

**RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION:
A STUDY IN POLITICAL
PSYCHOLOGY**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649689088

Religious Persecution: A Study in Political Psychology by E. S. P. Haynes

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E. S. P. HAYNES

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A STUDY OF
POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

E. S. P. HAYNES

LATE SCHOLAR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

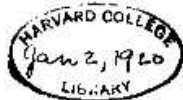
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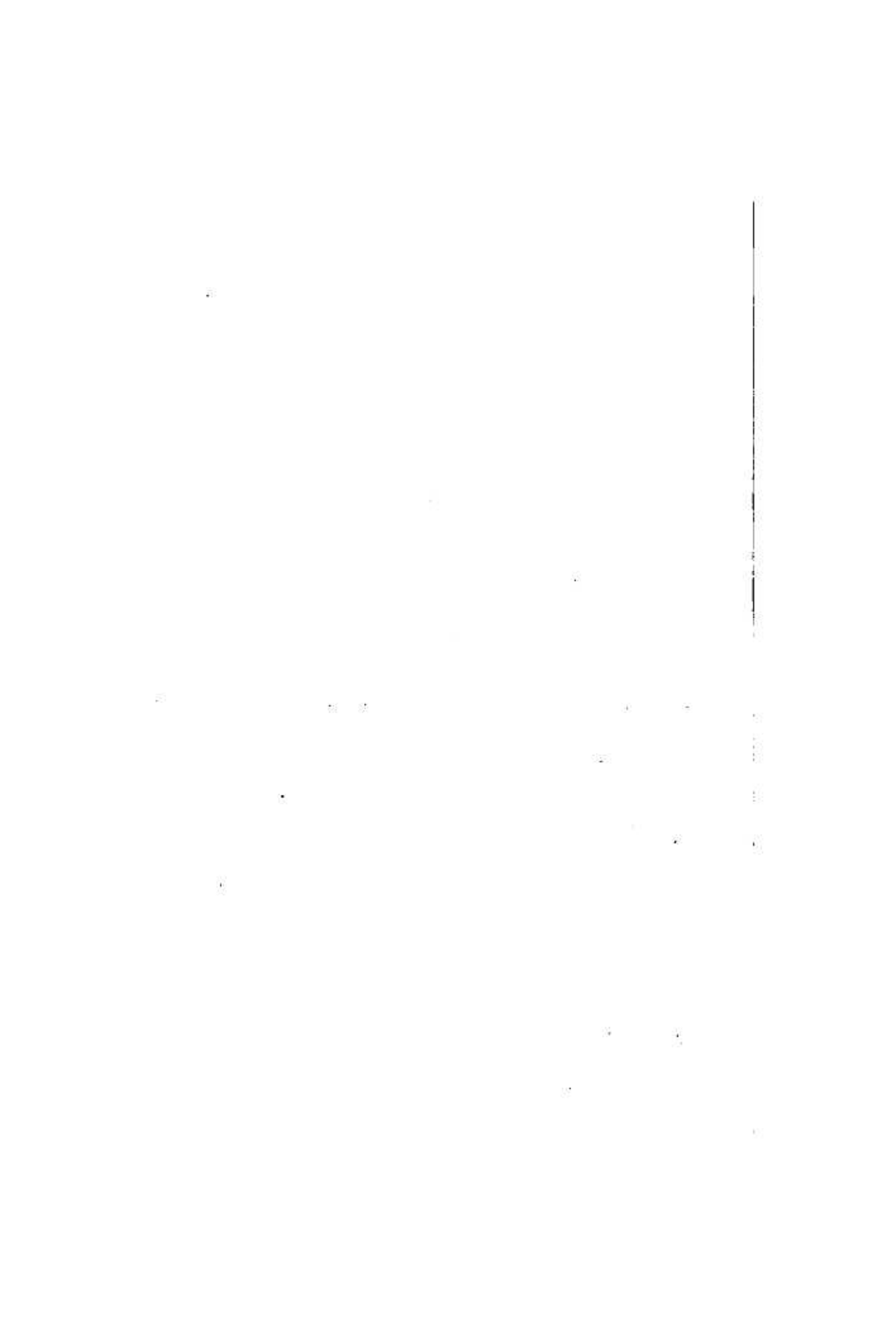
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"In this respect, Religion, according to common practice in many sects, may be compared to that sort of courtship of which the fair sex are known often to complain. In the beginning of an Amour when these innocent Charmers are first accosted, they hear of nothing but tender Vows, Submission, Service, Love. But soon afterwards, when won by this appearance of Gentleness and Humility, they have resigned themselves and are no longer their own, they hear a different Note, and are taught to understand Submission and Service in a sense they little expected. Charity and Brotherly Love are very engaging sounds; but who would dream that out of abundant Charity and Brotherly Love should come Steel, Fire, Gibbets, Rods, and such a sound and hearty application of these Remedys as should at once advance the worldly greatness of religious Pastors and the particular interest of private Souls, for which they are so charitably concerned." — "Shattisbury's Characteristics," vol. III. p. 115.

Dedicated to
HERBERT FISHER, Esq.,
FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,



PREFACE

I FEAR that some apology is due to the reader for the publication of the following essay in its present form. The subject has always fascinated me, and I began writing on it when an Oxford undergraduate in 1899. My essay is an attempt to illustrate historically certain aspects of religious persecution and toleration which have not, I think, been sufficiently realised either by statesmen or historians. The clear perception of these aspects would probably make the adjustment of the relations between Church and State in our own day easier and more satisfactory. For example, it would be well for all to appreciate that a Church is not necessarily liberal because it is dissociated from the State, and, vice versa, that a new country is not necessarily tolerant because it is new, and other truths which must vitally affect the legislator's point of view.

The late Professor Ritchie, who with most rare generosity read and revised the manuscript, advised publication on these grounds, although he wished me to extend the latter part of the work as from the sixteenth century to a general survey of European history, instead of limiting it to the British Empire and United States. This might

certainly be done with advantage, but the example of the late Lord Acton's projected but never achieved history of Liberty is a permanent warning against the enlargement of a scheme already more extensive than any one writer can well undertake. There are many respects in which I should have liked to improve the form and scheme of the book, and also adapt it better for the use of the general reader as opposed to the student, but the claims of business on my time and strength are far too exacting to allow me to carry out my ideal, or even to keep my work sufficiently up-to-date by the revision that lapse of time necessarily demands. My genuine belief that the subject here discussed ought to be discussed must be my one excuse not only for publication, but also for all imperfections of form which a professed writer of books with a proper amount of leisure would, in my place, have been able to eliminate.

It is perhaps a common-place that the best things in life are given away without any idea of recompense or return. I certainly find it difficult to express my gratitude to those who have spent precious time and labour in helping me with this book. I should specially mention Mr Herbert Fisher, who first encouraged me to write it and subsequently revised it and suggested various alterations and interpolations. I have before alluded to the kindness, which I can never forget,

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of the late Professor Ritchie, and I must further acknowledge the most valuable aid of his colleague, Professor Herkless, and also of my friend Mr Hilaire Belloc, who most generously exerted his versatile sympathies and wide learning in advising me on a work which, I fear, cannot be altogether congenial to a Catholic. Mr N. Harris Nicolas, Mr W. H. Forbes, Mr R. Vernon, and Mr J. H. Morgan, have also been good enough to read the book and make interesting suggestions.

My thanks are due to Mr Joseph M'Cabe for reading the proofs and compiling the index.

August 1904.