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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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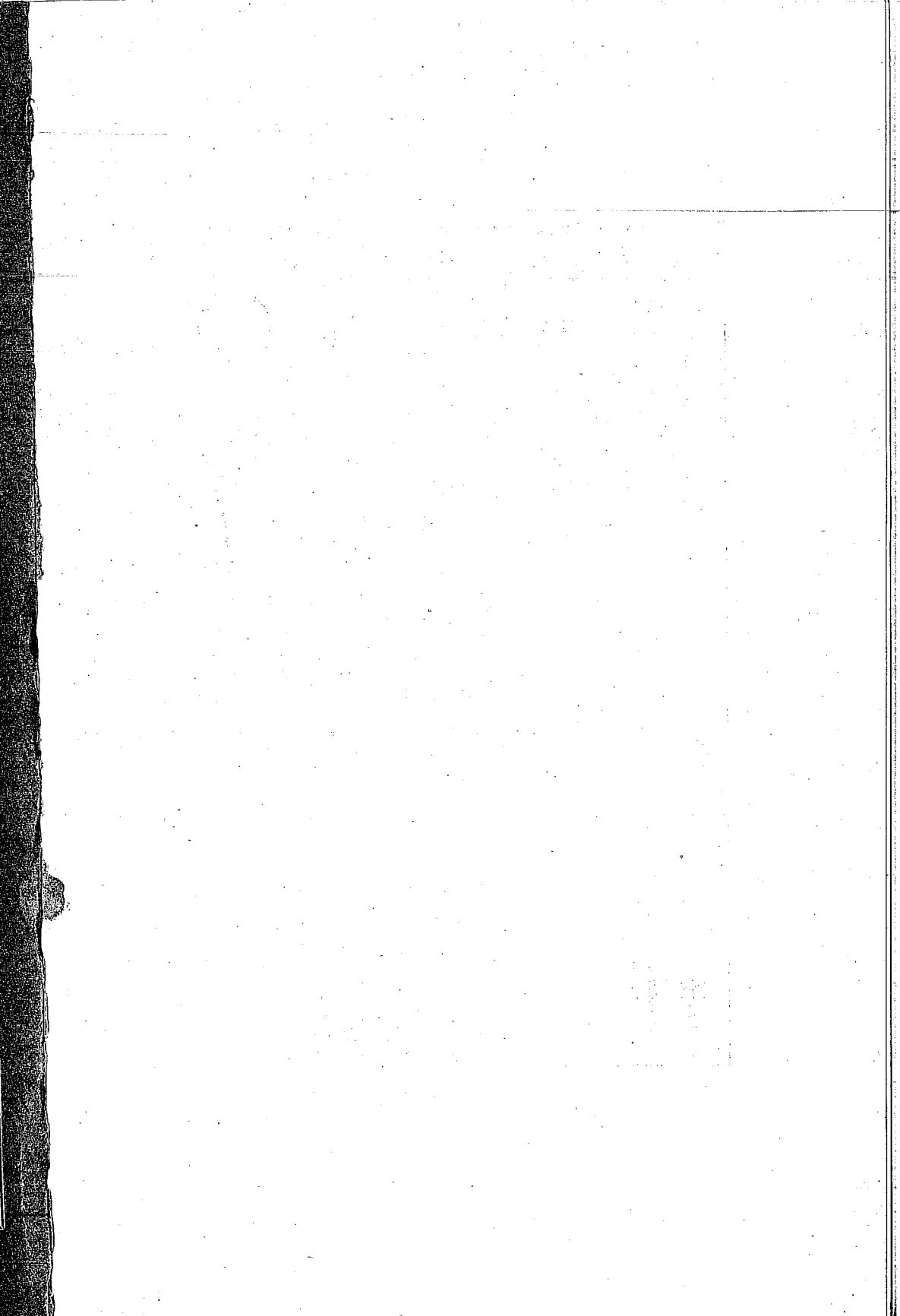
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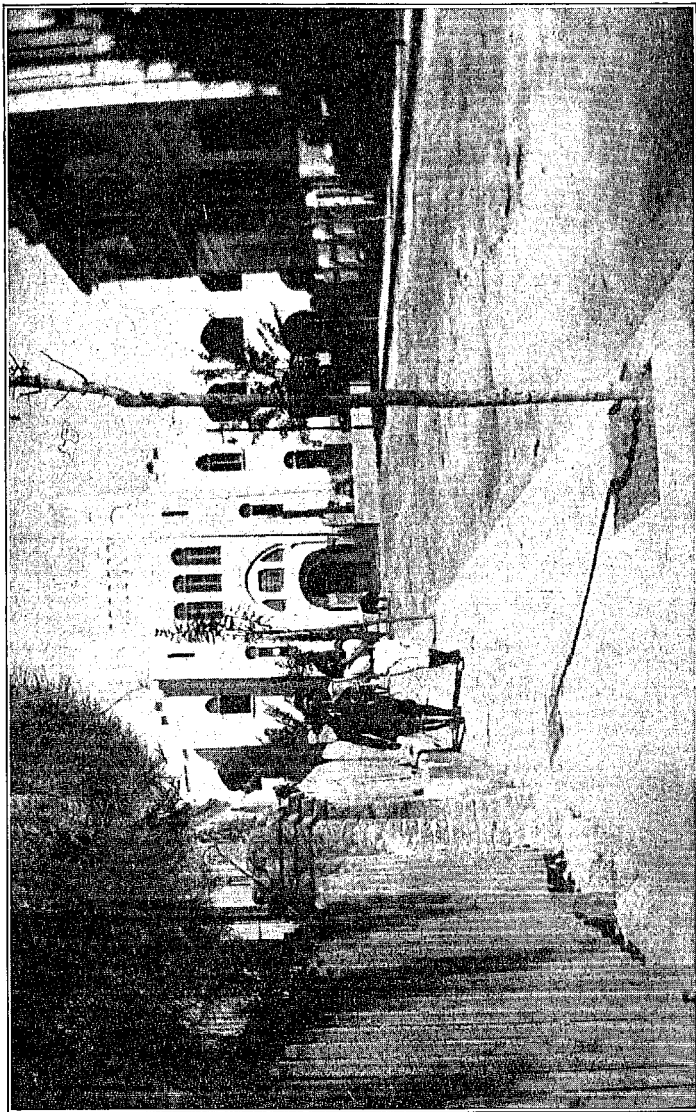
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STREET AND HIGH SCHOOL AT TEL AVIV.

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SATANISM IN FRENCH ROMANTICISM.¹

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN.

PERHAPS in no other respect do the literatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contrast so strongly as in their relation to the Prince of the world. The classical period, in its reaction to medieval thought, disdainfully turned away from the Devil. Boileau, who dictated the classical creed, let his ban fall on all Christian Supernaturalism, but he was especially opposed to the introduction of the Devil into poetry. The eighteenth century, which was such a bitter enemy of the Supernatural, was particularly squeamish with regard to Satan. The writers of this "saeculum rationalisticum" even scorned to mock at Moloch. Voltaire, who, though believing in nothing, believed in ghosts for tragedy (*Sémiramis*, 1748), opposed the introduction of the Devil into poetry as violently as Boileau.² A distinct reaction in the Fiend's favor is brought about at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Of all continental countries, France, the center of the revolutionary spirit of Europe, was particularly eager to make the "amende honorable." She showed herself very anxious to make up for her long neglect of the Devil's literary possibilities. The prevalence and perseverance of the personality of Satan in modern French literature constitutes one of its chief characteristics. The Devil, to be sure, has not again assumed the prominent position he occupied in medieval literature, but if he is a less important, he is a more imposing character in the literature of modern times. In

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association held at the University of Pennsylvania, December 28-30, 1922.

² Henry Fielding likewise gives preference to the ghost in literature. He says in *Tom Jones* (1749): "The only supernatural agents, which can in any manner be allowed to us moderns, are ghosts."

our days the Devil is not an object of contempt, but of consideration. He is not treated comically, but seriously, nay sympathetically.

Satanism—and Supernaturalism in general—in nineteenth century French literature has sprung from such varied roots, has developed after such various methods, and has served such a variety of purposes that it is very difficult to enter into a detailed investigation of its different aspects. Supernaturalism was the great bait of the Romantic movement in France as elsewhere. It was also an essential part of the Romantic recoil from the rationalism of the previous period. In their terror of the "salons" of the eighteenth century, the men of the nascent nineteenth sought refuge in the nursery. The revival of a belief in the Supernatural was, of course, fated to come as the predestined swing of the pendulum. But this belief received a great impetus from the revolutionary wars. War spells atavism, a re-emergence of the primitive in man. In moments of danger, we always return to the faith begotten of the deep feelings and fears of childhood. When the fear of death is upon us, all thoughts which hitherto lay hidden in some remote chamber in the back of our brain forge their way to the fore. This is the explanation of numerous death-bed conversions. In hours of calamity, nations as well as individuals show an inclination to return to the pious beliefs of the past. Furthermore, in time of war, the mystic notion is generally revived that the war waged upon earth is but a part of the great cosmic conflict between the powers of good and of evil, with each belligerent claiming the Deity, of course, for himself and assigning the Devil to his enemy. Our recent war has furnished abundant illustrations of these propositions.

Chateaubriand's championship of the beauties of the Christian religion was but an expression of this revulsion in popular opinion. With the instinct peculiar to genius, Chateaubriand took hold of the ideas which a temporary reaction in men's feelings had brought to light and gave them eloquent expression. His own Christian Supernaturalism was, as has already been shown,³ a caricatured classicism. The Catholicism of Lamennais filled it with its Christian content. In the hands of the first three great Romantics, Lamartine, Vigny and Hugo, who subjected themselves to the spiritual direction of Lamennais, while accepting the literary authority of Chateaubriand, Christian Supernaturalism became Christian in spirit as well as in matter. In their communings with Lamennais, the

³ Cf. The present writer's study, *Supernaturalism and Satanism in Chateaubriand* (1922), p. 37.

young poets acquired a Christian way of thinking and feeling. Their imagination was fired by the "apocalyptic visions" of their master. In his conversations with his young friends, Lamennais already developed the arguments of his *Essai sur l'indifférence*, this apologetic of terror. He dwelt for the most part on the great mystery which lies beyond the tomb, on the coming of the Antichrist, and on the Day of Judgment. The echo of this dread of Death and the Devil is found in Hugo's first collection of poems (1882). Hugo's period of belief was indeed brief, but the seduction of Satan remained his inspiration throughout life.

When Rousseau's liberalism successfully combated Chateaubriand's Catholicism, Satanism—and Supernaturalism in general—suffered no setback. Medievalism saved the day for Satan in French Romanticism. The interest which the Romantics showed in medieval legend was of great benefit to Beelzebub. What most attracted the Romantic imagination to medievalism was its "chevalerie" and "diablerie." These two aspects of medieval civilization have more in common than would appear at first sight. The Devil, roaming about and seeking whom he may devour, is kin to the knight. There certainly was great diabolic activity in the Dark and Middle Ages.⁴ In the days of our medieval ancestors, the Devil was an object of the greatest concern. His doings and disguises received the most elaborate treatment. He occupied a position of paramount importance in medieval art and letters. In the medieval drama the Fiend even frisked in the flesh. The grotesk aspect of the medieval Devil with his horns, goat's feet and bat's wings was particularly pleasing to Hugo, who, in his *Préface de Cromwell* (1827), this manifesto

⁴ "The Middle Ages frightened us with a lugubrious phantasmagoria of devils snapping at a sinner's soul as it passed" (Anatole France).

⁵ Hugo erred grievously, of course, when he believed that it was reserved for Christianity to reveal and raise to its dignity the grotesk element in art. As far as the Devil is concerned, the form which he assumes in Christian art has been derived from the fabled gods of antiquity. The present writer cannot agree with Professor Morize, of Harvard University, who, in his discussion of this paper, stated that the introduction of the Devil into French Romanticism was chiefly the result of Hugo's theory of the grotesk. Apart from the fact that the Devil was present in Romanticism prior to the publication of the Preface to *Cromwell*, it is well worth noting that he never appears in the drama during the Romantic period, and the Preface to *Cromwell* is after all primarily an exposition of Hugo's views in regard to the new drama. It is only in the comic opera of the *Second Empire* that the Devil makes again his appearance on the stage in France.

of the Romantic School, declared the grotesk to be a necessary element in modern art.⁵

Germanism accorded well with medievalism and contributed equally to the vogue of the Devil in France. Swarms of demons, in company with elves, goblins and fairies, swooped down upon France from across the Rhine. It will no longer be considered a heresy to say that French Romanticism absorbed foreign elements. It would be just as erroneous to maintain that the Romantic movement in France was self-developed and independent of foreign influences as to affirm that it was altogether foreign in origin.⁶ We will come closer to the truth if we say that while French Romanticism is distinctly French in its inception and development, it received many impressions from its neighbors to the East and the West. But, of course, if France borrowed from other nations, she certainly paid back their own with interest. Fantasticism in French Romanticism bears a foreign stamp. The Frenchman has little sense of the fantastic. This element in the Romantic movement in France has a Teutonic taint. But even this statement must be taken with caution. For the Germans, as Balzac once said, did not possess the only prerogative to be absurd and fantastic.

Very important, indeed, for the position and power of the Devil in French Romanticism is its cosmopolitanism, this willing reception of foreign impressions, which is so characteristic of this movement in all continental countries. It is a fact well worth noting that almost all foreign poets who so deeply affected the young school in France were singers of Satan. I need only refer to Dante and Milton, to Goethe and Byron. Shakespeare and Scott also have their sorceries and diableries. There is mention of twenty devils in the Shakespearean plays, although these personages always remain behind the scenes. Léon Gozlan has described for us the attic room of a Romantic of 1830. On the wall hung a print of Milton's Satan, and on the writing table lay the Bible, the *Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, the *Messias*, *Faust*, and the *Génie du Christianisme*. Now all of these books spoke to the young authors and artists primarily or incidentally of the Devil.

The impression must not be gained, however, that the Devil is a foreign element in French Romanticism.⁷ The French mod-

⁶ Francis Eccles, in his *Liquidation du romantisme* (1919), maintains that French Romanticism was a deviation of his country's habitual spirit.

⁷ W. Reymond (*Cornelle, Shakespeare et Goethe; étude sur l'influence anglo-germanique en France au XIXe siècle*, 1864, p. 138) thinks that it was the German Hoffmann who created the furore of the Fiend in France.

ified in their own manner and impressed with their own personality the Devil they had obtained abroad. It must be admitted, though, that Diabolus was not so easily acclimated in France. In his essay on Hoffmann, Gautier asks:

"And what reader of the *National* could ever entertain such dread of the Devil as to feel the shudder that ran down Hoffmann's back while he was engaged in writing his tales, and compelled him to wake his wife to keep him company? For the matter of that, what the Devil would the Devil come to Paris for? He would come upon other people who are far more devils than he is, and he would be taken in as readily as a country bumpkin. He would have his money swindled out of him at *écarté*; he would be fooled into taking shares in some company, and if he were not provided with proper papers, he would be sent to jail. Mephistopheles himself would strike us as rather childish. He has but just taken his degree at the University of Jena."⁸

But Gautier's fears were unfounded, and the Devil was most warmly welcomed in France. As a matter of fact, he became the rage of the Romantics. In his story of *Onuphrius* (1832), Gautier himself tells us what an absorbing interest the Jeune-France took in Diabolus. Their shelves were filled with books on occultism and mysticism. Onuphrius so firmly believed in the Devil that he lost his mind over this belief. Gautier himself, profoundly pagan though he was, also had a secret liking for Lucifer. Many of his characters show the cloven hoof. In his story, *le Diable à Paris*, Édmond Texier reports how the young poets and painters of the generation of 1830 actually dabbled in the diabolical arts. They invoked Satan with the tenacity of medieval sorcerers.

⁸ A reply to Gautier may be found in P. J. Stahl's preface ("Comment il se fit qu'un diable vint à Paris") to the well-known work in two volumes, *le Diable à Paris. Paris et les Parisiens. Moeurs et coutumes, caractères et portraits des habitants de Paris, tableau complet de leur vie privée, publique, politique, artistique etc.* (Paris, 1845-6). Balzac, Gautier, Karr, Musset, Nodier and George Sand among others contributed to this work. How popular the Devil was with the Romantics may further be seen from the number of periodicals they named after him. Petrus Borel, the lycanthrope, founded a newspaper with the title of *le Satan*. The literary journal, *le Corsaire*, changed its name to *le Corsaire-Satan* in 1845. This magazine was edited by Lepoittevin Saint-Alme and counted among its contributors Champfleury, Mürger, Banville, Marc Fournier and Baudelaire. In the latter half of the century we find a humorous journal in 1867 at Lyons named *le Démon*. In 1869 was founded the revolutionary paper *le Diable à quatre*. About the same time there also appeared an excellent literary journal with the title of *le Diable*, the principal contributors to which were Banville, Concourt, Dumas fils, Mendès and Zola.

But if the Devil, with a few exceptions, does not appear in person until a later period, his spirit is present in Romanticism from its very start. The Fiend is the very fount and foundation of the Romantic movement. He is first dimly seen as if behind a veil. The veil is soon lifted, and he appears in all his fiendishly fascinating beauty. Satan's shadow is cast over all the works of the Romantic period. Romanticism is thoroughly suffused with the spirit of Satan. Without the Devil there would be no Romanticism. It has been well said that if Satan had not existed, the Romantics would have invented him. Professor Saintsbury has remarked that "Romanticism had 'le diable au corps.'" We can now easily understand the reason why Romanticism always has had such a great hold on the human mind.

Satanism is not a part of Romanticism. It is Romanticism. It may well be said without any levity that Satan was the patron saint of the Romantic group. He impressed it with his personality to such an extent that it was soon named after him. The words Satanic and Romantic soon came to be wellnigh synonymous terms. The expression "Satanic School" applied by Southey to the Byronic group in England⁹ was accepted by Victor Hugo as a term of honor for the corresponding movement in his own country. Auger, that bitter assailant of the Romantics, was not altogether wrong when in a speech at the Academy he called Romanticism a "hellish poetry which seems to have been commissioned by Satan." The Romantic School won its greatest victory over its opponents when it was fighting under the standard of Satan. It was Mephisto's scarlet waist-coat that Gautier donned for the first night of *Hernani* as a symbol of Romantic revolt.

Romanticism was animated from its very beginning by that sin which caused the archangel to fall—"superbia." The most characteristic trait of the Romantic movement is this proud and rebellious spirit. "Et l'orgueil seul emplît les âmes romantiques," says a romantic poet in 1846. We must bear in mind that revolutionism is at the very root of all Romanticism. This was a movement of revolt against all authority of Heaven as well as of earth. Ro-

⁹ "The school which they have set up may properly be called the Satanic School; for though their productions breathe the spirit of Belial in their lascivious parts, and the spirit of Moloch in those loathsome images of atrocities and horror which they delight to represent, they are more especially characterised by a Satanic spirit of pride and audacious impiety, which still betrays the wretched feeling of hopelessness wherewith it is allied." (Preface to *Vision of Judgment*, 1821.)

manticism was the logical literary reflex of the political revolution. All French Romantics were members of the Opposition. They all were "of the Devil's party," to employ the term applied by William Blake to Milton. The Romantic School was, we may say without any unsympathetic intention, a human Pandemonium. George Sand might just as well have called her contemporaries sons of Satan as "sons of Prometheus." Even the sweetest and serenest of the great Romantics, Lamartine, also had a Satanic streak in him. He, too, has written his "Désespoir"; and the cry of despair uttered in this poem prolongs its echo through most of his later works.

We should not be led astray by the leaning which the Romantics first showed toward Catholicism and medievalism. Their profession of faith did not spring from a spirit of piety but of paradox. It was not from conviction but from contradiction that they exalted what others had brought down. They went mad over medievalism simply because their arch-fiend Boileau had despised it. They lauded to the skies the *Divina Commedia* and *Paradise Lost* for the only reason that these poems had preceded the *Art poétique*.^{9a} They championed Christianity wholly in a spirit of opposition to the preceding generation. And all the wrong the preceding generation had committed was, as the abbé Grillet has so cleverly put it, that it preceded them.¹⁰ Their Catholicism was at best of the Satanic sort. It never brought them any blessings from Rome. Anathema was the reward recently meted out by the Holy See to the last of Romantics, Anatole France, for his absorbing interest in Church lore and legend.

Romantic mysticism was a search for communion with the Devil rather than with the Deity. Modern mysticism, as Max Nordau has pointed out, shows an inclination to put the chief emphasis on traditional diabolism. In their mystic flights, the Romantics generally had to be satisfied with the Great Second-Best, as Carlyle has styled Satan. The gravitation of Romantic imagination was toward Hell rather than Heaven. Among their other forms of adventure, the Romantics undertook what Ben Johnson calls "a bold adventure for Hell." The Romantic spirit is best symbolized in Éloa, that angel of Heaven who descended to Hell to bring cheer

^{9a} "Les autres peuples disent: Homère, Dante, Shakespeare; nous disons: Boileau" (Victor Hugo).

¹⁰ "Le 'Satanisme' littéraire. Satan, héros romantique," in *le Correspondant* of February 25, 1922.

and comfort to her fallen brother. The Romantic poet, who considered himself a fallen god ("l'homme est un dieu déchu qui se souvient des cieux"), had a fellow-feeling for the fallen archangel.

Satan could not but appeal to the emotions of the Romantic generation. Emotionalism is an essential part of the Romantic temperament. This emotionalism manifested itself also in a feeling of universal sympathy for sinning and suffering humanity. Compassion was a master-passion with the Romantics. They considered pity as the greatest of all virtues—pity for the forsaken and forlorn, pity for the dispossessed and disinherited of this earth, pity even for sin and Satan. The sympathy, which the Romantics had for all sinners, was also extended to the Sinner from the Beginning. As a matter of fact, it was just on account of his sin that Satan inspired the Romantics with a singular sympathy. The Revolting Romantics felt irresistibly drawn to all rebels.

Satan's suffering puts a halo around even his sin. Supreme suffering, hence supreme sympathy. What suffering can indeed be compared to that of Satan? Just think! For thousands of years he has dragged through this world of sorrows the most wearied and the most restless spirit. The Devil appeals so pre-eminently to our instinct of compassion. He is the most solitary of all beings, and the Romantics appreciated isolated personalities. His melancholy endeared him to their sympathies; his mystery appealed to their imagination. The Romantics loved to feel their hearts swell and burn for the outcasts of society. Their sympathy embraced "all their brothers in misery, all the prisoners of this earth" (Vigny). They pleaded for the beggar and the bandit, for the courtesan and the criminal. The sympathy which they showed so freely and so generously to all victims, whether individuals, classes or nations, could not very well be refused to Satan. He was among the "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties," on the side of which the Romantics threw their weight. It is well known what a resistless attraction hopeless suffering had for Romantic imagination. As Satan was, moreover, suffering from the stern condemnation of a superior power, he was the worthiest object of Romantic devotion.

The Devil is the master-character in Romantic poetry. He is the ideal Romantic hero, the original after which all other characters have been more or less modelled. What are all these heroes and semi-heroes of the Romantic School, from René to Rollo, but water-color sketches of the Devil himself? Diabolus is the original

beau ténébreux, the real "man of the night," laden with a malediction and drawing disaster in his train. Satan in his own person sums up and surpasses all those sad and suffering, sentimental and sinning souls of the Romantic School.¹¹

Thus the Devil was the typical figure of the Romantic period. The Romantic generation saw in Satan its spirit best personified. He was the symbol of all its aspirations and afflictions. He represented in the eyes of the Romantics all that they loved and cherished. He was the incorporation of all Romantic longing and yearning. The Romantic age painted itself and recognized itself in Satan more fully and more perfectly than in any other of its characters. The Romantics felt that they had so much in common with the Devil that they looked up to him as to their elder brother. They found in him much of their own unhappy lot, of their own thwarted ambitions. The Devil is the very embodiment of the malady of the century, which is the most characteristic trait of Romanticism. In the celestial outlaw the *Weltschmerz* has been made flesh. We refer especially to Lélia's outburst of despairing pessimism shortly before her death.¹² Satan personified the daring and self-sufficiency, the mystery and gloom, the love of liberty and hatred of authority, all of which every Romantic held as his highest ideal. The Devil is the greatest enthusiast for the liberty and spontaneity of genius. He is the sublimest and supremest incarnation of the spirit of individualism. He is the grandest symbol of protest against tyranny, celestial or terrestrial. Was Satan not the first to proclaim the sovereignty of the individual spirit? Is he not the first of all rebels against constituted authority? Did he not first utter the words

¹¹ Satan caught the sentimental melancholy characteristic of the Romantic period. The reader will perhaps recall Don Juan's words in Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*: "Though there is much to be learned from a cynical devil, I really cannot stand a sentimental one."

¹² "Alas! despair reigns, and moans of suffering emanate from every pore of the created world. The wave casts itself writhing and moaning on the beach, the wind weeps and wails in the forest. All those trees, which bend and only rise to fall again under the lash of the storm, suffer frightful torture. There exists one miserable, cursed being, terrible, immense—the world which we inhabit cannot contain him. This invisible being is in everything, and his voice fills space with one eternal sob. Imprisoned in the universe he writhes, strives, struggles, beats his head and his shoulders against the confines of Heaven and earth. He cannot pass beyond them; everything crushes him, everything curses him, everything hates him. What is this being and whence does he come? . . . Some have called him Prometheus, others Satan; I call him desire."

"Non serviam" which burn on the lips of a René, an Antony, a Manfred, and a Giaur?

The rebel poet reached his hand out to the rebel angel. The man in opposition to society, which refused to accept his claims, had a fellow-feeling for Satan, who is the father of all misunderstood geniuses. The man who shook off the trammels of tradition felt a kinship with the angel who was the first to combat conformity. The rebel against convention, creed and critic on earth felt drawn to him who demanded liberty of thought and action in Heaven. The Romantics could never speak of Satan without tears of emotion and admiration. "Cher Satan" was always on their lips. They pitied him as an outlaw, they applauded him as a rebel. "Toujours un noble cœur aimera le rebelle," declares a Romantic poet in 1846. Satan was the symbol of the French revolution. He was the spirit of the great revolt which was sweeping all over Europe a century ago. He was the inspiration of the July revolution, the leader of the great army of Human Freedom, as Heine called the lovers of liberty of his day. The champions of liberty on earth hailed the hero of celestial combat as the first martyr in the cause of liberty—"le premier rêveur, la plus vieille victime," as Leconte de Lisle calls the Devil.

Satan was selected by the Romantic generation as its spokesman. The Romantics were always "complaining and sighing and wailing," and who was better fitted than the Devil to give expression to the darkness and doubt, to the disenchantment and despair of their souls? Satan was the interpreter of their sorrows and heart-searchings. He voiced their rebellious and blasphemous thoughts. The genius of that hapless and helpless generation uttered its cry of protest against the world and its Maker through the mouth of the great Accuser. From his lips was heard man's despairing cry of anguish against the accumulated miseries of many thousands of years, against the ever-increasing sufferings of thousands of generations.

What threw the Romantics straight into the arms of the Devil was their pessimism. It must be counted to the Romantics for righteousness that they deeply occupied themselves with the problem of human destiny. The question of the existence of evil obsessed their thoughts. Their eyes were open to the sorrows, the sufferings and the struggles of humanity. They made moan over the miseries and maladies of mankind. They were touched by the boundless wretchedness of the common lot of humanity. They were

puzzled over man's painful powerlessness of life. The question which tormented the Romantics most was: Why is the world so full of ugly and wicked things? Their souls were filled with righteous indignation over the reign of injustice all about them. Theirs was the revolt of the human reason crying out in despair: "He who is almighty has willed that pain should be!" Romanticism is the consciousness of a disorder in the individual and in the world in general. The Romantics believed that all was evil in this world of ours. Now the ruler of an evil world must necessarily himself be evil.¹³ There is no escaping from this inference. Pessimism naturally leads to anti-theism. The French with their logical minds were more consistent in their disillusionment than the men of other nations. If we abandon the Christian teaching of purification through suffering—and that is just what the Romantics did—what solution can we indeed find to the problem of evil in the world?

The Romantics were faced by a world sick and weary, yet battled on, with a courage which would make a pagan god relent, but which had no power to move the Christian God. What other conclusion could they draw but that God did not concern himself with the affairs of this earth? Thus they pictured to themselves the ruler of the universe as cold and cruel, standing aloof from his creation in eternal unconcern or even as actually finding joy in human suffering and struggling.¹⁴

Small wonder that God saw rising up against him the great Rebels! Still less need we wonder to find that man harbors a secret admiration for these Contemners of the Creator! Says Alfred de Vigny:

"La terre est révoltée des injustices de la création. Elle dissimule par frayeur de l'Éternité; mais elle s'indigne en secret contre Dieu qui a créé le Mal et la Mort. Quand un contempteur des Dieux paraît, comme Ajax, fils d'Oïlée, le monde l'adopte et l'aime; tel est Satan, tels sont Oreste et Don Juan. Tous ceux qui luttèrent contre le ciel injuste ont eu l'admiration et l'amour secret des hommes."¹⁵

¹³ Proudhon, author of the famous dictum, "Property is theft," has also said, "God is evil." Stendhal, though denying the existence of God ("God's only excuse is that he does not exist"), hated him as one hates a master. Blanqui cried: "Neither God nor master!"

¹⁴ "Etes-vous sourd, ô mon Dieu, ou le désordre serait-il votre gloire?" cries Jules Favre in his *Anathème* (1834).

¹⁵ "The world revolts at the injustices entailed by the creation; dread of the Eternal prevents it from speaking openly; but its heart is full of hatred of the God who created evil and death. When a defier of the gods, like

For as pessimism leads to antitheism, so antitheism leads to Satanism. If what has been considered good is found to be bad, what opposes it necessarily must be good. The eternal war waged between the Lord and Lucifer is not for glory but for humanity. In his rebellion against the Deity, the Devil was actuated not by lust of power, but by pity of man. The attempt to overthrow God's government had for its aim the liberation of the world from his tyranny. Satan was thus considered as a Christian equivalent for the pagan Prometheus. The railings of this fettered Titan against Jupiter in the numerous Prometheus poems of the Romantic School was but a thin veil for the blasphemies of Beelzebub. Cain, another favorite character among the revolting Romantics, was but a Satan clad in human flesh. Needless to say that this Devil is the very antithesis to the dogmatic demon. Our Romantic Satan has been divested of his traditionally diabolical character. Neither is he the old monster with horns and tail as described and illuminated in the medieval monastic missals and legends. He is an altogether new species of the *genus diaboli*. Instead of a demon of darkness, he is a god of goodness. He continues to be the enemy of the Lord, but he is no longer the enemy of man (Tasso's "gran nemico dell'umane genti").

Thus the diabolization of God led to the divinization of Satan. We know of at least two groups in Paris who in the first half of the last century conducted a Satanic cult and created a class of poetry expressing their worship of Satan: This movement was, of course, of a very harmless character. It was primarily but another manifestation of that seach for singularity which was the besetting sin of all Romantics. The Bohemian had to hold beliefs diametrically opposed to those of the bourgeois. A few of these Romantic *epigoni* may, however, have been led to their adoration

Ajax, the son of Oileus, appears, the world approves of him and loves him. Such another is Satan, such is Orestes, such is Don Juan. All who have combated the injustice of Heaven have been admired and secretly loved by men." Montégut (*Revue des deux mondes*, t. LXVIII, p. 231) thinks that Vigny might have shown better judgment in his selection of the contemners of the gods. Satan will do, but not Orestes, still less Don Juan. Alfred de Vigny would furnish an interesting subject for a psycho-analytic study. In a recent number of *Psyche and Eros* (vol. III, p. 68) Dr. Wm. Stekel writes: "Those who suffer from nervous depression hate God just as they hate everybody else. The malady is often ushered in with some blasphemy or revolt against God."

of Satan through their love of evil.¹⁶ The affirmation of the Devil naturally followed the rehabilitation of the world and the emancipation of the flesh. In discarding the ascetic dogmas of Christianity and refusing any longer to deny the world and the flesh, the young generation also refused to deny the Devil.¹⁷

"In more ways than one," says St. Augustine, "do men sacrifice to the rebellious spirits." As the Christians gathered on Sunday morning to sing glory to God, these diabolists congregated on Sunday evening to honor Satan with hymns and harpings.¹⁸ Each member of the group officiated in his turn, in other words, recited the verses he had written for the occasion. These extravagants, in their eagerness to show their opposition to all tradition, proclaimed that "fair is foul and foul is fair." They expressed a delight over the works of the Devil and a disgust for the acts of the Deity. They even argued the goodness of the seven deadly sins.¹⁹ In all likelihood a few among them even went as far as to put their teachings into practice and "romanticized" their lives, as they called it in those Romantic days. The Romantic search for new sensations led to all sorts of sexual aberrations. Thus the Romantic rant about self-expression and self-fulfilment was reduced to the ridiculous. These devotees of the Devil wished and prayed for a universal reign of evil and predicted the day when the Devil

¹⁶ This movement, too, is a natural outgrowth of Chateaubriand's advocacy of the Supernatural. "Naturally," says Max Nordau in his *Degeneration* (p. 292), "the love of evil can only take the form of devil-worship or diabolism, if the subject is a believer—if the supernatural is held to be a real thing. Only he who is rooted with all his feelings in religious faith will, if he suffers from moral aberration, seek bliss in the adoration of Satan, in impassioned blasphemy of God and the Saviour."

¹⁷ It was reserved for Sar Péladan to raise the cry: "Let us deny Satan!"

¹⁸ The French diabolists held views which were taught by the Gnostics and are found in the books of the Kabbalists and the Magi. The German Luciferians of the 13th century also believed that Lucifer had been unjustly banished from Heaven and pronounced anathema against St. Michael, the hero of Heaven. George Sand, in her novel, *Consuelo* (1842), deals with the sect of the Hussites, who likewise believed that Satan had been wronged and who greeted each other with the word: "Celui à qui on a fait tort te salue."

¹⁹ The son of poor Pierre Huet similarly declared in his *Salamandre*: "Vice, crime, infamie, voilà les seules choses qui ne trompent jamais." Cf. also Eugène Sue's *Sept péchés capitaux*.

should regain Heaven, wrest the reins of government from the hands of God and hold the world completely in his claws.²⁰

Even the orthodox in the ranks of the Romantics, who shared the traditional conception of the Devil, believed in his return to Heaven. According to their view, however, Satan's ascension will be preceded by his reformation and will bring about a universal reign of good. The Romantic dream of a paradisaical transformation of this earth was symbolized by the Salvation of Satan. That happy change in the character of the Devil, which Origen anticipated, for which Thomas Aquinas prayed and to which Robert Burns looked forward, was eloquently preached by the humanitarians among the Romantics. Already Mme. Krüdener, the Swedeborgian mystic, who converted many handsome but wicked men even at the cost of her virtue, believed in the possibility of Satan's conversion.²¹ Vigny (in his contemplated second part of *Éloa*), Gautier, Soumet, Quinet and Hugo, they all predicted Satan's redemption and restoration to celestial favor. The last evangelist who claimed to have converted the Devil is Jules Bois in his *Noces de Sathan* (1892).²²

²⁰ Cf. Louis Maigron, *le Romantisme et les mœurs* (1910), p. 193.

²¹ "Je ne puis m'empêcher de désirer que l'enfer vienne à ce Dieu si bon."

²² Anatole France's abbé Jérôme Coignard also hopes for the redemption of Satan. Our own Reverend Tillotson, a Universalist minister, was deposed by his church for extending its doctrine of universal salvation to Satan.