THE PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW
EDITED BY
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OF THE SAGE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

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Contents for March, 1931

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PUBLISHED EVERY TWO MONTHS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

SINGLE NUMBERS $1.00 (5s.). PER ANNUM $5.00 (25s).
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Published monthly by

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337 East Chicago Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

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Address all correspondence to the Open Court Publishing Company, 337 East Chicago Ave., Chicago.

Entered as Second-Class matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879.

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THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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Volume XLV (No. 2) FEBRUARY, 1931 Number 897

THE SALVATION OF SATAN IN MODERN POETRY
BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THE reversal of poetic judgment with regard to the Devil is among the most striking characteristics of the modern period. The popular medieval conception degraded Diabolus from the former high potentate of paradise to a powerless and ludicrous personage, who served our ancestors as the butt of such laughter as still rings across the ages. The modern period, on the other hand, has clothed the Devil with the pathos of a defeated hero. The Devil of today forms a complete contrast to his confrère of former times. The modern devil is as fascinating as the medieval devil was frightful; he is as bright and beautiful as his predecessor was dismal and dreadful. The new devil enlists as much of our sympathy and admiration as the old devil inspired horror and terror in medieval man.

This change of attitude toward the Devil during the past century has been well expressed by Renan, who, in an anonymous article, writes as follows: 1

"Of all the formerly accursed beings that the tolerance of our century has raised from their anathema, Satan is, without contradiction, the one who has chiefly profited from the progress of the lights [of reason] and of universal civilization. The Middle Ages, which understood nothing of tolerance, found pleasure in representing him as wicked, ugly and distorted. . . . A century as fruitful as our own in rehabilitations of all kinds could lack no reasons for excusing an unfortunate revolutionary, whom the need of action threw into hazardous enterprises. If we have become indulgent toward Satan, it is because Satan has thrown off a part of his wickedness and is no longer that

1 Journal des Debats, April 25, 1855.
baneful spirit, the object of much hatred and horror. Evil is evidently nowadays less strong than it was in former times.”

As so aptly stated by Renan in the foregoing passage, the century which demanded the rehabilitation of all outcasts of terrestrial society, the bastard and the bandit, the courtesan and the criminal, also claimed the restoration and return to heaven of the celestial outlaw.

From the philosophical point of view, the conception of Satan’s conversion and re-admission to heaven is the corollary of faith in the perfectibility of man, and belief in the consequent end of evil on earth. This utopian hope for the final triumph of universal good, which was aroused in the minds of men during the eighteenth century, was still strengthened by the French Revolution. The enthusiasts of this great historical event believed that the revolutionary revelation would put an end to the reign of the Powers of Evil, and usher in the universal reign of the Powers of God. Furthermore, many metaphysicians developed the theory of the Devil’s repentance and return to heaven as part of their explanation of the origin and function of evil in the cosmic order. They believed in the essential unity and fundamental identity of good and evil. The poets of the past century followed the path paved by the philosophers of the preceding century and envisaged the salvation of Satan as a symbol of their belief in the messianic era approaching for all mankind. They desired to bring about a reconciliation of the Deity with the Devil, or, as it would seem, aspired to marry hell to heaven.

From the æsthetic point of view, the idea of Satan’s salvation is the natural outgrowth of the literary conception of Satan. Byron and Shelley created in the Devil a personage whom a superficial reader might well call Promethean. What then was left to their French followers? Nothing but a step further in the attempt to lead the fallen archangel back to heaven.

It must be admitted, however, that this original and spiritual idea of the salvation of Satan, beautiful as it may be philosophically, is neither æsthetically nor theologically acceptable. Such a conception of Satan is inconsistent with the grandeur of the Personality of Evil. The sentimental devil, who repents his past wrongs and is willing to creep to the Cross, is certainly inferior to Byron’s impenitent Empyrean, who scorns all ideas of reconciliation with his ancient Adversary, and who prefers torment to “the smooth agonies
of adulation, in hymns and harpings, and self-seeking prayers." The idea of Satan's return to his former paradisaical position is also in flat contradiction to the traditional belief in the irreversibility of the Devil's doom. All successful treatment of the Devil in literature and art, however, must be made to conform to the norm of popular belief and Catholic dogma. In art we are all orthodox, whatever our views may be in religion.

Orthodoxy has always taught that Satan is doomed for all eternity. The Devil, it is maintained by the theologians, is damned beyond redemption, and cannot repent and win pardon like Adam. The fall of Satan, according to Catholic creed, is greater than that of our first ancestor. The original sin, by which mankind fell a prey to the powers of hell, will be wiped out, at least for a part of mankind, but Satan's sin can never be expiated. This Catholic conviction is based on the biblical text that "the Devil will be destroyed utterly" (Hebr. ii. 14; cf. also Ex. xxviii. 18-19). St. Michael, who appears in Jude 9 as the enemy of Satan, will in the end of days, according to the Revelation of St. John (xii. 7 ff.), vanquish the diabolical dragon. The Adversary will be chained eternally in hell, the portals of which will never again open to permit him to molest mankind.

The dogma of the eternal damnation of the Devil was, however, not universal in the Church. Basing their belief on the biblical passage: "Even the devils are subject unto us through thy name" (Luke x. 17), several fathers and doctors of the Church entertained hopes for the Devil's reform and restoration to heaven. Origen, who was among the leading authorities in deciding what was and what was not to be included in the New Testament, predicted the Devil's purification and pardon. This belief in the salvability of Satan was apparently shared by Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus and afterwards by Didymus and Gregory of Nissa. In the eighth century, St. John Damascene taught that the Lord gave Satan some time to reform after the sin of the fall, but that the Tempter used it instead to lead Adam astray. In the following century, the famous Irish philosopher and theologian, John Scotus Erigena, professed the belief that, inasmuch as all beings came from God, they must all return to him, including the evil spirits. A religious poem of the thirteenth century, *A Moral Ode*, contains the assertion that the Devil himself might have had mercy if he had sought for it.²

² *Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society), I, 214ff.
Father Sinistrary, the famous *consulteur* of the Inquisition, in the seventeenth century, argued that the atonement wrought by Christ included the demons, who might attain final beatitude. He even intimated, though more timidly, that even their father, Satan himself, as a participator in the sin of Adam and sharer of his curse, might be included in the general provision of the Deity for the entire and absolute elimination of the curse throughout nature.3

The belief in the final unity of Good and Evil, and the reconciliation of the Deity and the Devil, was taught by the magi and Gnostics and shared by many medieval sects. The modern George Sand, who expressed through the mouth of Lélia her belief that "the spirit of evil and the spirit of good are but one spirit, *i.e.*, God," later put this idea in the mouth of a heretical sect. We read in her novel *Consuelo* (1842-3) the following report concerning the supposed followers of John Huss in Bohemia:

"A mysterious and singular sect dreamed . . . of uniting these two arbitrarily divided principles into one single principle. . . . It tried to raise the supposed principle of evil from its low estate and make it, on the contrary, the servant and agent of the good."

Many pietists, deviating from orthodox teaching, also believed in the possibility of the repentance and restoration of the Devil. Madame de Krüdener (1764-1824), the Swedenborgian mystic, who converted many handsome but wicked men even at the cost of her own virtue, had the utmost confidence in her ability to bring about even Satan's conversion. This lady from Courland turned to religion after a rather dissipated youth, which she prolonged as much as she could.4 Having arrived at the conclusion that all was not well with the world, she decided to reform humanity, and was seized with a great ardor of proselytism. During her apostolic mission, she traveled all over Europe and preached her gospel to everyone she could reach; princes, kings, emperors, dwellers in huts, all listened with rapture to her inspired words. Her holy zeal to recall to the mercy of the Lord the inhabitants of this earth extended even to the hosts of hell. Again and again the idea of converting the very denizens of darkness,—nay the Devil himself, occurs in her writings. "What can I say to thee, O my Beloved?" she addresses

3 Anatole France, in *les Opinions de Jérôme Coignard* (1893), quotes the liberal abbé, contrary to Catholic dogma, expressing his hope for the redemption of Satan.

4 The most pathetic episode of her first period, her *liaison* with Alexandre de Skatieff, Mme de Krüdener described in her novel *Valérie* (1803).
The Lord. "Would that I could shout over the whole earth, and through all the heavens, how much I love Thee! Would that I could lead not only all men, but all the rebel spirits back to Thee!" In another connection she writes: "I cannot help wishing that hell might come to this God who is so good."

But the Church has always condemned the belief in the redemption of Satan. Protestants and Catholics alike hold out no hope for the deliverance of the Devil from his deserved damnation. In our own country, the Reverend Mr. Tillotson, a minister of the Universalist Church, which believes in the salvation of all men, was unfrocked by his church for wishing to extend its doctrine of universal salvation to Satan.

Christianity showed itself less tolerant with regard to the Evil Spirit than the ancient religions. The Hindus thought that, inasmuch as evil is but a passing form of the realization of existence, it cannot last eternally and must some day disappear by merging with the Absolute. Buddha believed in the universal redemption of every creature throughout the worlds. In Persian eschatology, Evil will in the latter days disappear from the face of this earth, and the Spirit of Evil, having been wholly regenerated, will be the last to arrive saved and sanctified in Paradise. The Yezidis, a sect of devil-worshippers living in ancient Assyria, still hold the belief that the rebel will in the end of days celebrate his return to heaven.  

* * *

When the beautiful Balder, god of light, was slain by Loki and descended to the land of the dead, Hel, the queen of the lower world, promised that he would be raised from the dead if one day there would be found on earth someone who would weep for him. In like manner, Satan, the successor to Balder and all other pagan gods, should long ago have been redeemed from hell and returned to heaven by virtue of the tears which the French Romantic poets of the past century have shed over him.

The Devil has not been denied pity in earlier ages. He has had apologists even among the saints, particularly among the saints of the weaker sex. St. Theresa desired that men should not speak ill of the Devil, and pitied him for not being able to love. St. 

Thomas Aquinas could hardly be happy, it is said, from thinking of the doom of the Devil and went so far in his pity for the prisoner of the pit as to spend a night in prayer for the pardon and restoration of the dethroned archangel. "O God," he prayed, "have mercy upon Thy servant the Devil."  

It was, however, particularly in the peasant's mind and in the peasant's heart that there slowly grew up a flower of pity for the doomed Devil, who could never hope to be at peace. Robert Burns, the Scotch poet, who was first and last a peasant, expressed his sympathy for the sufferings of Satan in his "Address to the Deil" (1785). This very human poem is full of fellow-feeling for the Fiend. It reaches its climax in the unexpectedly pathetic stanza at the end, in which the poet credits the evil with something akin to compunction, and ventures a faltering hope on his behalf. The Scotch bard salutes Satan in the following words, which suggest Carducci's Hymn to Satan (1865):  

But fare-you-weel, auld Nickie-Ben!  
O wad ye tak a thocht an' men'!  
Ye aiblins might—I dimna kén—  
Still hae a stake:  
I'm wae to think upo' you den,  
Ev'in for your sake!  

Satan secured his strongest sympathy, however, from the French poets of the Romantic period. This sympathy among the French Romantics for Satan is a part of their humanitarianism, which a misanthropic humorist has named "redemptorism"; that is, the desire to redeem all sinners by means of love. Emotionalism, which, as we know, was an essential part of the Romantic temperament, manifested itself, among other characteristics, in a feeling of boundless sympathy for suffering humanity. Compassion was a master passion with the Romantics. In their eyes the greatest of all virtues was pity—pity for the forsaken and forlorn, pity for the dispossessed and dispossed and dispossessed and dispossess of this earth, pity even for sin and sinners. This sympathy, which the Romantics felt for all the erring, was also extended to the Sinner from the Beginning. As a matter of fact, it was precisely on account of his sin, as will be shown later, that Satan inspired the Romantics with their singular sympathy.  

Satan's suffering puts a halo around his sin. Supreme suffering, hence supreme sympathy. Indeed, what agonies can be compared

6 The English poet, Wathen Mark Wilks Call, has treated the prayer of the Angelical Doctor on behalf of the Devil in a beautiful poem on the subject, which will be found in his Reverberations (1849).
to those of Satan? Just think! For thousands of years he has been dragging himself through this world of sorrows, the most wearied and the most restless of all afflicted spirits. As his ordeal seemed endless, he was particularly an object of pity to the Romantics. We know what a resistless attraction hopeless woe had for Romantic imagination. As Satan was, moreover, staggering beneath the unjust condemnation of a superior power, he was the worthiest object of Romantic devotion. He figured among the “lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties,” in support of which the Romantics threw their weight. It is a psychological fact that an individual who is an artist, or peculiar in some other way, naturally has great sympathy with unpopular causes or individuals for the reason that he himself is unpopular.

Moreover, the Romantics felt a deep admiration for solitary grandeur. This “knight of the doleful countenance,” laden with a curse and drawing misfortune in his train, was the ideal Romantic hero. As the original beau ténébreux, Satan was the typical Romantic figure of the Romantic period and its poetry. It has been well remarked that if Satan had not existed, the Romanticists would have invented him.

The sympathy of the Romantics for Satan was far greater by reason of the bond of kinship which they felt with the celestial rebel. We must bear in mind that the spirit of revolution is at the very root of Romanticism. This movement was a revolt against all authority, in heaven as well as on earth. Romanticism was the logical reflex of the political revolution which preceded it. All French Romantics were members of the Opposition. The Romantic School, we may say without any derogatory intent, was a human Pandemonium. They all were “of the Devil’s party,” to employ the term applied to Milton by William Blake. George Sand might just as well have called her contemporaries sons of Satan as “sons of Prometheus.” The most characteristic trait of all the Romantics was a proud and rebellious spirit. Even the sweetest and serenest of the great Romantics, Lamartine, also revealed a Satanic streak. He, too, shouted to heaven his “Désespoir” (1818); and the echo of his cry of despair uttered in this poem is prolonged through most of his later works.

The Romantic generation saw its own spirit best personified in Satan. He was the symbol of all its aspirations and afflictions, the incarnation of all its longing and yearning. In himself Satan
personified the daring and self-sufficiency, the mystery and gloom, the love of liberty and hatred of authority; all held as the highest ideal of every Romanticist. The Devil is the very embodiment of the malady of the century, which is the most characteristic trait of Romanticism. This malady—the Weltschmerz—has been made flesh in the celestial outlaw.

The Romantics painted themselves and recognized themselves in Satan more fully and more perfectly than in any other historical or mythological character. They found in his career much of their own unhappy lot, of their own thwarted ambitions. In their eyes he represented all that they loved and cherished. They felt they had so much in common with him that they looked up to Satan as to a blood brother.

The man in opposition to a society which refused to accept his claims had a fellow feeling for Satan, who is the father of all unappreciated geniuses. The Devil has always complained that he is misunderstood on earth. "Le démon souriant dit: Je suis méconnu," says Victor Hugo. The Devil, in Sir Walter Scott's "Wandering Willie's Tale" (1824), also complains that he is "sair misca'd in the world." The Shavian demon, in Man and Superman (1905), likewise bemoans the fact that he is so little appreciated on earth. He who shook off the trammels of tradition had a spirit kindred to that of the fallen angel, who was the first to combat conformity. The man who craved personal dignity and political freedom was attracted by the Demon, who was the first to proclaim the sovereignty of the individual spirit. The rebels against conventions, creeds and critics on earth felt drawn to him who demanded freedom of thought and independence of action in heaven.

The Romantics could never speak of Satan without tears of sympathy. The fighters for political, social, intellectual and emotional liberty on earth could not withhold their admiration from the angel who raised the standard of rebellion in heaven. "Cher Satan" was always on their lips. They pitied the fallen angel as an outlaw; they applauded him as a rebel. "A noble heart will always love the rebel," declared a Romantic poet in 1846. The rebel of the Emperean was hailed as the first martyr in the cause of liberty—"the first dreamer, the oldest victim," as Leconte de Lisle terms the Devil. The word Satan on the lips of the French poets offered the hint of a hard-won salvation. The rebellious Romantics were bold enough
to demand a revision of the judgment pronounced against the celestial hero and endeavored, each in his own manner, to rewrite Milton’s *Paradise Regained*. They even predicted the day when the Devil should return to heaven and occupy his former seat at the right hand of the Lord.

* * *

It must be admitted, however, that the idea of the rehabilitation of the Devil was not wholly original with the French Romantics. The theme was touched upon by writers in other countries as far back as the eighteenth century. Klopstock, in his *Messias* (1748-73), depicts the fallen angel, Abbadona, of lower rank to be sure, re-entering heaven. Goethe intimated that he had written a passage in his *Faust* “where the Devil himself receives grace and mercy from God.” It was, however, in France during the Romantic period that the idea of the Devil’s redemption and restoration to celestial favor found frequent expression in the different forms of various poetical works. The sympathy extended by that country, considered the center of the revolutionary spirit of Europe, to all victims of oppression and to all rebels, whether individuals or classes or nations, could not well be denied to the expiate from Paradise.

The happy change in the character of the Devil, which Origen anticipated, for which St. Thomas Aquinas prayed, to which Robert Burns looked forward, which Goethe contemplated, and which Mme. de Krüdener wished to bring about, was eloquently preached by the French Romantics. First, they believed in this conversion from a feeling of sympathy, and secondly, as a part of their conviction that the end of the reign of Evil on earth was imminent. Byron, from across the Channel, also shared the belief of his French confrères in a new earth and a new hell. In his *Heaven and Earth* (1822), the English poet predicted a time

“When man no more can fall as once he fell,
And even the very demons shall do well!”

The only discordant note in this general clamor for clemency toward the celestial outlaw was sounded by Balzac. The creator of the *Comédie humaine* was prevented by his Catholic convictions

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7 William Blake’s *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790) has nothing to do with the idea of a reconciliation between the powers of Good and Evil. This allegory is a mystical work full of diabolical humor, in which hells and heavens change names and alternate through mutual annihilations.
from sharing the dream of his day for the final salvation of Satan. Balzac thought, however, that if Satan should ever make his peace with God, unless the Fiend were a greater scoundrel than popularly depicted, he ought to bargain for the pardon of his adherents (l’Élixir de longue vie, 1830).

Alfred de Vigny is the first French poet to approach the problem of the Devil’s purification and pardon. The beautiful poem Eloa (1823), already discussed in a previous chapter, may be considered the turning point in the literary treatment of the relations between hell and heaven. Vigny’s work was the prologue to a long series of compositions, the authors of which, rejecting all tradition, endeavored (without especial success, however) to lead the legend of the Devil into new channels.

Eloa expresses in its highest form the sympathy for suffering which is at the root of Vigny’s best work. This pessimistic poet had a passion for pity, which he wished to see manifested without limits. His sympathetic heart was always touched by the sorrows of his fellow men. He loved, as he said, the grandeur of human sufferings, and poured out all his treasures of tenderness and devotion on his “companions in misery.” He was a great champion of lost causes in his period. He pleaded for the aristocrat, the soldier and the poet. But, though the aristocratic bent of his mind led him to dwell on exceptional natures, he was equally touched by the boundless misery in the lot of the common man.

His Eloa is inspired by his feeling of pity—pity for all suffering, pity for all lives but a moment, pity even for sin and Satan—Supreme guilt, therefore, supreme misfortune! This poem is the glorification of compassion, of tenderness and sacrifice, of vain self-immolation and of pity without hands to help. It is the story of a bright being, a woman-angel, born from a tear of the Redeemer. Tempted by pity, she falls a victim to the Spirit of Darkness. This “sister of the angels,” having heard in heaven the tale of the misfortune of the brightest archangel, leaves her dwelling of delights and descends to the bottom of the pit in order to search for her unfortunate brother and bring him back to bliss. But, unsuccessful in her efforts, she prefers to remain with him in hell rather than return to heaven.

In a sequel poem, which was to bear the title Satan sauvé, the author, however, intended to bring this woman-angel out of hell,
to save this pathetic damned spirit, the least criminal and certainly the most lovable that hell has ever received. And the poet conceived the notion of saving Satan himself by the grace of Eloa, and, at the same time, of abolishing hell by the all-powerful virtue of love and pity. The following are the poet's notes on his proposed sequel to Eloa:

"Eloa had not spoken since her fall. She sat immovable in the eternal shade, like a precious stone which casts its rays of light. The night was less profound since she came into the nether darkness. The spirits of the damned passed and repassed near her, to see themselves by the light of her beauty, and their despair was calmed. A mysterious restraint prevented Satan from approaching her. He walked around her like a wolf round a sheep. From time to time, he rejoiced over the misfortunes of men. . . Every time that more souls arrived in hell Eloa wept. And one day, while her tears were flowing, Satan looked at her. He had ceased to take pleasure in evil. She saw his change of heart and spoke to him. He wept. Eloa smiled and raised her finger to heaven, a gesture which one dares not make in that place.

'Listen!' she cried. 'It is the crash of worlds which fall in dust. Time is no more.—Thou art saved.'"

Vigny never carried out his project of portraying the redemption of Satan through the pity of this woman-angel who descended into hell to bring cheer and comfort to her fallen brother. It is, therefore, fair to say that Théophile Gautier is the first of all French Romantics to treat the beautiful subject of Satan's salvation.

This dramatic poem, la Larme du Diable (1839), is one of Gautier's most original fantasies. In its consistent levity, it is most characteristic of his art. It is a clever pasticcio of the medieval miracle-plays, and nothing illustrates better the way in which Gautier conceived the most exalted ideas as subject-matter for pictorial purposes. The play is full of humor and irony. The scene is placed alternately in heaven and on earth. Satan is the hero, and "le Bon Dieu" and Christus, comically assembled with Othello and Desdemona, are among the minor characters. The poem is less indecent, but more impudent and irreverent than Albertus (1832). Satan offers the impression that he is a good fellow, pleasing and amusing, mischievous rather than malicious. He bears no ill-will toward God or man. He jokes with the Lord about the denizens of heaven and maintains that any man of good judgment and inde-
pendent spirit would prefer going to hell. Satan wins the sympathy of the women among the election in heaven, and they plead with the great God in his behalf.

The principal *motif* of the poem involves a wager between the Lord and the Devil in regard to two mortal maidens. God believes them to be proof against all temptation, but Satan insists that he could cause their fall. A bet is arranged between the Deity and the Devil. If Satan wins, he is to obtain pardon for Eloa, the beautiful woman-angel, who (in Vigny’s poem) forsook heaven to seek Satan in his misery. But this angel makes her voice heard in heaven. From the depths of hell she proclaims that she still loves the rebel spirit, and that she prefers hell with him to heaven without him. Satan then requests a glass of cold water to cool his parched lips as a reward in the event he accomplishes his aim.

Satan sets his wiles to work and is about to win the wager, but touched by the purity and delicacy of the feelings of the young girls he is about to lead astray, he sheds a tear. The angels gather up the tear and lay it at the feet of the Lord. This exhibition of pity on the part of Satan so stirs the hearts of the blessed women among the hosts of heaven that they plead with the Lord in behalf of the fallen archangel. The magnanimous God is willing enough to pardon his old enemy, but he cannot reverse the judgment he previously pronounced, and so prefers to drag the matter out at great length. “I cannot perjure myself like an earthly king,” he informs the angelic delegation.” It is not, however, a flat refusal, for he adds, “In two thousand years we shall see!”

Vigny considered setting free the damned spirits through the daughter of Christ, but Alexandre Soumet, in his *Divine Épopée* (1840), makes Christ himself redeem the dwellers in hell. Soumet supposes that the Saviour returns to earth to offer himself a second time, and on this occasion his mission is not to redeem the inhabitants of this earth, but the damned spirits of hell. Christ suffers a second Calvary. Lucifer is given again his place among the archangels of heaven, a general hosannah is sung to the Highest; and the poem ends with the following words written across the heavens in letters as bright as the sun:

“*Salut Éternel.*”

The popular French song-writer, Jean Pierre de Béranger, also treated the subject of Satan’s salvation. His poem, “*la Fille du*
"Diable" (1841-43), inspired by a touching philosophy, contains notes of deep and universal tenderness for all sufferers, including the Devil.

Satan, traveling in Rome in the form of a young man, seduces a virgin, who presents him with a daughter. The Devil, moved by the smile of this child, wishes to preserve her from the evils of earth so that after her death she will go to heaven. He has his child baptized, intentionally choosing the name "Marie," puts her into virtuous hands, and leaves hell every day, assuming a human form, to visit her on earth. At the age of fifteen, this saintly child, who has consecrated herself from her earliest youth to almsgiving and prayer, is admitted to her first communion. Her father trembles at the idea that God might repudiate her. But this fear is without foundation. So Satan conceals himself in the organ of the church, which under his hands sends forth torrents of such celestial harmonies that, in order to hear them the better, the angels descend from heaven. After the ceremony, Marie totters and drops dead in the arms of her heartbroken father. Satan falls into despair, just like an ordinary mortal, but does not blaspheme against the Lord, for the soul of his daughter is perceived rising up to heaven. Broken-hearted, the Devil returns to hell, where he abandons himself entirely to his sorrows and to thoughts of repentance. He reviews all the wrongs of his past and is tortured by remorse. Satan implores his daughter to intervene on her father's behalf with the Lord. Christ is so touched by the repentance and the sorrow of Satan that he begins to weep. One of the tears which Christ sheds over the misfortune of the banished angel penetrates into hell and falls on the heart of Satan. In an instant, the infernal spirit is transformed into the dazzling Lucifer and goes to join his daughter in the celestial choir-stalls.

Edgar Quinet, in his Merlin l'enchanteur, (1869), a vast prose dramatic epic, containing twenty-four books and nine hundred pages, depicts the son of Satan redeeming his father. Merlin, as the legend goes, was born of the morganatic marriage of the Devil with a nun. Prodigies—such as a great storm—occurred on the night of his birth. As often happens with young men of good family, Merlin in his youth evidences traits more characteristic of his mother, the daughter of heaven, than of his father, the ruler of hell. Instead of carrying out his father's mission among men, he
helps to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. When Satan sees that he no longer wields the power of sowing evil in a world which has been transformed under the influence of his own son, he repents and turns in prayer to his old Adversary. After having received pardon and mercy from the Lord, the Devil with his own hands destroys the pillars which support the vaults of hell. The souls of the damned receive liberty and perfect happiness in the world, and the Devil is restored to his ancient estate in heaven.

Victor Hugo has perhaps carried the new evangel of universal sympathy further than the other Romantics. This writer is the most illustrious representative of the Romantic ideal of cordial compassion for all beings, even for those who have fallen into the very depths of the abyss. The greatest French poet of modern times had that general unlimited sympathy for the unfortunate which is finally extended to the wicked as well as to the luckless. In his “la Prière pour tous” (1830), the Christian poet asks his daughter to pray for all the sorrowful, including Satan. How, indeed, could he deny the Devil that pity which in his heart was not limited to humanity but comprehended all creation, including animals, plants, and even inanimate objects? What does it matter if Satan is guilty or not? Victor Hugo with his doctrine of universal indulgence and forbearance does not judge; he forgives. He refuses to recognize a single being on earth or under the earth whom one could hold responsible for his crimes.

Thus Victor Hugo is primarily the poet of pity. He felt a deep and ardent compassion for all who suffer through the fault of others. His sympathy went out to the sufferings of all the downtrodden, of all the oppressed, whether peoples or individuals. He gave pity an important place in his poetry, and to this sentiment he finally consecrated his work la Pitié suprême (1879), in which he asked pity for hatred, pity for evil, pity for the Devil. A few passages from this new gospel of evangelical pity, referring to his compassion for the denizens of hell, follow:

“Oh! je me sens parfois des pitiés insondables,
Je gémis... 
Sur les démons grondants.”

(la Pitié suprême, V.)

“Pardonpons. Petons même aux démons l’indulgence.”

(ibid., XIII.)
Victor Hugo’s pity for the demons of hell may also be noted in his other works:

“Bénir le ciel est bien; bénir l’enfer est mieux.”

(Le Pape, IV.)

“Ma pente est de bénir dans l’enfer les maudits.”

(Les Quatre vents de l’esprit, I, xxxiii.)

Victor Hugo’s pity for the Devil is so great that he declares,

“Si Jésus... . . . venait à son tour crucifier Satan,
Je dirais à Jésus: tu n’est pas Dieu Va-t’en.”

(Ibid., I. xx.)

The great exile of Guernsey had a fraternal feeling for the archangel banished from heaven. Exile alone in the eyes of the expatriate poet was sufficient to put the aureole of martyrdom on the Devil’s brow.

“C’est une chose
Inexprimable, affreuse et sainte que l’exil,” said Victor Hugo in June, 1870.

(L’Année terrible.)

The fighter for freedom on earth, who lived for twenty years as a martyr to his ideal, was deeply affected by the fate of the fighter for liberty in the skies. The champion of the sacred right and the holy duty of opposition to tyranny on earth must perforce extend his hand to him who, in the words of Milton, “opposed the tyranny of heaven” (Par. Lost i. 124). The champion of all outlaws could not refuse his protection to the first outlaw. The warm defender of the fugitives of all nations, who turned toward him as toward a lodestar, declared himself ready to protect even Satan if the latter should seek asylum with him.

His Messianism—his belief in the final extinction of all evil in this world—led him also to predict the end of Satan. His beautiful epic poem, La Fin de Satan (begun in 1854 and published posthumously as a fragment in 1886), describes the end of the reign of the Spirit of Evil on this earth. Satan’s fate, however, for Victor Hugo does not consist in the exiled archangel’s final punishment and eternal perdition, but, contrary to church dogma and tradition, in his pardon and peace. The salvation of Satan, which the poet of pity predicts, will come about through the mediation of a being engendered jointly by the Devil and the Deity. A feather, detached from the wings of the archangel when he was hurled from heaven, remains lying on the edge of the abyss. The Lord takes pity on it.
A ray from the eternal eye of Him, who created the world, is fixed on it and puts life into it. Under this animating glance, the feather comes to life and grows into woman-angel. In answer to an inquiry from the angels, the Lord gives the name Liberty to this "daughter of hell and heaven." The spirit who thus owes her birth to the Devil and the Deity will, when the proper occasion presents itself, deliver from sin and suffering the Devil along with humanity. In order to conquer death and redeem the individual, the Son of God was made man. In order to break the shackles of the masses and deliver the nations from bondage, the daughter of the Devil was made a woman. This woman-saviour will on a certain day lead the masses in their rebellion against their oppressors. We may detect in this detail Victor Hugo's political views. Liberty is created by the Lord from Lucifer's feather. Liberty is born only from rebellion. Revolution is necessary to set the nations free from political oppression.

When Satan's heart softens and he turns to the Lord, beseeching mercy, his prayers ascend to heaven and touch the heart of his daughter. She asks the Deity's permission to descend into the dismal darkness and bring deliverance to the Devil. This supplication granted, the angel Liberty, after much wandering, finally alights at the feet of Satan, and bends over her father, who has fallen asleep from exhaustion. Pitying him, consoling him, bathing him with her tears, the angel of pity and mercy falls on her knees before the unhappy accursed archangel. She extends her supplicating arms towards him, enveloping him with a mysterious incantation. All the infernal pride, all the hatred in the Demon's soul melt in the warmth of the humanly humble and divinely tender words of his daughter. The angel Liberty begs her father to pity the misery of mankind and end his own sufferings. "Father," she implores him, "permit me to save the good, the pure, the innocent. Look! I weep over them and over you. Oh, hear my prayers. Dieu me fit Liberté, toi, fais-moi Délivrance."

The struggle between good and evil in Satan's heart is reflected on his face. Suddenly on his forehead appears a light similar to that which formerly shone on his countenance, and from his lips escapes the word for which the angel has been waiting. It is the signal for her to break the chains that bind humanity. Liberty makes her appearance on earth to carry out the mission of delivering humanity from the fetters of oppression. Immediately the angel
starts for Paris to break the bolts of the symbolical prison, the Bastille, which is to disgorge its captives. By the fall of the prison-fortress of Paris Victor Hugo intended to represent the symbolical liberation of humanity. The work of evil was for him incarnated in this famous prison for political offenders. According to Victor Hugo's symbolism, Cain, in order to murder his brother, Abel, used a nail, a stick and a stone. The nail later became the sword of Nimrod. The Lord broke it, and war was eventually to disappear. The stick became the cross of Calvary. Religion, alas! crucified Christ. The Church founded by Christ, placing itself at the service of the State, oppressed the masses and blessed mass-murder, war. The stone served as a foundation for the Bastille. The French nation will tear it down and carry out the work left uncompleted by Christ. France will again take up the interrupted work of Jesus and guide it to fruition. Human liberty will bring about what the Nazarene himself could not accomplish. Through the destruction of political tyranny, progress will be advanced to such an extent that misery, misfortune, and perhaps even death, will be no more. For in the eyes of the great French poet, the French Revolution is the most important event in the history of humanity. The real Messiah is no other than the Revolution.

The deliverance of man will be followed by the deliverance of the fallen angel. The harmony between the inhabitants of this earth, particularly between the oppressors and oppressed, will also bring about a reconciliation between the Deity and the Devil. Good, having conquered Evil, will now reign forever over all creation.

The merits of the angel Liberty are counted to her demon-father for righteousness. The Lord applies to the Devil the Catholic dogma of the reversibility of punishments and rewards. As the poem ends, Satan is offered amnesty. The Devil is dead; the archangel is reborn.9

Leconte de Lisle, in his poem "la Tristesse du Diable" (1866), which shows echoes of Victor Hugo la Fin de Satan, predicts another fate for the Devil. Satan, sitting silently on a mountain peak covered with eternal snow, and thence surveying the sufferings of

8 During the Great World War an eminent bishop of the Episcopal Church justified war on the ground that there was already war in heaven. In Stephen Phillips' play Armageddon (1915), on the other hand, war is represented as being planned in hell.

9 A longer analysis of Victor Hugo's la Fin de Satan will be found in the present writer's study, Satan et le Satanisme dans l'œuvre de Victor Hugo (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926), pp. 88-103.
humanity on this Sorrowful Star, is willing to put an end to himself and to the world in order to do away once and for all with sin and suffering on this earth.

Paul Verlaine, the leader of the decadent poets of France and the most distinguished disciple of Baudelaire, also envisioned the end of the old antagonism of the Deity and the Devil. Verlaine, however, was not interested in the cosmic conflict carried on between Good and Evil so much as in the war waged in his own heart between his guardian angel and his evil demon, as he has described this conflict in his collection of poems entitled Sagesse (1881). What Verlaine attempted was the reconciliation of the seven deadly sins and the three cardinal virtues, or a harmonizing of the pagan idea of self-affirmation and the ascetic theory of self-abnegation. What he desired was the reconciliation within him of St. Francis of Assisi and the Marquis de Sade, as Vance Thompson (French Portraits, 1899), puts it.

Verlaine kept the affairs of his soul in two separate compartments. The effects of his conversion in the prison of Mons did not last long. The old Adam within him soon reasserted himself. He continued to proclaim himself a Catholic, but he practised few of the tenets of that religion. "Verlaine believes in the Roman Catholic Church," said Jules Lemaitre, "as earnestly as the Pope himself, but in Verlaine there is only belief; practice is wholly wanting in him."

The work of Verlaine shows a twofold aspect. His poetry offers alternations of fervency and flippancy, spirituality and sensuality, mysticism and eroticism, piety and perversity. This satyr-songster introduced an infinitely more religious mood into his poetry than did any of the other Symbolist poets. "Verlaine wrote the most Christian verses we have in France," says Jules Lemaitre. "Certain strophes in Sagesse recall in their accent the Imitation of Christ" (les Contemporains, 4e série, 1886). But, we might add, he has also written some of the lewdest lines in modern French poetry.

Verlaine's interest in diabolism derived in a direct line from Baudelaire, that superb singer of sin and Satan. The poet of the Fleurs du Mal (1857) was a deity in the youthful eyes of Verlaine. The latter's Poèmes saturniens, published in 1866 but written for the most part during his later school-days, reveal many traces of his master's Satanism. But Jadis et Naguère (1884) is the Bible of the young decadent and diabolist poets. And in this perfection of
their methods and aims, we find Verlaine's most important diabolical poem. It is in this poem, "Crimen Amoris," written in the prison of Petits-Carmes, Belgium, in 1873, that Verlaine treats the subject so dear to the Romantic generation, the salvation of Satan. Mr. Arthur Symons puts this poem at the head of all of Verlaine's work "for a certain diabolical beauty, for an effect of absolute sublimity" (The Symbolist Movement in Literature, 1919). The words have a marvelously musical rhythm, "full of the sound of gongs and trumpets," to employ Symons' expression.

The poem takes for its subject-matter the wish on the part of Hell to sacrifice itself of its own accord to Universal Love. In a palace blazing with silk and gold, at Ecbatane in Asia, to the sound of Mohammedan melodies, a band of juvenile demons "font litière aux sept péchés de leurs cinq sens." Finally, satiated with their sensual pleasures, the demons vainly attempt to break away from the evil to which they are attached, but which at heart they abhor. And one, the youngest and brightest of them all, despairingly exclaims:

"Nous avons tous trop souffert, anges et hommes,
De ce conflit entre le Père et le Mieux!"

He proposes with his fellow-demons to suppress hell, in order to do away with sin and suffering in the world. They set the infernal palace on fire. The flames rise to heaven. Singing hymns, the demons perish in the flames. Everything crumbles down. At that moment, a thunderbolt descends from heaven as an indication that the sacrifice has not been accepted. As a good Catholic, Verlaine realized that no reconciliation could be effected between Good and Evil, and that the Devil was damned for all eternity.

The last French evangelist who assumed to convert the Devil was Jules Bois, who wrote a curious "esoteric drama," to which he gave the name of Noces de Sathan (1892).

* * *

The subject of the Devil's absolution and redemption has also been appropriated by a few English and German poets of the past century. Philip James Bailey treated it in his Festus (1839), a philosophical poem, which at the time of its publication was favorably compared with Goethe's Faust and enjoyed a greater popularity than it deserved. The idea of Satan's final return to his former
glory in heaven also served as subject for Kurt von Rohrscheidt’s *Satans Erlösung* (1894) and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt’s *Satan Absolved: a Victorian Mystery* (1899), a dramatic poem of political content, also suggested by the Prologue to Goethe’s *Faust*.

The American writer, Henry Mills Alden, has expressed his belief in the final redemption of the Devil as follows:

“Lucifer is the light-bearer, the morning-star, and whatever disguises he may take in falling, there can be no new dawn that shall not witness his rising in his original brightness.”

The most important treatment of the subject of Satan’s salvation by a poet other than the French is found in Lermontov’s *The Demon* (1829-41), already discussed at length in a previous chapter of this work.

The woman in this Russian poem, who finally, out of pity for the fallen angel, consents to return his love, is no longer the symbolic virgin, who held Vigny’s enamoured fancy. She is not like that being born from a tear dropped by Christ over the tomb of Lazarus, but a living, passionate woman—a Jewess of the Babylonian captivity in the first sketch of the work, then a Spanish nun, and finally a Georgian princess. It must be admitted, however, that Lermontov’s version, though written in the main under the inspiration of Vigny’s poem, is based on a Caucasian legend, according to which the Evil Spirit will reform and become regenerate when he is redeemed by the love of an innocent young woman.

It may be recalled that, the moment the Demon sees the beautiful Georgian maiden, Tamara, he becomes more and more freely human in his feelings and actions. The first awakening of passion brings to him the long forgotten thought of redemption. But Tamara is too weak a woman to bring about a reform in the heart of her demon-lover. At his first kiss, she dies from terror. Only Vigny’s angel, not Lermontov’s woman, would have conceivably succeeded in converting her demon-lover to repentance and reconciliation with God.

* * *

Other French Romantics, not satisfied with leading the Devil back to celestial glory, wished him to carry out after his restoration the project which he had failed to accomplish before he was hurled from heaven. They expected him again to start the revolution he
had headed in the beginning of time, and supplant the King of Heaven in the government of this earth. This champion of celestial combat, in the Romantic version of the war in heaven, was not actuated by hatred and envy of man, as Christianity was thought to teach us, but by love and pity for mankind. The eternal war waged between the Lord and Lucifer, in the opinion of the Romantics, was not for glory but for humanity.

It is needless to say that the Devil, as conceived by the writers of the past century, is the very antithesis of the dogmatic demon. He has been divested of his traditionally diabolical character. He is an altogether new species of the genus diabolus. Instead of a demon of darkness, he is a god of grace. 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"). Far from being the tormentor, he is regarded as the benefactor of mankind. In Byron's Cain (1821) Lucifer takes men under his protection as his natural allies and his brothers in misfortune in his war against the Ruler of the Heavens. Strindberg's Lucifer also is full of compassion for men. He enters into combat with Jehovah not to wrest power from Him, but to prevent Him from torturing mankind. Marie Corelli, in The Sorrows of Satan (1895), describes the Devil as a generous spirit, who wanders up and down the earth, lamenting the fact that the Christians will not suffer him to aid them. As Mr. George Arliss portrayed the Devil in Molnar's well-known play, Satan is seemingly the friend to all mankind.

This commendation of Satan implied the condemnation of God, and, as a corollary, the belief that the accomplishment of the salvation of humanity must be taken out of the hands of the Ruler of the Heavens. The Romantics, from their pessimistic point of view, thought ill of the world and consequently also of its Creator. Of all French Romantics, Alfred de Vigny perhaps held the most pessimistic attitude toward this earth. He considered the world an evil creation and compared it with a prison. In 1824 he jotted down in his diary the following remark:

"We have been thrown into the world, and as in a prison we are forced to do our sentence of penal servitude for life, yet we know not what wrong we have done."

This French poet had so poor an opinion of the world, into which mankind had been tossed, that he wished to see it destroyed.

"If there were a God," he said again in his diary, "we
would provoke Him to shatter this earth into a thousand fragments; and so, by our suffering a speedy annihilation, at least the generations of the future would be spared existence."

Romanticism is the consciousness of a disorder in the individual and in the world in general. The Romantic generation of 1830 thought the world out of joint more than ever. To Hamlet, Denmark seemed gloomy; to the Romantic, the whole world appeared dark. In this world composed of good and evil, the Romantics believed that the evil far outbalances the good; in fact, to paraphrase Leibnitz, that all is for the worst in this worst of all possible worlds. They did not believe that there was any balm either in Gilead or Golgotha. And if we wish to be truthful with ourselves we must admit that the world is not actually well run; rather, that it is very badly run; and no Huxley is needed to point out this obvious fact.

Now if the Romantics did not think well of the world, how could they think well of its Creator and Ruler? The author of an evil world must necessarily himself be evil. There is no escaping from this inference. 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 though suffering—and that is just what the Romantics did—what answer, indeed, can we find to the eternal question: "Why is the world so full of difficulties and dismays, of deceptions and disappointments, of defeat and despair, of sin and suffering, of misery and malady, of decay and death?" It is necessary to reach the conclusion that God is either not omnipotent or not benevolent. As we cannot very well doubt the omnipotence of God (for otherwise He would not be God) we must reach the conclusion that He is not benevolent. This is just what the Romantics finally deduced from the existence of evil in the world. Stendhal, speaking of the reality of evil, remarked, "God's only excuse is that He does not exist." Proudhon, author of the famous dictum, "Property is theft," said, "God is evil."

Mme. Louise Ackermann was deeply indignant against what she called "la caprice divine" and its disarrangement of human affairs. In her poem, "les Malheureux" (1871), she depicts the dead at the Last Judgment refusing to rise at the summons of the archangel, and

10 The present writer was told a few years ago by a Hindu that he had seen the following inscription on the portal of a secret Gnostic church in Paris: "Si Dieu existe, il n'y a pas de mal. Si mal existe, où est Dieu?"
rejecting even happiness, since it is God, the author of evil, who brings it to them.

It must be counted to the Romantics for righteousness that they deeply concerned themselves with the problem of human destiny. The question of the presence of evil in a God-governed world obsessed their minds. 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 about man's painful powerlessness over life. Their souls were filled with righteous indignation concerning the reign of injustice all about them. They were always "complaining and sighing and wailing" over the woes of this world.

The Romantics were faced by a world whose inhabitants were 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 reach except the alternative that either God did not concern himself with the affairs of men or that he even delighted in human struggling and suffering? Theirs was the revolt of the human reason crying out in despair, "He who is almighty has willed that pain should be!"

Alfred de Vigny considered the Creator cold, capricious and cruel, standing aloof from his creation in eternal unconcern, or even actually finding joy in the sufferings of mankind. This French poet could not suppress a cry of anger against the Author of all Evil, who is deaf to man's cries of anguish and who refused even to lend an ear to the prayers of His Son who, sad unto death on the Mount of Olives, implored his Father in Heaven to permit him to remain on earth in order to help humanity. In a postscript to his poem "le Mont des Oliviers," which he entitled "le Silence" (1862), he exclaims:

"If it be true that, in the Sacred Garden of Scriptures, The Son of Man said that which is reported; Mute, blind, and deaf to the cry of his creatures, If Heaven abandoned us like an abortive world, The just man will meet absence with disdain, And a cold silence will evermore be the reply To the eternal silence of the Deity."

Vigny even went so far as to depict the Deity as a God of blood, intoxicated by the fumes of the sacrifices offered on His altar, caus-
ing the just and unjust to perish together in the Flood, delivering up a daughter to her father's ax.

In our indignation over the bold blasphemies of Vigny, we should not forget that the God of the Hebrew Dispensation is actually represented in the Old Testament as unjust and cruel, and that the official creeds of many churches of Christianity even today contain conceptions of God's nature and of His actions toward the human race which are intolerable in the light of the ethical standards and ideals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In one of his projected poems, Vigny depicts a young man committing suicide and appearing before God in order to ask the creator of the world:

"And why hast Thou created the evil of the soul—sin, and the evil of the body—suffering? Was it necessary to offer Thee still longer the sight of our sufferings?"

The sketch entitled "le Jugement dernier," found among the poet's papers at his death, contains a scathing arraignment of God, an indictment unprecedented in Christendom. The poet represents God himself on the last day standing before the bar of justice, with Man sitting in judgment over his Creator.\(^{11}\)

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

"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 against the God who created evil and death. When a defier of the gods, like 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 injustices of heaven have been admired and secretly loved by men."\(^{12}\)

We now can understand why Satan was such an object of admiration to the Romantics, and why he was selected to express their dissatisfaction with the celestial government of terrestrial affairs.

\(^{11}\) Alfred de Vigny would furnish an interesting subject for a psycho-analytic study. In a recent number of *Psyche and Eros* (III, 68), Dr. Wm. Stekel, of Vienna 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."

\(^{12}\) Émile Montégut (*Revue des deux Mondes*, LXVIII, 231) thinks that Vigny might have shown better judgment in his selection of the condemners of the gods. Satan will do, but not Orestes, still less Don Juan.
It was out of the mouth of the Great Malcontent that the Romantics expressed the darkness and doubt, the disenchantment and despair of their souls. Satan was the interpreter of their sorrows and heart-searchings. He voiced their rebellious and blasphemous words. He was the patron of their poetry of complaints. The genius of the hapless and hopeless generation of a century ago uttered its protest against the world and its Ruler 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, and against the ever-increasing sufferings of thousands of generations.

Even when the Romantics portrayed Prometheus, they had Satan in mind. The railing of the fettered Titan against Jupiter in the numerous Prometheus-poems of the Romantic School was but a thin veil for the blasphemies of Beelzebub. Louise Ackermann, in her "Prométhée" (1866), pictures her protagonist rebelling against the Creator—the Being who fashioned man and caused his misery. "Why are there evils in the world?" Prometheus asks, and concludes that the God who could prevent it willed that suffering should exist. The Titan blasphemes against the Creator and predicts for Him judgment, vengeance, and ultimate rejection by man, who shall be "delivered from faith as from an evil dream." Again, in Rapisardi's epic Lucifero (1877), the two Titans join forces to dispel the darkness from the earth. Lucifer departs for Hell to tell Prometheus of his plan to hurl God from Heaven and reign in His stead.

Cain, another favorite character with the Romantics, was a kind of Satan clad in human flesh. In his Promethean anger, this afflicted and heavily laden primal son of man, becomes the avenger of mankind by insisting on the eternal why. It is significant that the story of Cain has inspired three of the greatest poets of the past century—Byron, Victor Hugo, and Leconte de Lisle. Victor Hugo, as might be expected, treated the subject from a less heterodox point of view than the other two. Byron in his Cain (1821) brings together two titanic spirits, Lucifer and Cain, drawn to each other by mutual sympathy. The first was exiled from the celestial paradise, the latter from the terrestrial paradise. Leconte de Lisle personifies in the hero of his poem Quain (1869) suffering humanity in revolt against the injustices of a jealous God. He uses the ac-
cursed son of Adam as a mouthpiece to rail against the God of the Catholic Church, the monks, the Inquisition, and the smoking *auto da fé*.  

* * *

Just as pessimism leads to anti-theism, anti-theism leads to Satanism. If what has been considered good is found to be evil, what opposes it must necessarily be good. Thus the denunciation of the Deity led to the sanctification of Satan. If the ruler of an evil world is bad, his adversary must necessarily be good. This paradox accounts for the belief held by many Romantics that Satan was wronged and that there was, as Vigny asserted, a great historical case to be judged anew before the court of our conscience. Baudelaire, who addressed prayers to Satan, also argued from this assumption when he termed the Devil "*Dieu trahi par le sort*"—"a Deity betrayed by Destiny." Thus was born among the Romantics the wish for Satan's return to heaven, with the aim of delivering man from the cruelty of his Creator. In the modern Anatole France's *la Révolte des Anges* (1914), however, Satan declines an opportunity to head a second revolution against his adversary. He decides in the end that it is not worth the effort to supplant the King of Heaven, as a successful revolt with a new Ruler will make so little difference on earth that he really prefers to remain in the Opposition. Power makes for tyranny; rebellion is the essence of nobility.

It must not be denied, however, that among the Romantics many might be named who were led to their adoration of Satan through their love of evil. Instead of exchanging, they accepted the traditional conceptions of the Deity and the Devil, nevertheless substituting Satan for the Saviour in their adoration. "Naturally," says Max Nordau in his *Entartung* (1893), "the love of evil can only take the form of devil-worship or diabolism, if the subject is a believer, that is 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, and in impassioned blasphemy of God and his Saviour."

We know of at least two groups in Paris who, in the first half of the last century, organized a Satanic cult and created a class of poetry expressing their worship of Satan and predicting his usur-

pation of the power of heaven.\textsuperscript{14} Just 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, and to address prayers to the powers of Evil for alliance and aid. Each member of the group officiated in turn; in other words, recited the verses he had written for the occasion. These extravagants, in their eagerness to show their opposition to all orthodoxy, proclaimed that "fair is foul and foul is fair." "Evil," they declared, "be thou my good, and good my evil." Thus the son of poor Pierre Huet declares in Eugène Sue's \textit{Salamandre} (1832): "Vice, crime, infamie, voilà les seules choses qui ne trompent jamais." These diabolists expressed delight over the works of the Devil and disgust for the acts of the Deity. They even argued the merits of the seven deadly sins. Eugène Sue sang the praises of the seven sins in his \textit{Sept péchés capitaux} (1847-9). In all likelihood a few among them went even so far as to put their teachings into practice, and "romanticized" their lives, as they called such perversions in those Romantic days. The Romantic search for new sensations led to all sorts of sexual aberrations. In this manner, the Romantic rant about self-expression and self-fulfillment was reduced to the ridiculous. These devotees of the Devil wished and prayed for universal reign of evil, and predicted the day when the Devil should regain heaven, wrest the reins of government from the hands of God, and clutch the world completely in his claws.

This movement, however, may have been of a very harmless character. It probably was but another manifestation of that search for singularity which was the besetting sin of all Romantics. The Bohemian must, perforce, hold beliefs diametrically opposed to those of the bourgeois.

Furthermore, any affirmation of the Devil in modern times must necessarily follow the rehabilitation of the world and the emancipation of the flesh, both of which Catholicism associated with the Spirit of Evil. In discarding the ascetic dogmas of Christianity and refusing any longer to reject the world and the flesh, the youthful generation of a century ago also declined to deny the Devil.

In the last analysis let us not forget that, at a period in which monarchism and Catholicism were joined in holy wedlock, the crown and the cross could not be separated. Neither of the two could be rejected without the other. If the monarchists claimed the Deity for

themselves, the republicans could not help declaring for the Devil.\textsuperscript{15}

We can offer no better end for our chapter on the idea of Satan's salvation in contemporary thought than by quoting the following paragraph of the penetrating study of the Polish critic, Ignace Matuszewski:

"The poetic type of Satan has to a certain degree ended the cycle of his individual existence. He has passed from one form into another, until he has gone through the various forms and existences of all life. He has passed through all the rungs of the double ladder on which, according to the theory of the Hindu thinkers as well as of certain European pantheists, every nomad of the eternal existence must mount and redescend. In the beginning Satan descended from the absolute to matter, from heaven to earth (the fall), where he was lowered to the rank of the inferior animals and was even forced, according to the New Testament, to enter into the bodies of the unclean animals. Then rising endlessly from a lower form to a higher form, he finally dematerialized himself in the works of our contemporary poets. He has reconquered his attributes of an archangel and has entered again into the Infinite (the redemption)."\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} This idea has been developed at greater length toward the end of the present writer's monograph: \textit{Romantisme et Satanisme} (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927).