e) Administrative capacity also grew.
3. A Conceptual Framework
 1. Political and religious institutions matter to economic behavior.
 2. North Institutions as rules.
 3. However endogenous institutional change is a real question.
 4. Greif and Laitin (2004) provides a self-reinforcing equilibrium idea of institutional change.
 - a) either self-enforcing or self-undermining.
 5. Conditional toleration is a self-enforcing equilibrium.
 - a) weak states are relying on identity rules.
 - b) vicious cycle. As they become more reliant on identity rules they are less likely to invest in fiscal and legal institutions that increase state capacity. Then they cannot jump to general rules FIGURE 1.2.
 - c) Frankfurt granted certain monopoly rights to Jews to gain revenue and autonomy to govern themselves.
 - d) The Jews gave back in taxes and social stability.
 6. Persecution occurred occasionally
 - a) Because of either
 - (1) legitimacy issues
 - (2) short-run need to extract more taxes from Jews.
 7. As state capacity rose the vicious cycle was broken and identity rules decline.
 - a) Need for capacity to increase to fund warfare caused investment in fiscal and legal institutions.

- (1) Cannons stuff.
- b) standardization of laws, more general rules
- c) Also, the increasing heterogeneity of populations made identity rules start to weaken.
8. The Reformation solidified the heterogeneity and persecution became too expensive.
9. State Capacity increased territory sizes and heterogeneity weakening identity rules.
 - a) Toleration required a strong state.
10. the Enlightenment gained traction because the political environment had changed.
11. The rise of centralized states meant that general rules were more efficient, the differential treatment was more cumbersome and inefficient.

Part I: Conditional Toleration

2. Religion and the State in the Premodern World
 1. Religious Legitimacy and the State
 1. Alexander and Pirate are the same.
 2. A legitimate government is one that is perceived to be so by the people.
 3. Religion was the original source of legitimation.
 4. This practice descended to Chirtianity
 5. Khalifat means deputy of God.
 6. Rodney Stark and Larry Iannacone
 - a) Stark: Religion puts rewards in the future.
 - (1) Religion as exchange.
 7. Credence goods are goods whose quality cannot be discerned before purchase.
 8. Ekelund and Tollison say that religion is a meta-credence good.
 9. Religions die if they aren't backed up by social settings.
 10. Big Gods are supernatural punishers.
 11. the scale of claims made on behalf of Gods changed as societies developed.
 - a) God's facilitate credible commitment.
 - b) Repeated play also does this (Greif)
 12. Religious Beliefs overcome the problem of interacting with outside communities in the absence of a third-party.
 - a) **MS: is this true? What about religion calling people to invade one another? Can't religion segment groups as well?**
 13. Free thinkers seen as free riders.
 14. Islam
 - a) Pre-Islamic Equilibrium was violent.
 - b) Islam offered redistributive principles that aligned raiding poor with trading rich areas and increased overall trade.
 15. Also demonization of others comes in religion.

2. A Simple Model of Church and State
 - a) Models are like maps, false and indirect, but with truth.
 - b) Variables for their model:
 - (1) Endogenous
 - (a) decisions of secular rulers and religious authorities.
 - (2) Exogenous
 - (a) Commercial Revolution
 - (b) Black Death
 - (c) the Reformation
 - (d) The Military Revolution
 - (3) Two components to the model:
 - (a) the legitimation problem of the ruler.
 - (b) the decision to employ identity or general rules
2. Legitimation by Religious Authority
 - a) Religious leaders legitimate or don't legitimate
 - (1) If a law is legitimated it has a much lower cost to enforcement.
 - (2) They can ask for an exchange with the ruler to legitimate things.
 - b) Monotheistic religions could trade legitimacy for religious enforcement.
 - c) Priests could also serve public functions: welfare, healthcare, bureaucracy.
 - d) Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne in 800.
 - e) Germanic tribes were somewhat democratic.
 - f) Napoleon however, crowned himself.
3. Identity Rules or General Rules?
 - a) As populations increase, so do general rules.
 - b) Medieval society had three classes
 - (1) workers - peasants
 - (2) fighters - aristocracy
 - (3) prayers - clergy
 - c) clergy made the rules and put themselves on top.
 - (1) created rents
 - d) No General Rules in early societies as they were costly to enforce.
 - (1) No Police force until late nineteenth century**
 - (2) John Hasnas is wrong**
 - e) General rules prevent rents.
4. Identity Rules and Religious Legitimacy
 - a) Religious legitimacy and identity rules complemented each other
 - (1) Legitimacy was granted in exchange for rule enforcement.
 - b) More powerful leaders don't need legitimacy but they can enforce general rules.
 - (1) These states need a new source of legitimacy.
 - c) Relative strengths matter between authorities.
 - d) *Assumption 1: Religious Conformity and Religious Legitimacy*

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- (1) Religious authorities want conformity
 - (2) Secular authorities want legitimacy.
 - (3) Implication 1: If a weak ruler cannot offer much conformity, they will grant land and resources to religious authority.
 - (a) Early Medieval Period
 - (4) Implication 2: A strong ruler can offer conformity and purchase legitimacy.
 - (5) Religious conformity was seen as necessary for the following of the truth and the cohesion of society.
 - (6) Romans were only worried about Jews and Christians as they denounced other religions.
 - (7) Monotheism made conformity attractive to people.
 - (a) Religious division is religious disorder.
 - e) *Assumption 2: Costs and Benefits of Persecution*
 - (1) $MB > MC$ of persecution.
 - (a) Jews had a high MC as they provided valuable banking services
 - (2) Implication 3: Heterogeneity
 - (a) As heterogeneity increases, MC increases.
 - (b) Persecution occurs with middling rates of heterogeneity.
 - f) *Assumption 3: Declining Need for Legitimacy*
 - (1) As secular authorities become stronger, legitimacy is no longer needed.
 - (2) Implication 4: As states need less legitimation, they will enforce conformity less. State building should have an increase then a decrease of persecution.
 - g) *Assumption 4: Identity Rules*
 - (1) Weak states must use Identity Rules to govern.
 - (2) Implication 5: A society that relies on religion for legitimacy uses identity rules.
 - (3) As secular authorities rely less on religion they will use less identity rules.
3. Applying the Model: The Medieval Equilibrium
 - a) The emperor was a cult and his own legitimator in the roman empire.
 - b) They persecuted Christians in the third century
 - c) Odin and Thor legitimated.
 2. The Fall of Rome and the Decline of the State
 - a) The Roman Empire was very strong.
 - (1) supported army with land taxes.
 - (2) Facilitated trade
 - b) Fell around 400 and trade declines
 - (1) Farmers resorted to more mixed and less productive agriculture.
 - c) Tax system faltered.

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3. Identity Rules and European Feudalism
 - a) Rome had more general rules.
 - b) distinction in later Rome between honestiores and humiliores
 - (1) deserve respect and don't
 - c) Jews lost rights at the Fall
 - d) Merovingians (Franks from Clovis) used identity rules on all of the different groups.
 - e) Justice was accusatory
 - f) Carolingian Empire of Charlemagne rises and falls causing more fragmentation
 - g) Strayer defines feudalism ???
 - h) The Church provides order absent the state.
 - (1) not so much an age of faith, but any conception without the supernatural was alien to them.
 - i) pagan ideas to Christian ones.
 - (1) cult of saints
 - (2) local beliefs differed.
4. The Absence of Heresy Trials
 - a) Heresy could only be charged by bishops.
 - b) Urban centers breed dissent
 - (1) less urban less dissent
 - (2) heretics were self-defined and self-proclaimed.
4. The Absence of Persecution Does Not Imply Religious Freedom
 1. Early Christianity did not want to force conformity.
 2. Augustine on Donatists
 3. Without Rome the Church had to convert by persuasion not force.
 4. Heresy was condemned but not prosecuted.
 5. Hail and Thunder: Agobard of Lyon
 6. When political authority is weak there is little persecution.
 7. These weak states in the Early Medieval Period granted land and such to the Church in exchange for legitimacy
 - a) 30% of continental Europe was owned by the Church.
5. Chapter Summary
 1. There was little persecution in the EMA
 - a) weak states, no conformity enforcement
 - b) illiterate population, heresy was strangely common
 - c) little commerce so religions were actually highly heterogeneous.
 2. Conditional toleration equilibrium in this period.
3. Why do States Persecute?
 - a) Religious and social protest were linked.
 - b) de heretico comburendo 1401 first heretic executed in England.
 - (1) Wycliffe follower
 - c) John 15:6 so was burned alive

Table 3.1: *Brief Chronology of medieval heresy*

Year	Event
1028	First heresy executions in Europe since the fall of Rome
1166	Assize of Oxford. First edict of a secular monarch against heresy.
1184	Papal Bull of <i>Ad abolendam</i> . Introduction of inquisitorial procedure against heresy.
1184	Waldensians condemned as heretics.
1209	Beginning of Albigensian Crusade
1215	Fourth Lateran Council
1229	Treaty of Meaux-Paris ends Albigensian Crusade, Languedoc incorporated into France
1231	The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II imposes death sentence for heresy.
1233	Appointment of Inquisitors of Toulouse
1244	Capture of Montsegur. Over 200 heretics burnt.
1244-45	Inquisition of Bernard de Caux in the diocese of Toulouse
1307-14	Trial of the Templars
1401	<i>De heretico comburendo</i> passed in England. William Sawtrey executed

- d) Two important implications in the evolution of religious freedom.
 - (1) The state became involved in enforcing conformity.
 - (2) They also spherified people when persecution was costly.
- 2. The Commercial Revolution, Religion, and Identity Rules
 - a) population, trade and income boomed between 1000 and 1300
 - b) Temperature warmed and agriculture improved.
 - c) Increase in urbanization **Figure 3.2**

- (1) particularly Low Countries and Italy
 - d) New commercial centers in Italian cities
- 2. The Role of Religion in Enforcing Identity Norms
 - a) Literacy rates went up.
 - b) Indulgence industry rises so rents can be captured
 - c) Priests provided administrative duties such as tax-collecting
- 3. Guilds and Identity Rules
 - a) Guilds enforced long-distance contracts and facilitated trade.
 - b) Guilds were built upon the worship of certain saints and such and they would mandate church attendance and regulate the members
 - c) Guilds excluded Jews and other minorities
 - (1) This meant social and economic exclusion.
 - d) They enforced contracts but in exchange for monopoly rents and and exclusion.
- 3. Rise of the Medieval State and the Persecuting Society
 - a) lower raids and higher population allowed for new states to arise.
 - b) Kingship based on fixed territory.
 - c) did Statebuilding lead to demand for legitimation and the payment for legit. in persecution?
- 2. France and the Rise of Theocratic Monarchy
 - a) Phillip Augustus unified France from Henry II's Angevin Empire
 - b) French kings legitimized with religion claiming the territories of Clovis
 - c) Louis IX solidified the religious character of the French monarch
 - (1) rex Christianissimus most Christian king.
 - d) To injure France or the French King was to injure Christ or the Church.
- 3. The Crusade against Heretics
 - a) Languedoc had heterogeneity.
 - (1) weak urban states
 - (a) Count of Toulouse
 - (2) weak Church North had Cathedrals
 - (3) had dissenting beliefs called the Cathar Heresy which were Gnostic and Orthodoxish that the devil made the world not God.
 - (4) and that Christ was not flesh
 - b) The Pope Innocent III wanted to deal with this.
 - (1) called for a Crusade in 1209
 - c) Albigensian Crusade
 - (1) monk Peter of Lex Vaux-de-Cernay reports Miracles for the North
 - (2) Carcassone
 - (3) The South were branded heretics even if their beliefs were not known.
 - (4) Brutal war of conquest
 - d) Consistent with framework

- (1) Languedoc had weak politics and religious heterogeneity.
 - (2) provided justification for intervention by strong state of the north and legitimacy was given from Church
 - (3) MS: How much did the people demand legitimacy anyways?**
- e) Francis was also a heretic of sorts.
- f) The Waldensians in Southeast France were not suppressed
- g) Sisyphean state-building
4. The Holy Roman Empire and the Investiture Crisis
 - a) Germany was far more fragmented than England or France
 - b) Investiture Controversy breaks down tie between secular and religious authority
 - c) Celibacy, Simony, and bishop Election were points of contention over local church control by seculars or popes.
 - d) Pope Leo IX held a meeting to clarify doctrine called the Lateran Synod.
 - (1) condemns simony and promotes celibacy
 - (2) made accusations
 - e) Henry IV crowned HRE at six by Gregory VII
 - (1) deals with Saxon rebellions as he is a young boy
 - f) Gregory VII called on congregations to boycott simoniac services
 - g) After Henry IV invested some Bishops personally Greg excommunicates him.
 - (1) all of his vassals are released from obligation.
 - (2) Henry IV begs Greg in the snow.
 - (3) He goes back to his old ways, and advances a new pope.
 - h) INSTABILITY IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
 - (1) Concordat of Worms solves it *whew*.
 - (a) seculars choose bishops now hah
 - i) Germany had it worse than France or England in terms of persecution.
5. England and the Repression of the Lollards
 - a) England was somewhat disconnected from the pope.
 - (1) They did not torture the Templars.
 - b) Henry IV took over from Richard II so he needed legitimacy.
 - (1) He killed Richard II and the clergy hated him for it.
 - c) Wycliff thought that clergy could be taxed and distrusted Rome.
 - (1) doubted that the Church saved.
 - d) Henry IV executed some Franciscan friars to show his power.
 - (1) But he also killed Lollards such as William Sawtre in order to appease the clergy generally.
4. Chapter Summary: Persecutions and the Rise of States in Medieval Europe
 1. heterogeneity and weak states went together
 2. economic changes increased state power.
 3. Strong rulers need legitimacy. They trade compulsion for that power from the church.

4. Jewish Communities, Conditional Toleration, and Rent-Seeking
 - a) “the prohibition of usury thus became... the keystone of the political economy of the Middle Ages.” - Holdsworth (1903,101)
 - b) destruction of French Jewish schools.
 - c) two consequences of the religious secular alliance
 - (1) seculars persecuted religious minorities
 - (2) seculars segmented minorities with identity rules
2. Rent-Seeking and Conditional Toleration
 1. “Privileged” Outsiders in Early Medieval Europe
 - a) Doctrinal change in Judaism for mandatory male literacy.
 - (1) Those who couldn’t pay for literacy convert to Islam or Christianity.
 - b) Roman empire falls, opportunity cost of literacy rises.
 - (1) Judaism declines and becomes urban and specialized.
 - c) Charlemagne gave freedom to Jews.
 - d) Augustine supported this doctrine.
 - (1) complex position
 - e) Pope Innocent III tells Philip Augustus that Jews should be tolerated but not given power over Christians.
 - f) As legitimacy became more important so did the need to demonstrate piety.
 2. The Development of Medieval Antisemitism
 - a) little antisemitism in the EMA
 - b) The twelfth century spread myths about the Jews as enemies of Christ.
 - c) Jews and the State relationship changed
 - (1) prohibition of usury
 - (2) Jews were initially a protected class
 - (3) the Crusades raised antisemitism
 - (4) Seculars would sell enforcement of usury and then sell the monopoly rights to Jews.
 - (a) they could then tax the new merchant economy
 - (5) Jews already had a comparative advantage in moneylending
 - (6) monopoly rights led to Jewish moneylending, Jewish moneylending lowered the cost of exploiting Jews.
 3. The Usury Prohibition and the Creation of Monopoly Rents
 - a) Usury was looked very down on by Christians.
 - b) Prohibition of usury raised the cost of capital.
 - c) This acted as a tax on liquidity
 - d) The prohibition created monopoly rents.
3. Jewish Moneylending
 - a) Jews could lend to foreigners Deuteronomy 21
 - b) After 1200 the Third Lateran Council got strict on usury
 - c) disguised interest

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- d) all credit relationships were now uncertain
 - e) Secular enforcement had to happen
 - f) Complex relationship with church and Jewish lending
2. The Fiscal Compact
- a) Jews were an important revenue source
 - b) They began to be seen as a part of the lord's property as he protected them.
 - c) Fiscal sponges.
 - d) Vicious cycle of antisemitism. Antisemitism up, jews depend on protected moneylending, they charge high interest, ruler taxes profits away, more antisemitism due to high interest.
4. The Path to Expulsion in England
- a) Jews in England grew in the 1160s under Henry II as he banned Christian moneylenders.

Table 4.1 *Brief Chronology of England's Jewish community*

Year	Events
1066	Jews begin to settle in England following the Norman Conquest
1186	Death of Aaron of Lincoln. His estate is expropriated by Henry II.
1190	Massacre of the Jewish community in York.
1194	Establishment of the Exchequer of the Jewry by Richard I.
1211	King John assesses a tallage of £44,000.
1215	Magna Carta attempts to limit Jewish moneylending.
1240	Henry III begins to exploit Jewish moneylending on a large scale.
1241	Census of the wealth of the entire Jewish community conducted.
1244	A tallage of £40,000 assessed.
1258	Provisions of Oxford attempts to limit Henry III's authority.
1263-67	Second Baron's War. Jews massacred and debt registries destroyed.
1268, 1270, 1274	Parliament petitions for a ban on Jewish lending.
1275	Edward I phases out Jewish moneylending.
1290	Jews expelled out of England.

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- b) Many Lesser nobility relied on Jewish moneylending
- 2. The Exchequer of the Jewry
 - a) Jewish moneylenders are protected by the king and given a debt record.
 - b) A chest had to have 4 locks 2 Christian 2 Jew to contain debts
 - c) The king controlled moneylending
 - d) Tallage taxes were extreme
 - (1) discretionary by the king
 - e) Jews were a sponge that took the countries money through monopoly rents and the king took through taxes.
- 3. The Breakdown of Conditional Toleration in England
 - a) the barons disliked the Exchequer
 - (1) saw it as a tax
 - b) The jews had to sell their debt to avoid taxes and make money
 - c) Jews needed to call in loans early.
 - d) Simon de Montfort leader of the rebelling Baron's cancelled all Jews debts
 - e) Edward I switched the Exchequer out for the wool tax.
 - (1) becomes most important tax later
 - f) Edward expelled all Jews to destroy rumors that he would bring back the Exchequer of the Jewry.
- 5. Chapter Summary and the Road to Expulsion in France
 - a) When there were many French lords Jews were competed for
 - (1) payment for protection
 - b) Louis VII protected Jews
 - c) Phillip Augustus exploited Jews on threat of expulsion.
 - d) same fiscal exploitation system was established.
 - e) Phillip IV like Edward I expelled and exploited Jews by seizing their profits.
 - (1) this ruins long run-exploitation
 - (2) he expelled approx. 100,000 jews from France and made a lot of short-term money
 - f) Identity rules gave rents to Jews that the authorities could exploit without investing in state capacity
 - g) Also increased antisemitism and made their permanent placement more precarious
- 5. Climatic Shocks and Persecutions
 - a) Antisemitism reared it's head in conditional toleration mostly when conditions worsened.
 - b) The fourteenth century famines caused pogroms.
 - c) Weak states, plus subsistence farming causes persecution.
- 2. The Vulnerability of the Conditional Toleration Equilibrium
 - a) Weather was a protagonist in the production of crops.
 - b) Peasants lived near the carrying capacity

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- (1) made three loaves a day.
 - (2) landlords would extract this wealth.
 - c) After Jews expelled in 1306, peasants could no longer get loans on which they relied.
 - d) 1315: Loius X invites some Jews back for money.
 - (1) *Pastoureaux* rises up and attacks Jews because of bad harvest.
 - (2) They knew the taxes on Jews raised interest rates.
 - (3) The *Pastoureaux* were suppressed by the crown.
3. Temperature Shocks and Jewish Persecutions across Europe
- a) worse weather, worse agriculture, lower incomes, political unrest
 - b) causes surplus extraction to be needed, short term extraction from Jews
 - (1) they were wealthy and or seen to have caused the bad weather
 - c) Strong rulers can credibly commit to protecting Jews, weak ones can't
 - d) Low fiscal capacity in a state means that they must exploit jews in bad times
 - e) Arnold von Uissigheim and the Armleder Massacres
 - (1) these occurred in a very cold period

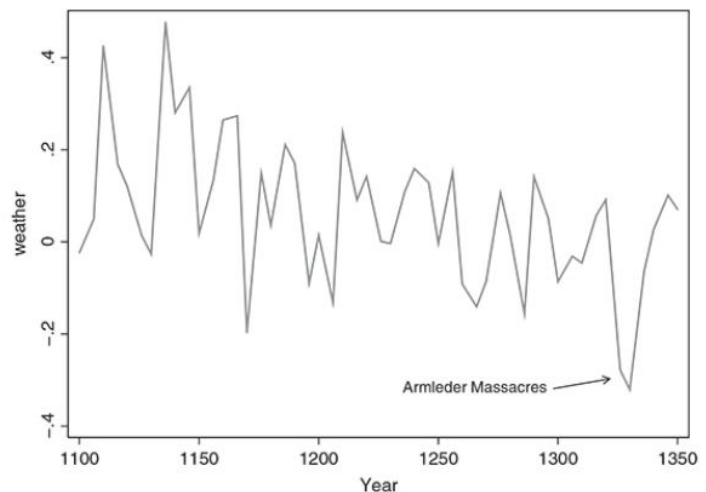


Figure 5.1 Temperature deviations (five-year averages) in Kitzingen 1100–1350. The Armleder pogroms (1336–1338) followed a period of extremely cold temperature in Alsace and Franconia. The y-axis measures average temperature deviation from 1961 to 1990 average. Source: [Anderson, Johnson, and Koyama \(2017\)](#).

- (2)
 - f) confounding variables?
 - g) This data is based on tree rings, pollen counts, ice core etc.
 - h) Used diff-in-diff
 - i) Section explaining diff-in-diff
2. The Baseline Relationship between Colder Weather and Persecution Probability.
- a) They find that a one degree decrease in average temperature in the five-year period leads to about a 3.2 percentage point increase in persecution probability.

3. Persecution Was More Likely in Weak States with Poor Endowments
 - a) Double baseline results in weaker soil conditions.
 - b) Weak political authority may be unable to enforce even identity rules.
4. Chapter Summary: Climate Shocks on the Conditional Toleration Equilibrium
 - a) Medieval political institutions were simply not robust enough to offer meaningful protection to Jews. The fiscal compact that underlined the condition toleration of Jews in Europe failed at the point at which it was most needed.
6. The Shock of the Black Death
 - a) Toulon Palm Sunday massacre in 1348
 - (1) part of wave of pogroms between 1348 and 1350
 - b) The Death was a turning point in European history
 - (1) 1348 and 1353 killed between 30 and 40% of the population.
 - c) Demographic shock resulted in scarcity of labor relative to capital, so wages increase dramatically.
 - d) Bishops tried to intercede.
 - e) Avignon papacy occurs
 - f) flagellants offered plague protection and the pope cracked down on them.
 - g) coincided with the 100 years War
 - h) craft guilds maintained order
2. The Black Death Pogroms
 - a) Worst premodern pogroms
 - b) Jews were accused for the Black Death
 - c) local elites enforce because they could take their wealth, or they owed them money, or for fun.
2. State Weakness in the Holy Roman Empire
 - a) Despite nominal overlordship since the Investiture Crisis, the real leaders were local lords, bishops etc.
 - b) These weak states were far more prone to expel or allow persecution of Jews.
 - c) New emperor Charles IV of a new dynasty.
3. Political Fragmentation and Antisemitic Violence
 - a) $MC > MB$ of investing in protection of Jews as ownership is contested since the Emperor cannot make good on his claim.
 - b) The popes denounced the well-poisoning libel but bishops still evoked it.
4. Fragmentation Increases Pogrom Intensity
 - a) Free Imperial Cities, bishoprics, and Archbishoprics are positively correlated with persecution intensity.
 - b) Many Jewish communities were permanent expelled from historical homes.
3. Black Death Pogroms across Europe
 - a) INVERSE relationship between Black Death and persecution.

- (1) in cities where Jews offered good services.
 - b) more likely where there was a legacy of antisemitism
- 4. The Argument Thus Far... A Summary of Part I
 - a) relationship between identity rules, state capacity, legitimacy via religion
 - b) These generated the medieval equilibrium
 - c) Legitimacy was more important as state capacity rose.
 - d) they began to buy legitimacy with enforcement
 - e) Arrangement with Jews
 - (1) fiscal ability for protection
 - (2) indirect taxation technology increases state capacity as well?
 - f) Thirteenth century is considered height by some Catholic Historians
 - g) Swept away by the Black Death
 - (1) weakened the Church
 - (2) Pope moves to Avignon and is controlled by the French
 - (3) Shocks to papal authority allowed people like Wycliffe

Part II: The Origins of Religious Freedom

- 7. State Building and the Reformation
 - a) Hard to identify effects of the Reformation.
 - (1) new world, printing press etc.
 - b) it did put pressure on the Conditional toleration equilibrium
 - (1) more expensive to ghetto Protestants
 - c) more violence
 - (1) political reform to general rules
 - d) England, France, and Netherlands started to adopt general toleration
 - (1) They were powerful and centralized
- 2. The Reformation
 - a) Most heresies were suppressed under the old equilibrium
 - b) There was unity not homogeneity
 - (1) many unique local practices but one authoritative church
 - c) the Reformation shatters this.
 - (1) corruption in the Church?
 - (2) Counterfactual if Luther was made pope? Novel: The Alteration
 - (3) Printing allowed the reformation
 - d) If a secular did not persecute protestants he would lose legitimacy.
 - (1) So will he?
- 3. State Building
 - a) Some secular princes Frederick III protected Luther from the pope and Charles V
 - b) Muntzer, Anabaptists, deny trinity
 - c) resulting Peasant War that was fought of by Protestant and Catholic Secular rulers

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- d) Gunpowder was significant to state-building
 - (1) requires little training.
 - (2) Can destroy defenses easily
 - (3) smaller states could not pay for new standing armies
 - (4) States had to invest in state capacity and fiscal capacity
 - e) differing effects of the Reformation depending on Military transformation.
 - (1) initially strong state strong persecution
 - (a) unsuccessful
 - (2) Separation of religious and political legitimation
 - (3) conformity was no longer as valuable to the rulers
4. The Reformation and Religious Persecution
- a) 1520-60 had many people die for religious reasons
 - b) destabilization
 - c) confessionalization: a new connection between religion and state
2. The Holy Roman Empire
- a) Protestant weak seculars could now legitimate through this new religion as the HRE could not really enforce anything.
 - b) Radicals and anabaptists challenged this new exchange and Prots and Caths persecuted them.
 - (1) siege of Munster
 - c) Calvin condemns Michael Servetus the non-trinitarian
 - (1) makes a theocracy in Geneva
 - d) 1555 Peace of Augsburg made peace with the HRE
 - (1) seculars became new establishers of orthodoxy
 - (2) This is an example of conditional toleration, but a new equilibrium.
3. The Persecution of Religious Dissent in England.
- a) Henry VIII receives title of Defender of the Catholic Faith
 - b) exploited reformation to make himself head of English Church.
 - (1) replaces advisors with Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer who were Protestants
 - c) Henry takes church lands and monastic incomes
 - d) continued to execute anabaptists
 - e) Under infant Edward VI, Anglican church moved toward calvin's geneva
 - f) Edward dies at 15 and Catholic Mary takes over reenacted a Catholic rule and executes 280 people
 - g) After 1558, england saw no large scale executions.
4. The Persecution of Protestants in France
- a) A few heretics killed in 1520s
 - b) Francois I saw protesants as a threat to his legitimacy
 - c) Affair of the Placards
 - d) They couldn't effectively cope with the influx of Protestants.

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- (1) some districts lenient others not
 - e) Edict of Villers coterets to enforce similar legal standards
 - (1) of Fontainebleau to give heresy prosecution to local authorities
 - f) heresy definition expands
 - g) Figure 7.2, 7.3, 7.4 executions after Fontainebleau
 - h) Wasn't enough to suppress Protestantism
 - (1) Henri II and the burning chamber
 - i) Foucault citation
 - (1) does this repress the people?
 - (2) it delegitimized the state to some degree or increased fervor.
 - j) persecution was a failed policy
5. Temporary Religious Toleration
- 1. The French Wars of Religion
 - a) Henri II dies in a joust and has ill son Francois II. Catherine de Medici becomes de facto queen

Table 7.1 *Brief chronology of the French Reformation*

Year	
1523	First heretic executed for "Lutherism" in France
1534	Affair of the Placards marks intensification of repression
1540	Edict of Fontainebleau; imposes secular and royal control over heresy trials
1547	Creation of the <i>Chambre Ardente</i> , a specialist court to sentence heretics
1560	Conspiracy of Amboise fails
1562	Edict of January promises toleration to Protestant
1562	Beginning of the French Wars of Religion

b)

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- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1572 | St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre |
| 1598 | Edict of Nantes issued. Protection of civil liberties and toleration for Protestants |
| 1685 | Revocation of the Edict of Nantes |
| 1724 onwards | Relaxation of the enforcement of the Edict of Nantes |
- c) 1787 Edict of Versailles grants toleration to non-Catholics
 - d) Conspiracy fo Amboise to kill Francois fails. Huguenot political party forms.
 - e) Edict of January allows protestantism behind closed doors
 - f) Duc de Guise, Catholic duke finds Huguenots praying in a barn.
 - (1) Hug. leader Louis de Bourbon declares Civil War
 - g) Charles IV succeeds
 - h) Edict of Amboise offered pardon for protestnats who reverted.
 - i) Married Louis de bourbon's son henri of navarre to king's sister
 - (1) protestant leader killed
 - (2) St. Bartholomew's day massacre 10,000 protestants die.
 - (a) many catholics killed in confusio
 - j) 1580s: three way war
 - (1) Henri III who succeeded Charles IV, henri duc de guise, and henri of navarre
 - (2) Henri of navarre adopts catholicism in 1593 and takes the throne.
 - k) henri of navarre (IV) issues edict of nantes similar to Peace of Augsburg
2. The Act of Uniformity in England
- a) Elizabeth uninterested in the window into people's souls.
 - b) Act of Uniformity of 1560 makes church attendance mandatory but beliefs unnecessary.
 - c) only non-trinitarians burned
 - d) Catholic priests hunted down.

Table 7.2 *Brief chronology of the English Reformation*

Year	
1523	Henry VIII awarded title “Defender of the Catholic Faith”
1533	Henry VIII marries Ann Boleyn
1534	Act of Supremacy makes Henry VIII head of the English Church
1536	Dissolution of the Monasteries
1549	Act of Uniformity
1550	Introduction of the Common Prayer Book

e)

1553 Accession of Mary I and abolition of Edward’s religious laws

1555 Burning of the Oxford Martyrs (Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer)

1558 Accession of Elizabeth I

1559 Act of Supremacy makes Elizabeth I head of Church of England

1586 Execution of Margaret Clitherow in York

1612 Last executions for heresy in English history

f)

g) Elizabeth’s long reign strengthened Anglicanism.

h) The new religious equilibrium was self-undermining

i) Confessionalization was going to kill itself

(1) by the other protestant sects, presbyterians, puritans etc.

j) James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England

(1) Scotland was mostly Calvinist presbyterian

k) The sale of church lands in England

(1) enriched middle class

(2) The anglican church could not raise money as it had no resources and could not grant the king legitimacy.

6. Religious Peace Elsewhere in Europe

1. The Low Countries

a) Weak habsburg legitimacy

b) William of Orange leads a protestant revolt and creates Dutch Republic

c) wants toleration but gets conditional toleration by pillar system

2. Poland: “A State without Stakes”

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- a) Little to no persecution
 - b) King did not need legitimacy so he did not enforce conformity.
 - c) In 1648, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a Ukrainian noble, led a revolt of Cossacks.
 - (1) Sweden invades and Russia annexes Ukraine.
 - (2) Cossacks kill the Jews
 - d) The resurgence of Swedish Lutherans caused more persecution
7. Chapter Summary: The Impact of the Reformation
- a) Luther agitated Peasants
 - b) legitimacy equilibrium was undermined.
 - c) states lacked capacity to any longer provide conformity.
 - d) conditional toleration was again attempted but it would fail as Protestants were too well organized relative to Jews.
 - e) The vicious cycle of low state capacity and identity rules begins to break down.
8. The Inquisition and the Establishment of Religious Homogeneity in Spain
- a) Targeted converted Jews
 - b) lots of heterogeneity in Spain
 - c) Identity as crusaders
 - d) Royal Inquisition independent of the pope in 1478
 - e) They never invested in fiscal or legal state capacity so they never advanced.
2. The Conversos “Problem”
1. Religious Diversity in Medieval Spain
- a) Convivencia in Spain was a Conditional Toleration equilibrium
 - b) Religion legitimated the Umayyad regime
 - c) the mutahsib enforced conformity to Sharia
 - d) Large Jewish population and there was still some massacres of Jews in Islamic Spain
 - e) Reconquista had three stages
 - (1) collapse of Caliphate of Cordoba in early eleventh century
 - (a) Northern Christians could take ground
 - (b) Berber Almohads took back cities
 - (c) made an intolerant Islamic narrative
 - (2) 1212 Castile Aragon and Navarre defeated the Berbers
 - (a) The North was dominated by Christian kingdoms
 - (i) relatively tolerant of Jews
 - (b) Toleration was necessary as the conquered territory was so heterogeneous
 - (c) gave land to the church and the church helped collect taxes
 - (d) Christians were nobles, churchmen and fighters
 - (i) Jews were craftsmen financiers and intellectuals

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- (a) Muslims were farmers and craftsmen
 - (e) This was at odds with the ability to develop religious legitimacy
 - (i) sectarian society
 - (3) rare antisemitic violence
 - (a) valuable financially
 - (b) pogroms accompanied the black death
 - (c) toleration was conditional
 - f) Forced conversions resulted in many conversos jews
 - (1) called maranos or swine
 - (2) many conversos didn't really convert
 - (a) maintained jewish ties
 - (3) some Jews wanted to convert more jews
2. The Establishment of the Inquisition in Spain
 - a) Unification of Aragon and Castile by Isabella and Ferdinand
 - b) ask the pope to start their own inquisition
 - (1) they got to control it
 - c) Was much more difficult to exel larger Jewish and Muslim minorities than France
 - d) killed many conversos
 - e) not disbanded but just slowed
 - f) would watch who ate pork or not
 - (1) would put ham and shellfish out to see who partook.
3. The Threat of the Reformation in Spain
 - a) 1529: Spanish Illuminists, first protestant threat
 - b) Lutheranism was generally considered an attack on the Church
 - c) Inquisition established prior to Reformation
 - d) Spain also had gold from New World
 - e) Isabella and Ferdinand's heir died young
 - f) Political fragmentation and low state capacity hurt standardization and public investments.
4. The Decline of Spain and the Continuation of the Inquisition
 - a) Spain successfully homogenized religion but failed to create political unity.
 - b) North 1981, 1990 attributes decline of Spain to political institutions
 - (1) guilds, property confiscation etc.
 - c) The fragmentation of Spain hurt the markets and it would have been helped by a stronger fiscal state.
 - d) Early Modern Spain had no general toleration
5. Chapter Summary: The Legacy of the Inquisition
 - a) Spain had earlier heterogeneity
 - b) Spain hostile to innovation

- c) Alternative history if Mary had an heir would be an Anglo-Iberian alliance.
9. From Confessionalization to Toleration and Then to Religious Liberty
 - a) 2nd Defenestration of Prague
 - b) Peace of Augsburg was on shaky grounds.
 - c) HRE has been weak since Investiture Crisis
 - d) These states saw religion AND economics as important
 - (1) Richelieu and Colbert
 2. The Breakdown of Conditional Toleration in the Holy Roman Empire
 1. The Thirty Years War
 - a) the Peace of Augsburg was a ticking time bomb.
 - b) Habsburg king Ferdinand II extended the Counter-Reformation into other states.
 - c) Dragged many other states into the fray: Sweden, Denmark, France, England, Austria
 - d) Millions of death
 - e) 1648: cuius regio, eius religio is cemented into legislation.
 2. The End of Conditional Toleration?
 - a) Protestant Prussia on the rise as HRE is no more.
 - b) sets the scene for transition away from conditional toleration.
 3. The Fall and Rise of Religious Toleration in France
 1. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes
 - a) E of N was controlled by the crown.
 - b) freedoms granted to huguenot elites were unacceptable to the monarchy in the long run
 - c) Richelieu hated protestants but wanted to tolerate as long as they obeyed the crown
 - (1) treated them as traitors not heretics
 - d) the Fronde Civil War
 - (1) Protestant supported the monarchy and Colbert
 - e) 1679-1685 Louis XIV attacks huguenots
 - (1) edict of Nantes revoked
 - f) 200,000 huguenots fled.
 - g) new convert distinction dropped
 - h) The Protestant minority REMAINED PRAiSE THE LORD
 - i) 1787 Edict of Toleration
 2. The French Revolution
 - a) full civic equality regardless of religion
 - b) 1814 some turnback with Napoleon
 4. The Emergence of a Modern State in England
 - a) English Civil War (1642-51)
 - b) legitimacy could not be built on the Anglican Church
 - c) Civil war caused the rise of the middle class via parliament

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- (1) Cromwell's regime had no legitimacy and fell
- d) Charles II was a crypto-Catholic
 - (1) Went hard on non-Anglican sects
 - (2) executed even Catholic Priests Titus Oates affair
 - (3) relied on a Royalist Parliament
 - (a) Why were they Royalists?
- 2. The Glorious Revolution
 - a) Openly Catholic successor James II
 - b) Both Anglican Royalists (Tories) and Parliamentary Whigs fought him
 - c) invite William of Orange over.
 - (1) Did they forget about Ireland?**
 - d) Further Anti-Catholic movement
 - e) Parliament North/Westgate credible commitment
 - (1) higher taxes bigger state modern state
 - (2) They no longer needed religious legitimacy but didn't have full toleration yet
 - (a) on the road perhaps?
 - f) Catholic Acadia annexed and conformity fails
 - g) Anglican Church in slow power decline.
 - (1) by Smith and Hume it became a byword for Religious laxity
 - h) Toleration act correlated with atheism
 - i) Comparatively tolerant to other countries
- 5. Chapter Summary: The Rise of the State and the Abandonment of Religious Regulation
 - a) Toleration is not correlated with reduced animosity
 - b) toleration in England was quite messy
 - c) 1791 Catholic relief act in Britain
 - d) anti-Irish and anti-Catholic mixed
- 10. From Persecution to Emancipation
 - a) First, we examine the reasons for the decline in persecutions and violence against Jews.
 - b) Second, we study the legislative changes, collectively known as Jewish emancipation, that transformed the status of Jews across Western and Central Europe, bringing them legal equality.
- 2. The Decline of Jewish Persecutions
 - a) Last pogrom, Maria Theresa.
 - b) After 1600 weather ceases to affect pogroms
 - c) Erasmus was pro-Christian Toleration but hated the Jews
 - (1) Luther was also antisemitic
 - d) Protestants were more intolerant of Jews as usury laws had been relaxed
 - e) Possible reasons for decline in Pogroms
 - (1) agricultural improvement
 - (a) no it was too late
 - (2) Enlightenment views on religion

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- (a) no it was too late
- (3) The Conditional Toleration Equilibrium was breaking down
 - (a) yes yes yes
 - (b) Dutch and English granted toleration to Jews
 - (c) legitimacy was not religious and state capacity was high enough.
 - (i) could enforce general rules
 - f) Protestants hoped to convert them
 - g) Jews began to settle in France, Prussia, and the Netherlands
- 2. Court Jews and The Conditional Toleration Equilibrium in Central Europe
 - a) German states hoped to reestablish conditional toleration
 - (1) creates Court Jews
 - (a) allowed to live outside Ghetto on Nobles permission
 - (b) Safety dependent on favour of nobles
 - b) Maria Theresa tries to create Austrian Catholic Uniformity
 - (1) economic secularists called Cameralists argued to increase population and have toleration to do so.
 - c) Joseph II takes their advice
 - (1) saw the state as a secular wing and only took pragmatic measures
 - (2) state takes role of church
- 3. Jewish Emancipation
 - a) Joseph II influenced by Christian Wilhelm Drom
 - (1) argued for integration of Jewish Society
 - (2) Didn't really like Jews
 - b) Edict of Toleration 1782
 - (1) not full equality but more
 - c) Joseph II aimed at making Jews more productive.
 - d) French Rev
 - (1) 1791 Jews granted full citizenship
 - e) Full emancipation in Germany only gained in 1871
 - f) Jewish authorities not necessarily big fans
 - (1) They lost monopoly rights to enforce their own religion
 - g) Reform Judaism develops
- 2. 10.2.1 Emancipation and Antisemitism
 - a) The masses were displeased by emancipation as it insured that even the lowest in status of the Christians were above someone else.
 - b) Antisemitism as an ideology grew from emancipation
- 4. The Argument Thus Far... A Summary of Part II
 - a) Reformation is most important
 - (1) coincides with America, rise in state power, new technology (printing press)
 - b) There were now too many dissidents for conformity to work.

- c) Iberia successfully did enforce conformity but then did not need to invest in state capacity, hurting them in the long run.
- d) No more conditional equilibrium in England
- e) France had the Edict of Nantes for temporary toleration between Christians
 - (1) Richelieu supported this
 - (2) Louis XIV hated this as he wanted to be the absolute monarch
 - (3) Identity rules seen as inefficient, Colbert? establishes general rules
- f) Political economy grows as the state turns its eyes to productivity
- g) Jewish emancipation begins
 - (1) only in the French revolution was Jewish emancipation associated with ideas
 - (2) the rest were pragmatic moves

Part III: Implications of Greater Religious Liberty

11. The Persecution of Witchcraft

- a) Bacque story
- b) Society clings to identity rules at the local level but is learning to develop rule of law
- c) Louis XIV and Colbert were very anti-witch hunting
- d) Persecution occurred not because of an intrinsic aspect of Christianity or the tyranny of rulers, but because conformity is what they had to trade for legitimacy
 - (1) Reformation shocks this.
 - (2) religious legitimation now fails,
 - (3) States invest in the fiscal capacity necessary to enforce general rules.
 - (4) General Toleration
 - (a) MS: Step 2 to 3 how does this happen?
- e) Witch Trials require a different legal system.
- f) General Rules fought against the witch trials

2. Explanations for the European Witch Panic

1. Belief in Witchcraft

- a) Witches were always feared but rarely legislated against.
 - (1) peak during fifteenth and sixteenth century
 - (2) 35k executed between 1450 and 1750
 - (3) mostly in HRE
 - (4) few in Spain
- b) Argument that witches were demonized abusers of CPRs
- c) Belief in Witchcraft is not sufficient for large-scale hunts

2. Heresy Trials

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- a) Parallels exist
- b) Witches not allowed to confess
- c) time-periods don't match
3. Economic Stress
 - a) post-Black Death population boom lowers wages and bad weather causes stress
 - b) witch trials were an attempt to rid themselves of poor women who were a burden on mutual insurance
 - (1) Witch trials negatively correlated with population and urban growth.
 - (2) positively with bad weather
 - c) This doesn't explain why witch trials did not occur before a certain period while belief still persisted.
4. State Building and Religious Legitimacy
 - a) diabolism is conspiracy with the devil
 - b) elites scared of conspiracy cause witch trials
 - c) only some elites actually did this though
 - d) Leeson and Russ
 - (1) Witch Trials perpetrated for Protestant Catholic competition
5. Legal Fragmentation and the European Witch Hunt
 - a) Strong States could prevent witch hunts
 - b) Do fiscal capacity and rule of law link with decrease in witch hunts
3. Legal Fragmentation in France
 - a) Early fifteenth century France had lots of fragmentation and corruption
2. Centralization and Growth of the State
 - a) Richelieu argues for centralization 1629
 - b) Explosion in fiscal capacity, standing army and centralization in 17th century
 - c) centralized rent-seeking
3. Prosecuting Individuals for Witchcraft in France
 - a) Witchcraft needed a different set of legal rules
 - (1) torture, devil is too cunning
4. Legal Centralization and the Decline in Witchcraft Trials
 - a) Parlement of Paris 1588 bans Trials by Water
 - b) witches could appeal
 - c) Distribution of Witch trials is against distribution of taxes figures 11.2-3
 - d) Figure 11.4 is results of diff-in-diff regressions
 - e) Elites continued to believe in witchcraft.
5. The Growth in Legal Capacity
 - a) Relationship between taxes and legal capacity expenditure
 - b) Figure 11.5
6. Other Parts of Europe
 - a) More witch trials in more fragmented HRE

- b) More trials in Scotland than England
- c) proxies for SC are borders and elevation?
 - (1) Both of these correlate with more witch trials Figure 11.8

7. Chapter Summary: Legal Centralization and Rule of Law

- a) France was investing in fiscal capacity
 - (1) incomes stagnated
 - (2) Much of this was spent on war and luxury
 - (3) some however went to legal capacity and general rules.
 - (a) general rules stopped witch trials
- b) MS: But what started them? Wasn't that the goal of the chapter?**
 - (1) Leeson has a better answer.**

12. Religious Minorities and Economic Growth

1. Minorities and Economic Development

- a) Was religious freedom good for growth?
- b) after 1600 Jewish communities are correlated with city growth
- c) Jews brought skills with them

2. Minorities and Economic Development

- a) Protestant work ethic and Armenian/minorities facilitated long-distance trade
- b) Huguenots brought skills to Prussia
- c) Moky on Quaker success in London
 - (1) They could not advance in politics or military life.

2. Jewish Communities and City Growth

- a) Jews did not affect the world the same way at all times.
- b) Jews in the Middle ages had higher human capital but the lending monopoly was a negative so mixed effects
 - (1) Isn't Jewish presence to lend better than no lending at all?
- c) Weber's Jewish ethic of pariah capitalism vs. Puritan work ethic
- d) Sombart argues that Jews created capitalism

2. City Population as a Measure of Development

- a) Cities were filthier and more dangerous so population growth in cities means that they were more attractive.
 - (1) MS: Does it or does it mean that they became less filthy.

3. The Relationship between Jewish Communities and City Growth

- a) Connect data on Jewish cities with Bairoch's cities
- b) Estimated effect of the presence of a Jewish city on growth is 35%.

4. Access to the Network of Jewish Communities

- a) Jewish settlement was shaped by ruler acceptance and persecution
- b) If Jews could migrate to good cities then the effect is in the other way.
- c) The First Law of Economic Geography - things that are close together tend to be similar.
- d) They build a grid of Europe with the least cost travel technology in each one, to build least cost path distances.

e) IV analysis

(1) It produces a causal estimate of Jewish communities on growth provided that the Jewish Network Access variable is uncorrelated with city population growth other than through its correlation with Jewish presence.

(2) Another variable is added based on Jewish Expulsion

2. The Timing of the Impact of Jewish Communities on City Growth

a) Post-1600 the effect on city growth increases.

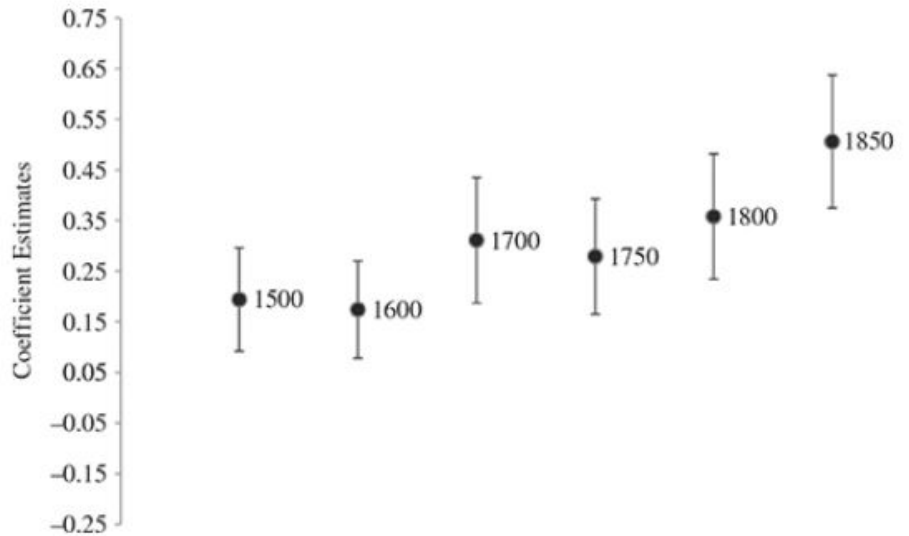


Figure 12.5 The effect of Jewish communities on city growth rates over time. This figure plots regression coefficients on the effects of the presence of a Jewish community on city growth. 95% confidence intervals are shown.

b)

3. Mechanisms Linking Jewish Communities Presence with City Growth

a) The Sephardic Diaspora after 1492 created a new Jewish ecosystem with long-distance trading partners

(1) reputation based mechanisms

b) Sephardic communities were especially helpful

c) Jewish communities benefited more from “market access”

d) The growth effect also increases with emancipation.

(1) Jews begin to contribute to law retail trade etc.

5. Chapter Summary: Liberalism and Markets Enabled Religious Minorities to Contribute to Growth

a) The Middle age equilibrium did not translate Jewish presence to growth.

b) Jewish Emancipation grew things for Jews too,

c) Jews were mostly excluded from the Enlightenment.

d) Story of Moses Mendelsohn

e) Jews mixed with secular education.

f) Cinnerella and Streb find a link between religious diversity and patents

g) Only after 1830 do we find prominent Jews in culture art and science.

13. The Emergence of Modern States, Religious Freedom, and Modern Economic Growth
 - a) How did liberalism become possible in the widespread.
 - b) Nationalism replaced religious legitimacy and paved the way for general rules and liberal states
2. The Idea of Religious Freedom: Hobbes, Hume, and Smith on the Role of Religion in a Commercial Society
 - a) Religious voluntarists would have undermined the social order and they probably would have.
 - b) Mercantilists were in favor of toleration as it was probably cheaper than conformity enforcement
 - c) Hume Smith debate on State religion
 - (1) interesting accounts of the philosophers positions
 - (2) Smith believed that religions became extreme because of persecution
3. Nationalism and General Rules
 - a) Charles Taylor shift from vertical to horizontal society.
 - b) Definition of nationalism: that the political and national should be congruent.
 - c) National Identity replaced religious identity in creating a sacred community
 - d) Nationalism descends heaven to earth
 - (1) implicit secularization
 - e) Old Order in Europe was threatened by nationalism as it granted emancipation to everyone.
 - (1) the old order was based on religion
 - f) Until the end of the eighteenth century nationalism was accompanied by liberalism.**
4. Fiscal Capacity and National Identity in Ancien Regime France
 - a) Colbert creates Cinq Grosses Fermes (CGF) a customs union
 - b) Intending to integrate French economic life and increase state capacity and tax revenue
 - c) There is a positive correlation between a region being in the CGF and affiliation with national identity.
 - d) However, there are many reasons why this correlation could be spurious. For example, maybe proximity to Paris – with its cultural and economic influence – made it easier for Colbert to get a region to join the CGF in the seventeenth century.
 - e) Use diff in diff on border cahiers
5. Modern States and Modern Economic Growth
 - a) Relationship between general rules, markets, and modern growth.
 - b) Kuznets' sustained economic growth
 - c) Markets existed previously but were characterized by monopoly and identity rules and high transport costs

- d) Tolls killed trade on the Rhine
 - (1) varied by judgement of officials
 - (2) the modern state consolidated tolls and allowed standardized trade
 - e) Figures 13.3 and 13.4 show correlation between cahier data and economic growth.
6. Innovation and Modern Economic Growth
- a) modern economic growth can only survive with innovation not simply the existence of markets.
 - b) requires a mindset that's open to ideas.
 - c) Requires a Mokyr culture
 - d) New ideas could not be as widely disseminated.
 - e) Church wasn't too involved in suppressing science.
 - f) Industrial Enlightenment Culture
 - (1) sapere aude
 - (2) Emphasis in Britain on useful to know
 - g) The Republic of Letters exponentially grew learning.
 - (1) meritocracy of ideas
 - h) McCloskey's rhetorical shift.
 - i) Aristocratic virtues were replaced by Bourgeois virtues
 - j) Roman to Arabic Numerals
 - (1) Usefulness over status
7. Chapter Summary: The Demise of Conditional Toleration and Modern Economic Growth
- a) Nationalism emerged as a substitute for religious identity.
 - (1) Shifts to general rules
 - (a) This causes
 - (i) better market outcomes
 - (ii) culture of innovation and ideas
14. Applying our Argument to the Rest of the World
1. The Middle East
- a) Politics in Middle East never went from identity to general rules
 - b) offered toleration to Jews and Christians
 - c) pact of Umar
 - (1) dhimmi status
 - d) took over Roman and Persian fiscal apparatus
 - (1) jizya tax on non-muslims
 - (a) incentives conversion; must be balanced
 - e) umma: the ideal unified community
 - f) Sufis and Mu'tazilites suppressed
 - (1) (Potential Protestant Reformations)
 - g) Occasional violence against Jews
 - h) This was a conditional toleration equilibrium
 - i) Rubin 2017

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- (1) no large state to enforce general rules
 - (2) Islamic law filled the role
 - (3) Thus, religious legitimacy for secular rulers
 - (a) riba prohibition against usury stayed in place.
 - (4) Ottoman Empire also bans printing in Arabic Script
 - j) Blaydes 2017
 - (1) No constraints on Rulers
 - (2) slave populations
 - k) complements Kuran 2010, 2018
 - (1) failure to adapt is important
 - (2) inheritance rules
 - (3) waqfs
 - l) Christians and Jews after the 1750s became the trading partners with the West as only they could trade properly.**
2. China and Japan
- a) China is akin to a Rome that never collapsed
 - (1) Chinese religious traditions were subservient to the state and remained syncretistic rather than exclusivist.
 - b) Japanese rulers legitimized themselves with Buddhism Shinto and Confucianism
 - (1) Only during state weakness did buddhist temples gain power
 - (2) Sixteenth century Japan saw daimyo competing for Spanish and Portugese traders
 - c) 1587: Hideyoshi crushes Buddhists and Missionaries
 - d) 1614: Some Christians allowed into Japan to facilitate trade but are suspicious
 - e) SEcond Tokugawa Shogun bans all foreign religion
 - f) Ieyusa totally sealed the country
 - g) 1622: Christians hunted and killed
 - (1) Perhaps most succesful repression in history
 - h) The Japanese recognized private freedom of speech but prioritized social order.
 - i) Liberalism word History**
 - j) Meiji government lifts a ban on Christianity in order to trade.
 - k) Cult developed around the emperor
 - l) 1946 full religious freedom
 - m) Chinese Jesuits were welcomed by Kangxi
 - (1) Attempted here to blend Confucianism and christianity
 - (2) The pope didn't like it.
 - (3) So Kangxi banned Jesuits in 1721
 - n) Less religioius tension in China generally.
 - (1) Social systems became religion
 - o) Rare persecutions in China as they were not a threat

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- p) Mandate of Heaven
 - (1) Confuc. demands obeying authority so political dissent is religious dissent.
- q) **The Qing dynasty required that they hold the interpretation of texts for legitimacy?**
- r) Imperial academies homogenize interpretation
- s) Legitimation was controlled by textual interpretive structure
- t) Individuals punished for owning the wrong literature
- u) Network of scholar-informers grows
- v) Xue and Koyama
 - (1) beneficent societies
 - (2) Persecutions damaged existence of these societies
 - (3) Trust was irreparably damaged.
- w) Soul Stealing Sorcerer panic
- x) Religion and popular revolt lined
 - (1) TAiping Rebellion
 - (2) Shangong Rebellion
- y) China today has heavy oppression
- z) RELigious persecution rarely occurred but they were not liberal.

3. The United States

- a) Early American colonies often structured on religious codes
 - (1) Puritans etc.
 - (2) compulsory church attendance
 - (3) church funded by taxation
- b) Religious Pluralism did not mean religious tolerance
- c) Rhode Island founder Roger Williams wanted no religious coercion as man is corrupt not as humans have rights.
 - (1) It soon became hard to live up to his ideal.
- d) Quakerism dominated in pennsylvania
- e) "just price" doctrines
- f) Did locke shift things?
- g) Increased economic growth and religious pluralism meant state churches could not work.
- h) Church attendance could not be enforced in urbanizing settings
- i) Many of the founders were deists
- j) Great Awakening
- k) Religious diversity caused the First Amendment.
- l) Protect the church from the state not vice-versa
- m) Many religious laws still held
- n) FA is part of our civic religion

4. Chapter Summary

- a) Arthur Verslius argues that modern persecution is outgrowth of the Christian idea of heresy. Eastern religions are more pluralistic.

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- b) Johnson Koyama argue there is nothing unique to Christianity in persecution terms.
- c) US was not uniquely hospitable to toleration than Europe

15. Modern States, Liberalism, and Religious Freedom

- a) more powerful states is a double-edged sword
- b) fragility of liberalism depends on shared prosperity
- c) we now can have freedom but aren't guaranteed it.
- d) liberalization occurred in modern states because they were seen as beneficial to leaders
- e) liberalization occurs through nineteenth century
- f) 1850 prussia liberalizes
- g) economic and political liberation occur and causes shift from religious legitimacy
- h) Bourgeois Culture
- i) Chaining Leviathan
- j) Acemoglu and Robinson
 - (1) weak states
 - (a) no freedom
 - (2) despotic leviathans
 - (a) most no freedom
 - (3) chained leviathans
 - (a) best option
 - (b) rule of law
 - (c) constitutions
 - (d) judicial oversight

2. Exclusionary versus Inclusive Nationalism

- a) some nationalism unifying some exclusionary
- b) exclusionary vs. civic
 - (1) Nazi vs. French
- c) Civic Nationalism is compatible with liberalism, ethnonationalism is not.
- d) you can convert religions you can't convert ethnicities
- e) state and ethnic borders do not overlap.

3. Power States

- a) fragility of liberal order
- b) Max Weber's Machtstaat
 - (1) Carl Schmitt
 - (a) political lines are on friend and enemy
- c) modern state does not make freedom inevitable
- d) Nazi party balkanized to introduce identity rules became increasingly inefficient
- e) stab in the back myth of WW1
 - (1) Jews responsible
- f) Soviet Union targets religion as well

- (1) 30s purge
- (2) Churches revived to bolster view of Stalin as Russian leader in WW2

4. The Holocaust

- a) declaration to make Germany Judenfrei
- b) boycotting jewish shops in 1933 and Nuremberg Laws
- c) Kristallnacht 1938
 - (1) rule of law is absent
- d) lost economics and scientific output in Germany as a result
 - (1) America gets the scientists
- e) small groups often killed Jews
- f) The Holocaust mostly happened outside of Germany where the state had broken down
 - (1) It was a pre-modern explosion not a modern development

5. Chapter Summary

- a) the movements away from identity rules and towards fiscal capacity make liberal states possible but not inevitable
- b) Soviet and Nazi are alternatives.
- c) Many paths to state development
 - (1) some good some bad
 - (2) better be Britain than Russia
 - (3) economic development and piecemeal change vs. Coercion

16. Conclusions

- a) For anthropologist, meaning-seeking distinguishes homo sapiens from other animals.
- b) religion and authority were coevolving institutions
- c) The Axial Age (700-200 BC)
 - (1) Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity
 - (2) intially destabilizing
- d) once inseperable, religion and politics are often given seperate spheres.
- e) Liberal societies struggle to deal with radical religious groups.
- f) Cake baking comment

2. A Summary of Our Argument

- a) WE have charted the transition from conditional to general toleration
- b) Chapter 1
- c) North, Wallis, Weingast (2009)
- d) Identity rules were cheap, but hurt development.
- e) General rules were expensive, but helped growth
- f) Chapter 2 provided the framework for the religious dynamics
- g) Chapter 3 provided history for the conditional toleration equilibrium
 - (1) Cathars lollards etc
- h) Chapter 4 on Jewish condition
- i) Chapters 5 and 6 on weather and black death

- j) Chapter 7 Reformation Shock
 - (1) High state capacity areas could deal with heterogeneity and enforce general rules
 - (2) Cost of enforcement for old equilibrium became too high
 - k) Chapter 8 Europe could have gone the Iberian way
 - l) Chapter 9 Failed attempts at retaining old equilibrium
 - m) Chapter 10 on Jewish Emancipation
 - n) Chapter 11 Witch Trials and State Capacity
 - o) Chapter 12 Economic consequences of liberalism
 - p) Chapter 13 on Nationalism
 - q) Chapter 14 on Other places
3. Alternative and Complementary Hypotheses
- 1. Economic Development and Doux Commerce
 - a) Commerce softens law and social mores
 - b) parallels with Becker on discrimination
 - (1) sorting by religion rather than merit is selected against in the market.
 - c) TMS sympathy
 - d) economic growth allows individuals to reidentify themselves
 - e) Minorities are more successful if they supply non-substitutable goods
 - 2. Changing Values
 - a) Secularization Thesis?
 - (1) in p and t the first mover is institutions not beliefs
 - b) Fundamentalist movements that explicitly reject modernity have also arisen.
 - c) Shift towards saving lives not just saving souls.
 - d) We lack a barometer for belief change.
 - e) Deus ex machina change in cultural values
 - f) Legacy/ Deep Roots effects?
 - g) Idea change arguments are a complement not a replacement.
 - h) Hatred of Jews goes along with hatred of markets.
 - 3. New Ideas
 - a) Intellectuals like to think that Ideas are the driving force.
 - b) Ideas matter but when?
 - c) Remember that Protestant also killed.
 - d) It was a slow case by case process
 - e) Emphasis on ideas is not wrong but incomplete.
4. Implications of Our Argument for Today
- a) Religious Freedom is fragile in many parts of the world.
 - b) Heat map of religious regulation focuses on the East.
 - c) Correlation between low state capacity and religious regulation.
 - (1) definitely potential confounding variables.

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- (2) Figure 16.4 in modern high capacity states there is a negative correlation between religious fractionalization and government regulation
- d) The key to the rise of liberal society has been political institutions rooted in the rule of law and tolerance.