

Calvinist or Universalist?  
Edward Taylor in the Conclusion of *Gods Determinations*

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## 要約

### カルヴィニストか、ユニヴァーサリストか、エドワード・テイラーの『神の決定』、結論の解釈

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十七世紀、マサチューセツ、清教徒植民地の牧師だった、エドワード・テイラーの長詩、「神の予定」(1678-1681年頃)は、「カルヴァンの『キリスト教要綱』を韻文で書いただけのもの」、と片付けられている。しかし精密に読めば、結論はカルヴァンの「制限された救」ではなく、全員の救、ユニヴァーサリズムになっているばかりか、歴史上、地理上、キリスト教を知ることができなかった者も又救われるという、特異な結末になっている。清教徒植民地のウェストフィールドで、宗教改革の理想的なミニ・共和国、教会国家も指導したテイラーは典型的なカルヴァン主義者だった筈である。「神の予定」はカルヴァンの五つの教理、「人間の完全な墮落」、「無条件の恵み」、「制限された救」、「恵みの不可抗性」、「聖徒の堅忍」のうち第三の教理を除き他は正確に詩の中に含まれている。

第三の「制限された救」をテイラーが用いなかったのは、新世界でインデアンに接したからだろう。詩人はオリゲネスの「雅歌註解」を愛し、多くのイメージを取り入れたが、ギリシャの教会教父、オリゲネスは、神の救いの選びについて、完全な正義を考えた。人間が罪に堕ちた時、神はそれ迄の霊のみの世界を変えて物質と肉体を加えた。キリストの復活に始まる新しい世界で、キリストに従えなかった者を転生させ、再度試みることを許し、神の完全な救いが成就された時、新しい天地が来ると考えたのである。

ミルトンは「失楽園」の中で、アウグスティヌスを用いて、カルヴァンの予定論を修正した。テイラーも又、オリゲネスを用い、宗教改革の時代を超えて、寛容と理性の時代、十八世紀のさきがけをしたと言える。

It is curious that most of the Taylorians have been unaware of the universalism at the very end of Edward Taylor's *Gods Determinations*. So unexpected as it is for an orthodox Calvinist preacher, Edward Taylor definitely claims at the conclusion of his one long dramatic poem of dialogues and debates, *Gods Determinations*, written in the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts about 1679 to 1682 (Davis 27), that all people are to be saved. This is contrary to the Calvinist creed of the Limited Atonement that God predetermined some people to salvation and the rest to damnation. Since Taylor's works in MSS were discovered at the Library of Yale University in 1938, the scholarship of the interpretation and the critical appraisal of Taylor's *Meditations* had reached such neat maturity as seen in Thomas M. Davis' *A Reading of Edward Taylor* (1992). Concerning the same poet's *Gods Determinations*, on the contrary, most of the interpreters seem to be uninterested in what it includes except Taylor's "versified doctrine," as Louis L. Martz called (Martz xiii), or they seem to have simply assumed that the doctrine is totally Calvinist. Even the remarkably thorough bibliography of the studies of Edward Taylor by Jeffrey A. Hammond, *Edward Taylor: Fifty Years of Scholarship*, contains only one work about Taylor's universalism in *Gods Determinations*. In 1954, Willie T. Weathers published "Edward Taylor and the Cambridge Platonists," in *American Literature* (26: 1-31), and claims that Taylor rejected simple Calvinism of election and predestination, "making a synthesis of Calvinist-Covenant Theology with the natural theology preached by Cambridge Platonists" (13). Yet Weather entirely ignores the predominant importance of Calvinism in Taylor's works so that even her remarkable insight about the influences of Cambridge Platonists upon Taylor looks unbalanced.

Hence Taylor's *Gods Determinations* offers us two problems at the present stage of studies: one is how much of Calvinist notions of election and predetermination the dramatic poem follows or rejects; the other is what kind of universalism it is that Taylor has adopted. For the first problem, a minute comparison of Taylor's poem and Calvin's *Institute of Christian Religion* in this paper will show just how much Taylor holds as true from Calvin's doctrine, and how much he discards from it. For the second one, this study will make it clear that Taylor acquired his own universalism from other sources than Cambridge Platonists. It is true that Taylor was certainly acquainted with the Cambridge Platonists due to the incessant communications of Harvard College and Emmanuel College at Cambridge, England. On the other hand, Taylor had long since accepted one more theological and more authentically traditional, Hellenic influence to mitigate a strict orthodox Calvinism. This was the theology of Origen of Alexandria, a Greek Church Father who led the Academy of Alexandria in the first three decades of the third century AD (Cadiou v). According to Donald Stanford, Taylor left about five hundred pages of English translations from Origen's *Contra Kelsum* and *De Principiis* in MSS (Stan-

ford 512). This present paper also will show how closely Taylor follows Origen's commentary of Canticles of the Old Testament for writing his meditations and the basic conceptions of *Gods Determinations*, and thence how Taylor inherits Origen's universalism.

As an orthodox Calvinist, Taylor uses the four of the five Calvinist creeds in *Gods Determinations*. These were founded in the Synod of Dortrecht (1618–1619). Thither King James himself sent the English delegation, being basically a Calvinist sovereign (Tyacke 41). These creeds have been memorized as “TULIP,” collecting the capitals of the words: Total depravity of man, Unconditional election, Limited atonement, Irresistible grace and Perseverance of saints. Of these Taylor left out the third one, Limited Atonement, as mentioned in the beginning of this paper.

Following the plot of *Gods Determinations*, the reader sees in the beginning God the Father observes the people all crippled for their original sins and unable to walk (Genesis 3. 15). He sends in compassion a flying coach, gorgeously decorated with gold and silver, in order to carry those whom He invites to His Son's wedding feast (Luke 14. 16; 14. 21). Yet all refuse except very few, because they learn the price of the riding of the coach is everything that they possess, as Jesus taught the wealthy young man that such is the way to acquire an eternal life (Matthew 19. 21). On their refusal, God at once sends his angelic host to destroy the dwellings of the rebellious people (Matthew 22. 7), and arrest them in three processes of attacks. First, the least disobedient ones surrender to be taken as prisoners. Second, the more obstinate ones are surrounded until they have to give up their resistance. Third, the most defiant ones are caught at the end. How are these three different kinds of prisoners treated by God?

The First Rank of prisoners stand before Christ, begging His pardons profusely, repenting for shame, clinging to the mercy of Christ. They are not rebels but fugitives. They fled because they are just too weak to answer the call of God: “Pluck out our hearts and search them narrowly. /If Sin allow'd in any Corner leach” (II. 26–27. “The Soul Addresses to Christ against these Assaults.” Taylor *GD*). While Satan clamorously accuses them, saying that they are the first traitors of Satan's Army, Christ immediately accepts them:

I am a Captain to your Will.  
You found me Gracious, so shall still,  
Whilst that my Will is your Design.

(II 1–3, “Christ's Reply.” Taylor *GD*)

It is not their own will that leads them into immediate repentance, but the free will of God that has already elected them. They have repented despite their disobedience, because they are as fallen as the Second and the Third Ranks of prisoners, and the fallen people's will is too corrupt to lift itself up. Here Taylor follows Calvin's *Institute of the Christian Religion* (2. 2. 4–2. 5. 8). As Jean Calvin states clearly, “We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan [of salva-

tion] was founded upon his freely given mercy, without regard to human worth" (Calvin 3. 21. 7). Like Peter, who once denied Christ they are now established firmly as elects, for the divine will and man's will meet as God predetermined even before their birth. The first and the second ones of Calvinist creeds, "Total Depravity of Man" and "Unconditional Election" are thus exemplified with the regeneration of the First Rank of Prisoners.

The captives of the Second and the Third Ranks can not ask Christ to search their heart closely, for they hold something secret that they can not even confess to themselves. For this reason they feel dull and complain their apathy. Satan takes this advantage and almost convinces them that they are predestined to damnation. They appeal to a saint in their church, weeping that they know too perfectly their sinfulness, and why they lack grace to repent. Whenever they feel they might be elected, they are afraid that they might be too arrogant, for they are very likely to be given up to damnation already.

In the Puritan Colony after the end of the Puritan Revolution in England, 1660, Edward Taylor as the pastor of Westfield must have heard many of such complaints. Actually among the second generations of the Puritan settlers into New England who came there burning in the Spirit, more and more people began to consider themselves lacking the experience of the conviction that they were elected by God's Predestination. Those uncertain people hesitated to confess their faith at church, though they attended the services faithfully. Since the statutes of the colony did not allow those adult non-members of the church to vote for the election of the public offices, they considered themselves discriminated unfairly, and their dissatisfaction might cause a serious problem in the colonial community.

The Synod of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1662 decided to call those adult non-members by the name of "Half-Way Covenanters" and to allow their children to get baptized (Grabo xx). Then, as Norman S. Gravo reported in "Introduction" to *Edward Taylor's Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*, when Solomon Stoddard, pastor of the church at Northampton near to Taylor's Westfield, started in 1677 (xx) claiming for the Half-Way Covenanters a full membership of the church on condition that they approve the creed of the church, without giving the proper confession, Taylor rigidly resisted. In 1679, the year that Taylor founded his Westfield church, and in the foundation sermon, given in the presence of the honored guests including Solomon Stoddard himself as well as his congregation, he explained his objection against allowing the Half-Way Covenanters to share the Lord Supper. It was on this occasion that the poet wrote his *Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*. This treatise was delivered in eight sermons in 1693 (xxiii). Taylor was serious in assuming the danger for the Half-Way Covenanters to share the Lord's Supper. The wedding garments given at the wedding feast in Jesus' parable of Matthew 22. 1-14 are woven by God with man's repentance and mortification (Taylor *Treatise* 173). The punishment for the one who tries to attend the feast without the gar-

ment is to be expelled to the darkness outside, to the external weeping and gnawing (Matthew 22. 13). Instead of letting the Half-Way Covenanters run such a risk, Taylor seems to be determined to take whatever troubles for leading them into the confession of faith. In *Gods Determinations*, which was probably started writing in the beginning of his dispute against Solomon Stoddard, the "Saint," or Taylor himself took an unusually long consultation with "Soul," who shrinks from his conversion:

SOUL

I swim in Mercy: but my sins are sayles  
That waft my barke to Hell by Graces Gales.  
Is't possible for such as Grace outbrave  
(Which is my Case) true Saving Grace to have?

SAINT

That's not thy Sin: thou didst not thus transgress,  
Thy Grace-outbraving sin is bashfulness.  
Thou art too backward. Satan strives to hold  
Thee fast thereby, and saith, thou art too bold.

SOUL

Alas! How are you out in mee, behold  
My best is poison in a Box of Gold.  
If with mine Eyes you saw my hearts black stain,  
You'de judge my Sin were double dide in grain.

SAINT

Deluded Soul, Satan beguiles thee so  
Thou judgst the bend the backside of the bow  
Dost press thyselfe too hard: Straite Wands appeare  
Crook't in, and out, in running rivlets Clear.

(ll 13-28. "The Soul's Doubts touching its Sins Answered." Taylor *GD*)

In the Age of Reformation, when the Catholic religion of redemption by rituals was rapidly replaced with the redemption by faith alone, the Predetermination was the most potent weapon for people to get into the freedom of Christ. It is natural on the other hand that some temperamentally passionless people are left out and falling into skepticism. There is something arbitrary or willful, however, in the resistance of the Second and Third Ranks of prisoners, so thoroughly humble and thoughtful as their resistance sounds.

The heart of the matter is that the Second and the Third Ranks of prisoners do not want to be converted, in fear of the ignorance of what may come afterward. Hence they argue that they are too sinful to be saved. Like the patients of neurosis, they refuse to act because they do not trust the consequence, imagining their possible barriers for the action, magnifying the barriers all the more, because so far as they are grieving and complaining, they look entirely serious and pious without having to act. The "Saint," or Edward Taylor, shouts down their cunning self-deceptiveness. It is very clear that the poet is an excellent psychologist, if the reader can swallow the old-fashioned rhetoric of Satan's tricks:

SAINT

What ambling work within a Ring is here?

What Circular Disputes of Satan's Gear?

To prove thee Graceless he thy sins persues

To prove thee sinfull, does thy Grace accuse.

Why dost thou then believe the Tempter so?

He seeks by helping thee thy Overthrow.

(ll 105–110. "The Souls Doubts touching its Sins Answered." Taylor *GD*)

Grace comes even to those obstinate and miserable two ranks of prisoners, though they want to stay in their misery. They do not successfully straighten their warped will. Nor does the saint successfully persuade them, but because God has already elected them, however obstinate they are. Both the saint and the prisoners suddenly sense after the consultation a waft of fragrance coming over them:

Whence Come these Spicy Gales? Shall we abuse

Such sweet Perfumes with putrid noses?

Who did in this Diffusive Aire Diffuse

Such Aromatick fumes or Posies? [. . .]

What Good Comes in them? Oh! They Come from Christ!

(ll 1–6. "The Effect of this Discourse upon the second, and third Ranks,"  
Taylor *GD*)

In his *Preparatory Meditations*, Taylor often praises the Grace that gives a meditator the new spiritual eye to see the Invisible God, as in Meditation 1. 16, for example. As Calvin quotes in the *Institutes* (3. 24. 1) from Christ's own words, "No other than he who is from God has seen the Father" (John 6. 46), Moses was given such an eye. In Meditation 2. 9, Taylor prays that he may see the heavenly palace with his typological images through Moses' looking glass:

Moses is made the Looking glass: in which

Mine Eyes to spie thee in this Type I pitch.

(ll 11–12. Meditation 2. 9, Taylor 95)

To the great surprise of the reader, it is not the new eyes, but the new nose that God's Grace and His Holy Spirit provide the most obstinate ones. The Grace of God proves to be irresistible to the miserable resisters who want to stay in misery rather than taking the risk of being converted. It is a genuine work of God, for man can not expand his sense of smell by human efforts to the extra-sensorial realm of the fragrance of the Holy Spirit. The Irresistible Grace, which is the fourth creed of the Dortrecht Synod is here exemplified most wittily. God proceeds and appears to "those who were not asking" Him (Calvin 3. 24. 2; Isaiah 65. 1). It is a really unique charm of Edward Taylor that he can mingle so austere a theme as God's election with such intellectual laughter as the divinely sensuated nose for proving God's election!

At the end of the poem, all the three ranks of the captives of God rejoice in their conviction of being elected and start the joyful ride of the flying coach:

Thus in the usual Coach of Gods Decree

They bowle and swim

To Glory bright, if no Hypocrisie

Handed them in.

For such must shake their handmaid off lest they

Be shakt out of this Coach, or dy in th' way.

(ll 31-36. "The Soul admiring the Grace of the Church Enters into Church Fellowship." Taylor *GD*)

Once in the coach nobody will fall except hypocrites. Such is the "Perseverance of Saints," the fifth creed of the Dortrecht Synod, that "He who truly believes can not fall away" (Calvin 3. 24. 7). Hypocrites, on the other hand, are puffed up with vain assurance of good works and can not realize that "righteousness is a thing of the heart" (3. 14. 7). It is amusing that the people in the Kingdom of God enjoy themselves swimming and bowling, instead of working, which is an assignment to the fallen Adam (Genesis 3. 19). This unexpected occupation of God's people may reflect the "heroic games" the angelic guard were engaged in at the prelapsal paradise imagined by John Milton (Milton 4. 550)

Seeing the four of the five Dortrecht Creeds faithfully observed in Taylor's argument of what kind of people will be saved in *Gods Determinations*, the reader finds it all the more curious that the creed of Limited Atonement is consequently omitted, that "many are called but few are chosen" (Matthew 22. 14; Calvin 3. 22. 10). One reading of this poem for finding the integrity of Taylor's Calvinism seems yet possible: that the poet only let all the captives of the angelic host be saved, that lots more have escaped to be sent to damnation. This certainly seems to have a point until the reader comes to these curious lines at the end of the last song of the poem, "The Joy of Church Fellowship rightly attended:"

Some few not in; and some whose Time and Place



Block up this Coaches way to goe  
As Travellers afoot, and so do trace  
The Road that gives them right thereto  
While in this Coach these sweetly sing  
As they to Glory ride therein.

(II. 25–30, “The Joy of Church Fellowship rightly attended” Taylor *GD*)

Since this flying coach is fastened to Christ in faith, obviously this means the church. Then “Some whose Time and Place/Block up this Coaches way to go” are none but pagans. Taylor seems to suggest even for pagans an opportunity to salvation, since they are walking to the same destination as the church is being directed. Taylor’s predestination not only includes a universal atonement but also pagans’ salvation. In the history of the theology of the Western church, did anyone hold such a theory of predestination?

The answer, as suggested in the very beginning of this paper, is Origen of Alexandria, whose two main works, *Contra Kelsum* and *De Principiis*, Taylor was apparently translating (See p. 2). Taylor particularly owes to Origen’s *De Principiis* for grafting the universalist conclusion to Calvin’s predestination, in order to exclude the Limited Atonement. Origen’s ideas of predestination are characterized with the two important conceptions: that God’s predestination never rules an individual’s will; and that the entire people will be saved at the renewal of the whole creation. Since Origen’s arguments are always very subtle, I will quote from the original text for both arguments proving the points with exactness.

Origen questions first whether God’s predestination of Pharaoh’s heart influences the Pharaoh’s free will. God declares several times in Exodus, “I will harden Pharaoh’s Heart” (Origen 4. 21). If his heart is hardened by God, and if Pharaoh commits sin in consequence, Pharaoh himself is not the cause of his sin, nor does he possess his free will. Origen, however, does not see this is the case. Pharaoh is already disobedient before his heart is hardened, and says to Moses, “I will not let Israel go” (5. 2):

[. . .] εἰ δὲ ἀπειθεῖ, τίς χρεια σκληρύνεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν\*.

[. . .] χρήσει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐδείξασθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν τὰ μεγάλαια ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπειθοῦντος, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ σκληρύνει τὴν καρδίαν.

(Origen *Principiis* 3. 1. 8)

[. . .] but if disobedient, what need is there of his heart being hardened? [. . .] God needs him to be disobedient to a greater degree, in order that He may manifest His mighty deeds for the salvation of the multitude, and therefore harden his heart. (Crombie 172–173)

Hence God does not make Pharaoh commit his sin, but hardens his heart all the more. Because it is a punishment of the sin he has already committed. God foreknows each turning of the heart of the Egyptian king, but God’s foreknowledge and predestination do not make any exter-

nal cause to incite the heart of Pharaoh to reverse.

Here follows Origen's most consoling argument that God's foreknowledge of each person's intent and each person's using of his will is always to manifest God's perfection of justice and mercy. God sends each soul to its own free motion. But so far as the Word of God is working within us, and so far as each individual wills to do good, God works for the perfection of each soul through justice, which is not completed by us, but God produces the greater part of it (Origen *Principiis* 3. 1. 18).

In the church history, Origen's sophisticated relationship of the free will and God's predestination is inherited by St. Augustine in his *De Libero Arbitrio*. Because the central theme of this treaty is that God's foreknowledge never abolishes man's free will. Calvin, on the other hand, bluntly denies the effectiveness of an individual's free will, since it is fallen and subjected to sin. Yet the French reformer somehow menacingly remarks that God's foreknowledge does not hinder man from being accounted a sinner (Calvin 3. 23. 6), arguing that man always owes to God the duty of being responsive with his free will though it has been deprived long since. Of these three scholars, Origen, St. Augustine and Calvin, however, Origen is the most exquisite thinker to justify God's seeming arbitrariness in predestination.

For justifying the predestination of Jacob and Esau, of which Paul states clearly, "though they were not yet born and had done nothing either good or bad, in order that God's purpose of election might continue, not because of works but because of his call, she [Rebecca, their mother] was told, 'The elder will serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated' (Romans 9. 11-13). Calvin used this chapter of the Epistle to the Romans to testify that the election of Jacob was not the result of his merit and resolves that such is "what God pleased" (Calvin 3. 22. 4), and ends his argument. In short, any reason for God's election is within His absolute sovereignty.

Origen, on the other hand, pursues his Christian apologetics much beyond the limit that Jean Calvin assigned himself as a reformer. According to Tetsutaro Ariga, Origen has been considered to be both a most genuine Greek thinker and a perfect Christian who lived in the Hellenistic world in the third century where Greek and Indian idealism were interpenetrating (Ariga 8-9). He did not hesitate to speculate the world of the Old Testament through logic in order to present Hebrew God to Greek philosophers. The universe created by God is integrated with the ideal relationship of the individuals and the whole. If God created the perfect universe, man can not have a body, but must have been an incorporeal being, for man as corporeal but rational creature must necessarily show diversity and unfairness in God's election. Some were born keen in spirit and some were dull. The world as Origen assumes to have been just created and perfect, filled with all the good and wisdom of God, must have vanished at the time when man fell. In order to fill the man now fallen and crude, God created the sec-

ond world of matter, and clothed man with a body, together with a diversity of talent, and of the limitation of time and space man experiences. In this way Origen justifies the diversity of God's election that comes into this material world as being determined with perfect justice, according to the righteous or the unrighteous life of each individual's in the anterior, spiritual world.

Origen proves this assumption that an anterior world has existed by referring to the Greek word, καταβολή, the foundation. The text of this passage was lost in Greek and remains today only in Rufinus' Latin translation:

[. . .] quod scripturae sanctae conditionem mundi novo quadam et proprio nomine nuncuparunt, dicentes καταβολήν mundi (quod latine satis inproprie translatum constitutionem mundi dixerunt; καταβολή vero in graeco magis deicere significat, id est deorsum iacere [. . .] (Origen *Principiis* 3. 5. 4).

[. . .] the holy Scriptures have called the creation of the world by a new and peculiar name, terming it καταβολή, which has been very improperly translated into by "constitution," for In Greek καταβολή signifies rather "deicere," i.e. to cast down-wards [. . .] (Crombie 256).

With Adam's fall, the new material world was created by casting down out of the old one, as Origen claims.

Just as the diversity of God's call was prepared in the anterior world, this present Material world is preparing for the new world that has started with the incarnation of Christ and that will be completed with His Second Coming. The end has begun when Christ was born that He might teach the obedience that Adam failed to give to God, so that the mankind can obtain the salvation which they can not gain otherwise (Origen 3. 5. 6). Through Christ's subjection to Father even till the death on the cross and through His resurrection, the Holy Ghost began to create a new reality as well as a new man. Paul proves the point in I Cor. (15: 28), "And when all things shall be subdued into him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." All things of the world subjected to Christ includes all the people ever born on the earth. After this material world is gone and in the invisible world to come, such ideal subjection unifies all souls into God. A reader of Plotinus, who was a contemporary of Origen at Alexandria, will be reminded at once of a similar structure of the cosmology in *Enneads*, whose philosophy supposes the diversity of the world emanated out of the one, τὸ ἐν, the invisible principle of all, and that it assumes a return of the diversified many into one at the end. Origen the Greek Church Father had to unify the Hebrew dichotomy of soul and body in this way.

Such new world is now being prepared "by word, reason and doctrine; by a call to a better course of things, by the best system of training" (Origen *Principiis* 3. 5. 8). Here is another

evidence that Taylor's *Gods Determinations* was written under the influence of Origen. The predominant role of a saint instructing the Second and Third Ranks of disobedient prisoners, and his quiet, patient reasoning look rather out of the place in the sparkling rhetoric and witty paradoxes in Taylor's baroque poetry, but reflects very well Origen's extraordinary trust to the persuasive reasoning. When such souls as remain unconverted into the subjection of Christ during their life time, Origen claims that they are not judged into the eternal damnation but by falling into Hades, which is nothing but this present world. They are transmigrated into other corporeal bodies to be instructed over again. If one person's life time is too limited to accomplish Christ's obedience and His new reality, God is providing them with another set of justice and mercy.

Now for the first time the reader is convinced why the pagans whose way to heaven is impeded by the epoch of history and the space they are living in are walking to the same destination to which the church members are taking flight. With few simple lines, Taylor describes that even pagans are never discarded from God's salvation. The doctrine of Calvinism so elaborately debated in the whole poem testifies that this destination of the pagans is not that of natural religion in the Age of Reason. They must fulfil the justice of Christ and it will be fulfilled through the generations and transmigrations, as Origen believed.

The development of Origen's argument of predestination to justify God's way to man may sound too bizarre for present-day Protestant believers, who may wonder how the contemporaries of Origen or the contemporaries of Taylor could accept it. For the ancient people in Greek and Roman civilization were accustomed to the idea of Metempsychosis that an inhuman act may be judged with the punishment of falling into inhuman bodies diverse from rocks to birds or animals. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is one clear evidence of such moral instructions prevalent as the school of Pythagoras teaching this moral all over the Hellenistic world. Origen was too humane to assume such indignity that a human soul can be transmigrated into any inhuman body, though. The story of the soul's descent into the matter of body and its liberation through disembodiment of death was familiar with Plato's philosophy.

For the contemporaries of Edward Taylor, Origen was the most popular Greek Church Fathers in the Puritan Community of the New World. The two earliest catalogues of the books donated to Harvard Library in 1643 and 1658, include a set of Origenis opera respectively in Greek and Latin (Carpenter 157, 167), though the Greek books in those lists are only the Greek New Testament and the works of Origen and Justin Martyr. Exactly what books they were are unknown, since these books were lost in fire in the eighteenth century. Since Church Fathers were always referred to in the Age of the Reformation for any religious controversies, Origen's ideas of Predestination are well-known, and Taylor could read them in the Library of Harvard College first as a student and then as a member of the local clerical community.

If any reader may suspect that such a strict reforming minister as Edward Taylor can not have allowed himself to be influenced by such an unorthodox influence as Origen's universalism, he had better learn first how passionately Taylor loved Origen's *Commentarium in Cant. Canticorum*; and second how Calvinism cracked suddenly after the end of the Puritan Revolution in England according to Christopher Hill (Hill 125). Concerning the former, let me point out how Taylor fabricated the image of the flying coach made of gold and silver, which makes the basic conceit of *Gods Determinations* in the tradition of Metaphysical Poetry.

Taylor takes numerous images from the Song of Songs in the Old Testament both in *Gods Determinations* and in *Meditations*, and adds faithfully to each of these images Origen's interpretations from *Commentarium in Cant. Canticorum*. Among these images, none can be more striking than the flying coach, which God provides the wedding guests with:

A Royall Coach whose scarlet Canopy  
O're silver Pillars, doth expanded ly:  
All bottomed with purest gold refin'de,  
And inside o'er with lovely Love all linde.

(Il 23–26, "Gods Selecting Love in the Decree," Taylor *GD*)

This grand image certainly bemuses the reader even after he realizes it means the church. Why should the church be flying around? If Taylor means by the flying church the dove of the Holy Ghost, is there any Biblical passage that a dove wears gold and silver?

Yes, there is. In the Song of Songs of Origen's version, 1. 10–11, there appears in Rufinus' Latin translation from Origen's Greek which is lost now:

>Quam speciosae factae sunt genae tuae tamquam turturis, cervix tua sicut redimilula <  
(Origen *Commentarium* 153)

*How lovely have thy cheeks become, as are the turtle-dove's, thy neck as necklaces!*

(Lawson 144)

>Similitudines auri faciemus tibi cum distinctionibus argenti [. . . .]< (Origen *Commentarium* 156)

*We will make thee likenesses of gold with silver inlays [. . . .]* (Lawson 148)

Origen believes that the Song of Songs in the Old Testament is a prophesy about the marriage of Christ and the Church which is to come more than nine hundred years later. For this reason the turtle dove beloved and decorated with gold and silver is the Church as the Bride of Christ. Yet neither this breath-taking metamorphosis nor even the figure of a turtle dove appears at all in the Authorize Version, which simply reads in the Song of Solomon:

Thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels, thy neck with chains of gold. We will Make  
thee borders of gold with studs of silver (1. 10–11 av)

In pursuing the turtle dove at this passage, one must go to the Greek Septuagint:

ὥς τρυγόνος, τράχηλός σου ὥς ὀρμισκοί· Ὅμοιώματα χρυσίου ποιήσομέν σοι μετὰ  
στιγμάτων τοῦ ἄργυρίου. (AZMA, *Septuaginta* 1, 10–11)

How are thy cheeks beautiful as those as a dove, thy neck as chains! We will Make thee  
figures of gold with studs of silver (*Septuginta* 830).

So it was the Hebrew text which the translators of the Septuagint used, and which is unknown  
to us now that Origen used for his commentary of the Song of Songs.

Taylor's image of the flying vessel of gold and silver may be taken directly from the Septua-  
gint, but in his application of the figure to the church in *Gods Determinations* beautifully re-  
flects the exegesis of Origen of these Biblical verse.

Origen explains why the Bride in the Song of Songs does not wear gold but the "likeness of  
gold." Believing that the authorship is the King of Solomon, Origen assumes here in verses 1. 10  
–11 that Solomon observes the Church or Bride is still in her infancy, being instructed by proph-  
ets with laws. The prophets and laws are not exactly the truth of Christ, represented with gold  
and the power of speech represented with silver, but only the likeness of the truth and of the  
power of speech. Taylor follows Origen's exegesis, in letting his Christ in *Gods Determinations*  
addresses himself to His Bride, the Church, now that the time comes the Bride should be hon-  
ored with plenty of the truth of Christ, and with silver, the power of different languages given  
on the day of the Pentecoste:

My Dove, come hither linger not, nor stay.

Though thou among the pots hast lain, behold

Thy Wings with Silver Colours I'll o'er lay:

And lay thy feathers o'er with yellow gold.

(ll 205–208. "A Dialogue between Justice and Mercy" Taylor *GD*)

With the truth of Christ and the power of languages, the Church is now fully grown to be the di-  
vine consort of Christ, and the church members who were just earthen vessels of flesh (*Jer.* 32.  
14) are now filled with the turtle dove of the Holy Ghost. Taylor enjoys this strikingly original  
image of the church at the end of the poem, being inspired by his beloved Greek Church Fa-  
ther. The church members sweetly sing like the heavenly bodies of Pythagoras as the flying  
vessel turns round the earth:

And if a string do slip, by Chance, they soon

Do screw it up again: whereby

They set it in a more melodius Tune

And a Divine Harmony.

(ll 13–16 "The Joy of Church Fellowship rightly attended" Taylor *GD*)

Was Taylor's universalism known during his life-time? Taylor never intended to publish his  
major works, nor left he any discussion of Church doctrine except his *Treatise Concerning the*

*Lord's Supper*, in which no criticism of Calvinist doctrine is seen. Taylor was so excellent a polemicist that Norman Grabo highly esteems him as such. Increase Mather retorted Stoddard in *A Dissertation, wherein the Strange Doctrine is [ . . . ] examined and Confuted* (1708), but Grabo claims that this bore "no better light than Tylor did in 1694" (Grabo xxix). Yet Taylor did not bring out his criticism of Calvin to the contemporary New Englanders any more than Increase Mather mixed his millenianism with his church doctrines. The township of New England meant a mini-Church state to realize the ideal government of the Puritans, and the church men there were all too serious for their duty of keeping the doctrinal unity.

Another possible reason for Taylor's silence about his unitarianism is that he wanted to avoid to be called an Arminian. James Arminius, who was appointed to be the Professor of Divinity at the University of Leiden from 1603 (Arminius 13–14), left his Anti-Calvinist discourses based on his "sentiments" (215) of the universal atonement, of free will, rejecting the Predestination as the foundation of salvation (217), being openly hostile to the ministry of gospel by Calvin (232). Arminius' theology was insignificant, for he did not even answer the first and easiest conceivable question that people may raise against him. If God wills to save everyone, since so many fail to be saved, is He then omnipotent? John Owen (1616–1683), the favorite chaplain of Oliver Cromwell, would have shouted, "*That God may fail in his purposes, come short of what he earnestly intendeth, or be frustrated of his aim and end*"! (Owen 96)

Actually, Calvinist Predestination was too weighty a controversy to be involved casually. The Civil War itself broke out as an unexpected result of an academic controversy in the University of Cambridge about Arminianism. A liberal and non-political argument was suddenly made political when King Charles I stepped in and chose some Arminians for promoting to be bishops in his ignorant caprice (Tyacke 123 ff), and polarized in consequence the faculty of the university. Since Protestantism was so well associated with Predestination and Calvinism while Catholicism was linked with all Anti-Predestination theories, the King's favor of the Arminians arose suspicions among the non-academic members of the parliament. People began to be alarmed as early as 1628 (227) that the King was conspiring with some bishops to betray the Church of England for their so-called "Papish Plot." In the same caprice, the King tried to export his Arminianism to Scotland and was reacted with a riot in 1640. In order to call back order in Edinburgh, the King had to call the Parliament (236), and there the Anti-Royalist called for a full convocation on Religion in both Houses only to check a book of an Arminian Bishop. Very inexactly the Parliament continued to identify Arminianism and Catholicism (241–244), until the King had to escape to Oxford and the Civil War started. The memories of such absurd course of history naturally warns Taylor not to reopen once so confused controversy on the limited or universal atonement.

Nevertheless, the doctrine of the limited atonement was an important subject for our poet,

as he moved to the New World, having the American Indians for his neighbors. New Englanders treated Indians as their friends since the famous first Thanksgiving of the Plymouth settlers, 1621. The Massachusetts Bay Colony portrayed a couple of Indians encircled with their supposed appeal, "Come and Help Us," for their official seal. John Eliot, a friend to Taylor, started his life-long mission to Indians as early as 1646 (Ahlstrom 157) at Roxbury near Boston, publishing the Bible in the translation of their language, 1661–1663. It was ridiculous to assume that all the Indians were predestined to damnation only because the church could not send missionaries immediately to all the tribes of Indians from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific Coast.

New Englanders found Indians fair and brave people even through the unfortunate battles called "King Philip's War" in the years 1675–76. If Stephen Sanders Webb's *1676: The End of American Independence* is reliable, Metacomet, the chief of the local tribe of Indians had to plunder the frontier settlers' towns in Massachusetts only because they themselves were driven out of their territories by their own Southern neighbors. Those Indians living south to New England were on the other hand were driven out by the Royalist colony of New York (Webb 367 ff). Webb says, "New England's accusation that their Indian enemies were supplied from Albany [New York] was accurate" (365). Metacomet had no way to go but by devastating and plundering the off-frontier towns like Taylor's Westfield. Mary Rowlandson, the wife of a frontier minister, left a very objective record of her experiences of being caught by Indians. Observing the Indians are fair and honest in bartering, she asked Metacomet to sell her to her husband for twenty pounds. The ransom was collected by Bostonian volunteers (Rowlandson, Heimat & Delbanco 265). She thanked God that no Indians tried to abuse her sexually, for the moral in sex was very strict among Indians. Her daughter who was taken into captivity was ransomed as her mother, and her son was helped by an Indian to escape when they were defeated in a battle. Moreover, Metacomet refused to join in the strategy of the New Yorkers' to call for the aid of the French in Canada. He was too proud to be used for the war between white peoples. Consequently he was isolated, and had to choose an honorable death when he was besieged by the New Englanders. The Puritans in those days seem to have found in their Indian neighbors what the eighteenth-century people called "Noble Sabbages."

For such a conscientious minister as Edward Taylor, it must have been a great shock to meet people who were shut up in the non-Christian culture despite their noble nature. Even after he saw John Eliot's "praying Indians" joined the plundering of his town, he seems to have been speculating about the salvation of Indians, until he was convinced at God's perfect mercy and justice in Origen's idea of the universal atonement.

Having considered all out of *Gods Determinations*, the reader finds out that Taylor was an independent thinker, even in the term of the Civil War days. These independent minds gathered together around Oliver Cromwell, but in the Puritan Colonies, when they had to break off



from the Puritan orthodoxy, they had to leave the colonies. Thomas Hooker left for founding Connecticut; Roger Williams for founding Rhode Island, and Anne Hutchinson was tragically killed by Indians as she left from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in exile. Edward Taylor never publish any of his unorthodox doctrines for serving his church, because he immigrated in order to be a minister of church, and wanted to stay in the occupation. He was a moderate, somewhat unorthodox, but faithful Calvinist. On the other hand, he never tried to be a self-satisfied sectarian, either.

The beauty of his poetry of argument is found when his delicate, intelligent mind trembles like a fragile pointer of magnet when his conscience inspects himself. Take, for instance, the dispute of Soul and Saint in the long quotations in p. 20 of this paper. An experienced Calvinist believer can detect a critic of Calvinism saying that it is too arrogant to pretend that one is elected, whenever a would-be believer is shying away from the conviction of election. Another vicious criticism against Predestination is the old libertines snubbing that only a sinful man will find sins in others. Taylor's mind is open softly to these criticisms and not hide-bound. Taylor's saint can give such consoling answers because of his selflessness.

Christopher Hill, the most important historian of the English Civil War, wrote, "The breakdown of Calvinism in the mid-seventeenth century is one of the great turning-points in intellectual history" (Hill 215). In England, this was evidenced by Milton's *Paradise Lost*, for Milton declared that Predestination or God's foreknowledge of the future has nothing to do with the freedom of each individual's will (Milton 3. 100-111). As Taylor returned from Calvin to St. Augustine, and further back to Origen, Milton returned to St. Augustine's *De Libro Arbitrio* (See p. 24). This sudden break from Calvinism testifies the end of the Era of Reformation. In England, the passion for the integrated doctrine and the purity of the church worship caused the most unexpected and bloody series of events; the Execution of the King, Cromwell's victories, the Protectorate. When the passion was finally exhausted, the so-called "Cambridge Platonists, such as Benjamine Whichcote, Ralph Cudworth, Henry More and John Smith, started their quiet speculations while Newton was writing his immortal work. In New England after the unity of the church doctrine was enforced to the extreme, and discovered to be insufficient to satisfy all the aspects of human needs. In 1699, Thomas Brattle, the Treasurer of Harvard College, founded a church for any baptized adults so far as they are willing to supply for the maintenance, with no formal confession of the faith required. This allowed the diversity of faith even within one church, and marked the new Era of Toleration and Reason (Heimat & Delbanco 370).

It is surprising that Taylor follows such development of the history with no cultural gap. His *Meditations* testifies how closely Taylor read Henry More's *Enchiridion metaphysicum*. This does not simply prove that Taylor was sensitive about the trend. Since Cambridge Platonists,

too, started from Origen, as well as Plato, Taylor's conscientious and independent search of God's justice and mercy led him much beyond the prepared path of Puritan orthodoxy, allowed him to point out to the new age of the salvation of the mass, and the inherent light of the Divinity which Cambridge Platonists sought, and which influenced the Kantian idea of the Practical Reason. Such uncompromising conscience is one of the most admirable aspects of Puritanism.

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