

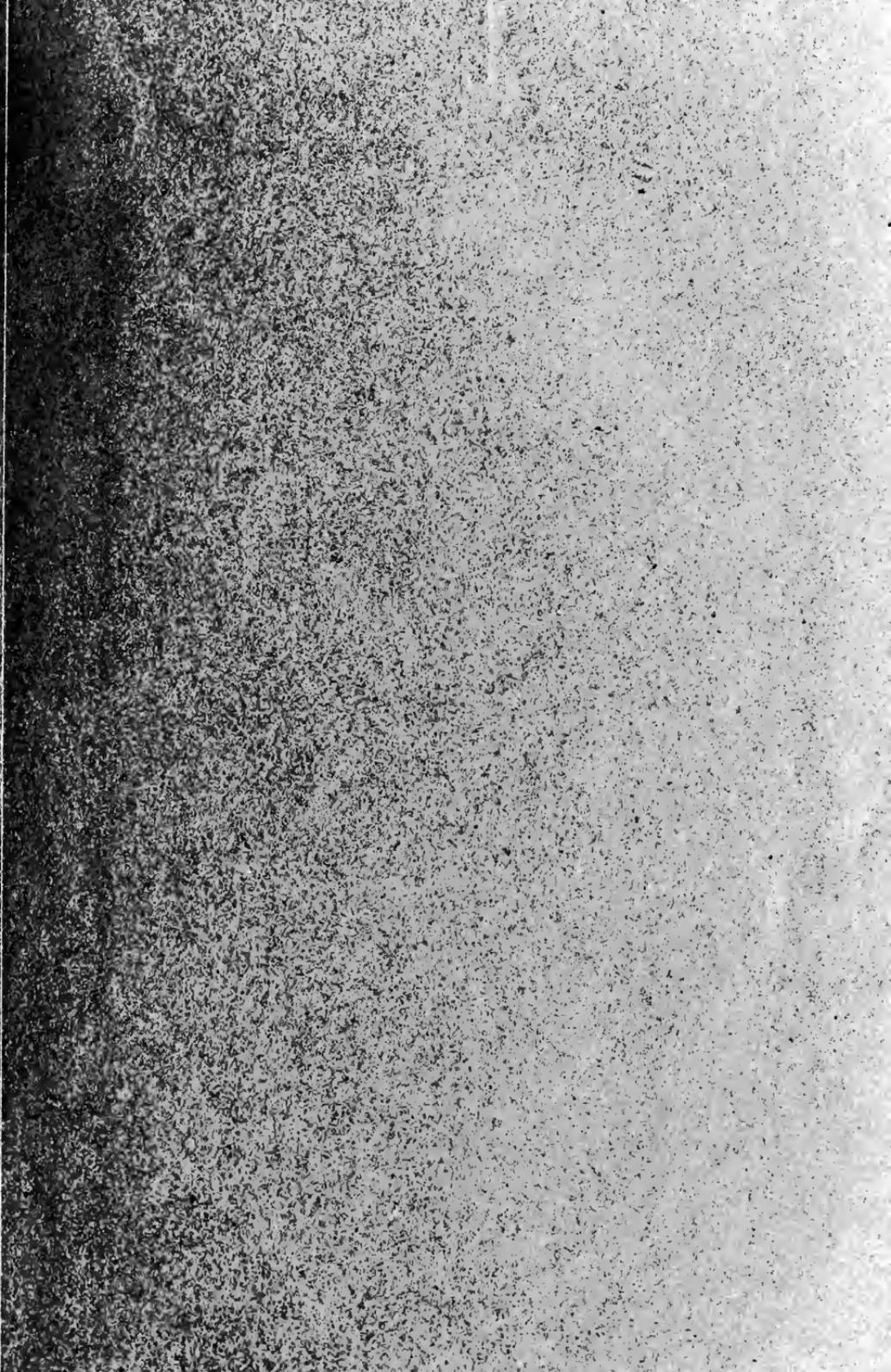
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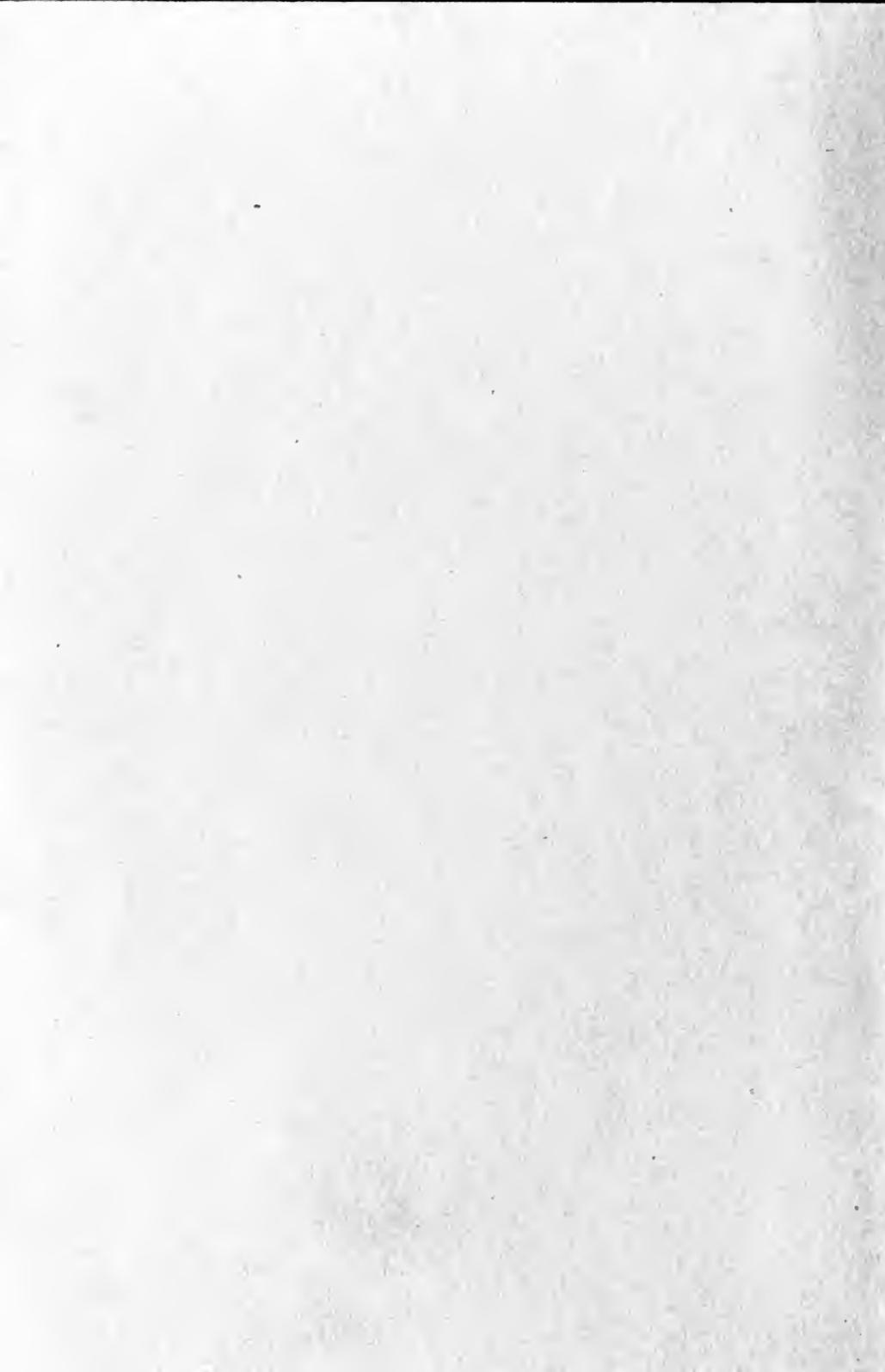
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The Form and Origin of
Milton's Antitrinitarian
Conception

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

zur

Erlangung der Doktorwuerde der Hohen philosophischen
Fakultaet

der

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The Form and Origin of Milton's Antitrinitarian Conception

CHAPTER I.

Wer nur die Wahrheit sieht, hat ausgelebt,
Das Leben gleicht der Buehne, dort wie hier,
Muss, wann die Taeuchung weicht, der Vorhang fallen.⁽¹⁾

The opinions of John Milton have as a rule exercised a very positive influence upon those who have become acquainted with his works. The excellence of his literary genius, and the ethical and religious strength of his writings have been capable of making men forget the vagaries of his thoughts. His compositions have helped to enhance the common stock of the literary possessions of his nation. Paradise Lost appears to the general reader rather as a history of creation than the sublime imaginings of a master mind. Milton has always stood in the popular conception as a stronghold of certain truth and orthodoxy; he has been regarded as the exponent of accepted creed; indeed, he has been as it were a "lamp to the feet" of the believer.

In how far this is a misconception is soon revealed when Milton's writings are more closely studied. That he always maintained a firm moral attitude upon all questions that interested him during his life cannot be disputed. His earnestness and unselfishness of purpose are beyond question. On the other hand, that he departed very widely from the generally-received views on many important issues is just as clear. Truth to him was a very elusive quantity. In his search for it he exemplified, indeed, the ideal of Uhland, never satisfied that his opinion was final and sure, but always urged forward by disappointment to some new stadium in the distance. Two

(1) Uhland.—In ein Stammbuch, Gedichte and Dramen, Pg. 144. Stuttgart, 1885.

great facts then may be pointed out in connection with Milton's life. Firstly, that there occurred a very marked shifting of his views on various subjects during the progress of his life; and secondly, that notwithstanding these fluctuations of opinion his religious convictions remained of the same zeal and intensity.

It is singular that this development in opinion can be traced back one step farther than the life of Milton. His grandfather, a resident of Oxfordshire, in the days of Elizabeth, was a strict and rigid Catholic. Milton's father, however, prosylitized himself to the new sect of the Puritans which were gaining strength in the land. For this he was deprived of his inheritance, and was forced to abandon his home and go to London. There, Milton, born in Bread Street, 1608, was raised according to the tenets of Puritanism and its stern doctrine of the Kingdom of God. His lasting belief in the superiority of the Holy Scripture in contrast with all other authority, and in the irreconcilable opposition of evil and good in the world must have been firmly grounded at this time. But, happily, his education was one step in advance of that ordinarily allowed by the earlier form of Puritanism. His interest in the Classics and the romantic languages was sedulously cultivated, and here is to be found the undoubted origin of his later views. But, as yet, he was a devoted Puritan, filled with all the aspiration of his fellow believers against the Anglican and Papist. Only the seeds of future rebellion were in his heart. Like the others of his day he was to be the sport of the great political forces which were soon to come into play. The Puritan party was to be rent into many pieces during this struggle, and it only remained to be seen how far Milton's independence of mind would carry him in the formation of the views which he would adopt.

The journey which Milton made to Italy in 1637 was one of the turning points of his career. It awakened the sympathy for continental forms of thought and literature which persisted until the end of his life. More especially did he interest himself in the literary production of the Italian people, among whom he sojourned the longest. This affected very noticeably

the form and tendency of the works which he afterwards himself gave forth. But all the time his mind was in England where events were following one another in quick succession. His own words give us a clue to his sudden return: "When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received and the civic commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement while my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home. (1)

On his arrival home he immediately began to exercise his talent as essayist in defence of the Puritan cause. In 1641-2, appeared four treatises opposing the rule of the Bishops, (2) and, in 1642, his apology for Smectymnuus. The next year, occurred his marriage with a young lady of Royalist sympathies, one of the most unhappy events of his life. His biographers have generally noticed the influence which this affair had upon his views regarding the marriage tie, and in adding to the loneliness and bitterness of his life. (3) They have not, however, laid enough stress upon the effect which this had upon the whole tenour of his thoughts. There is a strong reason to believe that from this time on the claims which his early orthodoxy had upon him were lessened, and that he was prepared to accept any views which happened to appeal strongly to his mind. Already, had he crossed over from the ranks of the Presbyterians, and found a place with the Independents. The years 1644-1645, marked the beginning of his tendency to cut himself away from the fetters of common opinion. At this period he published his four treatises on Divorce and soon became known as the leader of a small section of the Independents of an intellectual type who were designated the "Divorcers." Despite his later productions which were of material value to the Republican Party, and the esteem in which he was held among their ranks, it is evident that at this time he turned himself from

(1) The Second Defence of the People of England, Miscellanies, I.:256.

(2) Of Reformation touching Church Discipline, 1641.

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, 1641.

Animadversious, 1641.

The Reason of Church Government, 1641-2.

(3) Masson, Vol. II., Bk. III., Chap. II., and Vol. III.; Bk. I., Chap. II.

the teachings of the past and went off upon his own bent. The heresies which he afterwards evidenced were acquired then, or in the long interval which elapsed until the end of his life, in 1674.

Mention need not be made of his numerous other writings. For the purposes of this essay it may be noted, that the sources of information would indicate that, in 1655-8, he began to compose the *Paradise Lost*. This occupied many years, and first appeared, in 1667, followed by *Paradise Regained*, in 1671. Toland says, writing in 1699, that during the period of his life following the re-establishment of the monarchy he was engaged in the composition of three works; his *Paradise Lost*; a Latin *Thesaurus*; and a *Body of Divinity*. This third treatise suffered a peculiar fate, and did not come to light until 1823. It proved to be a rather lengthy work, evidently compiled in Milton's later days, being the result of years of thought upon all phases of theological truth. It had been handed over by the author to a London merchant, by name, Cyriac Skinner, to be published after his death. It is entitled, *Johannis Milton Angli, De Doctrina Christiana*, and its authenticity has never been brought into question, as the Latinicity and mannerisms of Milton are on every page. Doctor Sumner thinks that Skinner was possibly seized for participation in Republican plots, and deprived of his papers, with the result that this manuscript came into the State Paper Office where it was found. The fact that it was not given to publication may be accounted for by the great abundance of heretical views which it contained. Milton had suffered enough criticism previously for his opinion on Divorce, and now under the new regime he was loathe to let his various other liberal ideas be commented upon before his death.

The appearance of this work, "The Christian Doctrine" necessarily created great surprise, and led to much discussion. By writing an essay at this time upon Milton, ⁽¹⁾ Lord Macaulay first got a real place in English letters, and Doctor Channing, of Boston, ⁽²⁾ also composed a splendid short treatise

(1) T. B. Macaulay—Critical and Historical Essays. Milton. Aug., 1825.

(2) Channing—Remarks on the character and writings of John Milton, 1826.

with Milton as its theme. In this work appear for the first time Milton's denial of the strict Calvinistic idea of predestination. He states his avowed adherence to a Pantheistic idea of creation, and gives a theory respecting the Divinity of Christ which clearly puts him in the ranks of the Anti-trinitarians. It is concerning this last mentioned phase of his theological position, namely, his conception of the Deity, that these pages will chiefly deal. Having indicated the general development in his views which mark his life it is now possible to treat more leisurely upon this subject. The task it will be seen will demand an investigation much further afield than the mere statement of Milton's views in the "Christian Doctrine."

Despite the publication of the "Christian Doctrine" Milton has been defended in certain quarters from the charge of being an Anti-trinitarian. Most critical opinion regarding his conception of the Second Person of the Trinity is now almost unanimous in accusing him of departure from the generally-received doctrine. This was not the case before the discovery of this work. Whether he was a heretic or not in this particular regard had hardly been remarked upon by those who had treated of his life and writings. The *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* had generally passed muster as being quite orthodox in sentiment. Johnson who severely criticises Milton in other respects merely says that he was "untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion." (1) Doctor Newton refers to the fact that certain had regarded Milton as an Arian, but there were sufficient passages in his works to silence this accusation. (2)

However, on the other hand, we find a few close observers who had detected Milton's wayward trend of thought. Addison keenly remarks that "if Milton's majesty forsakes him anywhere it is in those parts of his poem where the Divine Persons are introduced as speakers." (3) Warton also questions the orthodoxy of *Paradise Regained*, and acknowledges certain

(1) S. Johnson—*Life of Milton*.

(2) Dr. Sumner—*Preliminary Observations to the Christian Doctrine*, XXVIII.

(3) Addison—*Notes upon the twelve books of Paradise Lost*, 1719.

remarks made thereupon by a Mr. Calton to be true. ⁽¹⁾ Besides it is noticeable that in Italy, in the year 1758, Paradise Lost was listed on the index of prohibited works.

Since the appearance of the "Christian Doctrine" practically all defence of the soundness of his conception upon this subject therein contained has been abandoned. As will be seen the two great epics, Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, are also now regularly classed as embodying within their poetical language similar views. A vindication of Milton from the charge of Arianism which Morris gave out in 1862, is very weak in its arguments, ⁽²⁾ and has no weight against the array of opposing criticism. A few extracts from modern writers will suffice to indicate what is the consensus of opinion.

Macaulay in his "Critical and Historical Writings," Vol. I., (1825), says: "Some of his heterodox doctrines which he avows seem to have excited considerable amazement, particularly his Arianism and theory on the subject of Polygamy. Yet we can scarcely conceive that any person could have read the Paradise Lost without suspecting him of the former, nor do we think that any reader acquainted with the history of his life ought to have been startled at the latter." ⁽³⁾

A. Stern, in his biography of Milton, is just as certain on the subject. He says: "So konnte er sich der 'Ansteking der Arianer,' nicht erwehren, vor der er ehemals gewarnt hatte * * * Das wiedergewonnene Paradies das dazu bestimmt war, in Christus einzig den vollkommenen Menschen zu verherrlichen bot Keinen Anlass dar, den Eindruck dieser heterodoxen Anschauungen Milton's abzuschwachen. Man durfte ihn dreist den Arianern zuzahlen, auch ehe sein theologisches Werk bekannt war." ⁽⁴⁾

Garnett's Life of Milton says that in Paradise Lost: "He has strayed far from the creed of Puritanism * * * the Son of God though an unspeakably exalted Being is dependent

(1) Sumner—Preliminary Observations, XXIX.

(2) J. W. Morris—J. Milton, a vindication specially from the charge of Arianism, 1862.

(3) Critical and Historical Writings, Vol. I., Page 3.

(4) Stern—Milton und seine zeit, 1877, Bk. IV., 159ff.

inferior, not self-existent, and could be merged in the Father's person or obliterated without the least diminution of Almighty perfection." Other writers are none the less agreed on this point. Both Keightley ⁽¹⁾ and Mason have no doubts as to his heterodoxy, and attribute similar teaching as well to the *Paradise Lost*. Mark Pattison goes so far as to acknowledge a confusion of thought in *Paradise Lost* between Arminianism and Arianism. ⁽²⁾

The following question now arises for consideration: What is the latest period in his life at which Milton still shows that he has a real belief in the Doctrine of the Trinity? Dr. Sumner advances the opinion that, in 1660, five years after commencing the *Paradise Lost*, his views were as yet untainted. He quotes this passage from "The Ready and Easy Way," published early in that year: "Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men) to be the last words of our expiring liberty." ⁽³⁾ He evidently considers that the intonation of the word, "earth," three times according to Old Testament example would indicate his conception of the equality of the Persons, two of whom he mentions afterwards. However, no such conclusion can be drawn from this. Milton was always rich in his reference to the Old Testament, but took particular pains in the "Christian Doctrine" to combat the idea that its pages contain any illusion to Three Persons of similar essence and equal power. In fact, Keightley has used the second half of the same passage to show that Milton had already changed his earlier opinions, evidently considering the use of the expression, "thou next," to apply to Christ's subordination to the Father. As well, it may be pointed out that in the same tract he uses these words: "Not even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King; only worthy as He is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ,

(1) T. Keightley—An account of the life, opinions and writings of John Milton, 1855.

(2) Mark Pattison—Milton (an account of his life and works, 1879.)

(3) The Ready and Easy Way (1660), Pg. 168, Miscellaneous, Vol. II. Ed. Dr. Sumner.

the only heir of His eternal Father, the only one by Him anointed and ordained since the work of our redemption finished, Lord of all mankind." (1) Here he speaks in the highest terms of respect for Christ, and acknowledges His redeeming power as he did until the end of his life. Yet he omits to apply to Him any term to designate His eternal existence and power. He is simply the Heir of the Eternal One. It would seem, then, that the evidence from "The Ready and Easy Way," can at least hardly be taken according to Dr. Sumner's idea as direct proof of Milton's orthodoxy, in 1660.

Proceeding backwards, there is a long space of time until any other references worth adducing can be found. In his Divorce tract, of 1644, sixteen years previously, he mentions those who followed Anabaptism in such words as to indicate that he did not belong to this sect. (2) This was known to shelter many within its fold who had Anti-trinitarian sympathies. However, this gives no sure testimony, especially since Milton never considered himself at any time as an adherent of the Anabaptists.

The first clear instance of orthodoxy is, in 1641, when in the "Animadversions" he calls the Son, "The ever-begotten Light and perfect Image of the Father." (3) Here Christ is given definitely the attribute of Eternal Creation for the last time. In the same year, in his treatise, "Of the Reformation in England," he is found also using language which indicates an orthodox standpoint. (4) This year then must be given as the starting point for all subsequent investigation.

The ground plan for the discussion of the problem in hand has already been laid. It has been disclosed that Milton was a Trinitarian in the year 1641. A great gap of years then elapses in which there is little or no evidence which would indicate any variance in his opinion. This silence on his part, however, cannot be taken as a proof that no change had taken place. The Paradise Lost begun, in 1655-8, and issued in 1667 shows a strong anti-trinitarian conception, the form of which

(1) The Ready and Easy Way, II., 127.

(2) The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, III., 213.

(3) Animadversions, III., 71.

(4) Of the Reformation in England, Miscellanies, II., 371.

will be dealt with later on. Then in "The Ready and Easy Way," of 1660, appears evidence which is convincing for neither side of the question. *Paradise Regained*, of 1671, is still more radical. The "Christian Doctrine," composed in his later years, but never published, is unhesitatingly heterodox. Consequently, the field of enquiry stretches from 1641 until 1674, the date of Milton's death.

It will be our office to endeavor to discover the source or sources from which Milton's doctrine upon the Second Person of the Trinity sprang. In treating of this, it will be necessary to first get some idea of the influence which his own meditation and personal characteristics may have had in leading him to the standpoint which he adopted. In the second place, an attempt can be made to fix the time at which his views underwent their revolution. In this discussion the field of enquiry is narrowed down to some point before the publication of the *Paradise Lost*, in 1667.

CHAPTER II.

A certain fact must be made clear at the outset. From none of Milton's immediate biographers, nor from the works of any contemporary writer are we given any clue as to the origin of his views regarding the Trinity. Consequently, then, in pursuing an investigation which would shed any light on the problem, it is necessary to search for whatever personal data Milton may himself supply.

V
 A passage of peculiar interest appears near the end of his Dedication of the "Christian Doctrine." He makes the following assertion: "For my own part I adhere to the Holy Scriptures—I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox, and their incautious handling of Scripture first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever these opponents agreed with Scripture."⁽¹⁾

This statement is very strong, and yet it may be argued that the heretics referred to are not necessarily those who cast doubts upon the received Doctrine of the Trinity. An examination of the "Christian Doctrine," however, entirely removes this quibble. This work consists of some fifty chapters, but to only two of them—the fifth and the sixth together—is any special introduction attached. These chapters are entitled, "Of the Son of God," and "Of the Holy Spirit." In the prefatory remarks which are given he states that his opposition to the ordinary beliefs comes through the liberty of opinion which is allowed to all members of the Protestant or Reformed Churches.⁽²⁾ The views which he claims are rested wholly upon the Word of God, and he asks for the right of free discussion. "For without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretation as often as the

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Dedication, Pages 8-9.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Vol. I.; Page 78.

occasion requires, conformably to my right, or rather to my duty as a man."⁽¹⁾

Clearly, then, Milton had thoughts upon this subject according to his own definite statement before the works of the Antitrinitarians had come into his hands. These thoughts led him to questionings which were based upon his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and their interpretation. Yet it must be borne in mind that this does not necessarily mean that he had any lucid conception on the Trinity, or that he had formulated a Doctrine of it to suit himself. It only means that through his acquaintance with the Word of God he was roused to oppose those who in their Creed upon this subject were guilty of such "incautious handling of Scripture." That others may have helped him to decide what type of antitrinitarian belief he should entertain is quite credible according to the language which he has used. This very important testimony which he has given, therefore, emphatically indicates that the heresy which he advocated grew up first as the result of his own individual thought. The subsequent influence which "heretics, so-called," may have had in giving form to his opinions cannot, however, be left out of consideration. The difficult matter is just to know how far he had organized his final conception before that other literature came into his hands. The amount of significance which should be attached to his words may be determined somewhat by an examination of his own personal characteristics.

With regard to Milton's capabilities as an original thinker much evidence is offered by all his various compositions. He hardly wrote one work, whether of Prose or of Poetry, which does not show his great independence of intellect. The early tracts on Church Discipline and Government are rich in originality. His opinions on Divorce were primarily his own creation—a fact which will be commented upon more fully later on. The *Areopagitica*—his masterpiece—was the first great studied argument for the freedom of printing. His poems, large and small, although not always original in their

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Vol I., Pages 78-9.

material, are always unique in their style and general conception.

This independence of mind was not alone the result of Milton's deep intuitive capacity and creative genius. A very singular characteristic of self-confidence also played its part in causing him to follow his own direction. His life exemplifies this at every turn, since never did he fail to trust his own ability. When he came back from Italy, almost unknown, he had no hesitation in entering vigorously into the contest, setting down his own opinions upon the most vital things. Such belief in himself amounted sometimes almost to a culpable egotism. This breaks out in the "Reason of Church Government," Book II., where, commenting upon the praise which the Italians had bestowed upon him, he declares his desire to write an epic poem as he says in order that "what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome or Modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine."⁽¹⁾ In addition to this, he was of a reserved and self-contained disposition, as he himself acknowledges, with the result that his resentment against outside influences was heightened. The paucity in the number of his intimate friends may be attributed to this cause.

On the other hand, his declaration that his own opinions were guided by the use of the Holy Scriptures must be examined. What measure of respect had Milton for the canon of Scripture? It appears that with the greatest consistency throughout his life he always relied upon it as of compelling authority. He gives us himself a hint as to his proficient knowledge of Biblical Literature: "I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might

(1) Reason of Church Government, II., 478.

require."⁽¹⁾ It was after this, indeed, that he came to examine the larger theological treatises, only to find in them with regret, "wretched shifts," "formal sophisms," and the "quibbles of the grammarians,"⁽²⁾ used to oppose adverse opinions. It is through such circumstances that he was urged to make a compilation of his own from the scriptures, and, working with this end in view, the "Christian Doctrine" was the outcome⁽³⁾ His statement of the influence which Scripture had in leading him to his heretical standpoint is quite in accordance with his early and constantly-persisting regard for its teaching.

Another fact worthy of notice was Milton's disinclination in his latter days to ally himself with any particular denomination. Although he maintained his connection with the Independants for many years, he was early looked upon as belonging to the outer-wing of these. In fact, his Divorce Doctrine had put a peculiar brand upon him. Paget, in 1645, describes his sect: "These I terme divorsers, that would be quit of their wives for slight occasions, and to maintaine this opinion one hath published a Tractate of divorce."⁽⁴⁾ Naturally Milton felt himself something of an outsider, and we find him making the acquaintance of other free lances like himself, such as

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Dedication, Pages 2-3.

(2) *ibid*, Page 3.

(3) The question as to when the "Christian Doctrine" was subjected to writing is, of course, an open one. The opinion which we have already advanced is that it was set together during the later years of Milton's life. In the work, "La Religion de Milton" (Paris, 1909), from Paul Chauvet, which has lately appeared, the author seems inclined to the belief that it may have been of earlier composition. He assures us (page 173) that "Milton meditait de travail, aussi bien que le Paradis Perdu, depuis sa jeunesse," but remarks in addition, "Il est cependant possible qu' il n' ait commence a mettre au point la Doctrine qu' en 1655." He evidently thinks however, that it may have been completed before the Paradise Lost, which was begun in 1655-8, because in opening chapter XI. he makes the following assertion: "Quelles que soient les dates de composition du Paradis Perdu et de la Doctrine chretienne, que l'une vienne avant l'autre ou inversment, cela import peu. To carry the matter so far would seem, indeed, to be too bold a contention. That the Christian Doctrine was begun, in 1655, is possible, but that it could have been finished before Paradise Lost is almost incredible. That both the poem and theological treatise contained similar heresies is quite evident. On the other hand, the prose work would seem to be a collection of settled doctrines which may have largely been brought to fruition by the composition of the poem. A. Stern has stated the matter so in his Biography of Milton (Bk. IV., Page 147): "Wie der reife Inhalt des ganzen Werkes, so sprechen auch aussere Grunde for die Annahme dass es erst im Alter des Dichters vollendet worden ist." Besides, the fact that this work was not published during the lifetime of Milton is easier of explanation if we adopt the view that it was one of his latest writings. Yet were it finished before Paradise Lost, which appeared in 1667, then, for seven or more years Milton knew of its existence, and yet for all it was not given to the world.

(4) Paget, Heresiography, 1645.

Goodwin, Vane and Williams. This isolation could not but help to add to that independence which was his by nature. That it had an effect in stimulating his heretical views is undoubtedly the case. In the closing years of his life, his attitude towards the Church was one of complete dissatisfaction and neglect. Toland remarks that: "In the latter part of his life, Milton frequented none of the assemblies of any particular sect of Christians, nor made use of their particular rights in his family."⁽¹⁾

Every search therefore into the more personal side of Milton's existence would only lend color and truth to his own statement. This is further emphasised by his answer to the question of authority which shows his complete reliance upon the divine oracle of Scripture as against the reasonings of man. The fact that Milton was an Antitrinitarian before he learned the doctrine of other writers upon the subject is thus unquestionably established. Whether his conception was already clear, or still in a formative condition, can only be answered in one way. Having thought the matter over for himself, he was prepared to decide which of the opinions of other men appealed to him the most. The question then arises: Have we good reason to believe that any thinker or class of thinkers had an influence in bringing Milton to the views which we held? The more marked and direct such influence appears, the less ground should there be to argue that his conception was already clearly defined. It will now be necessary to investigate the whole field of antitrinitarian belief, to see if any such influence can be discovered.

(1) Toland—Life of John Milton, 1699.

CHAPTER III.

From the time that the Doctrine of the Trinity became a recognized Article of Faith in the early Church there were constantly being mooted theories of subordination among the various schools of thought. Not till the fourth century, however, did the question arouse any bitter conflict. The Arian controversy springing up in the Church of Northern Egypt soon inflamed the whole of Christendom. It was carried forward with varying form and fortune right to the very threshold of the Middle Ages. The store of apologetic literature which we have from both sides in this conflict is naturally of great proportions. No one reading the original documents of this period could avoid a consideration of the views of Arius, the Presbyter of Alexandria, and his various successors. That Milton must have penetrated into these mazes of theological discussion is hardly to be denied. In treating of the influences which may have led to his views upon the Trinity, it is quite necessary, therefore, to see if he was affected by any of the Schools of Arianism. Has he mentioned any particular school with approval, or does he show a coincidence in thought with its teaching?

In the work, "Of the Reformation in England," he is plainly adverse to the principles which Arianism had taught. In treating of the futility of certain martyrdoms he remarks: "Witness the Arians and Pelagians which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both of these for no true friends of Christ."⁽¹⁾ In another connection he speaks of the fate of the Church after Constantine, saying: "His son Constantine proved a flat Arian, and his nephew Julian an Apostate."⁽²⁾

On the contrary, this early opposition had evidently late in life developed into an attitude of favor. The tract, "Of True Religion," contending that the extent of difference

(1) Of the Reformation in England, II., 371.

(2) *ibid.*, Page 382.

between Christian beliefs must not be magnified, remarks: "The hottest disputes among Protestants, calmly and charitably enquired into, will be found less than such." (1) He goes on to speak of the Lutheran, Calvinist and Anabaptist, and then says: "The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity; they affirmed to believe the Father, Son and Holy Ghost according to the Scripture and the Apostolic Creed; as for terms of trinity, triniunity, coessentiality, tri-personality and the like, they eject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general Protestant maxime is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known, a mystery indeed in their Sophistic subtelties, but in Scripture a plain doctrine." (2)

This is clearly a parallel thought with that which is emphasized so strongly in the "Christian Doctrine." Evidently he believes that the Arian and Socinian are nearer the truth in the Doctrine which they hold because they approximate more closely to the words of Scripture. It would seem from this that he might well have gained his antitrinitarian views through perusing the works of Arian or Socinian. But a closer examination would tend to destroy such a theory. Why, if he were influenced by one or other set of thinkers, does he speak of both together without distinction? The Creeds of Arianism and Socinianism are so markedly at variance with one another that conformity to one excludes conformity with the other. The only conclusion which can be drawn is that Milton here is employing general terms. The standpoint regarding these heresies was that they were not worthy of speedy condemnation because they had Scripture on their side, just as the Anabaptists had in opposition to the received doctrines. He inclines to think that their conception is in the right direction, but as to whether he accepts the whole content of either form of belief he makes no statement.

A subsequent treatment indeed of Milton's views will demonstrate a considerable divergence from any Arian con-

(1) Of True Religion, II., 511.

(2) *ibid.*, II., 512.

ception. It will be evident that he could not have borrowed his ideas in their entirety from any one of their schools of thought. In order therefore to facilitate the outworking of the argument which will be advanced, it will be necessary at this point to submit a short outline of the basic principles of Arianism. The chief characteristic of this system of theological thought was the infinite chasm which it fixed between God and Man. The consequence of this is that God in his relation to the world can create only indirectly through His Agent. For this purpose is formed the Logos, which is called into existence at a period inconceivable to man, but yet within the boundaries of time. This is created from nothing; and not from the Father's Essence, and therefore His Essence was quite other from that of the Father. The significance of such a Doctrine is that Christ becomes merely the First Creature of God. He was really a demi-god, standing between God and the Creation, and doing His Will. His personality had nothing to do with the personality of God.

This original theory of Arianism became modified as time went on, and the party split up into different factions. One section, styled the Aetians or Anomeans argued that the Son was entirely unlike the Father in His Essence. Other semi-Arians, with Basilius of Ancyra, as their leader, declared merely that there was a likeness between Father and Son according to Essence. Another body who were termed the Acacians contended that the relationship between the two only concerned the Will, and had nothing to do with the whole Essence. The views of the semi-Arians should be particularly noted, as their conception although very indefinite in its statement has certain points of similarity with that of Milton, which will afterwards appear.

CHAPTER IV.

The doctrines of Arianism long held sway among the many races of Europe such as the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Suevi and Burgundians. However, before the dominating strength of mediæval Catholicism it gradually died out as a living Faith among these peoples. The Lombards were the last to relinquish their belief in its cardinal tenets. Then, followed a long period in which there is really no trace of any antitrinitarian tendency. It was not until the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century that this heretical standpoint was again assumed by many who left the old confession. This was a natural growth in Italy and Holland, where it was largely based on German mysticism. It spread here and there in Germany itself, and was imported from various centres to England and Switzerland. Latterly, in Poland, began the propagation of the most liberal type of antitrinitarianism which has ever been known.

The first establishment of these doctrines in England may have possibly occurred at a very early date. Stowe states that with the instreaming of the Dutch Anabaptists, in 1535, owing to persecution, the first seeds were planted. Here they suffered also, as the laws had just been stringently revived, the charges laid against them including the denial of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It is not likely that these forms of belief made much progress at this time. In fact, Strype gives, 1548, as the date at which this heresy made its initial appearance. At any rate the case of Joan Boucher, one of the ladies of the Court, came up in 1550. Charged with having antitrinitarian beliefs, she was executed at the instigation of Cranmer. In 1555, Hendrick Nichlaes sent a disciple of his sect, the "Family of Love," to England, named Christopher Vitells, and later visited the country himself, in 1569. Both these men, the founders of the Familists in England, were tainted with antitrinitarianism.

The large collection of foreigners in London at this time—many of them religious exiles—made it necessary to set up a place of worship, where they might exercise their faith. This was called the "Strangers' Church," and in 1549, John a Lasco, coming from Sweden, became its pastor. It was here, in such a cosmopolitan religious community, that the antitrinitarian doctrine had an opportunity to flourish. Among the names of its members at this time is that of Georg Van Parris, a surgeon from Mainz. It is known that he only recognized Christ as the Supernatural Son of the one true God, and his opinion is a good example of others which may have been held in the same religious community.

Next the influx of certain learned Italians played its part in spreading this heresy. The Inquisition was at work in Italy, and the Augsburg Interim simultaneously in force in Germany. Many fleeing from their land went to Switzerland. Others crossed over into England. Among these was Vermigli (Peter Martyr) who became famous at Oxford. At the same time, in 1547, came Bernardino Ochino, after having spent some time in Switzerland. He was pastor to the Italians in London until 1553, when Mary's accession stifled for a time the Protestant movement. Ochino's tendency to antitrinitarianism was not likely very out-spoken at this time, but his influence in that direction passed on to his disciples. The chief of these was Acontius, who came to London, in 1559, and took a great part in the Toleration Controversy in England. He was in high standing with Elizabeth, but a letter of his to Grindal indicates an heretical view on the question of the Trinity. Another successor to Ochino was Corranus, from Seville, preacher to the Spaniards, whose works also show an opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Although its existence cannot be gainsaid, it is quite plain that during the 16th century the antitrinitarian movement in England had no systematised form of doctrine, nor gathered itself together as a distinct sect. It hid rather under the wing of advanced Puritanism, and thus escaped largely from attack. But, in 1579, we find the death recorded, of W. Hammond, for this heresy, and that of John Lewis, in 1583.

The last two burnings in England indeed were for a denial of the Doctrine of the Trinity, Leggatt and Wightman going to the stake in 1611, three years after the date of Milton's birth.

In the reign of Charles I. came a new stimulus to the growth of sectarianism, and at the same time the anti-trinitarians became more numerous and assertive. During this period the vigorous Socinianism of Poland was transplanted to English soil. Polish Works were introduced in their Latin translation, and, in 1614, the Racovian Catechism was publicly burned in London. A second Latin edition of this catechism was printed in London, in 1651, and an English translation appeared, in 1652, at Amsterdam. These doctrines received a certain amount of protection from the Latitudinarians whose aim was to limit theology to its fundamental principles. Lord Falkland, one of their number, is said to have been the first to bring the Socinian writings into England. The spread of this literature was so obnoxious to the Church, that the Synods of York and London proscribed the importation and the sale of such works. The names of those who avowed these beliefs were now those of more prominent persons. John Webberely, an Oxford graduate, of 1640; Paul Best, an Independent; William Erbury, a Chaplain in the Parliamentary Army, were numbered among these. The most famous case, however, was that of John Biddle who evidently acquired his ideas from the Polish Socinianism, and because of his daring profession was subjected to various trials, but finally set free through the clemency of Cromwell. The wide mark to which these ideas sometimes ran is shown in the utterances of a certain London preacher in a religious meeting at Bell Alley, who asserted that "Though Christ was a prophet and did miracles, yet he was not God." The evidence on the whole is that the Socinian teachings had by the middle of the 17th century gained a strong foothold, and were accepted with only such modifications as made them palatable to English tastes.

It may be said, then, that the history of the 16th and 17th centuries in England would indicate that there arose two

different phases of advanced thought upon the subject of the Trinity. The first was the contribution of certain Anabaptists, and Italian exiles. The second which came in from Poland was much more radical, and built itself upon the less stable foundations of the first. This was the form which was more prevalent at the time of Milton's greatest literary proficiency, and the question arises as to whether it may have been instrumental in dictating his views. A study of the tents of Socinianism, however, removes any such possibility. That its teachings were known to Milton is more than probable, but that they did more than quicken his interest in the subject is quite unlikely.

The Socinians denied explicitly the Divinity of Christ, and His satisfaction for sin. To them, Christ performed the offices of Prophet and King, but they refused to credit Him with the possession of any priestly function of sacrifice. He was a Teacher and Mediator, the Man who realized the spiritual ideal to which Adam failed to aspire. The Holy Spirit was only a virtue of the Father. Any divine foreknowledge of future events on the part of Christ was declared to be non-existent. To all these principles the belief of Milton regarding the person of Christ stands in strong opposition. His conception of subordination brings Him by no means so nearly to the level of the human. It was only in respect to His doctrine of the Holy Spirit that He approximates at all to the creed of Socinianism.

The only field left open for discussion is that of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, until Socinianism began to make its influence felt. Is there any writer during this period with whose views we may correlate those of Milton? Those who dealt with the problem at length were not numerous, and by a judicious criticism it is possible to select the one to whom Milton was in all probability mostly indebted. The rest of these pages will be devoted to a consideration of the life and writings of Bernardino Ochino, the Italian exile, followed by a harmonising of his conception of the Trinity with that entertained by John Milton.

CHAPTER V.

The Reformation in Italy had a very short tenure of life, but while it lasted it produced an extreme type of Protestantism which is unexampled in any of the other countries affected. There were certain very obvious reasons why such a radical development was possible. First in order might be mentioned the fact that Italy was the home of the Renaissance, and this had always carried with it a tendency to scepticism. A new interest in the philosophical speculation and questionings of the ancient writers had been awakened which did not speedily die out. Then, again, while the New Testament was subjected to a critical comparison with the Classics, there was an added interest in the Old Testament because of the presence of so many Jewish Scholars in Italy. Also, owing to the fact that the Italian reformers were in the land where the Roman Hierarchy had its seat, they were liable to search for faults in its teachings which others would not notice. Lastly, it may be remarked that within the history of the Italian Reformation there were no great dominating figures who were able to impress their views upon the masses, and so cause a uniformity of belief in the ranks.

The most distinguished forerunner of the movement in Italy was Juan de Valdes, a Spaniard. Born of a noble family, he was at the Court of Charles V. He early gained a knowledge of the writings of Erasmus, which were in great demand in Spain, and was measurably affected by the mysticism of Tauler. Then having composed a work which defended the Emperor, and attacked the corruption of the Roman Church, he was forced to leave his country, and, in 1530, he departed for Italy. He finally settled in Naples, in 1533, where the Inquisition had not yet been set up, and soon gathered about him a group of learned men. The tendency of this small company was towards reformed opinions; under Valdes' guidance it looked to the original text of Scriptures, and ac-

cepted the Doctrine of Justification by Faith. As to the question of the Trinity, Valdes was clearly in doubt. He says in one of his works, *The One Hundred and Ten Considerations*, with regard to the Divine Generation of Christ, that it presented a problem which he was entirely incapable of solving.⁽¹⁾ In another place he goes on to remark: "Should it please God to render me capable of understanding this divine secret before I quit this present life, I will add hereto what He shall teach me to His glory and that of Christ."⁽²⁾ In 1541, he died without suffering any persecution for his ideas, although his followers in several cases did not get off so lightly. Carnesecchi was burned to death, in 1567; Guilia Gonzaga was called to Rome, but died before her trial, in 1566, while the exile of Vermigli and Ochino has already been commented upon.

The most apt pupil in the School of Valdes was the Vicar General of the Capucins—Bernardino Ochino. This man had early belonged to the Observantine Franciscans, but, in 1534, went over to the stricter Order of the Capucins. He soon became the foremost preacher in Italy, and his services were in particular demand on all great festive occasions. But even before he was made the head of his Order, his Lutheran tendencies had become manifest, and he was expressly declared to be heretical by Cardinal Caraffa after preaching at Naples, in 1530. The influence of Valdes upon him is seen in many ways. Both went beyond Church authority, and were led by the Scriptures. Both appealed to the conscience and heart of their auditors. Valdes supplied notes for many of the great sermons which Ochino preached, and Ochino consulted Valdes as his guide and instructor. The ground of Ochino's severance from the old confession was undoubtedly given by his intercourse with the Spaniard. With respect to his more extreme heresies so much can hardly be said. And yet the general tendency of Valdes' teaching must have supplied the incentive to a more liberal standpoint than was common among the majority of the

(1) *The One Hundred and Ten Considerations*; XCV.

(2) *ibid*; CIX..

Reformers. Touching the question of the Trinity, at least, his first scepticism must have originated in the very indecisive opinions of Valdes upon this subject.

The turning point in Ochino's career soon came. He was already marked out by the Church Dignitaries as a dangerous man, and they only waited for an opportunity to bring him under their condemnation. His "Seven Dialogues," published, in 1539, increased the suspicion against him. Then came his outspoken reflections in Venice, 1542, upon the seizure by the Papal authorities of his friend, Guilio Terenzano. This afforded ample cause for censorship, and he was ordered the same year to appear before the Inquisition.

Ochino's mind was soon made up. Sooner than meet the Inquisition where he knew his fate would be very precarious, he decided upon flight. He abandoned his pristine faith, and crossed over hurriedly into Switzerland, leaving behind several apologetic letters to defend his action. His departure caused consternation among his Order, and brought its members into great disrepute. Ochino meanwhile settled in Geneva, preaching to a congregation there. Later, he went to Augsburg, and remained in this city until it surrendered, in 1547, to the forces of the Emperor. Then, he made his journey as already noticed to England, where he lived for six years. Returning to the continent, he arrived in Geneva at the time of the trial of Servetus, in 1553. He had formerly had friendly relationship with Calvin, but the death of Servetus placed him among his opponents, and he openly declared against this act. Whether he was in sympathy with the views of Servetus is not apparent. It was not long afterwards, however, that he published that one of his numerous treatises which has placed him among the leading antitrinitarians of his day. This was the doctrinal work entitled, "The XXX Dialogi," which appeared, in 1563. As a result, he came under the ban of the Senate of Zurich, where he was living, and was ordered to leave the city. Going to Poland, he was again banished, and ended his life in misery in Moravia, the next year, 1564.

The roots of Ochino's antitrinitarianism therefore struck

very deep. On the one hand, was the influence of his master, Valdes, whose own scepticism was born through his acquaintance with Tauler and Erasmus. On the other hand, there played upon his mind that strong spirit of the Renaissance which had never lost its force among the cultured classes of Italy. It must now be shown how Ochino's views, almost a century later, were instrumental in giving form to the conception of John Milton upon the Trinity.

CHAPTER VI.

Had the lives of Milton and Ochino been contemporaneous, the task of relating these two writers would have been relieved of certain of its difficulties. Ochino's death, in 1564, left a stretch of some seventy-five years until Milton returned from his Italian tour and began his great literary activity. During this interval the memory of Ochino might well have grown faint in England. In fact, since the rather numerous publication of various of his sermons in English, during the years 1548-50 ⁽¹⁾ and his "Tragoedie," of 1549, very little had been done to make his writings known to the English public. In the 17th century nothing had appeared so far. The only reissue since his demise had been certain sermons translated in 1580 by William Phistin.⁽²⁾ To what extent Ochino's works were preserved in English libraries, and how extensive was the influx of copies which had been published on the continent, are, of course, mere matters of conjecture.

It is strange to note that only a few years after Milton's series of Divorce Tracts had made such a stir among the thinking classes, there seems to have been a revival of interest in Ochino. One of his chief works was disinterred, and passages peculiarly in keeping with the topic which Milton had discussed were translated for English readers. In 1657, there appeared in London a book with the following title: "A Dialogue of Polygamy, written originally in Italian; rendered into English by a person of quality, etc." This is a reproduction of several sections of Ochino's "XXX Dialogi," to which the translator also saw fit to add the following section in which Ochino dealt with the subject of Divorce.

With reference to the translator's identity it would seem that no clue has been given in the Title Page or in the Dedic-

(1) Certaine Sermons of the * * * Clerk Master B. Ochine * * * Faythfully translated into Englyshe. (Anne Cook and R. Argentine) etc., etc., 1550.

(2) Certaine Godly and very profitable Sermons of Faith, Hope and Charitie; 1580.

tion of this book. It is said to be "Dedicated to the Author of that well-known treatise called 'Advice to a Son.'" This person is spoken of as "ingenious and free-spirited," and the work is dedicated in and by him "to all other gentlemen of like noble and manly temper." Some slight clue is furnished by the expression "Person of Quality," in the title, however, which would indicate that the translator was at least sprung from a good family.

Certain information as to the possible author can be gleaned from other sources. The writer of the work cited in the Dedication, "Advice to a Son," was Francis Osborne. He printed the first part of this book anonymously, in 1656. It became quite popular and, in 1658, Dr. John Conant,⁽¹⁾ the Chancellor of Oxford University ordered the booksellers to cease their sale of it owing to the width of teaching it contained. It was possibly more heretical with regard to matrimonial questions than in any other way, and it was very appropriate that the translation of the "Dialogue of Polygamy" should be dedicated to its author.

The censorship passed upon this book by the authorities at Oxford would indicate how much the writer was held by them in disrepute. On the other hand, the effect was, according to Anthony a Wood, that the work was made to "sell the better." It seems that Francis Osborne was living in Oxford at this time, and a notice which Wood makes regarding him in his *Athenae Oxoniensis* is of peculiar value to our treatise. He speaks of a statement made by Dr. Barlow, the keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln: "Dr. Barlow saith, that it was suspected that Francis Osborne, author of *Advice to a Son*, an old atheistical courtier, then (1657) living in Oxon did translate the said book into English, and dedicate it to himself."⁽²⁾ This remarkable assertion would seem credible when coming from such a man as Dr. Barlow, and cannot be too lightly set aside by opposing evidence.

The station in life which Francis Osborne occupied

(1) *Life and Times of Anthony a Wood*; I., 257.

(2) *Anthony a Wood*; *Athenae Oxonienses*; II., 707.

might easily designate him as a "Person of Quality." His grandfather had been Remembrancer to the Lord Treasurer under Edward VI., and the office was then held by his elder brother. He was himself, for a time, Master of Horse to the Earl of Pembroke, and was married to a sister of Col. Draper, of the Parliamentary Army. On the other hand, it would be well to remember that Anthony a Wood's evidence comes second hand, and that Barlow might have been led to his statement through the general detestation which was prevalent in Oxford among the authorities against Osborne's book.

Besides this there is counter evidence which further complicates the matter. A writer named John Heydon composed an answer to Osborne, entitled "Advice to a Daughter," in 1658. This elicited a reply from Thomas Pecke, called "Advice to Balaam's Ass," in the same year. Heydon, in 1659, issued his book for the second time, and in a special introduction he has also made an assertion which quite opposes that accredited by Wood to Dr. Barlow. In his arraignment of Thomas Pecke he says of him: "He it is said writ a Dialogue of Polygamy; and his Master cast a paper full of dirt against the book of the late incomparable King Charls; they truckle under learning, and rail at all they do not understand."⁽¹⁾ This information has evidently been put down by Heydon from hearsay, and yet it cannot be discarded any more than the passage in the *Athenae Oxoniensis*. Thomas Pecke was also from good Norfolk stock. His style might be said to be more like that found in the translation of the "Dialogue of Polygamy" than that of Osborne; in addition, he would not be dedicating a book to himself, which Osborne must have done had he translated these sections from Ochino.

Plainly, then, the problem is difficult of decision. And yet there are two facts which must not be lost sight of. It is well known that Osborne and Pecke were good friends, and of like opinions, and if either published this work his effort would be approved of by the other. Again, if even a third person were responsible for the translation the evidence

(1) *Advice to a Daughter* (second edition, 1659); Thomas Pecke, counselor, examin'd, etc., Pg. 2.

would tend to show that this person quite possibly belonged to a group of which Pecke and Osborne were members. It is hardly probable that both Heydon and Barlow were wrong in their location of the direction from which this translation emerged.

Granting this, then, the natural deduction would be that Pecke and Osborne belonged to a certain set of thinkers to whom the publication of such Dialogues would be particularly appetising. The translator must have expected to find readers, and that he remained anonymous was no doubt due to the fact that such a work might subject him to too great a measure of criticism. That there were a large body of thinkers during this period who entertained advanced views upon matrimonial questions is easily proven from the testimony of various writers of the day. That Osborne and Pecke belonged to these is quite evident from the general trend of their works.

This form of heresy was so widely rampant that it was really numbered among the various sects which belonged to the ranks of the Independents. Mention has already been made of the Divorcers—a group of thinkers which must have had Milton as their representative if not as their nominal leader. That they were an organized body, however, is hardly probable. The publicity which Milton's doctrines had gained must have added to rather than decreased the number of his followers. Opposition to his views began early, and we find Herbert Palmer preaching against them, in 1644.⁽¹⁾ So much antagonism was aroused that Milton was twice cited before Parliament but no action was taken against him. Prynne's "Twelve * * * Questions touching church government," speaks of the "late dangerous increase of many Anabaptistical, Antinomian, Heretical, Atheistical opinions, as that of the Soul's Mortality, Divorce at Pleasure,⁽²⁾ etc." Dr. Featley's celebrated work, "Dippers Dipt," appearing in 1645, refers to the many heresies resulting from Anabaptism in England, and

(1) Herbert Palmer; *The Glasse of God's Providence*; * * * preached to the two Houses of Parliament, Aug. 13, 1644.

(2) Prynne, *Twelve Questions*, etc., 1644.

explicitly mentions Milton's Tractate on Divorce. More amplified is Baillie's "Dissausive," Part I., of November, 1645. Speaking of the Independents he says: "Concerning Divorces, some of them go far beyond any of the Brownists; not to speak of Mr. Milton, who in a large treatise both pleaded for a full liberty for any man to put away his wife, ⁽¹⁾ etc." Edward's Gangroena, of February, 1645, is also interesting in this connection. It instances 176 Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies which were then taught by diverse sectaries. Number 154 was "that 'tis lawful for a man to put away his wife upon indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind. etc."⁽²⁾ He practically summarizes Milton's doctrine, and in the margin writes, "vide Milton's Doctrine of Divorce."

Evidently, then, various orthodox writers of the time seem to have been aroused over the currency of these opinions, and that Milton was responsible in the main for them seems to have been the general conclusion. How strong this body of opinion had grown during the Commonwealth is shown by the proceedings in Parliament, in the year, 1653. In that year a Marriage Bill was brought into the House, and before it became law we find an attempt being made to tender a clause to it, touching the question of Divorce. Who the instigators of this were does not appear from the Commons Journal. That they were from among those who were affected by these new views would be indicated by the wording of the Clause which they submitted. It demanded that divorce should be granted when it was found that "either of the said parties, Husband or Wife, have, during their intermarriage, violated his or her covenant of marriage, by committing the detestable sin of adultery."⁽³⁾ This clause was read a second time, but its supporters were not numerous enough to have it inserted as a part of the original Bill.

The failure thus made to obtain material embodiment of their views in the law of the land seems to have ended the legislative attempts of the Divorcing party. And yet it did

(1) Baillie, Dissuasive, Part I., Page 116.

(2) Edward's Gangroen, Part I., Page 20.

(3) Commons Journal, Aug. 24, 1653.

not conclude the expression of opinion upon the problems involved. It has been shown that Osborne's book "Advice to a Son" appeared three years later, while Pecke's defense of him followed after. During the same period was issued the translation from Ochino's "XXX Dialogi." This sequence of events might be said to be a mere occurrence having little connection with the past. And yet it may well be urged that Pecke and Osborne, and the clique to whom they belonged, had some relationship to the old sect of Divorcers. The term Divorcers seems to have fallen into disuse in the literature of the day. That the opinions which caused this term to be so commonly applied in the previous decade had died out, however, is by no means the case. If nothing else, the translation alone from Ochino's writings showed that these ideas were still in vogue. And the fact that Pecke or Osborne, or at least some one near them, appears to have been responsible for this translation gives much force to the argument that they were not out of touch with the heresy which had called forth the censure of Baillie and Edwards.

If it be contended, therefore, that the party to which Pecke and Osborne belonged conformed more or less in its teachings to the sect of the Divorcers what value has that for this treatise? There is only one way in which it can be of any critical worth. If the unknown translator of the Polygamy and Divorce Dialogues of Ochino really belonged to the Osborne-Pecke coterie, then there is no need to prove that these men were acquainted with the original version of Ochino's "XXX Dialogi." This book was in the hands, or at least, in the possession of some one of them. If they were what might be called Divorcers, then, we find this work of Ochino's among that class of thinkers who had Milton as their greatest representative. How widely it was known before its translation, in 1657, it is impossible to say. That it may have been in circulation for years not only in its Italian form but also in the Latin version cannot be denied. That it was known to John Milton himself even before it was rendered into English it will be our office to attempt to prove in the following chapter by adducing a new line of evidence, and by internal

literary comparison an endeavor will be made to show how it would seem quite possible that Milton may have been acquainted with this work of Ochino's.

CHAPTER VII.

The ground has already been prepared for a wider consideration of the problem which has been taken in hand. One of Ochino's chief works has been found among certain men who held advanced views upon matrimonial questions. As a sequence to this it has been hinted that Milton may also have had knowledge of this work. It remains now to treat with the matter from the standpoint of Milton's own writings upon these subjects. Would they lead us to believe that he might have known of Ochino because of his opinions upon polygamy and divorce? To answer this it will be first necessary to focus our attention upon the four treatises upon divorce previously mentioned as having appeared in 1644-5.

From his own statement it appears that Milton's ideas concerning divorce in his first treatise were quite original. In his address to the Parliament preceding the second work, "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce," he writes as follows: "I owe no light or leading received from any man in the discovery of this truth, what time I first undertook it in, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' and had only the infallible grounds of scripture to be my guide."⁽¹⁾

Then he goes on to say that when he had nearly completed the first edition of this work he had read Hugo Grotius' notes upon the fifth chapter of Matthew which showed him that Grotius was "inclining to reasonable terms in this controversy."⁽²⁾ This had encouraged him in his prosecution of the subject, and, later, when he found that Paulus Fagius had similar opinions upon divorce, he had used his name to enhance his cause.⁽³⁾ Then, the second edition of "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," was only three months out, when he discovered that another writer of renown had also dealt

(1) Address to Parliament, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce*, III., 280.

(2) *ibid*, Page 281.

(3) Address to Parliament, III., 281.

with the question. "I, then, first came to hear," he states, "that Martin Bucer had writter much concerning Divorce whom earnestly turning over I perceived, but not without amazement, in the same opinion confirmed with the same reasons which in that published book, without the help or imitation of any precedent writer, I had laboured out and laid together."⁽¹⁾ His second work then consists of a series of quotations from Bucer's treatise, "Of the Kingdom of Christ," whereby he substantiates his own views on the subject.

Already at the time of the publication of this second work, it would appear that Milton had been searching for the views of various writers to assist his polemic. The issuing of his third work, however, gives clear evidence that during the intervening time he had carried his investigation very much further among the Divines who had treated with the question of divorce. Towards the end of this treatise which is entitled, "Tetracordion," he gives a brief consideration of different opinions which had come to his notice. Some twenty-three names⁽²⁾ in all are given. Among these stand those of Peter Martyr,⁽³⁾ the friend of Ochino, and Beze, whose ideas on the subject Milton recognizes to have been of a conservative type.⁽⁴⁾ The last work issued by him, "Colasterion," adds nothing new to problem in hand.

The fact is, thus, plainly set forth that, although Milton's first treatment of the question of divorce was his own, subsequently, he had hunted in every direction for the views of others which would strengthen his position. But another fact must also be noted. In his enumeration of the names of various Divines, Milton makes no mention of Ochino. This gives rise to the question, in his searching had Milton never discovered that Ochino had written extensively concerning divorce and kindred subjects?

The previous chapter has shown in what quarter there was acquaintanceship with Ochino's opinions at this period. This would strengthen the argument that Milton may have

(1) *ibid.*, Page 282.

(2) *Tetracordion*, III., 425-31.

(3) *ibid.*, III., 427-8.

(4) *ibid.*, III., 429-30.

lit upon Ochino in the quest which he made. And yet the matter has no certainty owing to the lack of all personal information on the part of Milton. On the other hand, it might possibly be urged that, owing to Ochino's heretical views on various subjects, his name would be suppressed by Milton, as not capable of assisting his cause with English readers. However, this argument has nothing else to substantiate it except a statement which he makes after he has cited the opinions of the different writers. "Nor could I have wanted more testimonies," he declares, "had the cause needed a more solicitous enquiry."⁽¹⁾ Whether this testimony was that from works he had already seen, or only refers to opinions which he had heard of, is, of course, not clear.

Still enough has been said to show that there was considerable possibility that Milton sooner or later would come across Ochino's "XXX Dialogi." From the year, 1654, on, he was in quest of those who had treated with the subject of divorce, and would miss no opportunity to secure the works of any author whose views might correspond with his own. Ochino deals with the question in *Dialogus XXI.* of his lengthy volume, and his views would be peculiarly pleasing to Milton.

But there is another fact which is of singular importance that would make it more probable that Milton eventually read this treatise of Ochino. In order to deal with this it is necessary to leave these four discourses of Milton's upon divorce, and look for his next treatment of the subject. This occurs in a very brief form in his essay on "Christian Doctrine." The chapter in which he discusses the problem is entitled: "The Special Government of Man," and under the same heading he adopts very remarkable ideas regarding the question of polygamy. His treatment of divorce is quite similar to that which he had set forth earlier in his life. The open defence of polygamy is something which is practically new. Now, in arguing for the justification of polygamy he quotes a work of Beze's on the subject. It has already been noticed that he

(1) *Tetracordion*, III., 431.

mentions the name of Beze in connection with divorce in the "Tetracordion."⁽¹⁾ It is from these two references that it is possible to bring Milton into at least indirect relationship with Ochino.

The title of Beze's book is in part as follows: "Tractatio polygamiae et divortii in qua et Ochini pro polygamia et Montanistarum ac aliorum adversus repetitas nuptias refutantur etc." From this it will be seen that Beze makes an attack upon the views of Ochino in his work in regard to both divorce and polygamy. This is evidently the dissertation which Milton had read when he mentions Beze in the Tetracordion. This, then, furnishes a clear proof that Milton was aware that Ochino had written upon both subjects at this time. That Milton had read Ochino's own work is certainly not proven. That he may have done so is not impossible, but hardly probable. That he had incentive enough to search for this work has already been indicated.

On the contrary, the argument may be advanced that Milton obtained all his knowledge of Ochino's views on polygamy from Beze's book itself. On examining this work it is found that the main points of Ochino's contention have all been singled out and dealt with by Beze.⁽²⁾ In his statement, however, Beze's chief effort was directed towards a repudiation of Ochino's opinions. He furnishes no detailed account of what Ochino really wrote. When Milton's entire conception is brought into comparison with Ochino's, it is quite evident that the probability of his intimate acquaintanceship with the "XX X Dialogi" is more likely. It is hardly possible that the brief summary which Beze submitted can be taken as the source of Milton's views upon polygamy. The problem, therefore, before us is to attempt to demonstrate that Milton shows a literary dependence upon the contents of Ochino's treatise when he advocated polygamy in his chapter on "The Special Government of Man."

Ochino deals with polygamy in Dialogi XXII.-IV. of his work, and his argument is quite extensive and critical. It has

(1) Tetracordion, III., 429-30.

(2) Tractatio Polygamiae, etc., 1st Section.

been stated that his discussion on divorce was in *Dialogus XXI.*, so that if Milton read this he might naturally pass on to the following three sections upon the other topic. Possibly this is what Milton did, if only out of curiosity. Ochino was known as one of the only writers who had ever dared to express so bold an opinion upon the lawfulness of polygamy. Schubhorn has asserted that he borrowed his material to a large extent from a treatise written, in 1541, to defend Philip the Landgrave of Hesse. McCrie, on the other hand, has contended that Ochino had no knowledge of German in which this was written.⁽¹⁾ Milton was also unacquainted with German, and could not have read this defence of the Landgrave's life. If Milton borrowed his ideas from any source it is beyond question that the conception held by Ochino was the only one which could have possibly been used by him. From this it becomes manifest that the next step will be to trace a similarity between Milton's conception and that of the more lengthy discussion of Ochino. When there is a noticeable correspondence, then it may be proven that Milton was quite conversant with the "XXX. Dialogi" of Ochino.

On examining the opinions of both writers, it will be seen that the proof for the lawfulness of polygamy rests back in both cases upon the example and teaching of the Old Testament. On this point Milton and Ochino are quite in accord. The former gives a definition of marriage, and then comments as follows upon it: "In the definition which I have given, I have not said, in compliance with the common opinion, of one man with one woman, lest I should by implication charge the holy patriarchs and pillars of our faith, Abraham and the others who had more than one wife at the same time with habitual fornication and adultery."⁽²⁾ He further goes on to say that "either polygamy is a true marriage or all children born in that estate are spurious; which would include the whole race of Jacob, the twelve holy tribes chosen by God."⁽³⁾ In defence of his argument he also cites various examples of

(1) M' Crie—*History of the Reformation in Italy*, Page 229, foot note 5.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Chap. X., Page 225.

(3) *ibid*, Page 225-6.

those who were, under the old dispensation, allowed a plurality of wives.

In the "XXX. Dialogi" the conversation on this point is carried on between a certain person, called Telipolygamus, and Ochino as his opponent. Ochino defends monogamy, but Telipolygamus is always allowed the winning argument. A statement which may be quoted from Telipolygamus shows a startling correspondence with that just given from Milton. "And you know," he remarks, "that Abraham had several wives, and indeed David, and many other men of the ancient dispensation. If they had only been allowed single wives, they sinned who took more; and the children born from other than the first wife were spurious since not born according to legitimate matrimony."⁽¹⁾ In other scattered sections of these chapters, other representatives are also mentioned whose practice would establish the custom as lawful. The central idea of both writers, which is thus set forth in such remarkably similar form, and the general appeal to the figures of the Old Testament for support looks like more than any ordinary coincidence of thought on the part of Ochino and Milton.

Then, again, both treat of the incestuous sin of David, and both show that he had received several wives from God, and was censured by Him for his ingratitude. "And indeed how could that possibly be true which God said to David when he reproached him for his ungrateful mind, saying that he had given many wives to him."⁽²⁾ Here to Ochino's mind the sin was not in the plurality of wives, but in the thankless heart of David who was not satisfied. Milton quotes II. Samuel, 12:8, and remarks: "Besides the very argument which God uses towards David, is of more force when applied to the gift of wives, than to any other "thou oughtest at least to have abstained from the wife of another person, not so much because I had given thee thy master's house, or thy master's kingdom, as because I had given thee the wives of the king."⁽³⁾ Here, also the sin is in David's thanklessness. Ochino, too, quotes

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 192.

(2) *ibid.*, Page 192-3.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Chap. X., Page 232-3.

the passage from Samuel, and shares Milton's opinion that David's crime was in the taking of Bathsheba after Uriah had been put to death.

Neither writer professes to be able to adduce much from the law of Moses which is relevant to the issue. Ochino is of the opinion that what was there undenounced must have been sanctioned: "It is permitted because it is not punished or impeded or vetoed. Moses therefore should have accordingly disallowed the possession of several wives, because while he has not done that it must be said that it is not illicit."⁽¹⁾ Milton cites several passages to support the usage according to the law, but also indicates that there is no veto. In this respect his opinion is quite parallel to that of Ochino. Treating upon Deuteronomy, 17:17, he says: "Would the law have been so loosely worded, if it has not been allowable to take more wives than one at the same time."⁽²⁾

The passage from Genesis, 2:24: "A man shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh," which is repeated also by Christ in Matthew, 19:5, is discussed by both writers. Their arguments coincide while they contend that the relationship here is only meant with one wife, and does not exclude the same relationship with others. In answering his opponent, Telipolygamus refers to Matthew 18, where Christ says that if two of His apostles are of the same mind they shall obtain what they seek. However, he does not mean that if a larger number, three or four, for example, are of the same mind they shall not obtain. Neither can such an inference be here derived as though God had said: "The two will be one flesh, therefore, if three there will be no true matrimony."⁽³⁾ Milton's explanation contains exactly the same idea, although he uses a different illustration. He gives us a picture of a father with many sons, to all of whom he stands in the same parental relationship and remarks: "By parity of reasoning, if a man has many wives, the relation which he bears to each will not be less perfect in itself, nor will the husband be less

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 195.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Chap. X., Page 232.

(3) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 191.

one flesh with each of them, than if he had only one wife."⁽¹⁾ Each, then, endeavors to show that this extract from Genesis is no argument for monogamy, but that a man's relationship to his several wives under a system of polygamy could carry out easily the command there given, that "he still cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

Two other co-ordinate passages in the New Testament which would seem to forbid marriage with a plurality of wives are, also, similarly explained by Ochino and Milton. With respect to a Bishop, I. Timothy, 3:2, and with respect to the Elder, Titus, 1:6, declare that these officers must be "the husband of one wife." Milton looks upon this as a definite proof that the laity of the church were not denied the practice, and that it was quite common among them at that time. Concerning the restriction in the case of the Bishop and Elder he says that this was: "In order probably that they may discharge with greater diligence the ecclesiastical duties which they have undertaken."⁽²⁾ Ochino makes precisely the same statement: "The mind of Paul is this: that the Christians should be allowed several wives and the Bishops only one, not because it was unlawful to have several, but while it was the duty of the Bishops to look to the well-being of the people, he feared lest a number of wives would draw them aside and impede them, that they would discharge their function less effectively . . . but, indeed, while several are forbidden to the Bishops and Deacons, they are tacitly conceded to the others. Nor, similarly, would Paul have forbidden the Bishops to have several wives unless it had been the custom at that time to have several."⁽³⁾

Although this does not exhaust the points of comparison between the "Christian Doctrine" on the question of polygamy and the "XXX. Dialogi," yet it will suffice to establish a marked identity of opinion. It has been seen that in certain cases there is almost a verbal similarity in the expression of these views. In fact, it may be said that Milton's statements

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Chap. X., Page 227.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Chap. X., Page 231.

(3) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 204.

contain little, if anything, which is not to be found in Ochino. There is considerable difference in detail which is to be expected with such a close Biblical scholar as Milton was. It is also worthy of notice that nothing which Milton says in any way contradicts the arguments of Ochino.

It seems probable then that respecting the particular subject of polygamy Milton was dependent both for material and thought upon Ochino's "XXX. Dialogi." It can be argued that this work came to his intimate knowledge after he had written his treatises upon divorce. He was aware that Ochino had treated upon the matter from his cognizance of Beze's attack upon his views. When the "XXX. Dialogi" came into his hands, he read the portion dealing with the subject of divorce, and later interested himself with the sections upon polygamy. He became sooner or later a convert to Ochino's views, and this led to the incorporation of these borrowed opinions in the chapter on "The Government of Man," in the "Christian Doctrine."

CHAPTER VIII.

The fact that Milton may have had a more extended knowledge of Ochino's writings can also be shown. During his stay in England, Ochino composed a work entitled "A Tragoedic or Dialogue," in 1549, which he dedicated to Edward VI., the young reigning monarch of the day. This was translated from the Italian by Dr. Ponet. The original manuscript has unfortunately not been preserved in any library, and the translated form is all that we have. A study of certain passages in this work tend to show that Milton might possibly have depended upon it for portions of his two epics. If this were so, he must have become acquainted with it in its original form, or its translation, before he began *Paradise Lost*, or, at least, while he composed Books I: and II.

The first section of this Dialogue gives a fine introduction to its tragic form. The scene is that of a great council held by Lucifer, the chief of the fallen angels, within the dominions over which he now has sway. He makes the main address, and is answered by Beelzebub, the second in command. The time of meeting is possibly meant to be about the period of Boniface III.'s rule as Bishop of Rome. Again, in section 6, a similar council is held, which is timed during the period when Rome had gained supremacy over the Church. Section 7 treats of a conference between Christe and the angels, Gabriell and Mychael, in which plans are laid whereby the Papacy is to be shaken through the efforts of Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI.

It would appear that Milton may have taken the underlying idea of Ochino's drama, and simply shorn it of its outer trappings. In other words, he has only given us a picture of another great sitting of the Council which Ochino describes.

(1) The question as to Milton's knowledge of this work is treated briefly by R. Garnett in his work; *Italian Literature*, 1897.

This has been embellished with all the genius of portrayal of which Milton was so capable. The rebellious angels have just been cast down from Heaven. Satan and "his nearest mate,"⁽¹⁾ Beelzebub, rise from the "fiery waves,"⁽²⁾ and at the call of the former the hosts once more assemble, and the first great Council is held at Pandemonium. This is generally conceded to be the most captivating scene of the whole Epic. The plans are here made which later bring about the Fall of Man, and the history of his posterity upon the earth.

When the narrative of this first Council is more closely studied, the similarity with the conception of Ochino becomes more evident. In *Paradise Lost* the idea given us of the form of government which pertains in Hell is that of a monarchy. Satan as King, with his Princes and followers, has set himself up against the Eternal Monarch of Heaven. Book II. commences:

"High on a throne of royal state, which far
 Outshine the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
 Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand
 Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
 Satan exalted sat, by merit raised
 To that bad eminence."⁽³⁾

So too, Pandemonium is called the "high capital of Satan and his peers,"⁽⁴⁾ and the numberless spirits are said to have collected themselves, amidst the hall of that infernal court."⁽⁵⁾

The "Tragoedie" of Ochino implies the existence of the same constitution. Throughout, to Lucifer is made obedience, and he is regarded as supreme leader. He indicates his authority in his own words. Speaking of the result which had been achieved by Christ's coming into the world, he says the matter will be still worse for them. "Unles this great mischief be wyselye provided for in season, elles wyll it at lengthe come to passe that our sceptre royall shal be plucked out of our handes, and our dominion utterlye taken away from

(1) *Paradise Lost*, I., 192.

(2) *Paradise Lost* I., 184.

(3) *ibid.*, II., 1-6.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, I., 756-7.

(5) *ibid.*, I., 791-2.

us."⁽¹⁾ Again promising them what the future power of Rome will be he says: "Thys wonderfull dignitie and magnificence shall set out the royaltie and glorye of oure monarchie and sole kyngdome not a lytell."⁽²⁾

Yet by both writers the Council is described after the fashion of the conference. In Ochino's version the principal speaker, of course, is Lucifer. But Beelzebub lends his voice, and Lucifer defers to the opinions of his followers whom he styles: "My deare faithful brethren, and moste intierly beloved frendes."⁽³⁾ He seeks their ratification of the plans which he lays before them. Beelzebub thinks it well that Lucifer should disclose his purposes, as he remarks: "that we maye direct al oure labours and study to that ende, and so to brynge this noble enterpryse aboute even as we wil with the common consent of us all."⁽⁴⁾

In "Paradise Lost," a picture is given of the vast assembly of which the Council consisted.

"The great seraphic lords and cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave sat:
A thousand demigods on golden seats
Frequent and full."⁽⁵⁾

The concourse is at first addressed by Satan, and then the Conference is thrown open by him with these words: "Who can advise may speak."⁽⁶⁾ The debate then assumes the same form which it does in the account given by Ochino. On the other hand it has a wider scope, since more persons take part. Besides Beelzebub, are found Moloch, Belial, and Mammon among the speakers, each submitting his singular advise.

The object underlying the summoning of the Council seems in reality to have been the same with both writers, although the historical circumstances were quite different. Opposing the Monarchy of Darkness, was the Kingdom of Light, against which they had revolted, and in antagonism to this were they brought together. Before their convocation

(1) "A Tragoedie," etc., Page 2.

(2) *ibid.*, Page 13.

(3) *ibid.*, Page 1.

(4) "A Tragoedie," Page 8.

(5) *Paradise Lost*, I., 794-797.

(6) *ibid.*, II., 42.

Satan, in "Paradise Lost," himself states the reason why he wishes such an assembly. There was a report abroad that a new generation was to be planted upon a new created world. Into this matter must they, at least, pry. He goes on to say:

"But these thoughts
Full Counsel must mature. Peace is despair'd,
For who can think submission? War, then, war,
Open or understood, must be resolved."⁽¹⁾

Then, as he first addresses the Council, he declares their object to be the regaining of their "just inheritance of old,"⁽²⁾ and this

"By what best way,
Whether of open war, or covert guile."⁽³⁾

The aim is quite similar in Lucifer's wish to set up the Papal Power as an Antichrist in the world. There is the same feeling that they have lost "the just inheritance" which they must regain. "Ye know right wel," says Lucifer, "my brethren and frendes howe wrongfully and unjustly our enemy God (without any our fault or deserving) hurled us downe out of heaven hedlonge."⁽⁴⁾ Their plans were to be directed towards the acquisition of the seats of authority which they once had occupied. To gain this end there must be a struggle. The question of "open war or covert guile" appears just as in "Paradise Lost." "Therefore it is expedient and necessary, seyng that we cannot overcome then in playne felde with open warre to attempt their overthrowe by arte, policie, diligence, craft, subteltie, gyle, and proditiou."⁽⁵⁾ Again there seems to be a clear concurrence in the measure of hope which the Council possessed of ultimate success. The note uttered by Satan is almost heroic. He begins his address with these words:

"Powers and dominions, deities of heaven
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigour, though oppress'd and fall'n,

(1) Paradise Lost, I., 659-62.

(2) *ibid.*, II., 38.

(3) *ibid.*, II., 40-41.

(4) "A Tragoedie," Page 1.

(5) "A Tragoedie," Page 4.

I give not Heaven for lost. From this descent
 Celestial virtues rising, will appear
 More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate."⁽¹⁾

The "Tragoedie" is just as certain of success. "Believe me deare brethren," says Lucifer, "wee have a mete tyme, and opportunitie for our triumph, for our glory and victory."⁽²⁾

Another similar conference is pictured in Book 5, held on "The Mountains of the 'Congregation" where Abdiel counsels submission, but his opinions are overridden. Again, in Book 6, after their defeat is held the great 'Council, "call'd by night,"⁽³⁾ in which Satan's "words their drooping cheer enlighten'd, and their languish'd hope revived."⁽⁴⁾ In Book 10, Satan appears at Pandemonium after the Fall of Man, and relates before the Assembly, with much boasting, the conquest which he has made.⁽⁵⁾ In "Paradise Regained" three more are held in Books 1'⁽⁶⁾ 2,⁽⁷⁾ and 4.⁽⁸⁾

Lastly, the dependence of Milton on this work of Ochino's for the great dramatic plan of "Paradise Lost" could have come through his perusal of Section 7. Here it has been noticed that Gabriell and Mychael are speakers along with Christe. In "Paradise Lost," Gabriel is the angel who has charge of the gates of the earthly Paradise, in Book 4. In Book 6, it is related how Michael and Gabriel went forth to battle for God against Satan and his hosts. In Book 10, Michael is sent to dispossess the transgressors of their home in Eden.

This claim that Milton was indebted to Ochino's "Tragoedie" in forming the conception of his Satan's 'Council

(1) *Paradise Lost*, II., 11-17.

(2) "A Tragoedie," Page 13.

(3) *Paradise Lost*, VI., 416.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, VI., 496-7.

(5) *ibid.* X., 459, foll.

(6) *Paradise Regained*, I., 44. foll.

(7) *ibid.* II., 121. foll.

(8) *ibid.* IV., 577-80.

is by no means exclusive. In other words, it does not attempt to argue that other writers may not have influenced him in the same direction. The contention is merely that the "Tragedie" has furnished Milton with the principal background, and many of the leading characteristics of those various Council Meetings which are so aptly described in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. On the other hand, it is urged that no other writer could have supplied him with so complete an adumbration of his Council as is given by this work of Ochino's.

Perhaps the most typical example of a diabolical assemblage which would have been known to Milton as an Italian scholar was that given in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Milton had sojourned in Naples with Manso, the patron of Tasso, and he mentions Tasso explicitly in his works. It is in the fourth book of this poem that the particular passage occurs. Here is introduced into the running narrative a most vivid description of Satan's meeting with his friends and spirits in the nether world. The scenery in many ways is not unlike that of Milton. There seems to be a very considerable similarity in such a passage as:

"D'esse parte a sinistra, e parte a destra
A seder vanno al crudo Re dauante.
Siede Pluton nel mezo, e con la destra
Sostien lo scettro rumdo, e pesante;"

with *Paradise Lost*, Book I.: 729-7, and Book II.: 1-6.

It cannot be denied, indeed, that Milton may have borrowed from Tasso some of the descriptive paraphernalia with which he has embellished his great Council. This has been relieved of the material crudeness found in Tasso, and given a much loftier tone. On the other hand, the Satan of Tasso is a much inferior being to that of Milton's epics. He is a tyrant among his servitors, while to Milton and Ochino he was a presiding monarch listening to the sage advice of his followers. The proceedings of the Council, also, do not fit in so well with Milton's descriptions as do those which are related in Ochino's "Tragedie."

(1) *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Bk., IV., 6.

Again, the argument might be raised that Milton drew from the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel, in his portrayal of the Council of Satan. The dependence of Milton on Vondel has long been urged by Dutch writers. There seems proof sufficient to establish it as a fact that Milton did know and make use of this poet who wrote simultaneously with him. Edmund W. Gosse first dealt with the matter critically in an essay, of 1879.⁽¹⁾ This was followed by a work from George Edmundson, in 1885,⁽²⁾ which has since been attacked and exposed as an exaggeration by August Muller in his academic thesis of 1891. A certain contribution to the subject was later made by Dr. J. J. Moolhuizen, writing, in 1895.⁽³⁾

These writers have clearly demonstrated that there did exist a dependence of Milton upon Vondel. They have remarked a certain passage in Vondel's work, "Lucifer," of 1654, which gives us a picture of Satan addressing his followers after their downfall. This scene occurs in Act V., beginning at lines 2034-5:

"En midden in den ring des helschen Raets gezeten,
Hief mit zijn zetel aen, te helsch op Godt gebeten."

This passage which like that quoted from Tasso, bears some resemblance to the account given in *Paradise Lost*,⁽⁴⁾ is referred to by Gosse as follows: "Seated in the midst of them, in hellish council, he addresses them, precisely as in Milton, and proposes to them to attack man by force or subtlety; the seduction of the human race is agreed upon, Lucifer gloats over the future misery of man, fallen like themselves, and rejoices to imagine that this will complete their revenge on God, and ensure the defeat of His purposes."⁽⁵⁾

This criticism of Gosse's is in part quite justified, but it is carried too far. It would seem to be his view that Milton had used the short speech from Vondel's "Lucifer" quite freely in his composition of the first portion of *Paradise Lost*, Book II. But such a contention would appear to have been made

(1) Edm. W. Gosse, *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*.

(2) George Edmundson—*Milton and Vondel*.

(3) J. J. Moolhuizen—*Vonders Lucifer en Miltons Veloren Paradiis*.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, Bk. I., 792-7; Bk. II., 1-6.

(5) Edm. W. Gosse—*Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*.
Pages 306-7.

without a wider search into the realms of literature. As in the case of Tasso, there is not wanting evidence of verbal similarity with Milton in this particular passage. The contents of the speech, indeed, make a nearer approach to the views expressed by Satan in *Paradise Lost* than does the address which he delivers in Tasso "*Jerusalem Liberated*." On the other hand, Tasso is surely more related to Milton from the descriptive side than is Vondel. The claim that either or both of these writers may have had an influence upon Milton with reference to his Satan's Council, would seem then to be with good warrant. In the face of this, however, there arises the question as to whether such influence, if existent, was alone determinative, or merely subordinate.

It is evident that Milton knew both Tasso and Vondel. Either or both of them might have assisted him in his Council scenes. Yet this does not mean that he may not have been indebted to Ochino's "*Tragedie*" in this particular regard. Neither does it mean that Ochino's account may have had secondary importance in shaping the narrative of *Paradise Lost*. In fact, there is enough evidence to show the reverse to be true. Satan's speeches in Ochino's "*Tragedie*" more nearly resemble *Paradise Lost* in the objects which they set forth than those of Tasso and Vondel. The position ascribed to Satan among his host, and the democratic character of the debate, are the only prototypes in all literature for the great scenes of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. It is here that Tasso is quite dissimilar, and Vondel only like in a very measurable degree.

Our argument, then, that Milton drew mainly from Ochino does not seem to be overthrown. The influence of Tasso or Vondel if opposed to that of Ochino could have only had a subordinate value in determining the scenes which Milton gives us. The fact is, he may have known the accounts of all three writers, and been influenced by each in turn. If this is true then the "*Tragedie*," of Ochino, bore the palm.

CHAPTER IX.

The way has already been prepared for the discussion of the main point under consideration. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to make it appear that Milton had in all probability an intimate knowledge of, at least, some of the works of Bernardino Ochino. That he made use of different conceptions therein set forth has also been clearly manifested. The next and chief undertaking will be our attempt to show a direct relationship between the two regarding the question of the Trinity.

Ochino's views on this subject are given in the XIX. and XX. sections of the "XXX. Dialogi." The conversation is earnestly carried on between himself and another imaginary personality whom he names Spiritus. Although he strongly defends the church doctrine against the attacks of Spiritus, it is clearly evident that this method is only a subterfuge to safely give expression to his own views. The ideas of Spiritus are really those of Ochino himself, since they regularly obtain the mastery, and the interlocution only serves to bring them out into clearer light. With these chapters of Ochino's work we must compare Milton's conception as it appears in the "Christian Doctrine," and the two poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

First in order must be investigated the opinion of each with respect to the Deity Himself—this aside from any close consideration of the tripartite form which has been ascribed to Him. How do their views correspond with the Nicene Doctrine of the One Essence and three distinct Persons, equal and similarly endowed with the Divine Entity? How, also, do they compare with the various conceptions of the Deity which other opposing schools of thought have entertained?

Milton in Chapter II. of the *Christian Doctrine* gives a definite statement of his views regarding the pure Godhead. After stating various attributes which belong to God, he

mentions, lastly, one which springs necessarily from all which have been previously mentioned. This is the Unity of God. He gives numerous passages of Scripture to set this forth. His comment upon Isaiah 45:22; "I am God, and there is none else," is that the prophet meant that "no spirit, no person, no being beside him is God; for none is a universal negative."⁽¹⁾ Over a similar quotation from the 46th chapter, he says: "What can be plainer, what more distinct, what more suitable to general comprehension and ordinary forms of speech for the purpose of impressing on the people of God that there was numerically one God and one Spirit, in the common acceptance of numerical Unity."⁽²⁾ He further asserts that the "Israelites under the law and the prophets always understood it to mean, that God was numerically one God, beside whom there was none other, much less any equal. For the Schoolmen had not as yet appeared, who through their confidence in their own sagacity, or more properly speaking on arguments properly contradictory, impugned the doctrine itself of the unity of God which they pretended to assert."⁽³⁾

In *Paradise Lost*, many different passages occur which point to the highest power of the central Godhead. In Book 3, the numberless choir of angels are rapturous in their acclaim:

"The Father, first they sang, Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; thee, Author of all being,
 Fountain of Light, thyself invisible,
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st
 Throned inaccessible."⁽⁴⁾

Satan on his return from earth speaks before the Council of his peers, in "*Paradise Regained*," Book I.:

"And out of Heaven the sovereign voice I heard,
 This is My Son beloved,—in him am pleased,—
 His Mother then is mortal, but his Sire
 He who obtains the monarchy of heaven!

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 25.

(2) *ibid*, Page 25.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Page 26.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, III., 372-7.

And what will he not do to advance his Son?"⁽¹⁾

Just before Ochino treats of this same problem,—The Unity of God,—he, also makes a direct attack upon those learned speculations of the Church which have led to a construction of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Spiritus, giving answer to his opponent, says: "If the matter was so clear as you say, your learned scholastics would have described it (the Trinity) after the same manner, especially the most learned of them. This nevertheless they have not done, but differ very wide from one another concerning it."⁽²⁾ Then, in his treatment of the Godhead, his ideas are very strongly in favour of its inseparable Oneness. Spiritus uses a verse of Scripture out of the 6th chapter of Deuteronomy, which Milton also cites in his contention for the Unity of God. "Through your wish to extol Christ and the Holy Spirit, you have said that they are equal to God, and, really, that there are three Gods * * * uttered by the lips of Moses where he says 'The Lord our God is one.' Therefore, you are compelled to say that there are three Persons or divine hypotheses, and one God alone. Truly, that is contradictory, since where there are three diverse persons, one would not be the same as the others; if that is not so, I question, I query you, as to whether the Father by reason of this Word would be the same singular God who is the Son, or another. If another, it is necessary for you to confess that there are several gods."⁽³⁾

It stands out plainly in these extracts that neither writer would allow for a division of any kind in the fundamental essence of the Divine Being. Both appeal to Scripture to support their claim, and in rejecting the Trinity of Persons, they have at once departed from the Doctrine on this point enunciated in the Nicene Creed. It will be remarked that their position in this regard makes an approach to that held by the Arians. Subsequent study of Milton and Ochino's conceptions will, however, show a considerable difference.

According to them God comes much nearer to man than

(1) *Paradise Regained*, I., 84-88.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 29.

(3) *ibid*, Page 29.

the very estranged Deity of the Arians. Again, their views may also be likened to those of the Monarchians who opposed the idea that any second god could exist alongside of the First, who was supreme and alone. Yet in the relation of God to the world, especially as it appertained to the Person of Christ, a divergence will appear from the views of the Monarchians which will afterwards be displayed.

The actuating influence which gave form to the opinions of these two writers upon the Godhead, was the Monotheism of the Old Testament. There would be a strong community of interest between them in this regard. Milton would naturally be affected by the works of one who laid so great stress upon that which was so dear to his heart. It is apparent that both considered that the Advent of Christ did not in any essential degree alter the conception which had been held under the Law and the Prophets.

CHAPTER X.

The standpoint taken by Ochino and Milton relative to the Godhead which allows only for an Absolute Unity gives immediate shape to their conception of the Person of Christ. It becomes necessary that they hold some theory which relegates Him to a position of subordination. Unless they adopt the tenets of Monarchism, there is no other possible theory which they could entertain. A scrutiny of their opinions, indeed, quickly discloses the fact that they ascribe a status of inferiority to the Son.

As the question of Christ's relation to the Father is largely dependent upon the manner of His coming into being, both writers have devoted considerable space to the discussion of His generation. Attention may first be drawn to the phase of this which pertains to the paternal and the filial. How could God generate a Son? Was such an act necessary? If not, by what activity of God did the generation take place?

To Milton the origin of Christ is connected with God's "external efficiency or the execution of his decrees whereby he carried into effect by external agency whatever decrees he has purposed within himself."⁽¹⁾ His mandate was given and "he has begotten his only Son; whence he chiefly derives his appellation of Father."⁽²⁾ The fact that generation is an external efficiency is necessary, in that "the Father and Son are different Persons."⁽³⁾

Ochino in more philosophical language delivers a similar opinion concerning the difference between Father and Son. "Never to have been generated, and to be uncreated, is not the particular way in which the Father can differ reipsa from the other Divine Persons, for that is merely the negation of generation and creation."⁽⁴⁾ Here he points out that the rela-

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 79.

(2) *ibid.*, Page, 31.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Page 31.

(4) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 31.

tion between the two could not have been a metaphysical one of condition alone. Then, to show that there was a real and external relation, he goes on to say in another place: "If the Three Divine Subjects were Subjects through absolute things, it must be confessed that they were real Entities, in order that through them the Subjects might differ *re ipsa* among themselves. Already I would ask you, in what manner has the Son that real absolute Entity through which he is a subject distinct *re ipsa* from the others? * * whatever the Son has He has from the Father, so that He has nothing from Himself."⁽¹⁾ He further shows that this reality of Christ's being would allow for no sameness of Essence with the Father. Clearly, throughout, his idea is that God could not delegate His whole Essence, unless He became the Son Himself. The Son possesses a real existence, however, which He only could have gotten from the Father. This is just another way of expressing Milton's theory of generation by external efficiency.

In addition, Milton has scouted the idea that there was any necessity involved in the creation of the Son of God. He says: "However, the generation of the Son may have taken place, it arose from no natural necessity as is generally contended."⁽²⁾ Besides this, it was "of his own free will—a mode more perfect and more agreeable to the paternal dignity, particularly since the Father is God, all whose works, and consequently the works of generation are executed freely according to his own good pleasure, as has been already proved from Scripture."⁽³⁾ *Paradise Lost* is also clear upon this matter:

"What if thy son

Prove disobedient, and reprov'd retort,

'Wherefore did'st thou beget me, I sought it not.'

Would'st then admit for his contempt of thee

That proud excuse? Yet him not thy election

But natural necessity begot."⁽⁴⁾

Spiritus also discusses the problem of Divine necessity.

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 35-6.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Pages 82-3.

(3) *ibid.*, Page 83.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, X., 760-5.

"I do not believe that the virtue of the Father was diminished by the generation of the Son, but I believe the Father after the creation of the Son to be equal in Power to what He was before. Therefore, it seems to me that it accordingly must be confessed, that, in the measure in which He created a First Son by necessity, so also must He create a second and indeed a third and innumerable others."⁽¹⁾ Regarding the exercise of God's Will Power in the matter, he is just as emphatic as Milton. "It has been recorded (John: 10 and Phil.: 2) that the Father foreordained that His Son should die on behalf of all His sheep, which He did. Therefore the Son was inferior to the Father, since the Father foreordained Him."⁽²⁾

Nextly, may be asked what theory did these writers entertain concerning the original source from which the Son of God was begotten. Was He generated of like or of unlike Substance with the Creator as was the teaching of the Semi-Arians? Was He produced from nothing as the Arians assert? Was He of the same Essence with the Father, according to the declaration of the Nicene Creed? Or lastly, was He only a manifestation of the Father, in keeping with the tenets of Monarchism?

Milton takes a stand on this problem which resembles that of the Semi-Arians, and yet, when more closely examined, shows a considerable divergence from their views. His own words indicate his belief that Christ was of the same Essence as the Father, and yet only a recipient of that Essence in a partial degree. He makes no assertion to the effect that the Son was of like Essence with the Father, evidently having entertained an opinion which would not allow for such a conception. He makes a comparison between the generation of Adam and of Christ. "For to Adam," he says, "God stood less in the relation of Father than of Creator, having only formed him from the dust of the earth; whereas He was properly the Father of the Son made of His own Substance."⁽³⁾ Again, he disavows his adherence to the orthodox

(1) "XXX., Dialogi," Page 24.

(2) *ibid*, Page 37.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Page 83.

view. "Yet it does not follow from hence that the Son is co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to Him, since He who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less of the same numerical Substance, otherwise the Father and the Son would be one Person"⁽¹⁾ The use of the expression, "numerical substance," here, is most important as it shows his idea that Christ, although not possessed of the Father's whole Essence, had it partially conferred upon Him. Another passage sets this forth: "It must be understood from this that God imparted to the Son as much as He pleased of the Divine nature, nay of the Divine Substance itself, care being taken not to confound the Substance with the whole Essence, which would imply that the Father had given to the Son what He retained numerically the same Himself, which would be a contradiction of terms instead of a mode of generation."⁽²⁾

With these general views stated by Milton there is a remarkable concurrence in Ochino's dialogue. The whole interlocution tends to show the origin of the Son from the Father Himself. The following quotation makes the matter most positive. Defining the Trinity, it is remarked: "Especially does Christ say that having issued forth from the Father He came into the world. And if He went out from the Father, it seems that He went forth from His Substance, and so was consubstantial with Him."⁽³⁾ Spiritus agrees with his opponent so far, but will not accept any argument for Christ's consubstantiality. "Although Christ is a mere Creature," he asserts, "yet He went forth from the Father, not because He was conceived by the Holy Spirit, but indeed because He was created before all creatures—and this I add, that He went forth from the Father because He did not enter Himself to fulfill the office of Messiah, but was sent from the Father."⁽⁴⁾

A certain cross examination which Spiritus makes of his opponent is also of interest in this connection. Referring to Christ's relation to God, he asks: "Does He give Him to be

(1) *ibid.*, Page 83.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Pages 85-6.

(3) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 129.

(4) *ibid.*, Pages 129-30.

the same Being as Himself, or another different from His Being?" "Not another," is the answer, "since then **there are** two diverse gods; but to have His being just as His Essence."⁽¹⁾ "Partly or wholly?" asks Spiritus. "Not partly, while it is His virtue to be simple and indivisible, but **wholly.**" Following this reply, a long discussion ensues in which Spiritus repeatedly shows his inability to understand how the whole Substance could be given, and yet a generation take place, in which a variability between the Father and Son should occur. "Especially am I not able to perceive by what pact the Son is produced from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from Father and Son, while they are eternal and dependent upon nothing, and equal to the First Person in all perfection. For it is undeniable, that when the Father produced the Son, he was not the Son."⁽²⁾ Plainly, therefore, Ochino believes just as Milton that Christ went forth from the Father, and was "of the same numerical Substance" as Himself. Yet He did not partake of the Father's whole Essence, else could no differentiation be made between His personality and that of the Father.

Again the problem with respect to the moment of creation elicited a similar explanation from both Milton and Ochino. The Nicene Doctrine on this point declaring the Son to be eternal allows for no point of time in which the generation could have taken place. Monarchism does not recognise any proper generation at all, as Christ is only a Virtue or Expression of the Father. Arianism asserts that the Logos preceded the Creation of the World. Socinianism does not allow for any time of existence previous to Christ's work upon the earth. In dealing with this issue, Ochino, and with him Milton follows rather the principles of Arianism. To them, Christ's generation must have been consummated at some definite moment of time before the formation of the world.

Milton is very emphatic in his declaration that: "it is impossible to find a single text in all Scripture to prove the Eternal generation of the Son. Certain, however, it is what

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 25.

(2) *Ibid.*, Page 36.

ever some of the moderns may allege to the contrary, that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of Logos or Word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven⁽¹⁾ and in earth." He quotes a number of passages, among them John 1: 1-3—"In the beginning was the Word," etc.; Col. 1:15-18—"The first-born of every creature." "All these passages," he says, "prove the existence of the Son before the world was made, but they conclude nothing respecting His generation from all eternity."⁽²⁾ In another place he speaks more explicitly: "For when the Son is said to be the first born of every creature, and the beginning of the creation of God, nothing can be more evident than that God of His own will, created, or generated, or produced the Son before all things, endued with the Divine nature, as in the fullness of time He miraculously begat Him in His human nature of the Virgin Mary."⁽³⁾

In *Paradise Lost*, appears the following:

"Hear, all ye angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, denominations, principedoms, virtues, powers;
Hear my decree, which unrevoked shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;"⁽⁴⁾

In the "XXX Dialogi," Spiritus is found debating the same subject with his opponent. The latter refers to John 1: 1, with these words: "But what do you say to the Divine John, who wishing to demonstrate the Divinity of Christ, said, 'In the beginning,' that is from all eternity, He was the Word, namely the Son of God." Spiritus answered: "It is possible to reply, while he said, 'In the beginning,' it is just as if he were to say, before the Creation of the World, not from Eternity * * * Moreover, the Word or Logos can be taken as the firstborn of all creation, concerning whom Paul wrote to the Colossians, because he was created by God

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Pages 80-1.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Page 81.

(3) *ibid*, Page 85.

(4) "Paradise Lost," V., 534.

before all other creatures."⁽¹⁾ In relation to the form and condition of Christ before His human birth, the coincidence of His views with those of Milton is quite obvious. "That the Logos of John," remarks Spiritus, "was not a second Divine hypothesis, but that Spirit created by God before all Creation, is plain from Paul, who says Him to have been in the form of God, in that he was a participator in His Divinity and virtues."⁽²⁾ Again, in answer to his opponent's citation of John 17:5, he argues: "There He spoke of His spirit created by God before all other creatures, and enlightened with singular gifts by God Himself"⁽³⁾

It is accordingly quite evident that Milton and Ochino draw a marked distinction between Christ's status during His earthly life, and that which He had previously possessed. Ochino calls Him, "God's Spirit generated by God who by His voice called the world into being; then, by assuming the form of man, He exercised His works as the Logos of God."⁽⁴⁾ Milton uses the word Logos as an appellation applied to Him before His human birth. But his conception of the Son created in time by God, making all things "both in heaven and in earth," and miraculously combining His Divine Nature with the human during His life below, is quite identical with the views of Ochino.

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 70.

(2) *ibid.*, Page 79.

(3) *ibid.*, Page 79.

(4) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 53

CHAPTER XI:

The work of comparison having proved successful in its wider and more general scope, it may now be narrowed down to a more limited field of enquiry. The similarity of conception held by Milton and Ochino as to the content of the Godhead, and the meaning of Christ's generation, has received sufficient demonstration. The next phase in the handling of the discussion turns rather to the more distinctly Christological side of the subject. If Christ were subordinate and created from the Father's own Essence, what view do these two thinkers entertain with respect to the extent of the Divinity which Christ possessed? Can it be said that a correspondence can be found between their individual opinion? Having cut themselves free from the orthodox standpoint, it will be interesting at the same time to see what relationship they here have to the various other anti-trinitarian heresies.

Milton employs much space in proving that Christ Himself repeatedly acknowledged that all power and dignity rested with the Father alone. These were merely delegated to Him as the Father saw fit. "The Son acknowledges Himself to possess whatever share of Deity is assigned to Him by virtue of the peculiar gift and kindness of the Father; as the apostles also testify."⁽¹⁾ He submits a great array of passages to indicate the use of the name of God as applied to the Father and to the Son. He draws attention to the fact that the attributes of Divinity are ascribed by Christ to the Father alone. His main thought evidently is that God, in generating Christ from His own Essence, conferred upon Him a variety of divine gifts which belonged solely to Him as the one God and Father of all.

It is of the greatest importance to notice that the view taken by Ochino is exactly similar. It is in this particular regard that these two writers have entertained the conception

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 96.

which puts them in a class by themselves. To Ochino the created Son of God was no second divine hypothesis, but was united with the Godhead through participation in the gifts which were bestowed upon Him. He makes this emphatic by reiterating it over and over again. "Therefore," he says, "that all Divinity is in Christ is not other than Christ is full of all gifts, talents and virtues of God."⁽¹⁾ In another place Spiritus argues concerning the clause of John 1:1, "And the Word was God;"—"He indicates here that the Word was not God by nature, but by favour and participation in His gifts which were all present in Him."

The words of *Paradise Lost* give full vent to this conception in various passages. For example, in Book X, we read:

"And unfalling bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blazed forth unclouded deity; he full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Express'd and this divinely answer'd mild:"⁽²⁾

Or again, Book III., runs:

"Thee next they sang, of all creation first
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In Whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud
Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
Whom else no creature can behold: on thee
Impress'd the effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfused on thee his ample spirit rests."⁽³⁾

Paradise Regained, Book IV, uses these words:

"True image of the Father; whether throned
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from heaven, enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form,
Wandering the wilderness; whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
The Son of God, with Godlike form endued

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 61.

(2) *Paradise Lost*, X., 64-8.

(3) *Paradise Lost*, III., 333-9.

Against the attempter of Thy Father's throne,
And thief of Paradise."⁽¹⁾

How these poetical utterances coincide in thought with the words of Ochino! Paradise Lost is quite in accord with his opinions. On the other hand, the language of Paradise Regained seems almost to be borrowed from him. He said: "Christ is the Imago Dei, invisible, so that not unless in Christ and through Christ is God sufficiently known."⁽²⁾ In another place, also: "It is enough that the Man Christ was His Image, since the divine virtues shone in Him and disclosed themselves to us, and this in the fullest fashion that could possibly occur."⁽³⁾

In treating of the "share of divinity" which the Son of God possessed, Milton mentions five different attributes as belonging to Him. In addition there were some fourteen different gifts, which had been bestowed upon Him by the Father. He employs a great plentitude of Scripture quotations to substantiate his arguments. Regarding the general harmony of his conception with that of Ochino with respect to Christ's participation in the fulness of Divinity, there is no doubt. If it is now possible to show that Ochino had already specified the same attributes and gifts which Milton enumerates, then, the fact of his dependence upon the author of the "XXX. Dialogi" is almost indisputable.

The divine attributes mentioned by Milton may be taken in order: (1) Concerning Christ's Omnipresence, he says, "for if the Father has given all things to the Son, even His very being and life, He has also given Him to be wherever He is * * * though He was ministering on earth in the body, His whole spirit and mind as befitted a great prophet, were in the Father."⁽⁴⁾ Spiritus asserts: "While the single persons are immeasurable and so everywhere, is must be confessed that no one of them can be moved or got near."⁽⁵⁾ Again: "I do not believe you in that opinion when you estimate that the Son, because He was sent, must change His

(1) Paradise Regained. IV., 590-8.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 93.

(3) Ibid., Page 94.

(4) "Christian Doctrine," Page 134.

(5) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 39.

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abode. For since He was immeasurable just as the other two Persons He was not able to have His location altered."⁽¹⁾

(2) Milton asserts the Omniscience of Christ, chiefly quoting verses that indicate the reception of His knowledge from the Father. He allows, however, that there are certain "secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to Himself alone."⁽²⁾ Spiritus, speaking in general terms, makes no particular reference to any limitation of this power. He asserts that: "The Father opened to Him all His secrets, and gave to Him the contents and thought of His evangel."⁽³⁾ Later, in answer, he also remarks: "This also I will respond, that He knew these things by the revelation of God, not because He was God by nature."⁽⁴⁾

(3) and (4). Two other attributes noticed by Milton are those of Authority and Omnipotence. He substantiates his reference to these by much scriptural evidence. Paradise Lost shows that God's Omnipotence was manifested in the Son in His creation of the world. God willed that the world should be, and Christ carried out the work.

"Necessity and chance

Approach not me, and what I will is fate."

So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake
His word, the filial Godhead, gave effect."⁽⁵⁾

Christ relates His own possession of Authority in Paradise Regained:

"By which I knew the time

Now full, that I no more should live obscure
But openly begin as best becomes

The authority which I derived from Heaven."⁽⁶⁾

Ochino expresses the same idea as regards Christ's Authority. "If you think," answers Spiritus, "that all power on earth and infinite Spirit have been given to the Man Christ, while the Apostles share His rays, and thus by the work of Christ and incorporated in Christ they have pleni-

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 38.

(2) "Christian Doctrine," Page 135.

(3) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 90.

(4) *Ibid.*, Page 91.

(5) Paradise Lost, VII., 192-5.

(6) Paradise Regained, I., 286.

tude of divinity, it would seem that He were God by favour, not by nature, nevertheless, the perfection of the Apostles is far superseded by Him."⁽¹⁾ In respect to His delegated Omnipotence he accords with Milton, also: "In Christ and through Christ exercise themselves the power, wisdom, justice, charity, and other divine virtues of God."⁽²⁾

(5) Milton includes "works," as one of the divine attributes given to Christ. This displayed His purposeful efficiency as God's representative. Of them, he says: "It is not therefore His divinity of which they bear witness, but His mission from God."⁽³⁾ Frequent passages of *Paradise Lost* bear out this view. In *Paradise Regained*, God as Speaker relates how Christ must be first schooled in the rudiments of warfare which He must wage in the world:⁽³⁾

"Ere I send him forth

To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes."

Ochino speaks in the same terms of His activity: "Christ is He by whose work God has taken care of us."⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, He must be recognized as "the One through Whom we have received all good things from God."⁽⁵⁾

The lengthy summary of divine gifts which Milton ascribes to Christ may be briefly indicated, together with a statement of Ochino's views upon each particular item.

(1) The first mentioned is that of "conversion." Through Him God draws men who constitute "His chosen ones or the elect of God."⁽⁶⁾ Spiritus gives vent to a like opinion: "I believe, (as Paul wrote) that God was in Christ, reconciling the World to Himself, because He reconciled it, namely, through Christ to Himself."

(2) As to the creative capacity which Milton asserts that Christ possessed, something has already been said. He emphasizes the fact that the creation of the world has "this peculiarity, that it is always said to have taken place per eum,

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Pages 54-5.

(2) *ibid.*, Page 64.

(3) *Paradise Regained*, I., 123.

(4) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 62.

(5) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 62.

(6) "Christian Doctrine," Page 137.

through Him, not by Him, but by the Father."⁽¹⁾ The description given throughout, in *Paradise Lost*, is quite in accord with this conception. Although he ascribes great power to the Son in this Work, yet it is as a mere gift from God Who "is the first or chief cause of all things."

Ochino's views upon this point are in remarkable accordance with those of Milton: "Yes, indeed, after God had used Him as an Instrument in the creation of the world, it must be confessed that He was inferior to God, that is to the Father, and so a creature in that He was that Spirit, called by Paul the Firstborn of all Creation, through Whom (per quem) God created all things."⁽²⁾ In another place Spiritus says: "Nevertheless, whatever One Person was the Chief Cause in the Creation of the World, He was not the Instrument, He was equal, not inferior to the Others. It is not possible therefore that the Son, if equal and consubstantial to the Father, was Him through Whom as a particular Instrument, or Second Cause, inferior to the First, the Father created the world."⁽³⁾ His argument is, of course, here that Christ as the Instrument of Creation must have been less than the Father.

(3) The Remission of Sins is a power belonging to Christ, says Milton, "even in His human nature."⁽⁴⁾ His quotations show his belief that this was a delegated authority bestowed from God. Ochino speaking as the opponent grants this power while he remarks: "Especially do you know that He was God Who forgives sins and abolishes them, just as He Himself says through His Father."⁽⁵⁾ Spiritus, replying, acknowledges His power to forgive sins, not because He was God, but because He participated in God's divinity. This power also belonged to the Apostles, as human beings, but "God alone has the power of abolishing them from Eternity, that is of not imputing them."⁽⁶⁾

(4) Again Christ possessed the ability of preserving and upholding. However, he says distinctly that in another chap-

(1) *Ibid.*, Page 137.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 51.

(3) *Ibid.*, Pages 52-3.

(4) "Christian Doctrine," Page 137-8.

(5) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 99.

(6) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 99.

ter: "the chief government of all things will be shown to belong to the Father alone."⁽¹⁾

Spiritus also refers to Christ's power of conserving, with the remark: "I confess, if He do away His strength, these things would go away to nothing."⁽²⁾ He further states that although Christ had earthly infirmities, in this matter so important for us He was not at all weak. This power, however, came from God's own Virtue, as a closer study of His words will give evidence.⁽³⁾

(5) Renovation is adduced as one of Christ's powers conferred as a divine gift, and Milton submits various passages of Scripture as confirmation of this.⁽⁴⁾ Spiritus asserts the same: "Therefore, while in creating, His voice alone was sufficient, in reforming, was His Blood necessary * * * Christ was able to regenerate man, and give him to be supernatural."⁽⁵⁾

(6) As Christ was the recipient of gifts, so according to Milton He had the "power of conferring gifts—namely, that vicarious power which He had received from the Father."⁽⁶⁾ Spiritus in numerous places notices the same thing, as for example: "He indicates the Word to be God, not by nature, but by the participation in and favour of His gifts * * * so that all the other elect were made participators in His plentiful abundance."⁽⁷⁾

(7) "His mediatorial work itself, or rather His passion" is touched upon by Milton as proof of His subordination to the Supreme Godhead. During the trying period at the close of His life He was unable to accomplish His will except through the Father's assistance. "For if the Son," he argues, "was able to accomplish by His own independent power the work of His passion, why did He forsake Himself? Why did He implore the assistance of the Father?"⁽⁸⁾ This He did

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 138.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 52.

(3) *Ibid.*, Page 53.

(4) "Christian Doctrine," Pages 138-9.

(5) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 52.

(6) "Christian Doctrine," Page 139.

(7) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 75.

(8) "Christian Doctrine," Page 140.

"because He felt even His divine nature insufficient to support Him under the pains of death."

Spiritus, in treating of the superiority of the Father to the Son, also takes the Passion into consideration. His opponent tries to show that the Father was said to be greater than the Son because divinity had been joined to humanity in Christ. "While Christ," answers Spiritus, "requested that it might be possible for Him to refuse the cup, He did not request with the meaning * * * that it might be possible for Him as a human hypothesis to decline, since that did not exist, nor indeed as a divine (hypothesis), since that was not capable of suffering."⁽¹⁾ Clearly, his intention is to show that at this time Christ's peculiar nature, created by and subordinate to the Father, must appeal to Him in order to secure His all-sufficient aid.

(8) His power of resuscitating men from death and (9) His advent in the future with judgment are mentioned. These points receive practically no treatment at the hands of Ochino, but it is hardly probable that he would have denied either of them when the general tenour of his opinion is considered. He has evidently not dealt with the apocalyptical side of the question. Spiritus, however, speaks of Christ's own resurrection and power of judgement, while he says: "For this reason the Father * * * raised Him making Him Prince and King, Priest and Judge, giving Him a Name above every name."⁽²⁾

(10) The gift of divine honours is expressly stated by both authors to have been granted to Christ by the Father. Milton remarks: "It appears, therefore, that when we call upon the Son of God, it is only in His capacity of Advocate with the Father."⁽³⁾ In another place, he shows how these honours are limited by Christ's own esteem for the Father as the One Whom He Himself worshipped: "For the Son uniformly pays worship and reverence to the Father alone, so He teaches us to follow the same practice."⁽⁴⁾ After the same

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 41.

(2) *ibid*, Page 60.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Page 141.

(4) "Christian Doctrine." Page 103.

fashion Spiritus remarks: "I confess there is a discrimination, to the effect that the Father should be honoured, adored and invoked as the chief Author of all gifts, Who has all good things from Himself and not from others; but as, nevertheless, He makes Himself alone as such to be adored, He makes the Son to be honoured, adored and invoked as Mediator and Advocate, not as Chief Author and Giver of the good which we have."⁽¹⁾

(11) The order has been given that baptism should be in His name, as well as that of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Milton quotes Matthew, 28:18-19, in favour of this. Ochino takes a similar view: "But I confess this in addition, that when anyone is baptized according to the rite, it is proper that God the Father, as Prime Author of all our good, should have part in it; and the Son, that is Christ, by Whose work we are absolved from sins, also, die to the world and live to God by a spiritual renaissance; and especially the Holy Spirit."⁽²⁾

(12) Milton considers as an "honour peculiar to divinity" that Christ is believed in by men. "Believing in Christ," he explains, "implies nothing more than that we believe Christ to be the Son of God, sent from the Father for our salvation."⁽³⁾ Ochino is not so explicit, but his words in different places would convey a somewhat similar opinion. "And he foreordained that we should hear Him while He said from Heaven that He was His beloved Son acceptable to Him and we must bear * * * His words with faith and His promises without any doubting."⁽⁴⁾

(13) The gift of divine glory is considered by Milton to furnish the doctrine: "That the nature of the Son is indeed divine but distinct from and clearly inferior to the nature of the Father."⁽⁵⁾ He speaks of the glory which Christ said He had before the world was created, His reascension to it and so forth. But he believes that scripture in this respect only draws the distinction that "to be God, and to be on the bosom—

(1) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 60.

(2) *ibid*, Page 80.

(3) "Christian Doctrine," Page 142.

(4) "XXX. Dialogi," Pages 67-8.

(5) "Christian Doctrine," Page 142.

of God the Father * * * are things so different that they cannot be predicated of one and the same essence."⁽¹⁾

Ochino quotes Isaiah, 40, with the object also in view of showing that this gift was only a delegation to the Son Who was His Father's inferior: "Moreover while God denies through Isaiah that He Himself would give His glory to another, He indicates that He is unwilling that any other should be before Him; He is adored as the Chief Giver of good things but as Mediator He wishes Christ to be adored."⁽²⁾ With regard to Christ's request of the Father that He might have the glory which He had before the world began, Spiritus thinks that this is His meaning: "Give Me, re ipsa, that glory which at that time Thou gavest to Me through Thy will, since from eternity Thou hast chosen Me to the highest felicity."⁽³⁾ It is evident that Ochino is quite certain here of Christ's subordination to the God Who chose and foreordained Him. The fourteenth gift (14), that of "His coming to judgment" need not be enquired into as this really comes into conflict with the ninth gift mentioned by Milton, that of "His future judicial advent," concerning which Ochino has little or nothing to say.

(1) *Ibid.*, Pages 142-3.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi." Page 61.

(3) *Ibid.*, Page 79.

CHAPTER XII.

Another link in the chain of connection between Milton and Ochino can be forged when their treatment of certain conceptions in the Old Testament is brought into question. It was just in this field that Milton would be particularly open to the influence of Ochino. His dependence in relation to the arguments for polygamy which are embodied in the Law and the Prophets has already been outlined.

Both writers contend against any significance being attached to the use of the plural number in the Old Testament, as a proof of the existence of a co-essential Trinity. Milton judges it to show ignorance of the Hebrew tongue when such an interpretation is given. It is false to suppose "that whenever the word Elohim is joined with a singular, it is intended to estimate a plurality of persons in unity of essence. But if there be any significance at all in this peculiarity the word must imply as many gods as it does persons."⁽¹⁾ He quotes different passages, among them being Gen., 20:13, where Abraham speaks to Abimelech of God having caused him to wander from his father's house. Spiritus deals with this same verse in reply to his opponent's assertion that this means that "there are therefore more divine Persons." He declares: "Already I have said to you that the Jews sometimes use the plural number instead of the singular."⁽²⁾ He goes on to say that otherwise Abraham must have believed on several gods, just as Milton's words also imply, and finally remarks: "If he has believed on your Trinity, could he therefore nevertheless have believed at the same time on more gods."⁽³⁾

The contention of the Trinitarians that the Son in different places is called God is dealt with by Milton. His opposi-

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 107.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 107.

(3) "XXX. Dialogi," Pages 107-8.

tion to this is chiefly grounded on the words of the Old Testament, while he argues in return that "the name of God is not unfrequently ascribed by the will and concession of God the Father, even to angels and men,—how much more then to the Only Begotten Son, the Image of the Father."⁽¹⁾ *Paradise Lost* carries out this idea somewhat in Book V., where Adam says that man and God have the same ability to reject evil:

"Evil into the mind of God or man
May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
No spot or blame behind."⁽²⁾

Paradise Regained says that the fallen angels:

"Led their march
From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light;
Regents and potentates, and kings, yea gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide."⁽³⁾

Ochino's opinion upon this could very well have given form to Milton's thought. He submits the example of the three beings who appeared to Abraham in Genesis, 18: "It is handed down," argues Spiritus' opponent, "that three persons were seen by Abraham, which is the number of the Divine Persons. One, moreover, was adored because there are not three gods by One."⁽⁴⁾ Spiritus, answering does not see how he could believe them to be the Trinity, while the persons were quite distinct from one another. Abraham made a mistake if he only worshipped one. "But I believe," he says in conclusion, "that Abraham was of the opinion that they were three men."⁽⁵⁾

Again, much space is devoted by Milton to a consideration of the use of the name of Jehovah, as it is chiefly found in the Old Testament. He states that the theologians maintain that the "Son is not only called God but also Jehovah."⁽⁶⁾ Their argument is that "Jehovah is the one supreme God; therefore the Son and the Father are One in Essence."⁽⁷⁾ Against this

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Pages 105-6.

(2) *Paradise Lost*, V., 11-9.

(3) *Paradise Regained*, I., 115-8.

(4) "XXX. Dialogi," Page 109.

(5) *ibid.*, Page 109.

(6) "Christian Doctrine," Page 113.

(7) *ibid.*, Page 118.

he contends that the "name of Jehovah is conceded even to angels * * * when they represent the divine presence and person, and utter the very words of Jehovah."⁽¹⁾ He discussed fully this usage, and later turns to the problem of its application to Christ Himself. He gives as his opinion that the meaning is that "the name of Jehovah was in Him."⁽²⁾ His work was that which afterwards under the gospel was to be done by Christ. "The name and presence of God is used to imply His vicarious power and might resident in the Son."⁽³⁾ In another place he remarks that "according to divines the name of Jehovah signifies two things, either the nature of God, or the completion of His word and promises."⁽⁴⁾ He thinks, then, that there is no reason why Christ should not have this name, "Who is invested with His person and presence,"⁽⁵⁾ and also since He is the One, "whereby the completion of these words and promises is represented."⁽⁶⁾

Ochino likewise treats specifically of this appellation of Jehovah which was given to Christ. He makes an almost similar statement of its significance: "Truly, indeed, in the name of Jehovah, is the notion that He will indicate the fact that He gives being to the creatures, effects it that things should be, and so fulfils His promises * * * , and because Christ as a creature, nevertheless, not only gives life to all creatures, but, indeed, while through Him also God accomplished all things, and He works perpetually just as the Father, and is faithful indeed, and lies not just as God lies not, so this name of Jehovah can rightly be attributed to Him."⁽⁷⁾ Also with reference to the designation of angels by the name of Jehovah, Spiritus declares: "Go read the sixth chapter of the Book of Judges, and you will see that an angel there is called Jehovah."⁽⁸⁾ Milton, also, has quoted this same verse.

The very minute criticism to which the opinions of Mil-

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- (1) *ibid.*, Page 120.
 (2) "Christian Doctrine," Page 127.
 (3) *ibid.*, Page 129.
 (4) *ibid.*, Page 126.
 (5) *ibid.*, Page 126.
 (6) *ibid.*, Page 126.
 (7) "XXX. Dialogi," Pages 108-9.
 (8) *ibid.*, Page 110.

ton and Ochino upon the subject of the Trinity have been subjected have evidenced the fact that the comparison made has been fully warranted. Their conceptions have been found to be quite harmonious, in fact, may be almost said to fit into each other. By giving a general summary of their views, a more definite notion of their peculiar form of thought may be arrived at.

Primarily, it was made manifest that both considered that the chief attribute of God—namely, His Unity—is in no wise divisible. It is an unalterable Oneness of Essence which allows for no separation into three equal personalities, each endowed with a similar degree of the original essence. A tripartite separation only produces three different gods.

Secondly, the paternal act of generating the Son was described according to their own unique method. This was achieved through the employment of God's "external efficiency," by His outward act, in order that Christ should have real existence. If it was merely a transference of His whole essence, then the Father would be the Son, and Christ would have no peculiar entity. Besides, both believed the generation to have been in no way dictated by necessity, but by God's use of the preordaining power of His will. The mode by which it took place was an issuing forth from God's own essence, in which Christ, though a created being, received a portion of the divine substance. The moment of his generation was at a point of time before the creation of the world, when He was endued by God with His divine nature. Afterwards, this spiritual form became joined with the human upon the earth.

Thirdly, came under discussion the extent to which Christ in the opinion of these writers received of the fulness of the Divine Essence. It was seen that both held the view that He came into the possession of gifts, virtues and attributes, as a favour of God, and so, as Ochino puts it, was only "God by participation." He was, in other words, the *Imago Dei* unfolding and reflecting in superlative degree the virtues of the Father. An outline of the attributes and gifts accredited to

Him by Milton was seen to have been almost entirely anticipated in the work of Ochino. In fact, the boundaries given by both to Christ's divinity were quite coincident. His own recognition of God's Prime Sufficiency and Power was likewise shown to have been emphatically stated in the writings of each.

As a further substantiating proof that Milton borrowed from Ochino was given, in the fourth place, a comparison of their views upon certain points of chief interest to Old Testament study. Milton could easily have been aroused to making his more elaborate attack upon the orthodox divines in this regard, through first reading the combatative arguments of Ochino.

The question which must now be settled relates to the classification of these views of Milton and Ochino as a distinct antitrinitarian conception. Is it possible to give them a place among any of the various theories which have been propounded in the history of antitrinitarian thought? Both Masson in his biography of Milton, and Sumner in his Preliminary Observations to the "Christian Doctrine" treat of the matter. Sumner remarks: "Had he avoided the calling Christ a creature, he might have been ranked with that class of Semi-Arians who were denominated Homoiousians, among whom Dr. Samuel Clark must be reckoned."⁽¹⁾ Masson, also reckons Milton to have entertained views which corresponded most nearly to those of the Semi-Arians.

This resemblance noticed by Sumner and Masson is not without considerable ground in fact. Milton and Ochino cannot, however, as Sumner says, be included among those who stated that Christ was of like essence with the Father. On the other hand, their opinions possibly make a nearer approach to those who from a negative standpoint declared that He was of unlike essence with the Supreme Deity. Milton makes the distinct assertion: "It will be universally acknowledged that the Son now at least differs numerically from the Father; but that those who differ numerically must

(1) Preliminary Observation, Page XXIX.

differ also in their proper essences, as the logicians express it, is too clear to be denied by any one possessed of common reason. Hence it follows that the Father and the Son differ in essence."⁽¹⁾ Here he has stated a belief in the unlikeness of the essences, and Ochino's view is concurrent. This, however, does not give any adequate explanation of their views which have a peculiarity that the Anomeans—the School which argued for an unlikeness of essences—would have countenanced under no circumstances.

Throughout the "Christian Doctrine" it is quite a patent fact that Milton was strongly inclined to a pantheistic view concerning God and His creation. This comes out also in his conception of the Person of Jesus Christ. His Essence was derived from God, who gave Him a portion of His Divine Essence, and endowed Him with a wealth of attributes and gifts. At the same time he laid the greatest stress upon his idea of the Unity of the Godhead. Ochino, likewise, looked upon Christ as the recipient of the Divine Essence and a participator in God's eternal capacities. He has personality, but is really the channel through which the Father, who has bestowed His Essence, works out what He has previously planned. This marked tendency towards pantheism on the part of both writers would refuse them admission to the school of Anomeans. It is evident that if they are to be properly classified, they must be put in a category by themselves.

When Ochino's "Dialogi" are properly investigated, it becomes plain that he has clearly shown his stand upon the matter. During the course of their debate Spiritus volunteered to outline several of the opinions that were held by those who denied the Trinity, and his opponent asserts his willingness to listen.⁽²⁾ He first describes the views entertained by the stricter Arians. Nextly, he states the conception of the Sabellians, according to whose idea the Godhead is not divided into three personalities, but the name of Son and Father are applied to indicate the variety of the work

(1) "Christian Doctrine," Page 132.

(2) "XXX. Dialogi," Pages 42-3 and foll.

which God performs. Thirdly, he gives the Semi-Arian conception of an unlikeness of Essence, but of an eternal Son created from the Father.

'Spiritus' opponent argues against each theory in turn, and Spiritus himself does not decide in favor of any one of them. He goes so far as to say that they will omit the discussion of the second and third view as false and heretical, and proceed to a consideration of whether Christ was a preacher according to the Arian conception, or co-eternal and consubstantial in keeping with the orthodox view. From this it may be judged that he adopted neither the Sabellian or Semi-Arian conception as his own. Yet, although he inclines to the opinion that Christ was a creature, he cannot be called an Arian. In fact, when his ideas are thoroughly investigated, it appears that his conception occupies a position which lies between these two views, the semi-Arian and Sabellian, which he has rejected.

Ochino is evidently a Semi-Arian in so far as he grants the unlikeness of the Essences, and the production of the Son from the Father. But he will not grant the eternity of the Son in accordance with their doctrine. Again, his idea of Christ's generation does not exactly accord with theirs. He is a participator in the Divine Essence, and so neither the created demigod of Arianism, nor the Being who has gone forth from the Father, as the Semi-Arians asserted.

It is the use of this word "participation" which has brought his theory with its pantheistic tendency over towards the conception of Sabellianism. Christ seems, indeed, to be a Channel, as it were, through which God works, and so rather the name of that Instrument by which he gave play to his operative capacity. Yet, on the other hand, Christ is possessed of personal qualifications which transcended the idea of Sabellianism. The unlikeness of His Essence was in opposition to its theory. The conclusion, therefore, which can be reached may be briefly stated. It has been amply proved that Milton through his literary connection with Ochino could have been dependent upon him for his peculiar doctrines of Trinity. These two writers entertained a conception which

defies all attempt at classification among the well known theories of antitrinitarianism.⁽¹⁾ On the one side, their views incline to that of the 'Semi-Arians who believed in the unlikeness of the essences. They descended in a measure to the lower Arianism which made Christ out to be a creature produced in time. On the other side, they swang towards the pantheistic conception which brought them within the pale of Sabellianism. Possibly, this last characteristic is the one which should be emphasized as the most important. The idea that Christ was the recipient of, and participator in the Divine Essence, and many Divine gifts and attributes of the Father, was the chief phase of Milton's and Ochino's conception. It was not a Sabellian view, but it leaned that way. Its partial conformity with Arianism, and a particular theory of Semi-Arianism, only constituted added factors which helped to determine its uniqueness.

The last problem which now comes up for solution relates to the time at which Milton could first have been affected by Ochino's views upon the question of the Trinity. It becomes at once plain that to a query of this kind no definite answer can be returned. But even out of the complicated evidence which it has been found necessary to give in this treatise certain facts may be put together which will help us to arrive at some conclusion on the matter. The argument will be supplemented by two fresh sources of data which may be of some service in setting out the point at issue.

(1) In his classification of Milton's conception regarding the Second Person of the Trinity Paul Chauvet has also recognized the uniqueness of his views. He remarks (*La Religion de Milton*, page 210): Il nous faut faire alois cette supposition monstrueuse, dont Milton evidement se doutait peu, qu' an lieu d'un Dieu unique, nous en avons an moins deux, Milton, quo nous appelons plus haut arien, ne l'est en somme qu' a sa facon a lui; il est sur le chemin du polytheisme." This statement, however, contains a very erroneous judgment. Beyond concurring with his notion that Milton's Arianism was of a peculiar type it would be impossible for us to go. It would appear quite aside from the facts to make the assertion that Milton was on the high road to polytheism. In the epic poems there is to be found very much anthropomorphism. Yet this is merely poetic and naturally has no place in the "Christian Doctrine." Milton would have strongly repudiated the assertion that his works had a tendency towards a polytheistic conception. There were not two or more gods in his system of theology. There was only one Supreme God. This God bestowed upon Christ His gifts and attributes. That the Second Being had personality of His own did not mean to Milton that there was another God alongside the First, although inferior. No other God was created than the One Supreme Ruler of All. It is from a pantheistic Sabellianism that Milton goes forth. As we have remarked the symptoms of Semi-Arianism which appear only serve to distinguish and classify his views.

CHAPTER XIII.

It has already been stated that it is impossible to say just when Milton began the *Paradise Lost*. The sources of information which we have are conflicting. From Phillips' account it would seem that he started soon after his controversy with Morus was concluded, in August, 1655.⁽¹⁾ Aubrey's version is that it was not begun until 1658.⁽²⁾ There might be a sense indeed, in which both these accounts are true, in that the poem may not have commenced to take on a definite form until the date mentioned by Aubrey, 1658. The question must remain open.

On the other hand, respecting the time when Milton first conceived the theme of his great epic, we have the most exact information. This does not rest upon the statements of biographers who wrote many years later, but is from the hand of Milton himself. So far back as 1649-50, Milton had it in his mind to compose a great drama. Regarding themes for this he jotted down during several years, possibly until 1642, some sixty-one subjects of a Biblical character, and thirty-eight taken from British History. Singularly enough the first three are under the heading *Paradise Lost*, while a fourth occurring further on has the title *Adam Unparadised*.⁽³⁾ All these short synopses show some similarity to the completed *Paradise Lost*, and we even find a trace of *Paradise Regained* under other headings.

It is of particular importance to remark that in each of these drafts which Milton made so many years before, the figure of Lucifer is introduced. In the first two he is listed with the other personnel of the intended drama. In the third, Act III. was to be devoted to "Lucifer, contriving Adam's ruin; chorus fears for Adam and relates Lucifer's re-

(1) Phillips—*Life of Milton*, prefixed to *Letters of State*, 1694.

(2) Aubrey—'Brief Lives'—between the years 1669-96, ed. by A. Clark, 1898. (What Aubrey wrote here concerning Milton was in the year 1680.)

(3) *Poemata Miltoni Manuscripta*, 1736—Cambridge.

bellion and fall." In the fourth, composed a little later, he is also connected with the fall of man. And in this regard there comes peculiar information from Milton's biographers. Phillips says: "In the Fourth Book of the Poem there are six verses which, several years before the Poem was begun, were shown to me and some others as designed for the very beginning of the said Tragedy."⁽¹⁾ Aubrey quotes Phillips as having asserted that this was fifteen or sixteen years before the poem was begun. On examination it appears that the verses referred to are those which contain the first lines of Satan's Address to the Sun. This occurs in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV., just after Satan has arrived for the first time on this mundane universe out of Hell.⁽²⁾

This data is positive evidence that fifteen to eighteen years previous to his commencement of *Paradise Lost*, Milton had the theme of this poem in his mind, and had already started to plan its contents. He had then decided on Satan as one of his chief characters, and early began with his Address to the Sun as an introduction. During the long interval which elapsed it would be incredible that he did not give considerable meditation to the subject. He had an all-consuming desire to write a great poem, and had resolved to give this the form of an epic rather than that of a drama. The question is, when did he decide to go behind his picture of Satan on earth and depict his great scene of Satan sitting in Council? If he had a fixed idea of this Council and its proceedings before 1656, then, any argument that he depended upon Vondel for, it loses most of its value. The more important question, however, relates to the antitrinitarian ideas which *Paradise Lost* contains. During these fifteen to eighteen years had he already conceived his notion respecting the subordination of the Son of God to the Father, and His endowment by the Father with the especial divine gifts which He possessed?

As has been pointed out there is not the slightest trace of Milton's relation to the doctrine of the Trinity from the

(1) Phillips—*Life of Milton*, 1694.

(2) *Paradise Lost*. Bk. IV., 34-41.

time his works, "Of the Reformation in England," and the "Animadversions" appeared, in 1641, until *Paradise Lost* was under way. However, there is another notice which must not be overlooked.⁽¹⁾ Its value is very problematical, and must not be taken as offering any definite proof. It is only possible to conjecture its import, but to make any positive deduction therefrom would be wholly erroneous.

The appearance of Socinian literature in England seems to have excited considerable animosity among the stricter Churchmen. That Milton by no means accepted its teaching has been already indicated, although it must be granted that they were Subordinationists just as he, and so had some claim to be put in the same category. In the beginning of the year 1653 we find his name dragged into connection with them under rather peculiar circumstances. It appears that an English edition of the Racovian Catechism had been issued in England during the year 1652. On February 10th, 1653, Dr. Owen and other divines entered a petition to the House of Commons respecting this publication.⁽²⁾ The matter was given over to a special committee to deal with, which brought in its report on April 2nd.⁽³⁾ After condemning the heresies of this work, it announced the examination of Mr. William Dugard, the printer of the book, and others charged in the case, and, besides, "the examination of Mr. John Milton, and a note under the hand of Mr. John Milton of the 10th of August, 1650."⁽⁴⁾ Dugard was found guilty, as well as Mr. Francis Gouldman, but no punishment seems to have followed. Nothing more whatever is said of Milton.

What does this note of the 10th of August, 1650, refer to? It must have had some connection with this work or the publication of it, and this reference must have been of favorable import else there would have been no mention of it in

(1) It may be stated that it is not our intention to make any critical use of the posthumous work *Nova Solymna*, which has been very ingeniously ascribed to Milton by Rev. Walter Begley. There are certainly traces of antitrinitarianism in this work, but as yet it is too precarious to say whether it really is from Milton's hand or not. See *Nova Solymna. The Ideal City, etc.*, ed by Rev. Walter Begley, 1902.

(2) Commons Journals, Feb. 10, 1652.

(3) *Ibid.*, April 2nd, 1653.

(4) *Ibid.*, April 2nd, 1653.

Parliament. Evidently the connection, however, was not heinous enough to elicit a rebuke from the House. That Milton was well acquainted with Dugard is certain, since Dugard had done printing for him, and he had already befriended this publisher when he was previously in difficulties. Dr. Masson has surmised that this note might have been a "permission or recommendation to print the book,"⁽¹⁾ which Milton sent to Dugard at this time. This seems a very possible theory, knowing as we do Milton's idea of the liberty of printing, from his *Areopagitica*. But if this is the right explanation, it puts Milton in a strange position. He must have had some idea as to what the contents of the *Racovian Catechism* were, and that he would be willing to allow this free circulation in England can only argue that he had a considerable toleration for its doctrines.

Even if we take any other view of the case, Milton's relation to this edition of the *Racovian Catechism* seems to be an incriminating one. He was by no means a Socinian, but he was not adverse to allowing doctrines to be disseminated which in certain fundamental respects agreed with those which he had imparted in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and clearly taught in the "Christian Doctrine." This Milton of August 10th, 1650, was clearly another from the one who showed no connection with Arians and Socinians in the "Animadversions," of 1641.

The probable dependence of Milton upon Ochino's "XXX. Dialogi" for his views on the Trinity as found in the "Christian Doctrine," only proves that Milton may have known Ochino towards the end of his life. But sufficient passages have been quoted from *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* to give force to the argument that he may have learned his heresy from Ochino previous to, or at the time when he began *Paradise Lost*, in 1655-8. 1660 would seem the outside date at which he could have first entertained an antitrinitarian conception. On the other hand, owing to all lack of evidence regarding his opinions between 1641-1655, it

(1) Masson—Life of Milton, Vol. IV., Page 439.

becomes evident that his radical views on this topic may have sprung up any time during the whole of this earlier period. In fact, we have this entire stretch of 18 or 19 years, from 1641-1660, to account for, if we wish to discover the time when Milton came to disbelieve the accepted Doctrine of the Trinity.

In order to construct any theory with respect to the matter it is necessary to appeal chiefly to the possible relation of Milton and Ochino upon the questions of divorce and polygamy. Internal proof has been offered with the purpose of showing how Milton's views upon the subject of polygamy coincide with those presented by Ochino in the "XXX. Dialogi." It has also been stated that Ochino's ideas upon divorce would have interested Milton had he known them. The fact was emphasized that Milton was seeking for opinions upon the question of divorce, from the year 1644 on. Through his acquaintance with Beze's work, which he quotes, he must have had some knowledge of Ochino's views on polygamy, if only from the synopses which Beze gives. His perusal of Ochino in the original might easily follow.

Stress was also laid upon the fact that the years 1644-5 seem to have marked a revolutionary point in Milton's career. He became branded as a heretic, and was ranked in the outer wing of the Independents. He was cited before Parliament, and seems to have lost his orthodox anchorage from this time on. Having become heretical in one point, it would be easier to become heretical in others. Besides, if he had come across Ochino's "XXX. Dialogi," he would find the sections on the Trinity immediately following those on polygamy and divorce.

Again, it has been seen that other thinkers were interested in Ochino at this period. In 1657, had been issued a translation of "A Dialogue of Polygamy" from the hands of those who might be termed by the name of Divorcers. Here, then, was a copy of Ochino's "XXX. Dialogi" in use at least for the purpose of translation about the time when Milton was first giving form to *Paradise Lost*. If it was employed by these persons, and they were his partisans, how much

wider the knowledge of this work had spread among the Divorcers is mere conjecture. How many copies were to be found in English libraries, and how long since its popularity had revived in England are, of course, unanswerable questions. The fact of this translation merely conduces to the belief that Milton may have known the work of Ochino as the leading representative of the Divorcers.

In addition, evidence has been submitted to show that Milton may have borrowed from Ochino's "Tragedie" for the very first stages of *Paradise Lost*. If this is true, then, the fact that he knew this work before *Paradise Lost* was begun would seem quite possible. That he was acquainted with one work from this author would encourage us to think that he probably knew others from the same pen.

During the interval, from 1639-1655 or 1658, Milton was devising to a greater or lesser extent the plan of the great epic which he was to write. Among the characters of his poems to whom he must have devoted no little attention was that of Lucifer whose Council lends such majesty to Book II. of *Paradise Lost*. So, too, it is conceivable that he had already arrived by forethought at a definite opinion concerning the Trinity before he began this work. His conception of Christ's subordination is so clear and consistent throughout this poem, that it is hardly possible that it came to him as he wrote. Already, indeed, in Book II., we find him plainly indicating his belief in the superiority of the Father. It looks as though his views upon this subject were quite cut and dried before he began, in the years 1655-8.

Then, finally, there comes the reference to Milton's note of the 10th of August, 1650. It would be unwise to make too much of this incident, and yet for all it may be merely the foreshadowing of a great truth. It seems as if Milton had at least no desire to keep the doctrines of the Racovian Catechism from entering the country. There is no notice in his writings after this date where he speaks harshly of the Socinians. It may be that at this time he had accepted a confirmed opinion respecting the Doctrine of the Trinity which

would not allow him to dispute the publication of this book in the presses of the land.

Having sifted the data which has been presented from various sources, the impression arising therefrom would seem to have one tendency. It would appear that if Milton was acquainted with Ochino's "XXX. Dialogi," it quite possibly came into his hands before the years 1655-8. He may have known it as early as 1650. Indeed he may have had knowledge of its contents in 1644, or even before that date. There would seem good reasons to believe that his acceptance of the strong antitrinitarian conception which he later manifested was born at an early date. Dr. Masson admits that Milton may have begun to drift into various heterodoxies from 1644 on, but he further adds: "Most probably the definite formation of the system of views propounded in his post-humous treatise ("Christian Doctrine") is to be ascribed to the time, between 1649-1660, but it is possible enough that the system was not finally consolidated and did not receive some of its most characteristic peculiarities till after the Restoration."⁽¹⁾ These statements of Dr. Masson do not preclude the possibility that Milton may have become an antitrinitarian in some sense at an early date. So far we are in accord with him. On the other hand, he does not allow for a "definite formation" of his various heterodox views until the period 1649-1660. Our contention would go further than this with regard to Milton's views on the Second Person of the Trinity. From the evidence which has been supplied, it is our opinion that on this particular point Milton had already taken more than a "drift," at least by the year 1650. We would give the years 1641-1650 as the time during which he had assumed a clearly unorthodox standpoint. The period just after the appearance of his *Divorce Tracts* in 1644-5 seems the most probable time at which he adopted these ideas. It is further argued that his views with respect to the Second Person of the Trinity were generated through his perusal of Ochino's conception as it is given in the "XXX. Dialogi."

(1) Masson—*Life of Milton*, Vol. VI.

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Lebenslauf.

Am 19. August 1883 wurde ich, Louis Aubrey Wood, zu London in Ontario, Kanada, als Sohn des Kaufmanns Georg Wood und seiner Ehefrau Selena, geb. Dobbin, geboren.

Den ersten Unterricht erhielt ich in der Volksschule meines Heimatsortes und seit 1897 besuchte ich das Gymnasium in derselben Stadt. Im Herbst 1901 bezog ich die Universität Toronto (Kanada) und widmete mich hier dem Studium der Geschichte, Volkswirtschaftslehre, Staatslehre, Philosophie, Literatur usw. Besonders habe ich Vorlesungen bei den Herren Professoren Wrong und Mavor gehört. Im Jahre 1905 erwarb ich den Grad des Baccalaureus Artium.

Zunächst studierte ich Theologie an dem Kollegium der presbyterianischen Kirche zu Montreal (Kanada) und erlangte 1908 den Grad des Baccalaureus Divinitatis. Kirchengeschichte habe ich damals bei den Herren Professoren Welsh und Clark Murray gehört.

Im Oktober 1908 kam ich nach Deutschland und studierte zu Heidelberg Geschichte, deutsches Staatsrecht und Volkswirtschaftslehre ausser verschiedenen theologischen Fächern. An Vorlesungen habe ich teilgenommen bei folgenden Herren Professoren: Oncken, Hampe, Fleiner, Gothein, von Schubert, Weiss, Merx und Lemme. In Seminarien war ich bei den Herren Professoren Oncken, von Schubert und Weiss.

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