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I.

THE SOCIAL ORDER.

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The primary and fundamental form of society rests in the constitution of the family. The social organism may therefore be said to have grown, by a process of evolution, out of this original or primitive source. Man is the crown and glory of the natural world; and can never understand his own nature, only as he contemplates it in union with the universal life of which he forms an integral part, and of which he constitutes the highest development.

By this development is not meant that form of evolution which represents man as simply the natural product and fruit of any lower order of life, but rather as the highest expression of the creative process towards which it tended from the beginning.

Genesis and geology, we believe, unite in the testimony that each new order of life, in the creative process, is built upon and glorifies that which is in the stratum next below it. And the life of man, while allied to the life of nature, as an integral part of the whole, is nevertheless a new and higher order of being. His relation to nature is inward and vital, and the material world finds its mouthpiece and prophet in the mystery of his personality. He is the organ through

II.

DEMONOLOGY AND THE DARK ARTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY PROFESSOR DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

The personal agency of evil spirits in the realm of human action has been almost wholly set aside by our modern thought. In the Middle Ages the belief in such agency was universal. The easy credulity of ignorance peopled the earth and air with malevolent beings who were incessantly engaged with their fell devices to effect human action and thwart the good. The theologians of the period joined in establishing by scientific treatment the reality of this activity and thus furnished a firm ground for the popular superstition. It is a strange phenomenon that after twelve centuries of Christian culture the doctrine of demons and the belief in the dark arts reached their meridian. Then it was that the dread of the demonic activity began to take on the form of a craze which spread from Rome to Scotland and from Spain to Sweden, set communities almost frantic and brought to an awful death tens of thousands of innocent victims. Nor were our own shores kept free from the spell of the terrible delusion and persecution which claimed its nineteen victims at Salem. And John Wesley nearly a century later, 1768, referring to occurrences in his own time, declared that giving up witchcraft was in effect giving up the Bible.*

The general term for the dark arts and the agency of evil spirits among the Romans and in the church down to the 1200

* The latest treatment of this subject is by Joseph Hansen in two thorough books *Zauberglaube, Inquisition und Hexenglaube im Mittelalter*, 1900; and *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, 1901. They will take the place heretofore occupied by the thorough work of Soldan as edited by Heppe in two volumes, Stuttgart, 1880.

was *maleficium*. It was used officially by Diocletian. To the conceptions which were derived from Scripture and taken from the Romans, were added the wild beliefs of the Norse mythology through the contact of the tribes of the North with the Church.

As in the other departments of theological thought so in the treatment of Satan and his realm the statements of Augustine were the starting point and the chief authority for the Schoolmen. Leaning back upon the great African teacher, Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) in his *Summa* and his *Commentary* on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard developed his elaborate system of demonology. This does not mean, of course, that the great Schoolman does not look to the Scriptures for his authority. He does and is thoroughly conversant with them. But to him Augustine was the master, their authoritative expounder. With Thomas the brilliant galaxy of Schoolmen, who were his contemporaries or belonged to the age succeeding his own, fully agreed, Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, his great Franciscan contemporary, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Durandus and others. This scholastic treatment, establishing the popular notions on an authoritative basis, left the ecclesiastical and civil courts no alternative but to prosecute all alleged cases of sorcery, witchcraft, necromancy or other activity which was ascribed directly to personal demonic agency.

Augustine's views are given in scattered statements, especially in the fifth and eighteenth books of his *De Civitate Dei*. The pagan gods were demons, he says. Like the good angels, the bad spirits have bodies. By God's permission they have power to stir up storms, start diseases and blast harvests. To them the power is not given of creating new substances but they have ability to accelerate the growth of seeds and the development of potencies, hidden to men. It is possible for the soul, when the body is asleep, to transport itself or be transported through the air. Men and women have sexual intercourse with demons, fauns and sylvans. "To deny

this" he says, "is impudence." Much of the alleged demonic influence of this day he relegates to the realm of jugglery and legerdemain.

For the next eight centuries no doubt is expressed of the subtle personal influence of evil spirits over men and of the consequent superhuman powers of men exercised in sorcery and necromancy in the interest of evil. Agobard, the enlightened archbishop of Lyons, about 850 tried to check the crass credulity on the subject and ridiculed the idea that the *tempestarii* or weather-makers have any power to change the weather, but he did not call in question the reality of sorcery. Gregory the Great, two centuries before him, elaborated the doctrine of the evil realm in such a way that Harnack in his *History of Doctrine* calls him "the Doctor of angels and the devil." He tells for example of a nun who, picking up a lettuce leaf in the convent garden and swallowing it before making the sign of the cross, swallowed with it a devil. "I was sitting on the leaf and she ate me," expostulated the imp. But in spite of his expostulation St. Aegidius forced him to depart. The Penitential Books of the seventh and eighth centuries make frequent mention of sorcerers and magic and provide ecclesiastical punishments. Peter Damiani (about 1050) has many stories of the active agency of demons. So have the writers during the next two centuries. Walter Mapes and John of Salisbury, the two English travelled men of the period, accepted with some modification the popular views but are both assured of the pestiferous familiarity of men and evil spirits. With the older theologians they represent Ceres, Bacchus, Pan, the satyrs as demons. The evil spirits have power over the weather. That prince of narrators, Cesar of Heisterbach (about 1225) in his *Dialogus Miraculorum* represents an old monk as answering the objections of a novice about sorcery and witchcraft. He knew of the devil appearing as a black man, an ox, a dog, an ape, a cat and pig and even as a prior and nun. The popular imagination invested the devil with horns, tail and claws. The French poetry of

the 12th and 13th centuries has many references to these appendages although the *Roman de la Rose* makes light of them. A funny incident is given as late as the sixteenth century by the Court preacher of the Duke of Weimar (1566). On a visit to Treves he was shown one of the devil's claws and was told that he had kicked at a new altar where mass was about to be said and left the claw behind. If there was any doubt in the Middle Ages about the reality of the dark arts, it has not been left on record. Even Roger Bacon, while declaring some of the popular notions delusions, affirmed his belief in sorcery, declaring that spells and charms depended upon their being made under the proper aspects of the heavens.

With the thirteenth century, say about 1250, a new period begins in the treatment of the dark arts. The great Schoolmen of that age, as already said, gave elaborate treatments of demonology and the agency of evil spirits. They formulated a doctrine in careful statements and sent it out with the seal of their authority. Peter the Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, and above all Thomas Aquinas were a constellation of brilliant minds scarcely paralleled in any age and they all gave the solemn weight of their names to a number of formulas on the subject that now seem to us to be most grotesque. Certain views, popularly accepted but set aside by Thomas, the Spanish theologians adopted into their systems. But the statements of the great Dominican theologian were universally accepted not only down to the time of the Reformation but, even to a large extent, in Protestant circles as well as Catholic, for several generations after the Reformation.

According to these formulations of the Schoolmen, the demons can know many things it is not given to mortals to know. By reason of mental acuteness and long experience they can foretell the future. They cannot create but they can accelerate the development of germs and hidden potencies. Their special influence over human beings in sorcery and

witchcraft grows out of a compact entered into with them by men and women. The passage frequently quoted by the Schoolmen in favor of this compact is Isaiah 28: 18—"We have made a covenant with death and with Sheol are we at agreement." One of the earliest stories narrated of such compact, going back perhaps to 400, was associated with the life of Basil of Cæsarea. It ran thus: A slave in order to secure the affections of the daughter of a senator made a covenant with the devil to serve him and apostatize from Christ. The contract was solemnly entered into in a graveyard. The slave got his desire but Basil supplicated so effectively that Satan relinquished his hold upon his dupe. Marlow's Dr. Faustus and Goethe's great creation, Faust, embodied the mediæval belief and the teaching of the Schoolmen.

The evil spirits influence the weather, so Thomas affirmed, and produce sickness and death. The Book of Job was appealed to as Scriptural authority for the power of the devil over storms. The most fiendish of their activities is directed against the marriage bond. Men they make impotent, women sterile. The earlier doctrine of the *succubus* and the *incubus*, Thomas fully adopted; namely the *succubus*, that demons cohabit with men and the *incubus* that they cohabit with women. Yea, the Schoolmen affirm, that though the demons do not have direct offspring, yet after lying with men they have power to suddenly transform themselves into the male sex and communicate the seed they have received to the woman. Thomas develops the doctrine into detail as do also Bonaventura and Duns Scotus. But Thomas at the same time denies that the sons of God who in Genesis took to themselves daughters of men were angels. They were the children of Seth. It was thought by some that the anti-Christ would be engendered in this way by the intercourse of a demon with a woman. Guibert of Nogent (about 1120) mentions that his father and mother were for some time prevented from exercising the privileges of wedlock till a good angel came to their rescue and drove off the evil spirit. It was matter of solemn dis-

cussion whether this form of influence was a just cause of divorce and Thomas answered in the affirmative. On the other hand Albertus Magnus and other Schoolmen find it difficult to understand why the devil should promote abstinence in the marriage bed. Was not concupiscence the seed of original sin? But this very fact, they say, explains why God gives to the devil a certain liberty over the relation of the sexes.

The transport of men and women through the air is also taught by Thomas. Such events as the flight of the prophet Habakkuk through the air to Babylon and back,* the experience of our Lord in his temptation and the experience of Philip, the Evangelist, are the Scriptural cases appealed to. These great teachers might have learned better things from the priest of whom Vincent Beauvais in the thirteenth century speaks. A woman was assuring the priest that under the influence of an evil spirit she and a number of other women had entered into his room by the key hole. Locking the door and putting the key in his pocket the sceptical ecclesiastic gave the woman a good drubbing, saying: "Now prove your case and get out through the key hole, if you can." Cesar Heisterbach knew no doubts on the subject of aerial locomotion and tells this among other cases. A woman fell back from a cask, exclaiming "Now I jump out of the power of God into the power of the devil. Then the devil carried her up into the air and carried her over the forests." Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales associated these women, who fly about in the night, with Diana and Herodias in whose train they follow. Turrecremata, the Spanish commentator, wisely gives up this opinion on the ground that Diana never existed and it is not at all certain whether Herodias is allowed to leave hell. But he holds on firmly to the general fact that at night human beings are transported through the air.

These Scholastic definitions of the thirteenth century mark an epoch in the treatment of sorcery and the dark arts in the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. Up to 1250 the number of

* In Bel and the Dragon.

executions for sorcery are very small, and sorcery came under the cognizance of the civil court. The cases are rare where it was made a matter of the ecclesiastical tribunal. An exception is the Synod of Riesbach, 799, which provides the penalty of imprisonment for sorcerers but forbids the death penalty. The so-called *canon episcopi*, which appears for the first time in the tenth century and was then ascribed to the Council of Ancyra, summons the bishops to root out sorcery. The *Decretals* of Gratian prescribe excommunication for those who practice it. But the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in establishing the Inquisition for heresy, does not mention sorcery. The codes of Frederick II. twenty years later regard it solely as a crime against the state and as coming under the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal while heresy he relegates to the ecclesiastical court to be punished with death. Gregory IX., one of Frederick's opponents, marks clearly the transition to a new view. He calls upon the state to exterminate persons in league with demons and in 1233 declared that the devil was accustomed to appear in the assemblies of his human devotees as a toad or a black tomcat and that they kiss his posterior parts as a sign of homage. The opinion gained recognition that the same methods should be pursued with sorcery as with heresy and that the Inquisition should, at least, have equal rights with the civil tribunal to ferret it out and prosecute it. When the Schoolmen gave the weight of their great authority to the common views there was nothing left for both courts to do but to proceed vigorously to the task of punishing these offenders. Trials suddenly multiplied. The confessions of the accused corroborated the Scholastic statements. To be sure they were extracted under the merciless exactions of torture, but they were none the less trustworthy. As in the Crusades the attempt was made to conquer an external kingdom so now the effort was made to clear the earth of the troops of men and women who had entered into alliance with demons, instead of casting out the real works of darkness in human hearts in high places and low.

A panic took hold of the mind of Western Europe. Popes like John XXI. and Boniface VIII. were reported to be in league with the devil or to have continually with them a familiar spirit. John XXII. (1316-1334), himself greatly in dread of spells and philtres, and his successor Benedict XIV. were active in the prosecution of sorcery. Interrogatories used by the Inquisition for sorcery date back to 1300. In 1376 Eymericus, in his celebrated Inquisitorial Directory, detects the closest affinity between sorcery and heresy and two years later the University of Paris sent forth 28 articles strongly affirming its reality. The most revolting confessions were extorted from women, as for example, at Toulouse where a woman under torture declared that for many years she had had sexual intercourse with a demon and had finally given birth to a monster, part wolf and part serpent, which she fed on murdered children for two years when it disappeared.

Witchcraft, with its distinguishing traits, was fully developed in the fifteenth century. These traits are the flight of human beings through the air, sometimes on stools, goats, dogs and other creatures, and the weekly meetings or Sabbaths at which the bewitched met the devil and his angels. The witches were now regarded as an organized sect. In the epidemics in Normandy in 1453 they were called *scobaces* or broom-riders. Taught by the demons, witches made a salve out of the ashes of a toad fed on the sacred wafer, the blood of murdered children and other ingredients which they used to facilitate their aerial flight.

Some of the principal places for meeting were the Brocken, Benevento and beyond the Jordan. Here thousands of witches gathered every week. The knowledge of these things came through the confessions of the participants themselves. On one occasion the Inquisitor of Como, a famous witch region, and two others attended such a meeting at Mendrisio, looking on at the orgies from a place of concealment. The presiding demon dismissed the assembly as if unaware of their presence but immediately calling the revellers back, they dragged the

intruders forth and belabored them so lustily that they survived only a few weeks. At these assemblages the form in which the devil usually appeared was that of a tom-cat or a large goat. He was wont to descend a ladder, if it were in a room, tail foremost. The witches then proceeded to kiss his posteriors. A rich feast followed. Then the lights were extinguished and at a command from the devil *Melez, melez*, they proceeded to abandon themselves to promiscuous and unbridled orgies. Such things were ascribed to the Cathari and other heretical sects and had been charged against the early Christians of the Roman Empire.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the trials were going on on a vast scale. Germany, southern France and northern Italy were the scene of the greatest activity. In England laws against magic and soothsaying had been passed in the Anglo-Saxon period and under the law for the burning of heretics (1401) not a few of these unfortunate people were put to death. But the persecution never took on the proportions it did on the Continent. It is said there was only one execution in Ireland. It grew out of the famous case of Lady Alice Kyteler, 1325. By 1500 quite a voluminous literature had grown up on the subject of witchcraft. Two documents stand out in notorious prominence above the rest of their kind in that age and are the most famous writings on witchcraft of all time, the Witches' Bull of Innocent VIII., 1484, and the *Malleus Maleficarum* or *Witches Hammer* (Hexenhammer) of 1487. These prove beyond a question the state of public opinion in Europe on the eve of the Reformation.

Innocent VIII.'s bull, issued one year after Luther's birth, is one of those little items in the history of the papacy which it would be very convenient for the advocates of papal infallibility to have out of the way. ✓ It was propounded in answer to questions sent in by German Inquisitors, and gives full recognition to the current beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. The document declares that the dioceses of Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen were teeming with practisers of

these dark arts, and calls upon the inquisitors to do well their work. It speaks of both sexes in those regions having carnal intercourse with fiends. These make men impotent, women sterile, the well sick, destroy crops, murder children and do other malific acts. Whether intentionally or not, the bull does not mention the witches' Sabbath and the flight through the air. Here is a translations of a part of the famous deliverance: "To our great grief, it has recently come to our knowledge that in some parts of upper Germany—namely in the sees of Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen—very many of both sexes, unmindful of their own salvation and deviating from the Catholic faith, lie with *succubi* and *incubi*, and by incantations and by songs and other conjurations, by wicked superstitions and soothsayings, by excesses, crimes and sins destroy, suffocate and extinguish the bearing of women, the offspring of animals, the fruits of the earth, the grapes of the vine and the fruit of trees; yea, men, women, cattle, and all sorts of other animals, and all sorts of fruits and vegetables; and they also afflict with the most dire external and internal torments men, women, cattle and stock and impede men that they can not procreate and women that they cannot conceive and render men that they cannot perform conjugal acts with their wives and women with their husbands," etc.

This fulmination would seem to be sufficiently distinct and detailed. It proved to be so for all practical purposes at that day and the inquisitors proceeded to carry out its provisions with untiring energy and merciless exactness.

One pope after another of the fifteenth century had called for the prosecution of proficients in magical arts—Eugenius IV., 1437; Nicholas V., 1451; Calixtus III., 1457; Sixtus IV., 1479. Innocent's fulmination, being the most detailed, is the most notorious. And it must have contributed greatly to the spread of the delusion. Had the supreme pontiff, conscious of his infallibility, only uttered some well-chosen words condemning the erratic superstitions which had oppressed for so long Christendom as well as pagan society, he would have

prevented the execution of tens of thousands of his fellow men and placed himself among the truly great benefactors of the world. Dr. Andrew D. White says in his *Warfare of Religion and Science* "that of all documents which have issued from Rome, imperial or papal, this has doubtless first and last cost the greatest shedding of blood." The statement is a little too strong perhaps in view of the decree of the fourth Lateran establishing the Inquisition for heresy but it is so near the truth that it is just as well to let it stand without attempt at modification. ~

There is no denying the authenticity of the bull. The printing press was then at work and the copies of it were struck off rapidly and went everywhere. Pastor, Hergenröther and other less able, if not less conscientious recent Catholic historians have attempted to rescue the doctrine of papal infallibility which Innocent's deliverance seems to impugn. The argument which Pastor makes is that the pope does not formally lay down a doctrine on the subject of sorcery and witchcraft. He proceeds upon the basis of previous papal deliverances and the information which he had received from Germany. This does not make the case any the better for the previous papal deliverances. But even, so Pastor continues to argue, if Innocent be regarded as pronouncing a decision, that decision has no more permanent validity than would a decision upon any non-theological controversy, say a controversy about a benefice. This is in accord with the well-known distinction which is now made between the papal decisions which affect doctrine and those which only affect discipline or administration. The latter even if solemnly promulgated are not necessarily obligatory beyond the case adjudicated. Even such a plain bull as Innocent's cannot effect the authority of the supreme pontiff, for, as Pastor says, quoting Leo I., and the words he uses as the motto of his great work, *Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit*.

Turning away from the question of papal infallibility, it is a fact that the bull was allowed to appear as the preface to

the 29 editions of the *Malleus maleficarum* without any protest, the last appearing 1669. Then, it must be remembered that two of the distinguished theologians of the papal household Prierias and Spina expound the positions of the bull and the latter appeals directly to the bulls of two other and later popes, Julius II. and Hadrian VI. and these expositions were in high standing in the Church. Some pope has still the opportunity to begin a new Index of forbidden books, which might claim acceptance from all reasonable men, and put this bull and the book it accompanied at its head.

The *Malleus maleficarum* or Witches' Hammer which Dr. Lea pronounces "the most pestiferous monument of superstition the world has produced," was the work of the two Dominican Inquisitors in Germany, Heinrich Institoris and Jacob Sprenger. The plea cannot be made that they were uneducated men. They occupied high positions in their order and at the university of Cologne. These are some of the positions they take. The last quarter of the fifteenth century was more given over to the devil than any of its predecessors. In reaffirming the antics and crimes already spoken of, they appeal to the Scriptures and to the teaching of Augustine and of the Schoolmen, especially Thomas Aquinas. There is an organized sect of witches and sorcerers whose founder is the devil. The members meet at the weekly Sabbaths and do the devil homage by kissing his posteriors. He appears among them as a tom-cat, goat, dog, bull or black man, as whim and convenience suggest. Demons of both sexes swarm at the meetings. Baptism and the eucharist are ridiculed, the cross trampled upon. After an abundant repast, the lights are extinguished and the devil gives his command and then follows a scene of indescribable lewdness. The devil, however, is a disciplinarian and applies the whip to refractory members.

The human part of the fraternity are instructed in all sorts of fell arts. They are transported through the air. They kill children, that is the unbaptized, keeping them in this way out of heaven. At the Sabbaths they are eaten. Of the carnal

intercourse implied in the words *succubus* and *incubus* the authors say, there can be no doubt. To quote them, "this is common to all sorcerers and witches to practice carnal lust (*spurcitias carnales*) with demons."

In evidence of the reality of these charges the authors draw upon their own full experience and declare that in 48 cases of witches brought before them and burned, all the victims confessed to having practiced such abominable whoredoms for from 10 to 30 years. These were, of course, secured under the enormities of the rack.

In the third part of the book, are given directions for the prosecution of witches. The accused were to be subjected to the indignity of having the hair shaved off from their bodies, especially the more secret parts, lest perchance some imp might be lurking there. In case the defender of such a person seemed to show an excess of zeal in his defence, this was to be taken as presumptive evidence that he was himself under the influence of sorcery. One of the devices given for detecting the alleged crime of the witch was to take a sheet of paper of the length of Christ's body, write on it the seven words of the cross, bind it about the witch's body at the time of the mass, especially on some holy day, and then immediately proceed with the torture. This was almost sure, it was said, to extort a true testimony which inevitably meant a confession of guilt.

The most revolting part of this notorious manual is the author's utterly low estimate of womanhood. If any one still thinks that celibacy is a sure highway to purity of thought, let him simply read the testimonies of writers on these subjects, priests and monks, about women. Such impurities of thought are worthy of the foulest purlieus of fornication and lust. The title of the book is in the feminine because, as the authors say, the great majority of those who have alliance with demons are women. *Haeresis dicenda est non maleficorum sed malificarum ut fiat a potiori denominatio.* In flat contrast to our modern experience of the religious fidelity of women, they derive *femina*, the word for woman, from *fides minus*, less in

faith. The cohabitation with fiends was in earlier ages, they affirm, against the will of women but in that age it was with their full consent and by their ardent desire (*pro voluntate foeditissima*). They thank God for being men for few of their sex, they say, consent to these obscene relations. This refusal was due to their natural vigor of mind, *vigor rationis*. To show the depravity of woman and her fell agency in history they quote all the bad things they can heap up from authors biblical and classic, Patristic and Scholastic, from Jesus Sirach's "Woman is more bitter than death" down. Helen, Jezebel and Cleopatra are held forth as examples of those whose pernicious agency wrought the destruction of kingdoms, such catastrophes being almost invariably due to women's machinations. A single other quotation will show that this low and vile idea of womankind was not characteristic of Institoris and Sprenger. In his *de planctu ecclesiae* written from Avignon about 1332 and directed against the pamphleteers who were then attacking the papacy, Bishop Alvarez of Pelayo enumerates 102 faults common to women and one of these is her cohabitation with the denizens of hell. From his own experience the prelate says he knew this to be true. It was practiced, he says, in a convent of nuns and in vain he tried to put a stop to it.

With the bull of Innocent and the *Malleus maleficarum* widely circulated, the horizon of the period just preceding the Reformation became lurid with the flames in which men and women were consumed for this awful superstition. Popes Alexander VI., Julius II. and Leo X. as well as Hadrian VI. (1523) urged on the vigorous prosecution of the poor wretches in Northern Italy where the civil authorities, as in the case of Brescia and Venice, were inclined to be lax. The attitude of the signory of Brescia changed and in 1510 alone we have record of 70 executions for witchcraft in that city. What effect these monstrous representations and threats must have had on delicate and sensitive women and ignorant communities may easily be surmised. There was, in our

modern sense, no protection of law for the accused. The suspicion of an ecclesiastical or civil court was sufficient to create an almost insurmountable presumption of crime. The torture was invariably brought into requisition and no one can read anything about the horrors and merciless persistence in its use, and wonder that the victims, frantic with pain, would be willing to confess to anything, however untrue and repulsive it might be. And these victims, no doubt, thought death infinitely preferable to the protracted agonies of the rack, for the pains of death at best, last a few hours and might be reduced to a few minutes. As Lecky in his *History of Rationalism* has said, they did not have before them the prospect of a martyr's crown and the glory of the heavenly estate. They were not buoyed up by the sympathies and prayers of friends. The Church had cast them off as reprobate and in collusion with demons. So, unpitied, unprayed for, they looked forth into a black future as they cowered away from the scrutiny of the Inquisitor or were consumed in the flames.

Are we to suppose there were no dissenting voices from these awful judgments? Probably there were. Probably many a community looked on with silent horror and a certain grimness of hate for the authorities. But it did not come to recorded expression. Reuchlin pronounced in 1494 the sorceries of the Egyptian magicians delusions but he did not condemn the belief in sorcery. Erasmus alleged the pact with the devil to be an invention, but he did not deny the reality of witchcraft or reprobate the execution of witches. Ulrich von Hutten made merry over the cat shape of the devil and Hans Sachs in 1531 writes of the transformation of demons into cats

Des Teufels Eh und Reuterei
Ist nur Gespenst und Fantasy

In Spain at the time of the Reformation the densest superstition prevailed on the subject. In 1520 in Germany and France the trials were transferred to the civil court but the trials and the executions went on without abatement. The Reformation brought no relief. A bright Roman Catholic

writer, Diefenbach, has tried to prove that in German Protestant circles the belief was more deep-seated and the executions more frequent than in German Catholic circles. It is true that the Reformers on the Continent and in England believed in witchcraft and did not lift their hand to stop the persecutions. Luther was a stout believer in the reality of demonic agency. Calvin allowed the laws against witchcraft in the Genevan code to stand. Bishop Jewel's sermon before Queen Elizabeth in 1562 was perhaps the immediate occasion of the enactment of a new English law on the subject.

It is beyond my intention to follow the history of this craze further. It will be, however, recalled, that James I. was a staunch believer in witchcraft and witnessed trials of witches and had the man tried and executed who stirred up the storm while the king was crossing from Denmark to his realm. In France, England and Germany Bodin, Binsfeld, Delrio, Erastus and Glanvill, otherwise a representative of the dawning scientific spirit, wrote treatises down to 1681, advocating the reality of witchcraft. Nowhere were the trials and tortures of witches more agonizing and pitiless than in Scotland after the Reformation was fully established in that land. And under Cromwell and the Puritan triers sixty suffered death in Suffolk alone.

Of astrology there is no place left to speak. It, too, was one of the dark arts. Scarcely a bishop or prince in Italy that did not have his astrologer in the period of the Renaissance. Julius II. delayed the day of his coronation that it might take place under a lucky star. It is sufficient to say that this art required meditation and seclusion. It was not within the reach of any but the rich. But some of the astrologers also came in for the death penalty. But this did not stop the practice of the art and Wallenstein and many of his contemporaries believed in it. Does not Schiller put into Wallenstein's mouth the words?

The stars lie not; what's happened
Has turned out against the course of star and fate;
Art does not play us false. The false heart
'Tis, which drags falsehood into the truth-telling heavens.

The *Malleus maleficarum* declared that astrology also involved a secret pact with the devil and was to be punished by the Inquisition. In France in 1494 it was condemned to extinction.

In surveying the belief in witchcraft and sorcery in the Church of the Middle Ages, it is evident that it was originally due to the representations of Scripture and the opinions and mythologies handed over to the church from Roman society and by the peoples of the North. The demonic agency in the time of our Lord, Saul's experience with the witch of Endor and the representations of Leviticus and other books of the Old Testament represent some of the authority upon which the Christian theologians based their careful and authoritative definitions. The stories of the contests of the old hermits with the devil and demons were the property of every convent where time hung heavy and were retailed to terrify evil doers. The experiences of the monks of the Middle Ages teem with personal encounters of the same sort. The lonely location of monasteries, the lonely forests and untracked swales, the confused state of the peoples, all contributed to the development of the consciousness and fear of the personal appearance and activity of the malign agents of evil and adversaries of the kingdom of God. The Knights of the Temple succumbed to the charge of being in league with these forces. Heresy and sorcery in the thirteenth century came to be regarded as sisters of the same stock. The name Waldenses was at one time given to witches and the name Cathari—one ingenious writer derived from the word *cat* in whose form, it was charged, the devil appeared to the sect and was worshipped by its members. Then followed the awful mistake that the Church, exercising its right, might condemn such persons to death. The state court took up the cases which the church turned over to it or prosecuted on its own account. Upon the passage of the Pentateuch tremendous stress was laid, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The modern studies of anthropology and mental pathology were not in vogue, giving rational explana-

tions of the phenomena that seemed to point to personal demonic agency. It is an awful tragedy for these later generations to contemplate. Apologizing is sorry work for we would probably have done the same had we lived in those times. The more genial temper and treatment of our own day are not causes for boasting so much as reasons for humble gratitude to God and a more earnest resolution to cast out the works of darkness rather than to blast human hope and destroy human liberty by assuming the prerogative of God.

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