From the Death of God to the Rise of Hitler

Sascha O. Becker Hans-Joachim Voth







Health warning

You will see some unpleasant (Nazi) quotes.



Motivation

"God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him. How shall we, murderers of all murderers, console ourselves? ... With what water could we purify ourselves? What festivals of atonement, what sacred games shall we need to invent? Is not the greatness of this deed too great for us? Must we not ourselves become gods simply to be worthy of it?"



-Friedrich Nietzsche

The Gay Science ("Die fröhliche Wissenschaft")

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Nihilism to totalitarianism

"Once religious faith ... had gone, people desperately searched for a new system of beliefs and general principles around which to regroup themselves... they thus created an endless number of new 'churches'..."

Antonio Gramsci

Modern Psychology Literature

- Importance of spiritual needs from an early age (Papaleontiou-Louca et al 2023)
- Religious thinking comes natural to children (Bloom, 2007)
- Weakness of organized religion may create demand for quasireligious substitutes (Sheldrake, 2012).

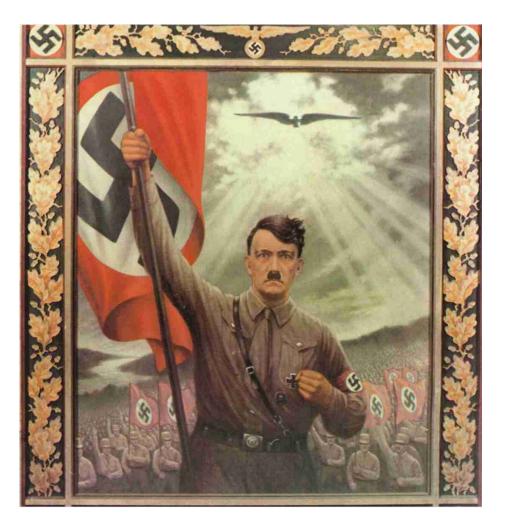
This paper

"Choosing Hitler was not an act of political decision, not the choice of a known programme or ideology; it was simply joining a quasireligious mass movement as an act of faith." (Walter Lacqueur)

- Idea of political religion (& relig. motives of followers) goes back to Voegelin (1938) but hard to test because of lack of data
- We collect wealth of new data and show that
 - □ Shallow Christianity = one key driver of support for the Hitler
 - □ (Other side of same coin: where Christianity more deeply rooted, less support during *rise of* Hitler/Nazism.)
 - □ Also show:
 - Variation in Shallow Christianity had <u>deep historical roots</u>.
 - Individuals joining the party (and rising in it) are less likely to have grown up in Christian families.

Supply: Religious vocabulary and imagery of the Nazi movement

- Hitler ,,the savior" of the German people (,,Erlöser")
- Propaganda emphasizes "sacrifice"
 - ... as the main path to success
 - ... by party leaders for the movement
 - ... by the people to demonstrate their value to the people's community
- Nazi politicians claim that Hitler was "sent by God to save the German people from the bloodsucking Jews" (Julius Streicher)
- Josef Goebbels' diaries refer to Hitler as a ,,demi-God"



Nazis and religious language

- Greeting "Heil Hitler" (Salvation Hitler) uses Christian terminology
- □ Hitler often ends speeches with "Amen!"
- □ Nazis wanted to rule for 1,000 years (see Revelation/Apocalypse)
- Official song of the Hitler Youth (HJ) at annual meeting 1934: "We are the happy Hitler Youth; we have no need for Christian virtue; For Adolf Hitler is our intercessor and our redeemer. No priest, no evil one can keep us from feeling like Hitler's children. Not Christ do we follow, but Horst Wessel! Away with incense and holy water pots...!"

•Hitler Youth activities were often sponsored on Sunday in order to conflict with church attendance.

Quasi-religious rituals

- Karl Dietrich Bracher (1971 book) on ceremonies to consecrate flags by touching them with the "blood flag" of 1923: *"grotesque practices"* that *"testified to the quasireligious impact*" of Nazi propaganda
- Focus on *martyrs* in Nazi propaganda (e.g. Horst Wessel).
- "In 1928, party faithful gather in Kaub, on the banks of the Rhine; in a public ceremony, they cleanse themselves in its waters at the very spot where Blücher's troops crossed it in 1813; they were told of Germany's coming resurrection" (Arafe 1976 PhD thesis).



Cathedral of Light (Lichtdom) in Nuremberg

The voice of Dr. Ley comes over the loudspeaker: "Attention! The Führer is here!" [...] 150 blue spotlights surge upward hundreds of meters, forming overhead the most powerful cathedral that mortals have ever seen.

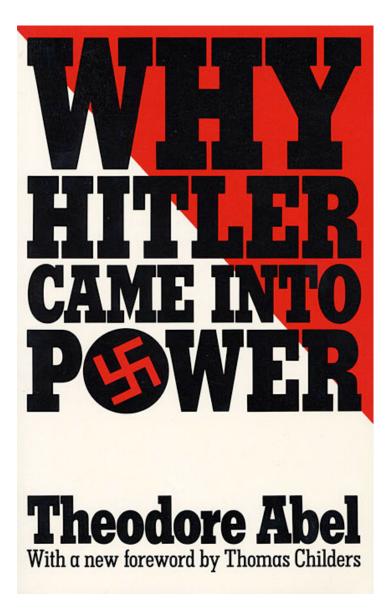




Nazi leadership and Christianity

- Lots of leading Nazis (Himmler, Ludendorff, ...) were "paganists"
 - Ludendorff involved in Tannenberg-Bund and its "religious" offshoot "Deutschbund"
 - Ludendorff's wife Mathilde wrote "Erlösung <u>von</u> Jesu Christo" (Redemption <u>from</u> Jesus Christ) in 1931, calling to replace Christian beliefs with divine "blood and soil"
- Counterpoints:
 - □ Steigmann-Gall (2003): not even the "paganists" were 100% anti-Christian
 - Goebbels, Göring, and even Hitler, never left the church
- But Hitler: "In the long run, National Socialism and religion will no longer be able to exist together." He would not persecute the Churches: they would <u>simply wither away</u>.

Demand: Evidence from autobiographies



- In 1934 Theodore Abel went to Germany and offered a prize, under the auspices of Columbia University, for autobiographies of members of the National Socialist movement.
- 634 submissions
 - 24.1% Protestants, 9.4%
 Catholics, and 66.5% without stated religion
 - □ 344 are transcribed

Example Abel text

«Wie eine Offenbarung durchleuchtete es auch uns – er allein ist der Retter Deutschlands! … Bürgerkrieg wütete, alles was hoch und heilig war, wurde von der vertierten, jüdisch-marxistisch verblendeten und verseuchten Masse johlend in den Kot geworfen. Von Grausen erfüllt und heiligster Empörung voll, kämpfen wir für Adolf Hitler und seine Idee! …

Da in allerletzter Minute ein einziger Schrei der Erlösung:

Adolf Hitler ist vom Reichspräsidenten zum Kanzler des deutschen Volkes erwählt!...

Neue Hoffnung, neuer Glaube, neue Kraft brachen aus dem deutschen Volke hervor, wie ein urgewaltiger Strom. ... Ein grosses, gutes und starkes Volk reckte sich mutig auf, seinem einzigen gottgegebenen Führer und Erretter – Adolf Hitler – zu folgen und mit ihm zu kämpfen für Deutschlands Ehre...»

Frau Agnes Mosler-Sturm

Berlin-Spandau August 1934

Stresowplatz 17

Evidence from autobiographies

- Theodor Abel essay competition 1934 – "How I became a Nazi"
- 634 submissions
 - 24.1% Protestants, 9.4%
 Catholics, and 66.5% without stated religion
 - □ 344 transcribed
- "Wie eine Offenbarung durchleuchtete es auch uns – er allein ist der Retter Deutschlands – und damit der Retter Europas!»

- "heilig" 149 hits (in 70 autobiographies)
- "Glaube/glauben" mentioned 380 times (in 137 autobiographies)
- "Religion/religiös" 70 (in 43 autobiographies)
- "Auferstehung/Wiedergeburt" 19 x

But also substantial doubts/criticism of the ,,political religion" argument

- Steigmann-Gall (2000 SocHist)
 - But enough evidence is at hand to discount categorically the long-held supposition that the Nazi movement got its strength primarily from Protestants who had lost their faith or experienced a Nietzschean 'Death of God''.
 - Yet: No regression evidence, just correlation patterns, e.g. (a) smaller cities see higher church attendance and higher Nazi vote share; (b) Protestant enclaves: higher church attendance & Nazi votes
- Jürgen Schreiber (2009 book) argues that the concept is analytically "empty", purely deductive
- Hans Mommsen (1997 chapter) religious overtones are only window-dressing, purely manipulative form of propaganda
- H-G. Hockerts (2003 chapter) religion only superficial ("Führer cult = religious sentiment, not a religious belief")

Four main features of religion

- In what sense was the Nazi party a quasi-religious movement?
- Norenzayan's (2010) four main features of religions:
 - <u>Counter-intuition</u>: Hitler = saviour, sent by divine providence
 - <u>Commitment:</u> costly sacrifice for the German nation
 - □ <u>Communion</u>: emotion-arousing rituals \rightarrow sense of communion
 - <u>Compassion</u>: relieving existential anxieties by creating a glorious Thousand Year Reich, giving meaning to the lives of ordinary party members

Existing approaches to the rise of the Nazi Party

- Marxist analysis (Barrington Moore, Hamilton, GDR historians)
 - Focuses on big business support = Nazis as agents of monopoly capitalism
 - Emphasis on ,petty bourgeois' support, voting
- "Catch-all" party of discontent (Falter, Kater)
 - Gathers the apolitical
 - Emphasizes shallow roots of democracy in Germany
- Modernization theory (Dahrendorf)
 - Fascism resolves and completes the "unfinished" modernization of German society

- Totalitarianism theory (Arendt, Ortega-y-Gasset, Nolte)
 - Sees fascism and communism as two expressions of the same thing
 - Emphasizes the anti-Marxist element in fascist ideology
 - Argues that industrialization created "rootless masses" who could be recruited
- National Socialism as a Political Religion (Voegelin, Hans Maier, Emilio Gentile, Müller-Armack)

$\bullet \rightarrow \underline{\text{role of religion}}$

 <u>Empirically:</u> Childers (1983), Falter (1991), Hamilton (1982), Spenkuch & Tillmann (2018): Protestantism single strongest predictor of Nazi voting. Analytical approach and regression analysis

If fascism as a *pseudo-religion* is important for followers, then more of them will vote for the Nazis (and join the party) <u>where</u> <u>Christianity had more shallow roots</u>:

$$y_{c,t} = a + \beta Relig_{c,t} + gX_{c,t} + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

- □ $y_{c,t}$ = Nazi vote share or Nazi party entry
- $Relig_{c,t}$ = measure of religiosity
- $X_{c,t} = \text{controls}, \text{ including share Protestant ("bad control"?)}$

The Spread of Christianity



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Shallow Christianity (I)

"... in its early years Christianity was a mass <u>movement</u> that spread primarily through personal efforts by the rank and file to convert their relatives, friends, and neighbors. However, once Christianity became a highly subsidized state Church, its spirit of volunteerism attenuated; the subsequent spread of the faith was mainly through the baptism of kings, as Christian missionaries concentrated on the nobility and on gaining a monopoly franchise. The Church did little to evangelize the general population. Consequently, ... many people across the Rhine (especially the peasants) treated Christianity as an add-on religion—Christ became part of the mixture of popular religion, along with many elements of paganism." (Rodney Stark 2004, p. 105)

- "...neither the exclusive commitment to Christianity nor the high levels of personal piety exhibited by the early Christians ever developed among the majority of people in northwestern Europe." (Rodney Stark 2001, p. 77)
- Greeley (1995 Book): "There could be no de-Christianization of Europe ... because there never was any Christianization in the first place. Christian Europe never existed."
- Marc Bloch ([1940] 1961:82-83): popular religion in most of Europe "remained 'pagan animist'... and [Christianity] was an outward veneer."

Shallow Christianity (II)

- The later arrival of Christianity in Northern Europe suggests
- 1. It was never as deeply rooted, and fell easy prey to the Protestant Reformation
- 2. It was never as deeply rooted, and people identify less with Christianity
- Stark (1999) uses data for 16 European countries and correlates
 - □ centuries since Christianization with % Catholic (1996 Catholic Almanac): 0.89
 - □ centuries since Christianization with church attendance (1990-1991 WVS): 0.72
- Rothkrug (1980) and Pfaff (2003): Protestantism less successful where the cult of the saints was highly developed, such as in the Low Countries, the Rhineland, or the South.
- Suggests nexus between "Shallow Christianity" and "Protestantism", but also highlights fact that degree of "shallowness" *may* vary <u>within each denomination</u>.

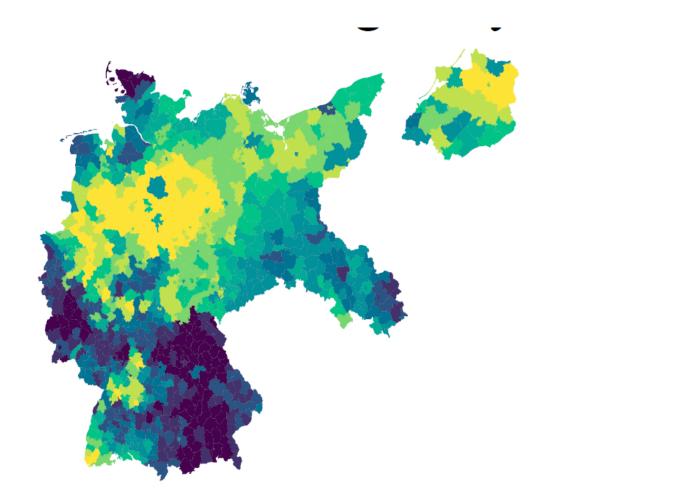
Three measures of "Shallow Christianity"

 Name religiosity (same method as in Fryer-Levin, used by Bentzen for religious names):

$$RNI_{i} = \frac{Pr(Name_{i}|Church)}{Pr(Name_{i}|Church) + Pr(Name_{i}|Person)}$$

- Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde one of the biggest folklore surveys (ever!)
 - Question 176a "do people believe in seers who can predict what will happen in the future?"
- Share of notables who died 1900-1930 in religious professions

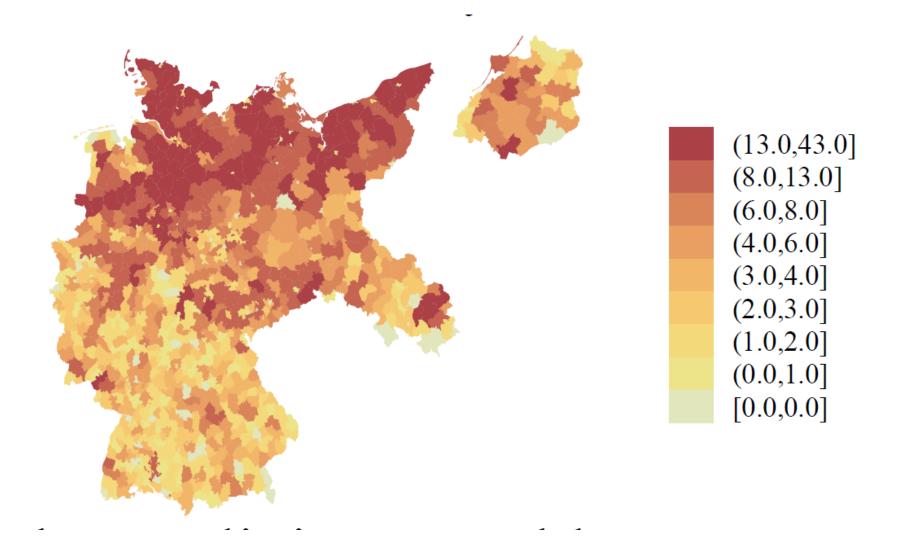
How Christian is Germany in the 1930s?



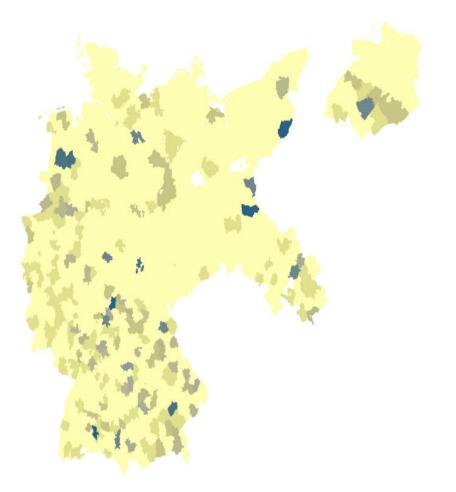
 $\begin{array}{c} (0.28, 0.44] \\ (0.22, 0.28] \\ (0.18, 0.22] \\ (0.14, 0.18] \\ (0.12, 0.14] \\ (0.10, 0.12] \\ (0.09, 0.10] \\ (0.07, 0.09] \\ (0.05, 0.07] \\ [0.00, 0.05] \end{array}$

Clairvoyance

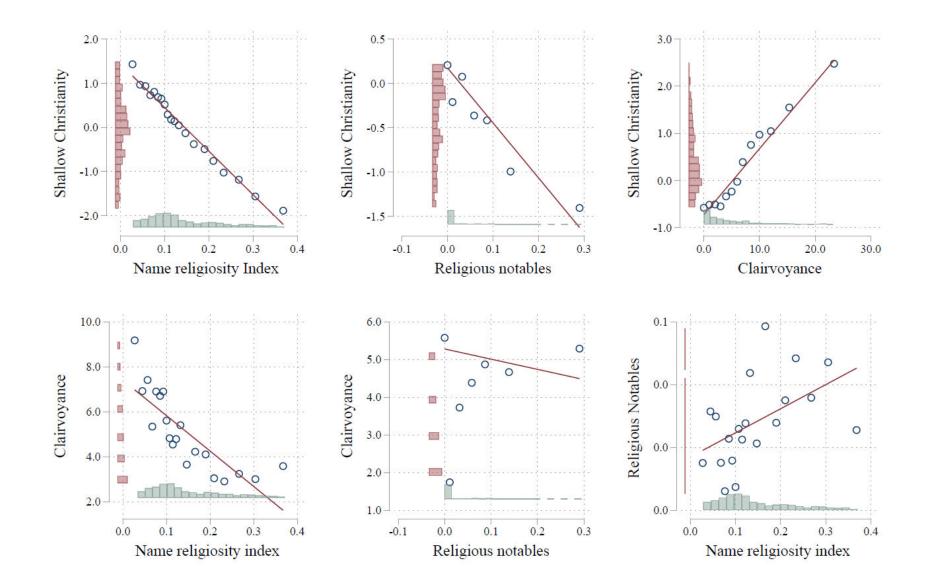
Clairvoyance: people believe in the existence of "seers" (From ADV)



Share of religious notables



(0.40,0.50] (0.35,0.40] (0.30,0.35] (0.25,0.30] (0.20,0.25] (0.15,0.20] (0.10,0.15] (0.05,0.10] [0.00,0.05] No data



Smell test: Gravestones



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THE GRAVESTONE INDEX: TRACKING PERSONAL RELIGIOSITY ACROSS NATIONS, REGIONS, AND PERIODS*

WILBUR ZELINSKY

- We use Christian symbols on gravestones as our third measure of Christianity ...
- <u>Validation</u>: show that people with Christian first names more likely to have Christian symbols.

Smell test: Gravestones



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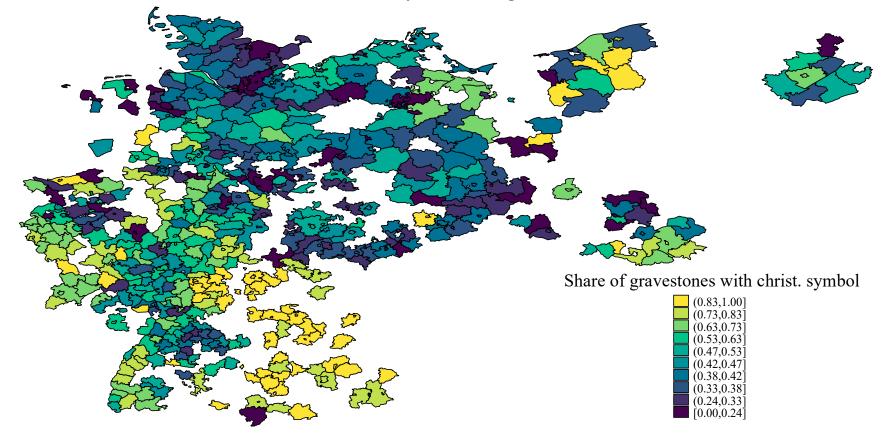
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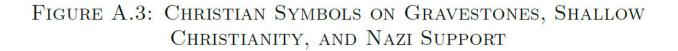
- We use Christian symbols on gravestones as our third measure of Christianity ...
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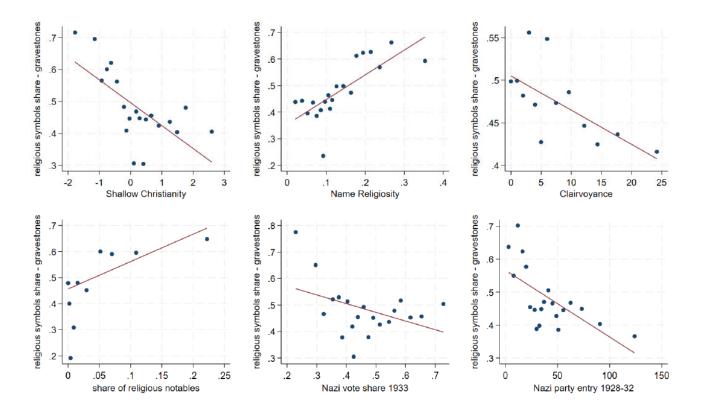
Gravestones: Christian symbol spread

Share christ. symbols on gravestones



Gravestones:



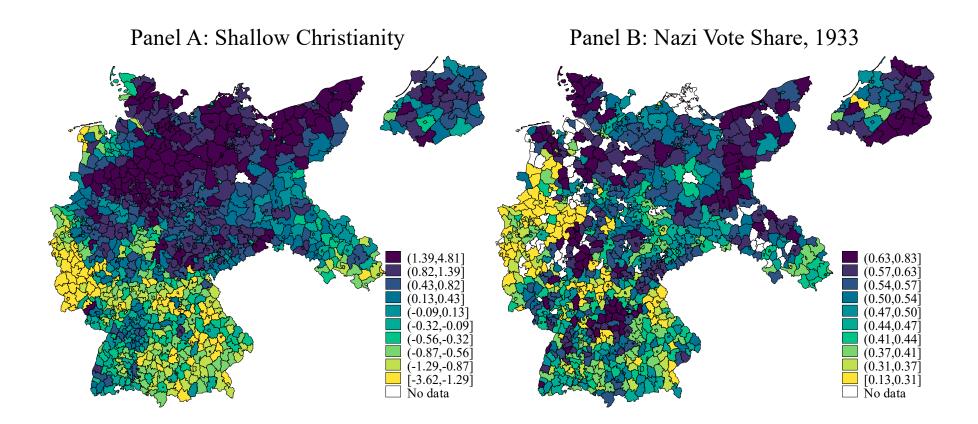


Note: The binscatters show the likelihood of a Christian symbol being used on a headstone, across 519 counties containing 192,330 gravestones for 260,155 individuals.

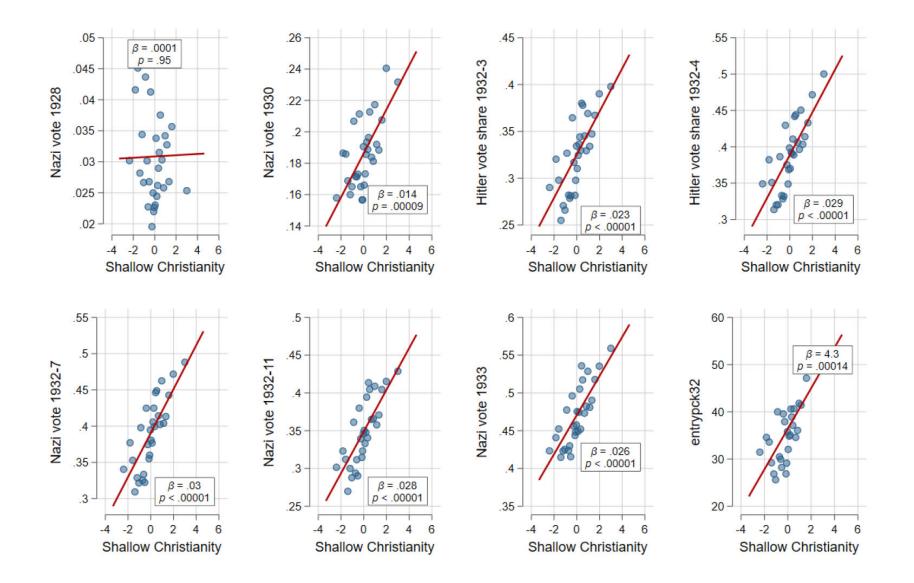
		Christian symbol on gravestone							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		
Name religiosity - individual	0.025^{***} (0.000)								
Shallow Christianity		-0.148^{***} (0.000)							
Name religiosity - county			$\begin{array}{c} 0.154^{***} \\ (0.000) \end{array}$						
Clairvoyance				-0.050^{**} (0.007)					
Share religious notable					$\begin{array}{c} 0.110^{***} \\ (0.000) \end{array}$				
Vote share NSDAP 1933						-0.081^{**} (0.004)			
Party entry 1928-32							-0.118^{***} (0.000)		
N	260,155	259,508	260,155	260,155	259,508	237,821	258,413		
R^2	0.001	0.023	0.024	0.003	0.012	0.007	0.014		

TABLE A.5: GRAVESTONE SYMBOLS, RELIGIOSITY, AND NAZI SUPPORT

Nazi voting and Shallow Christianity (1st PC)



Shallow Christianity and Nazi support



Regression results

TABLE 1: OLS RESULTS - NAZI SUPPORT AND SHALLOW CHRISTIANITY

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections								
	1928	1930	Pres. Elec	Pres. Elect M/A 1932 1932 - Jul 1932 - Nov 193				1928-32	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Shallow	-0.109***	0.265^{***}	0.270^{***}	0.367***	0.372^{***}	0.308***	0.241^{***}	0.229^{***}	
Christianity	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
N	785	803	788	788	788	740	740	799	
R^2	0.012	0.070	0.073	0.135	0.139	0.095	0.058	0.053	

(A) PANEL A: NO CONTROLS

(B) PANEL B: FULL CONTROLS AND FE

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections									
	1928	1930	Pres. Ele	ct M/A 1932	1932 - Jul	1932 - Nov	1933	1928-32		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
Shallow	0.037	0.200***	0.256***	0.256***	0.270***	0.270***	0.264***	0.236***		
Christianity	(0.504)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)		
N	656	657	652	652	656	649	650	657		
R^2	0.223	0.277	0.278	0.311	0.334	0.309	0.309	0.350		

Regression results

TABLE A.1: OLS RESULTS - NAZI SUPPORT AND INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHALLOW CHRISTIANITY INDEX

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections								
	1928	1930	Pres. Elect M/A 1932		1932 - Jul	1932 - Nov	1933	1928-32	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Christian Name	0.185***	-0.199***	-0.136***	-0.252***	-0.269***	-0.209***	-0.138***	-0.108***	
Index	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	
N	985	1004	987	987	988	926	926	986	
R^2	0.034	0.040	0.019	0.064	0.072	0.044	0.019	0.012	

(A) PANEL A: CHRISTIAN NAMES

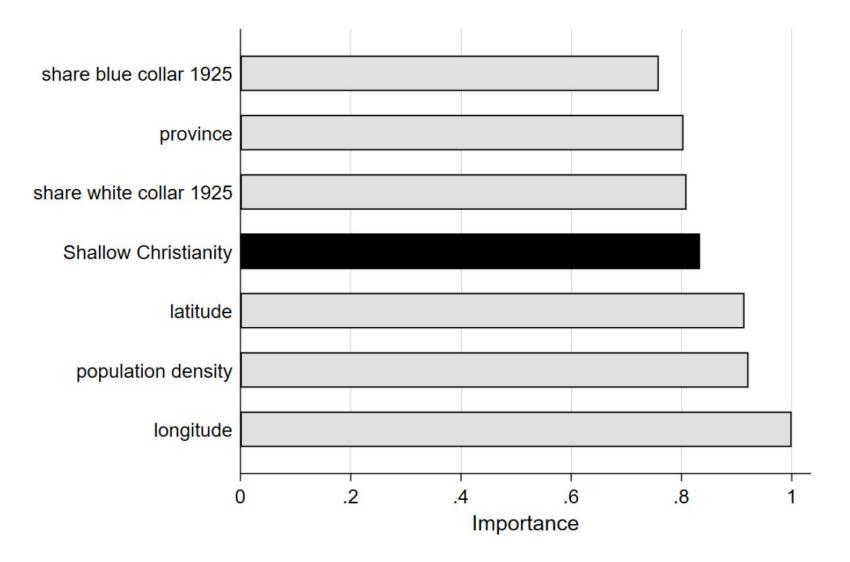
(B) PANEL B: CLAIRVOYANCE

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections								
	1928	1930	Pres. Elec	t M/A 1932	1932 - Jul	1932 - Nov	1933	1928-32	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Clairvoyance	-0.077**	0.176***	0.259***	0.333***	0.285***	0.259***	0.279***	0.150***	
	(0.015)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
N	985	1004	987	987	988	926	926	986	
\mathbb{R}^2	0.006	0.031	0.067	0.111	0.081	0.067	0.078	0.023	

(C) PANEL C: RELIGIOUS NOTABLES 1900-1930

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections								
	1928	1930	Pres. Elect	t M/A 1932	1932 - Jul	1932 - Nov	1933	1928-32	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Share notable religious	-0.063^{*} (0.050)	-0.191^{***} (0.000)	-0.153^{***} (0.000)	-0.182^{***} (0.000)	-0.193^{***} (0.000)	-0.176^{***} (0.000)	-0.141^{***} (0.000)	-0.111^{***} (0.001)	
\overline{N} R^2	969 0.004	987 0.036	972 0.023	972 0.033	972 0.037	910 0.031	910 0.020	969 0.012	

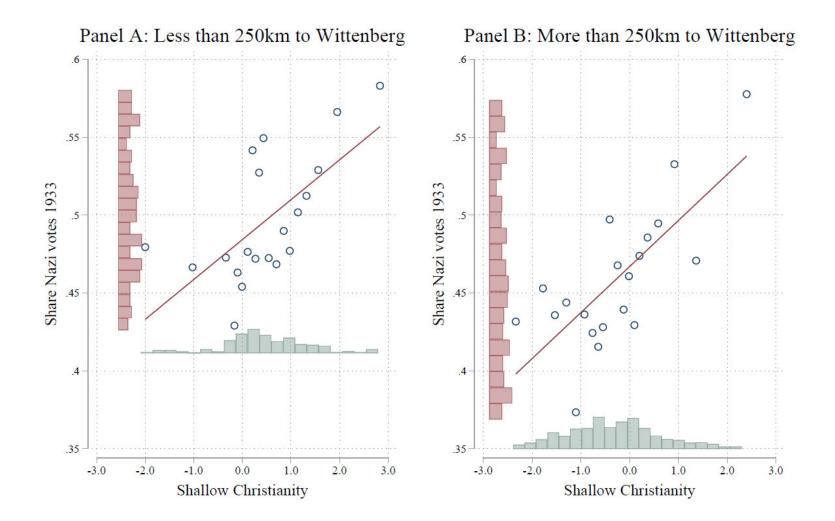
Variable importance from random forest estimation (dependent variable: NSDAP vote 1933)



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The role of Protestantism

FIGURE 4: NAZI VOTING AND SHALLOW CHRISTIANITY - 2 SAMPLES



	Vote share NSDAP, all elections							
	1928	1930	Pres. Elect M/A 1932		1932 - Jul	1932 - Nov	1933	1928-32
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Basic Specificat								
Shallow Christianity	-0.155***	0.199***	0.201***	0.259***	0.281***	0.229***	0.193***	0.161***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Distance to	-0.079**	-0.179***	-0.168***	-0.268***	-0.239***	-0.202***	-0.111***	-0.129***
Wittenberg								
	(0.037)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.000)
N	814	832	817	817	817	769	769	828
R^2	0.021	0.099	0.095	0.193	0.188	0.129	0.066	0.059
Panel B: Full Specificatio	n							
Shallow Christianity	-0.017	0.189***	0.222***	0.219***	0.245***	0.250***	0.261***	0.212***
	(0.765)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Distance to	-0.219***	-0.192***	-0.304***	-0.373***	-0.288***	-0.246***	-0.168**	-0.127*
Wittenberg								
	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.016)	(0.069)
N	678	679	674	674	678	671	672	679
\mathbb{R}^2	0.240	0.291	0.292	0.338	0.353	0.321	0.318	0.292
Panel C: Controlling for	Protestantism							
Shallow Christianity	-0.081*	0.053	0.045	0.055**	0.058**	0.059**	0.081***	0.096**
	(0.079)	(0.178)	(0.162)	(0.043)	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.009)	(0.037)
N	814	815	810	810	814	807	808	815
R^2	0.368	0.534	0.695	0.782	0.808	0.755	0.717	0.376

TABLE 2: OLS - NAZI SUPPORT, SHALLOW CHRISTIANITY AND DISTANCE TO WITTENBERG

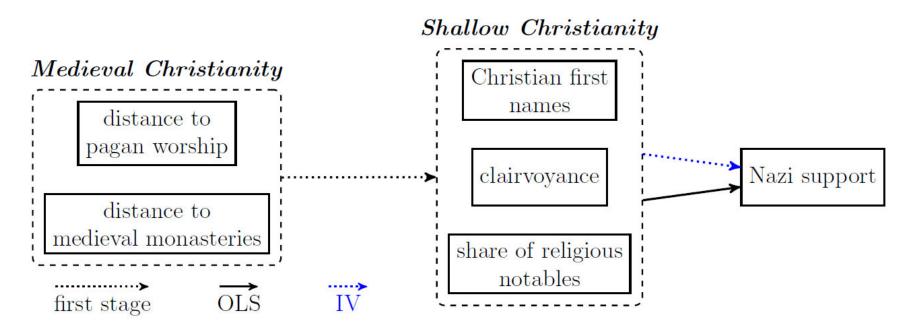
Alternative explanations – coefficient on SC

	Vote share NSDAP, all elections							Party entry	
	1928	1930	1932 - Jul.	1932 - Nov.	Pres. 32M	Pres. 32A	1933	1928-32	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
baseline	0.041	0.214***	0.317***	0.313***	0.325***	0.297***	0.285***	0.211***	
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.98)	
pogrom 1349	0.053	0.225***	0.332***	0.330***	0.343***	0.314***	0.297***	0.222***	
	(0.37)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	
any pogrom	0.049	0.220***	0.321***	0.317***	0.329***	0.301***	0.287***	0.219***	
	(0.42)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	
Danat exposure	-0.003	0.176^{*}	0.268***	0.301***	0.236**	0.274***	0.296***	0.191*	
	(0.98)	(0.08)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.06)	
associations per capita	0.164	0.330***	0.473***	0.455***	0.512***	0.461***	0.447***	0.317***	
	(0.18)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	

TABLE 4: ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Conceptual framework

FIGURE 5: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



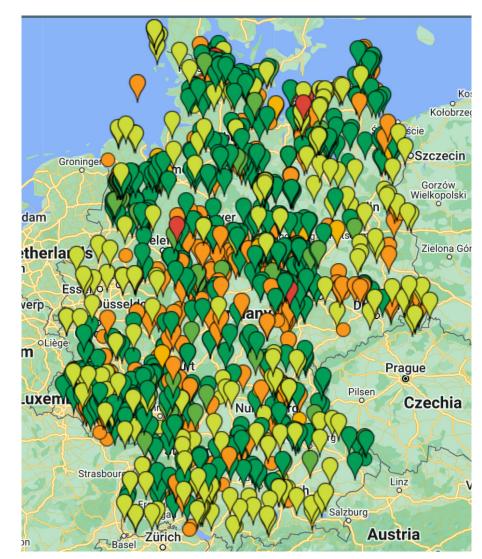
Pagan places of worship

- Sacrifice bog Vogtei, Thuringia
 - 200m from the village of Oberdorla
 - Supra-regional cult site from 600 BC to 500AD
 - Largest iron-age cult site in Europe
 - Altars of wooden figurines
 - Remains of cattle, sheep... and humans
- Collect data on places of pagan worship
- Geo-locate over 300 of them
- Calculate distances

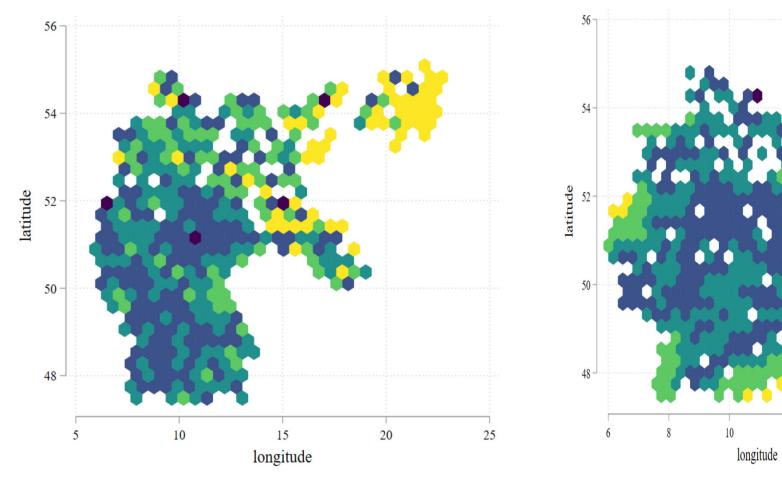


Pagan places of worship

- Sacrifice bog Vogtei, Thuringia
 - 200m from the village of Oberdorla
 - Supra-regional cult site from 600 BC to 500AD
 - Largest iron-age cult site in Europe
 - □ Altars of wooden figurines
 - Remains of cattle, sheep... and humans
- Collect data on places of pagan worship
- Geo-locate over 300 of them
- Calculate distances



Instruments



Distance to pre-1500 monastery

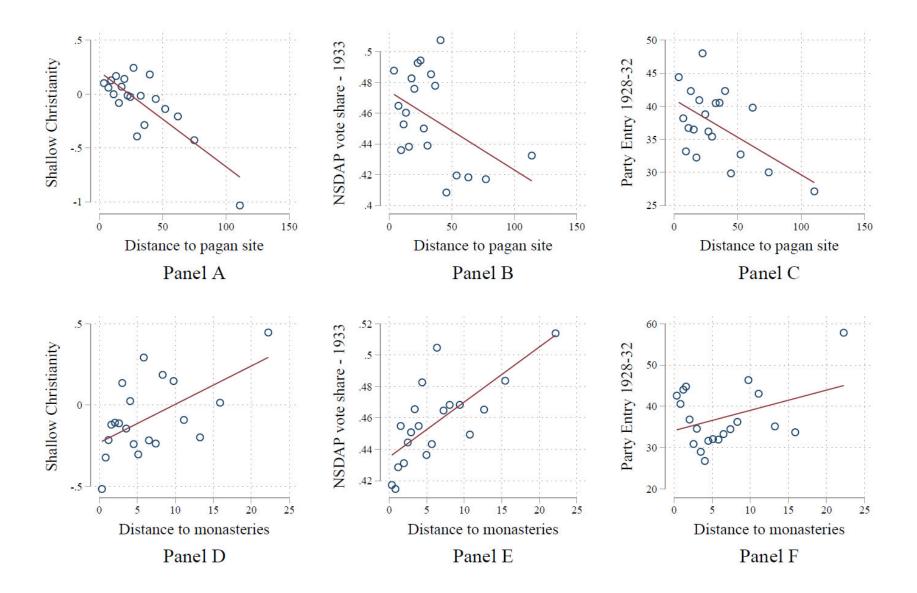
distance to pagan site

12

14

16

Measures of medieval religiosity



	First	Vote share NSDAP, all elections							
	Stage	1928 (2)	(3)	1932 - July (4)	<u>1932 - November</u> (5)	Pres. 32M (6)	Pres. 32A (7)	<u>1933</u> (8)	(9)
	(1)								
Panel A: Reduced Form	n								
Distance to medieval		-0.024	0.076**	0.177***	0.179***	0.148***	0.145^{***}	0.169***	0.096***
nonastery		(0.100)	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)
Distance to pagan		$(0.496) \\ 0.018$	(0.027) -0.111***	(0.000) -0.187***	(0.000) - 0.253^{***}	(0.000) - 0.252^{***}	(0.000) -0.241***	(0.000) - 0.126^{***}	(0.005) - 0.102^{***}
blace		0.018	-0.111	-0.187	-0.235	-0.232	-0.241	-0.120	-0.102
hace		(0.607)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)
2		0.001	0.017	0.062	0.090	0.080	0.074	0.041	0.018
1		827	846	829	829	830	782	782	842
Panel B: Basic Specific	ation								
Distance to medieval nonastery	0.265***								
·	(0.000)								
Distance to pagan	-0.116***								
place									
	(0.000)					(NY 140804 (1919))	11 NO 480 MONTO		
Shallow Christianity		-0.139	0.482***	0.896***	1.085***	1.095***	1.130***	0.820***	0.519***
2.9	0.00	(0.292)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
2	0.06	0.011	0.023	-0.319	-0.381	-0.384	-0.580	-0.277	-0.031
First stage F-stat Anderson Rubin		$30.6 \\ 0.57$	$32.6 \\ 0.0008$	34.56 < 0.0001	34.6 < 0.0001	30.5 < 0.0001	23.96 < 0.0001	25.6 < 0.0001	32.19 0.0001
-value		0.57	0.0008	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	0.0001
Varue	832	785	803	788	788	788	740	740	799
Panel C: Full Specifica	5.07010.8		000		100		110		100
Distance to medieval	0.073**								
nonastery									
	(0.015)								
Distance to pagan	-0.084								
lace									
	(0.33)								
hallow Christianity		-0.028	0.592***	0.933***	1.174***	1.178***	1.220***	0.802***	0.633***
2	0.00	(0.857)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
	0.06	0.032	-0.006	-0.242	-0.420	-0.422	-0.614	-0.077	-0.070
`irst Stage F-stat Anderson Rubin	24.5	$24.6 \\ 0.74$	24.4 0.0001	25.6 < 0.0001	25.6 < 0.0001	23.8 <0.0001	17.4 < 0.0001	18.7 < 0.0001	24.3 < 0.0001
-value		0.74	0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001
Vanue	832	776	777	766	766	765	717	717	777
	002	110	111	100	100	100	111	111	111

TABLE 3: NAZI SUPPORT AND SHALLOW CHRISTIANITY - IV ESTIMATES

Evidence from the local level

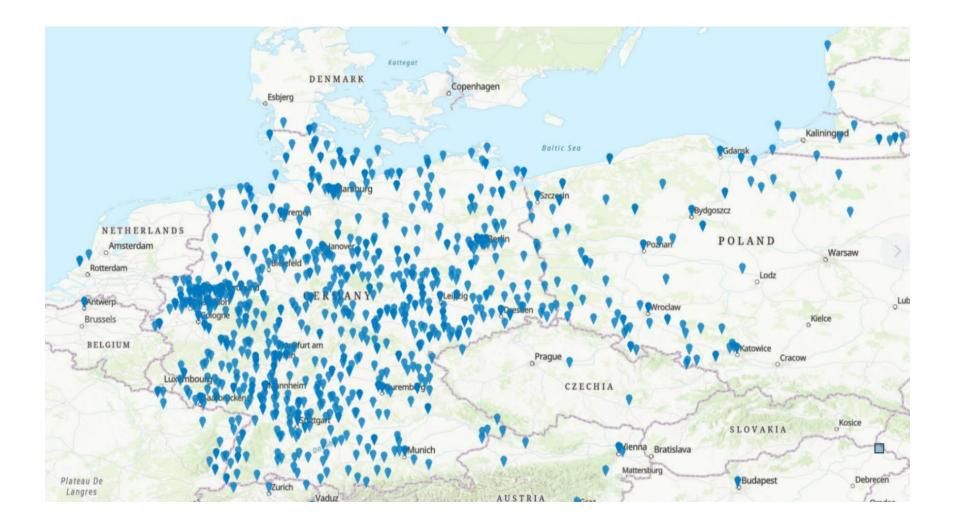


Herwegen, August, Dr. jur., Oberlandesgerichtspräsident, Breslau. Hohenzollernstraße 95/97.

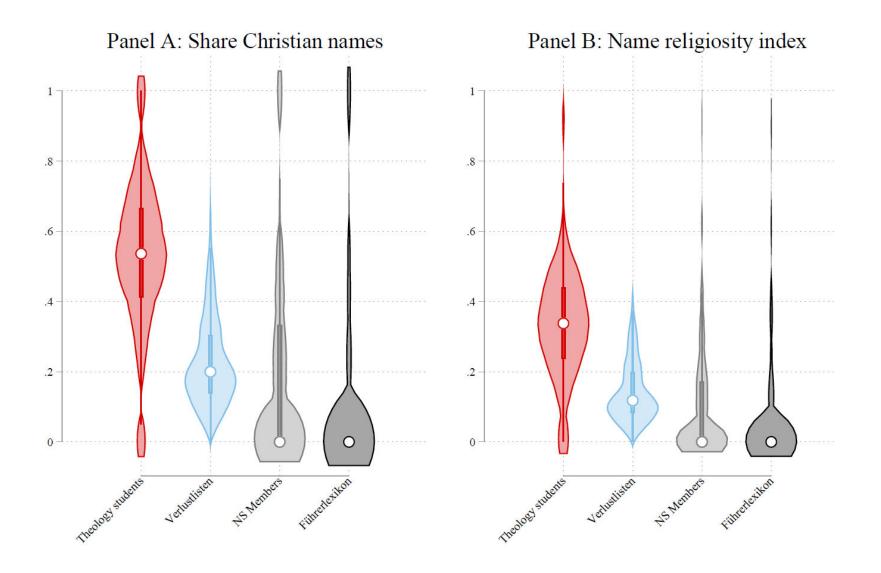
Geboren: 15. Oktober 1879 in Köln a. Rh. als Sohn des Gymnasialprof. Dr. Aug. H. -Bildungsgang: Gymnasium und Realgym-nasium der Kreuzgasse in Köln; Universitäten Genf, Berlin und Bonn; Doktor beider Rechte der Universität Bonn. – Militär-zeit, Kriegsauszeichnungen: Einj. des Inf.-Regts. 65; Leutnant d. Res. Inf.-Regt. 132; im Kriege Komp.-Führer und als Hauptmann d. Res. Batl.-Führer Inf.-Regt. 132 und 172. E. K. I. und II. - Berufsgang u. a.: 1. Januar 1906 Assessor; ab 1. April 1907 Amtsrichter Elberfeld; 1918 Oberlandesgerichtsrat in in Düsseldorf: 1920/24 deutscher Schiedsrichter am deutsch-franz. Schiedsgericht in Paris: 1926 Senatspräsident in Düsseldorf; 1932 Vizepräsident des Oberlandesgerichts Düsseldorf: 1. Juli 1933 Oberlandesgerichtspräsident in Breslau; Vorsitzender des jur. Prüfungsamts und deutscher Schiedsrichter beim Schiedsgericht für Oberschlesien; ab 1. Juli 1932 Mitglied der NSDAP. - Mitglied: Ab 1. Oktober 1932 Fachschaft Justiz; Deutsche Gesellschaft f. Völkerrecht; Deutsche Akademie, München.

- Use religiosity of names index on
 - Theology students
 - Average population ("Verlustliste")
 - Nazi party members
 - "leaders" of the Nazi party and those in leading positions who joined

Führerlexikon

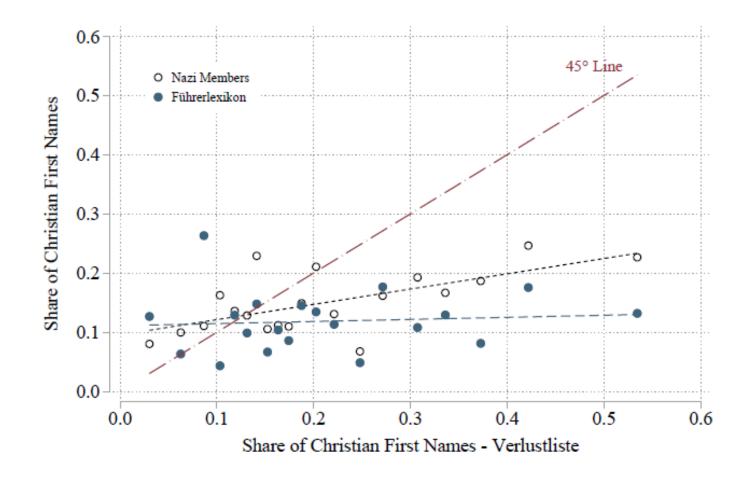


Nazi members have less Christian first names



... also at the local level, and even more for the "leaders"

FIGURE 10: NAME RELIGIOSITY BY LOCATION – GENERAL POPULATION AND NAZIS



Conclusions

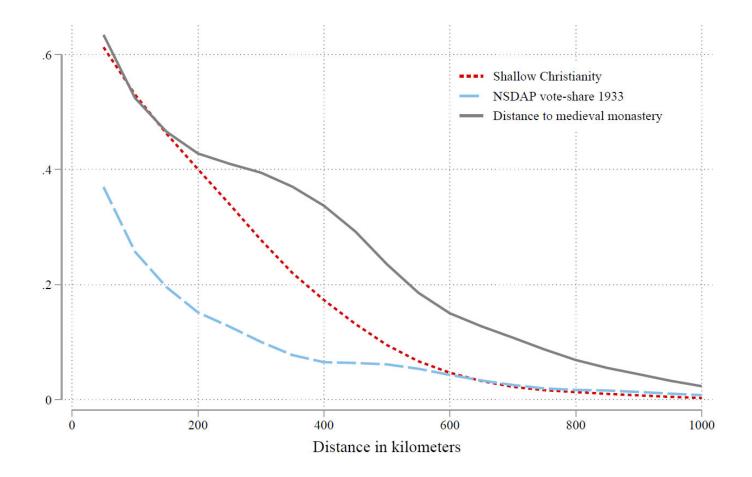
"God is Dead" (Friedrich Nietzsche) – What are the political consequences of secularisation?

"Where men are forbidden to honour a king they honour millionaires, [...] or gangsters. For <u>spiritual nature</u>, like bodily nature, <u>will be served</u>; deny it food and it will gobble poison." C.S. Lewis (1943)

- Our paper: Evidence that places with shallow roots in Christian belief fell for the Nazi movement more rapidly
- Evidence on
 - Christian first names, Clairvoyance, Christian symbols on gravestones
 - Quasi-religious motives of Nazi followers
- Link with charisma religious concept belief in extraordinary powers of a leader

Backup

Moran's I

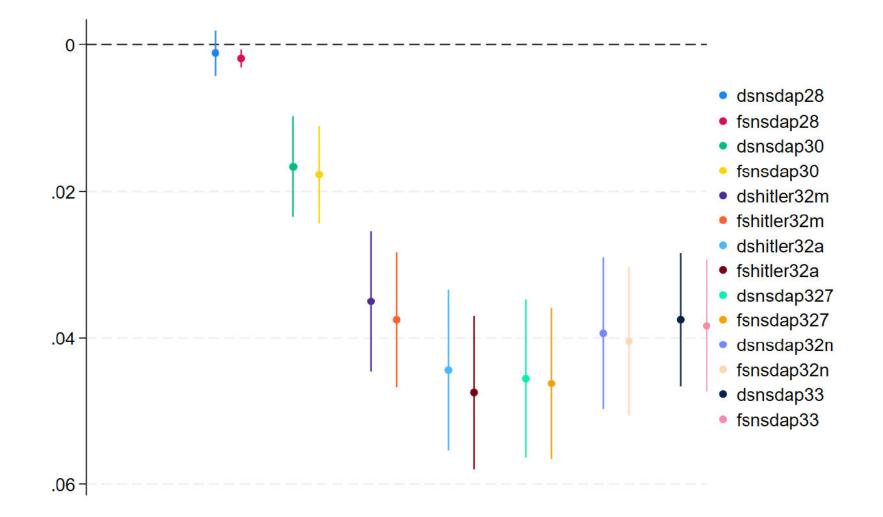


Coefficient on SC

TABLE A.8: CONLEY SPATIAL ERRORS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
dep. var.	OLS	Conley cut-off distance						
	SE	50	100	150	200	250		
NSDAP 1928	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.001		
NSDAP 1930	0.005^{**}	0.005***	0.006**	0.005***	0.004***	0.002**		
Pres. Elect. Mar 1932	0.008***	0.007***	0.009***	0.009***	0.006***	0.004***		
Pres. Elect. Apr 1932	0.010***	0.009***	0.010***	0.009***	0.006***	0.004***		
NSDAP Jul 1932	0.009***	0.009***	0.010***	0.009***	0.005***	0.004***		
NSDAP Nov 1932	0.009***	0.008***	0.009***	0.009***	0.005***	0.003***		
NSDAP 1933	0.007***	0.006***	0.008***	0.007***	0.003***	0.004***		
Party Entry 1928-32	1.494***	1.412***	1.707**	1.952**	1.605***	1.506***		

Robust estimation



Data

- "shallow" vs "deep" Christianity
 - □ (Church attendance data not comparable between Prot & Cath.)
 - □ 1930s: Christian first names
 - □ 1930s: Belief in clairvoyance ("seers"): large-anthropological survey.
 - □ 1930s: share of notables in religious professions
 - Smell test: Christian symbols on gravestones
- Medieval religiosity
 - □ pre-Reformation <u>monasteries</u>
 - distance to sites of pagan worship
- Outcomes:
 - Nazi vote shares in Weimar elections
 - Nazi party membership (hand-collected)

Nazi vote shares

- At electoral precinct level: ca. 1,000 precincts
- Use mainly March 1933 elections, the last «free» elections
- Collected by Hänisch (1989)
- Key controls:
 - □ White collar share 1925
 - □ Blue collar share 1925
 - □ Log Population 1925 (or Area 1925)
 - □ Share Protestant 1925 (bad control?)
 - □ [... additional variables in robustness checks ...]