"Like Little Paul in Person, Voice, and Grace": a Comparative Study of Edward Taylor and St. Paul.

Phill Warren Parmer
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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"LIKE LITTLE PAUL IN PERSON, VOICE, AND GRACE": A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDWARD TAYLOR AND ST. PAUL
"LIKE LITTLE PAUL IN PERSON, VOICE, AND GRACE": A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDWARD TAYLOR AND ST. PAUL

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by

Phill Warren Parmer
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ABSTRACT

This study examines correlations between the writings of Edward Taylor and St. Paul to understand more precisely the influence that Taylor's particular theology exercised upon his poetry.

Chapter I is an introduction to Taylor and the Puritan debt to Paulinism. A brief sketch of Taylor biography and scholarship precedes a discussion of Reformation and Puritan use of the Pauline epistles. A synopsis of the Pauline paradigm of salvation (man in sin—grace through Christ—man "in Christ") is presented.

Chapter II, "Old Adam and the Old Covenant," explores St. Paul's and Taylor's concepts of the Creation, Man's Fall in Adam, and God's Wrath. St. Paul's typology of "Old Adam" to represent postlapsarian man, later a crucial doctrine of Calvin, helps explain Taylor's scatological view of man.

Chapter III, "The Person and Work of Christ," examines the Christology of both writers. Christ's Incarnation, his fulfillment of prophecy and typology, and his designations "Son of God" and "Lord" constitute an analysis of Christ's person. The second half of the chapter compares St. Paul's metaphors of Atonement with Taylor's. Both use metaphors of justification, reconciliation, ransom, purchase, and adoption.
Chapter IV, "The New Adam and the New Covenant," examines Taylor's Calvinist doctrine of election with St. Paul's doctrine of election and inclusion "in Christ." Both thinkers present doctrines of Predestination, Regeneration, Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and Assurance. Although not as confident as St. Paul, Taylor proclaims that one seeking God may achieve some assurance of election through the seeking itself, a stance which practically circumvents the "dark" side of double predestination.

Chapter V climaxes this study by arguing that the Pauline paradigm (Sin-Grace-Hope) functions as a structural and conceptual model for God's Determinations and for sixty-five of the Preparatory Meditations.

Chapter VI summarizes the argument and suggests ripe areas for additional research.
"LIKE LITTLE PAUL IN PERSON, VOICE, AND GRACE": A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDWARD TAYLOR AND ST. PAUL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: That the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.

—Second Epistle to Timothy

... we, too, must pursue this straight path, if we aspire in earnest to a genuine contemplation of God; -- we must go, I say, to the Word, where the character of God, drawn from his works, is described accurately and to the life.

—Institutes of the Christian Religion
John Calvin

And I goe willingly to the Scriptures, and gather Honey. And how should it Choose but be sweet seing all the Scriptures that we attend, is a drop, a Sweet Drop of the Lips of our Lord Jesus, who hath all power given him in heaven, and Earth, to improove, as a Prophet, to give his Church good Doctrine.

—Christographia

The design of this dissertation is to examine correlations between the writings of two Christian authors whose lives were separated by sixteen centuries: the Apostle Paul and Edward Taylor. My intent is to understand more precisely Taylor's theology and the influence that his particular theology exercised upon his poetry by correlating it
with Pauline thought. Both St. Paul and Taylor dedicated their lives to proclaiming the gospel (εὐαγγελίου) of Christ Jesus and both saw the significance of their own lives not in their achievements but in their willingness to be vessels of God. Although there are vast differences between the first-century "Apostle to the Gentiles" and the seventeenth-century Puritan poet and minister, divided as they were by enormous changes in culture, politics, and science, there are numerous similarities in theological perspective which will enlighten our comprehension of both Edward Taylor and seventeenth-century Congregational theology in New England.

A brief biographical sketch will assist in placing Edward Taylor within his own cultural and intellectual milieu.¹ Trained in the Dissenting way in England, Taylor was forced to leave his native country because of the series of Acts of Parliament designated collectively as the "Clarendon Code" (Corporation Act-1661; Act of Uniformity-1662; Coventicle Act-1664; Five Mile Act-1666) which precluded his advancement in the ministry and in teaching.² The best evidence suggests that Taylor was born in the hamlet of Sketchley, Leicestershire, about 1642.


so that he would have been about twenty-six years old upon his departure for the Bay Colony in 1668. The account of Taylor's journey and his early subsequent arrival in Boston is preserved in a diary which he began during the Atlantic crossing. From that diary one learns that Taylor apparently performed some of the duties of a minister during the voyage; he indicates, for instance, that he "exercised from Isaiah 3,11" the Sunday of June 14 and that he "applyed the doctrine [he] delivered Lord's day before" on the following Sunday. Another indication of Taylor's prior English higher education is that when he was admitted to Harvard College as a pupil of Thomas Graves on July 23, 1668, he was admitted with advanced standing. Taylor's classmates at Harvard included John Bowles, Samuel Danforth, Isaac Foster, John Norton, Samuel Mather, Samuel Phipps, and Samuel Sewall. After slightly more than three years of study, Taylor made the difficult decision to leave Harvard and the cultivated Boston area which offered the security of academic associates. Prompted by a smirch on his reputation regarding his visits with one goodwife Steadman (which made

3 Consult Donald E. Stanford, Edward Taylor, University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers, No. 52 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), p. 7.


5 Diary, pp. 32, 33.

6 For evidence that Taylor may have been educated at Cambridge University, see Stanford, Diss., p. vi.

him "much desirous to go from Cambridge") and by the urging of Increase Mather, Taylor agreed to accompany Thomas Dewey to Westfield, some one hundred miles west of Boston in the Connecticut Valley region of Massachusetts.\(^8\)

Taylor spent his entire career as a minister of the gospel in this small community on the edge of the great American wilderness. He was Westfield's second minister, replacing Reverend Moses Fiske who had been forced to leave by reason of his "many temptations."\(^9\) Although the community had been incorporated in 1669 and Taylor had preached his initial sermon for the congregation on December 3, 1671, it was not until 1679 that the permanent establishment of the Westfield church according to Congregational doctrine and tradition was achieved. During Taylor's long ministry he was also the community physician and exercised enormous influence in the community because he ministered to both body and soul. Indeed, during King Philip's War (1675-1676) Westfield might have been abandoned except for the influence of Taylor and a few other leading citizens.\(^10\)

Taylor's personal life, like the lives of most of the settlers, was arduous. He married Elizabeth Fitch in 1674 and by her had eight children, five of whom died in childhood. Elizabeth herself died in 1689. Three years later he married Ruth Wyllys, a descendant of two former governors of Connecticut. Their six children survived into

\(^{8}\) Diary, p. 38.


\(^{10}\) Stanford, Edward Taylor, p. 12.
adulthood, and the five daughters married clergymen. According to all accounts, Taylor was of ideal character and godliness as father, husband, and minister. One of the few descriptions of him was penned by his grandson Ezra Stiles, president of Yale from 1778 to 1795, who wrote that Taylor was "A man of small stature, but firm; of quick passions, yet serious and grave. Exemplary in piety, and for a very sacred observance of the Lord's Day." These qualities and attitudes were maintained by the New England minister to the end of his career.

Edward Taylor was always a man of vigorous physical and intellectual activity. Like the Apostle Paul he gave up a more comfortable life to preach to people on the frontier who were much less educated than he. Isolated in the Connecticut Valley, he caused no political upheavals or social transformations. Indeed, we only know of Edward Taylor because of the record of his mind contained in sermons and poems. His *Preparatory Meditations*, written between 1682 and 1725 every four to six weeks before the administration of the Lord's Supper, his *God's Determinations*, a drama of the salvation of the elect, and his sermons—including the *Christographia* (an examination of the nature and work of Christ) and the *Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*—testify to an active mind set upon detailing both his private and the church's corporate faith. A proper understanding of the man who wrote the *Preparatory Meditations*, which contains many of the best poems written in colonial America, must arise from a study of the theology which consumed, motivated and permeated his life. Taylor's theology provides

11 Lockwood, I, p. 150.
important insights into these meditative poems, which are the significant products of his literary career and which assure his position as America's most important early poet.

The need for such a study as this one becomes apparent as one surveys the divergent scholarship on Edward Taylor. Following the discovery and publication of a portion of Taylor's poems by Thomas Johnson in 1939, there was a concerted effort by several of the Puritan revisionist historians, among whom were Perry Miller, Kenneth Murdock, and Samuel Eliot Morison, to label Taylor's poetry (and consequently his theology) unorthodox because it had been assumed by the revisionists that Puritans viewed poetry as nothing more than "a little recreation" or "versified doctrine." This view that Taylor's poetry either contradicted Puritan poetic standards or was impoverished by his rigid Reformed theology was promulgated by several critics, including Herbert Blau, who argued that Taylor was "too sensual" in his approach to the Lord's Supper; Sidney Lind, who begged the question by assuming an anti-poetic Puritan aesthetic; and Roy Harvey Pearce, who insisted upon Taylor's "weakness" as a poet because of his function as a mere technician under Puritan poetic theory. In what Constance Gefvert has termed the "second phase of Taylor scholarship," Donald E. Stanford and Norman S. Grabo firmly established Taylor's orthodox Calvinist


Congregational theology and a compatible relationship between Taylor's poetry and theology. Particularly important in securing Taylor's theological position was the glossary to Stanford's *The Poems of Edward Taylor* because in it Professor Stanford demonstrated that much of Taylor's terminology was distinctly Calvinistic. Of immense aid also was the publication of Norman S. Grabo's edition of the *Christographia* and his edition of the *Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*, Taylor's unpublished contribution to the controversy against Solomon Stoddard and those who wished to administer the Lord's Supper to Half-Way Covenant members. The publication of these editions of Taylor's works was extremely important to Taylor scholarship because his theological stance could be openly investigated by more than the small number of

14 See Gefvert, p. xxiv.

15 Donald E. Stanford, ed., *The Poems of Edward Taylor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960); Edward Taylor's *Christographia* Edited by Norman S. Grabo (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); Edward Taylor's *Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*, ed. by Norman S. Grabo (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1966). The following critical works were important in establishing Taylor's orthodoxy: Donald E. Stanford, "Edward Taylor and the Lord's Supper," *American Literature*, 27 (1955), 172-178; Norman S. Grabo, "Catholic Tradition, Puritan Literature, and Edward Taylor," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 45 (1960), 395-402; Norman S. Grabo, "Edward Taylor on the Lord's Supper," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, 12 (1960), 22-36. All quotations from Taylor's poetry are from the Stanford edition unless otherwise noted. Each poem of the *Preparatory Meditations* is referred to by number (2.12, 8, as an example, designates line eight of the twelfth poem of the second series); quotations from *Gods Determinations* are signified GD and the appropriate page number. For convenience Taylor's prose is cited by page reference in the text and is identified by C for *Christographia* and TCLS for *Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*. 
scholars who had dedicated themselves to the difficult task of deciphering and transcribing Taylor's manuscripts.

The debate over Taylor's orthodoxy concluded in Taylor's favor. Most subsequent research on Taylor's theology, which has clearly and rightly taken second position to criticism of the poems, has been limited to examining Taylor's debt to an individual theologian, to Taylor's verbal indebtedness to a particular translation of the Bible, or to a specific Puritan methodology. William J. Scheick's book-length examination of Taylor's theology and poetry increased our knowledge of Taylor's debt to Augustine, who, according to Perry Miller, exerted "the greatest single influence upon Puritan thought next to the Bible itself." Similarly, Taylor's concept of the Lord's Supper and the resulting controversy with Solomon Stoddard, Taylor's dependence upon Reformed Biblical typology, and his position as a covenant theologian have all been topics of recent doctoral dissertations. Additionally, Raymond A. St. John has demonstrated that Taylor's primary source of Scripture quotation was in fact the Authorized Version rather than the Geneva Bible as some (notably Keller) had assumed. St. John's examination of Taylor, however, treats less of Taylor's thought than of


Taylor's indebtedness to particular word patterns. Thus it becomes evident that there is a need for a correlation of Edward Taylor's theological position in prose and as illuminated in his poetry with the Bible, which was the greatest single influence on Puritan thought.

It is impossible to overstress the importance that the Puritans placed upon the Bible as God's express communication to man. Calvin had asserted that "the Scriptures are the only records in which God has been pleased to consign his truth to perpetual remembrance." The most important consequence of this Reformation belief was effectively to undermine the value of church tradition and to provide each believer and each generation of the church with direct access to the truth revealed by God in the Scriptures. Indeed, as John S. Coolidge notes, "the Puritan can be said to believe in the 'real presence' of Christ in the Bible. The preaching of the word is the original sacrament of Puritanism, without which the Lord's Supper itself is a dead ritual." Anyone familiar with the sermons of New England divines is acutely aware of the extreme number of Biblical quotations used to undergird their every turn of thought, and Edward Taylor is no exception.


Babette Levy emphasizes this absolute dependence upon the Bible in early New England preaching: "the doctrine for each and every sermon was taken directly from the Bible, and all proof rested in the Bible. No opinion on any matter—theological, moral, political, pragmatic—had any value unless it could be supported by definite Biblical references." Like his contemporary Congregational ministers, Edward Taylor devoted his life to "the restoration of a pure Christianity to the lives of men," and this restoration was grounded fundamentally upon the Scriptures.

The significance of the role of the Pauline corpus in establishing this restoration of Biblical Christianity by the Puritans has been appreciated by scholars only in the last few decades. In *The Rise of Puritanism* William Haller stresses the importance of penetrating beyond labels such as "Puritan" or "Calvinist" to an understanding of the ultimate roots of the Reformers' theology: "The Reformers or Puritans were Calvinists, but we shall fail to understand Puritanism if we conceive of English Calvinism in too narrow or rigid a sense. The dynamic Pauline doctrine of faith, with its insistence on the overruling power of God, on the equality of men before God, and on the immanence of God in the individual soul had long appealed to the English mind.... What Calvinism did for them was to supply a current formulation of


22 Keller, p. 27.
Although not employing the term Paulinists to describe the Reformers, Haller repeatedly points to the Apostle Paul as the key figure influencing the Protestant Reformation. Commenting upon the Puritans' relationship to Calvin, Haller posits that "Calvin's most important effect upon the preachers was to send them posting back to scripture, particularly to the epistles of Paul, to Paul's life as recorded in Acts, and so to the gospels and to the rest of the holy writ. Consequently, there is less of the manner or spirit of Calvin in the preachers' lives and writings than of the apostle to the Gentiles."24

This posting back to the epistles and life of St. Paul is of extreme significance, for the Puritans felt that an understanding of the thought and life of St. Paul was a gateway to understanding God's revelation to man. Coolidge submits that "Luther's dictum--familiar to English Protestants through Tyndale, who translated Luther's Prologue to Romans and placed it in his English New Testament--that the Epistle to the Romans is 'a light and a way in unto the whole scripture' would mean that the whole Bible has a self-determining unity illuminated by the Epistles of Paul, and everything in it means what it does by virtue of its function in the developing experience of participation in the death and new life of Christ."25 Seen in this


24 Haller, p. 86.

25 Coolidge, p. 142.
light St. Paul becomes not merely one of the many writers of Scripture, but the key figure in gaining a proper interpretation not only of ecclesiastical structure and function, but also in correctly understanding the incarnation, grace, and the meaning of history itself. This spirit of reverence for St. Paul's writings which characterized nearly all Puritans, including the New England Congregationalists, is epitomized by Thomas Draxe, who compares the epistle to the Romans with paradise, containing the "Quintessence and perfection of saving Doctrine," the eighth chapter of which is "like a conduit carrying the waters of life; rather, it is the tree of life in the midst of the garden." St. Paul might have been shocked at such lavish praise. And while such a passage illustrates the height of Puritan absorption in Pauline thought, one would never read Edward Taylor praisimg the Pauline text itself, but solely Christ, for, in the genuine Pauline spirit, Taylor emphasized Christology in his writings, and it was Christ alone who was the tree of life and the conduit of living water and Paul merely the gateway to the garden of the presence of Christ.

The significance of Pauline theology in the construction of Puritan theology becomes more accessible to the modern mind as one recognizes the Scriptures not as a unitary communication but instead as a collection of documents written by men who had particularized biases, emphases, and interpretations. It is highly doubtful whether the seventeenth-century theological mind even had a glimpse of the diversity in the Bible afforded the twentieth-century scholar because

of the developments of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Biblical criticism. The Puritans saw the Bible as a whole, the entire, self-sufficient communication of God. Taylor's remark that "all the Scriptures that we attend, is a drop, a Sweet Drop of the Lips of our Lord Jesus" (C, pp. 395, 96) is illustrative of his view of the preeminence of unity, not individuality in scripture. Although several comments by Taylor seem to indicate that he ascribed to the dictation theory of inspiration, the evidence is inconclusive. As Taylor's relationship to Paul is examined, however, it is clear that whether Taylor recognized specific ideas as "Pauline" in our modern use of the adjective, or whether he simply saw the unity of God's communication through the Scriptures, he did encounter and assimilate particular Pauline interpretations in his own theology, and it is these correlations that are important to analyze.

Encountering the Bible as a collection of documents, the modern theologian recognizes that "the Bible is the Word of God given in the words of men in history." Each writer of the New Testament wrote from a particular background in a specific historical situation to an individual audience, and one must be aware of these variables to comprehend fully how the word of God is in "the words of men." For instance, Matthew wrote his gospel primarily to Jews and emphasized Jesus' interaction with Jewish authority; Luke wrote his gospel to Gentiles and emphasized the social interaction of Jesus with the poor,

with women, and with the undesirables of his society. Similarly, the
Apostle Paul's interpretation of the Christian message and its appli-
cation to the primitive church undoubtedly had its origins in his own
background. He was born in Tarsus and was doubtless influenced by the
thought of the Hellenist Diaspora (Acts 21.39), but he was instructed
in the Jewish Law in Jerusalem (Acts 22.3), and finally he experienced
a life-transforming event on his way to Damascus, a mystical encounter
which influenced his concept of Christianity (Acts 9.1-19; 22.4-21).
Consequently, in Pauline theology exist both rabbinic and Hellenistic
elements, and the subsequent developments of his theology were neces-
sarily different from those of other writers (for instance, Peter or
James) who remained almost totally within the rabbinically influenced
Jerusalem church. On one of the serious errors of literary researchers
in the past has been to neglect these important personal differences
and to lump all of the documents of the Bible into a single category,
much as one might lump Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles into
the category of "Greek literary writers." To speak of a particular
theology as "Pauline," one is recognizing that St. Paul's synthesis of
Christianity is merely one (albeit the most influential one) of the several theologies of the New Testament. Joseph Fitzmyer strongly urges that for scholars "it is imperative to respect Paul's theology and not confuse it with John's, Luke's, or any other's."\(^9\)

This more precise understanding of the Pauline element in Biblical theology is not to set it over against the other New Testament theologies (i.e., Johannine, Petrine, Lucan) as some Biblical scholars of the Tubingen School did in the last century.\(^0\) Any study of Pauline theology is complementary to studies of the other theologies that make up the matrix of New Testament thought. Precisely why St. Paul is significant to any study of normative New Testament theology is explained by Herman Ridderbos: "Paul stands in the same life stream, and the fundamental motif of his preaching is not different from that of the other apostles and of the primitive Christian church. But he unfolded it in a wealth of aspects and with a depth of ideas that is unequalled in the rest of apostolic preaching preserved to us, and therefore has repeatedly opened new perspectives in the history of

\(^9\) Fitzmyer, p. 1.

\(^0\) The history of Paulusforschung includes four major schools of interpretation: 1) The Tubingen School—a Hegelian interpretation of Paul in terms of Spirit and Flesh; 2) The Liberal School—an effort to reduce Paul's theology and religion to a general, ethical-rational religiousity not dependent on redemptive facts; 3) History of Religions School—"Paul's world of thought was profoundly conditioned by what is termed his pre-Christian Gnosticism"; 4) The Eschatological School—Paul's basis of thought was an "objective mysticism" in the pneumatic corporeality of being "in Christ." Consult Herman Ridderbos, Paul: An Outline of His Theology (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 13-43.
investigation and for the faith of the Christian Church."31 Indeed, St. Paul's influence is inestimable. As William Wrede acknowledges, "Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Anselm of Canterbury, Luther, Calvin Zinzendorf—not one of these great teachers can be understood on the ground of the preaching and historic personality of Jesus; their Christianity cannot be comprehended as a remodeling of 'the gospel'; the key to their comprehension, though of course sundry links stand between, is Paul."32 Consequently, in light of St. Paul's general influence on Christian thought and his particular influence on the Reformation, a comparative examination of Edward Taylor and St. Paul is warranted.

But what exactly is the Pauline synthesis that has been designated his "theology"? Here lies the rub, for in all of St. Paul's writings there is no systematically defined exposition which includes all of what St. Paul himself would label as his "theology."33 St. Paul's extant theology is contained in letters written in the heat of Christian controversy and in the sermons recorded by Luke in Acts. Our knowledge of Pauline theology must necessarily be incomplete, for the reader's situation is like that of a person attempting to reconstruct an entire relationship from listening only to one side of a

31 Ridderbos, pp. 48, 49.


33 Ladd adds a note of warning that applies to St. Paul and to Taylor alike: "it is improper to distinguish between Paul's theology and his religion, as though the former were speculative and the latter practical. For Paul, theology and religion are inseparable." Ladd, TNT, p. 377.
telephone conversation which represents only one episode in the
speaker's relationship. But even accepting the limitation of having a
partial exposition of Pauline theology, one realizes that there are
certain elements which appear and reappear as the Apostle Paul con-
fronts Judaizers, false apostles, and schismatics in the first-century
church. This central core of information contains Paul's
εὐαγγέλιον or "good news," about Jesus Christ. Paul uses this term
εὐαγγέλιον sixty times in his writings, more times than any other
New Testament writer, and it stands for St. Paul as the essential
message of Christianity.34 But before proceeding, a word of caution

34 Fitzmyer, p. 18. One of the major problems of Biblical
scholarship has been in the establishment of an accurate, authentic
Pauline corpus. Even by the most liberal scholars seven epistles are
accepted as undisputably St. Paul's: 1 Thessalonians (A. D. 50-51),
Galatians (A. D. 54), 1 Corinthians (A. D. 56), 2 Corinthians (A. D.
56), Romans (A. D. 57), Philippians (A. D. 61-63), and Philemon (A. D.
61-63). Most conservative scholars also include 2 Thessalonians (A.
D. 51), Colossians (A. D. 61-63), and Ephesians (A. D. 61-63) as
genuinely Pauline. Much graver doubts are expressed about the Pastoral
epistles (1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus) because of stylistic variations
from St. Paul's other writings, but even these could be accounted for
by St. Paul's use of an amanuensis. (Consult Ladd, NTC, p. 114.)
Edward Taylor referred to the following as works by St. Paul or, as he
is most often designated, "the Apostle": Romans (C, p. 122), Galat-
ations (C, p. 188), 1 Corinthians (C, p. 100), 2 Corinthians (C, p.
122), Ephesians (C, p. 299), Colossians (C, p. 109), 1 Timothy (C, p.
407), 2 Thessalonians (TCLS, p. 74). Taylor also quotes Philippians,
2 Timothy, and 1 Thessalonians, citing them as having authority as
scripture without mentioning St. Paul's name. That omission should
not be taken as an indication that Taylor did not consider them to be
St. Paul's, but merely that there was no need to affix the author's
name. One final problem arises, however, with the letter commonly
known as Hebrews: Taylor (as did most scholars of the seventeenth and
eighteenth centuries) considered St. Paul the author (C, pp. 5, 458),
but subsequent research has demonstrated that St. Paul was not. Since
this dissertation is a comparative study and not an attempt to inves-
tigate the Pauline canon, all works mentioned above (with the excep-
tion of Hebrews), whether actually Pauline or of a post-Pauline
school, will be considered source material for Pauline theology.
is necessary. Because St. Paul’s theology must be reconstructed from his ad hoc communications to groups of Christians with specific theological and doctrinal needs, it appears sketchy, incomplete, and almost desultory. Therefore any approach to Pauline theology must, to a large extent, admit Gunther Bornkamm’s dictum that “Paul’s theology resists all efforts to reproduce it as a rounded-off system carefully arranged under headings, as it were, a Summa theologica.” And yet there is justification for viewing the Apostle Paul’s epistle to Roman Christians as “the nearest thing we have to a balanced statement of his message,” because Romans is the sole epistle which was not written to deal with a particular need, but served as St. Paul’s introduction for his anticipated trip to Rome (Rom. 15.22, 23). Accepting Romans as St. Paul’s most balanced statement, one must realize that any attempt to discuss Pauline theology in a systematized way necessarily limits the scope of Pauline genius and inevitably distorts the complex theology of St. Paul.

To avoid a grave distortion of Pauline theology made by many readers who employ Romans as the basic Pauline text, the distortion of viewing his teaching as a variety of anthropology, one needs to understand that St. Paul’s theology is, above all else, Christocentric. When St. Paul himself defines his εὐαγγέλιον he always does so in terms of Christ first: “that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third

35 Bornkamm, p. 117.
36 Ladd, TNT, p. 377.
day according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3b,4). Paul's message is not first an anthropology because man is defined by God's action in history through Christ. George Eldon Ladd, following Herman Ridderbos, summarizes the Apostle Paul's εὐαγγέλιον as follows: "Paul's theology is the exposition of new redemptive facts; the common characteristic of all his theological ideas is their relationship to God's historical act of salvation in Christ. The meaning of Christ is the inauguration of a new age of salvation. In the death and resurrection of Christ, the Old Testament promises of the messianic salvation have been fulfilled, but within the old age. The new has come within the framework of the old; but the new is destined also to transform the old. Therefore St. Paul's message is one of both realized and futuristic eschatology." The nature of man, the work of Christ, the tension between "this age" and "the age to come" in the Christian church, and all other separate themes of the Apostle Paul's letters can only be understood within the context of his Christology. Pauline Christology has immediate soteriological significance, however, because man's "natural" condition is separation from God: man is in need of redemption. Thus St. Paul's anthropology is a direct result of his Christology. To emphasize this relation, St. Paul attests to the plan of God for redeeming man "before the foundation of the world"  

37 Some critics assert that St. Paul may have been aware of a Jewish-Gentile polarization of the church at Rome because of St. Paul's development of Romans chapters one through four.  

38 Biblical references will be to the Authorized Version, 1940 edition published by Thomas Nelson and Sons.  

39 Ladd, TNT, p. 374; see Ridderbos, p. 44.
( Eph. 1.4). Radically Christocentric, St. Paul's εὐαγγέλιον is designated by the Apostle himself as "the gospel of Christ," "the gospel of his Son," and as "the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."40

With this understanding of the centrality of Christology in Pauline theology, one may approach Pauline thought as if it were initially an anthropology. There are at least two valid reasons for approaching Pauline thought in this way. First, as St. Paul recognized, it allows man to begin with an analysis of what he knows most intimately: himself. Both St. Paul and Edward Taylor recognized that the Christ event—the crucifixion and resurrection—was predeter- mined before the creation of the cosmos, but that man reaches Christ only by first recognizing his own depravity and need. Whether in the province of Galatia in the first century or in the wilds of western Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, men by nature are quality of "adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry. . . envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like" (Gal. 5.19-21a). Secondly, St. Paul himself lays the foundation for an anthropological basis of looking at the εὐαγγέλιον in the epistle to the Romans which, as has been attested, the Puritans held in highest esteem. In the first eight chapters of Romans, St. Paul examines man's relationship to God in three phases: 1) man separated from God, 2) the acting by God in history through Christ, and 3) the new creation in Christ.

40 Gal. 1.7, Phil. 1.27, 1 Thess. 3.2; Rom. 1.9; 2 Thess. 1.8.
This same framework is useful in examining Edward Taylor's theology because of its importance in Reformed thought. In fact, this paradigm was probably the single most influential theological structure influencing Puritan sermons as Puritan divines sought to propound justification by faith. Owen Watkins explains this use of Pauline thought in Puritan sermons: "The procedure was first to enlighten the unregenerate man about the nature of sin, then to lead him to a conviction of his own guilt before God. Only when thoroughly roused and humbled by the deadly pollution of sin and his congenital inability to love God and neighbor was he encouraged to find comfort in the promises of the gospel. The roles of law and gospel apparent in the opening chapters of Romans provided the conceptual framework for this strategy." Since this Pauline paradigm exercised great influence on the Reformers such as Luther and Calvin and on the English and American Puritan divines, and since it is the most systematic presentation of the Pauline doctrine, it will be used as the basis for the general structure of this comparative study of St. Paul and Edward Taylor, with a chapter devoted to each of the three major sections followed by a chapter relating this theological framework to Taylor's poems. The following discussion is an outline of the basic Pauline structure.

For St. Paul, who was not influenced by Hellenistic cosmological dualism (Existence as divided into the earthly and the heavenly) nor its subsequent development into the position that matter was evil,\footnote{41 Owen C. Watkins, The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 7.}

\footnote{42 Consult Ladd, TNT, p. 396.}
God created both the world and man to be perfect. Man, who was created with the capacity to exercise free will, beginning with (and represented in) Adam, chose other than God and consequently experienced the Fall, severing his direct relationship with God. Because of man's disobedience the created order likewise fell, particularly experiencing frustration in the intercurrence of death, and man was expelled from the Garden of Eden. Every area of man's life was affected by his sin, so that he no longer was able to control his emotions or his will and even the very seat of reasoning and logic was darkened. Despite this loss, every man, argues St. Paul, was still responsible to God for his actions because God had revealed himself to man in nature. To God's chosen people, the Jews, Law was given to aid them in recognizing their own failure to meet God's standards. Through Law man became conscious of his sin and his alienated condition. In what may be the most widely known typological pairing of type and antitype in literature, St. Paul designates this representational man outside of God and unable to live up to God's just requirements as "Old Adam"; Old Adam is the object of God's eternal wrath.

With man in the hopeless condition of knowing what he is required to do and not being able to do it so as to meet God's requirements, God intervened in history in the person of Jesus the Christ (or Messiah). As Messiah, Jesus was the fulfillment of all Old Testament prophecy and of all history. But Jesus is likewise proclaimed by believers as Κύριος, or Lord: over all creation he has absolute mastery. And his special relationship to God is exemplified in his appellation "Son of God." For St. Paul, Jesus is God, but he is also
essentially man (what Taylor calls the divine Θεόνθρωπος) who relates to God as a son to a father. Because of God's tremendous mercy toward sinful man, Jesus willed to offer Himself as an expiatory offering on the cross, thus meeting God's requirements for justice.

The resurrection of Jesus following his death on the cross was the central event in history, for it validated Jesus' claims about himself and provided for the establishment of proper relationship between God and man again. Jesus was himself the Atonement and provider of Justification for man. Man has the opportunity by faith in Jesus to be reconciled to God. For St. Paul, then, Jesus, was the antitype of the Old Adam: as the "New Adam" Jesus inaugurated a new age.

This new age ushered in by the New Adam is an age in which man can be transformed from his old nature through the operation of God's Spirit. According to St. Paul, this new creation occurs at baptism as man's sins are forgiven and he receives the Holy Spirit. The rebirth involves a death to self and a resulting incorporation into the fellowship of believers, the ἐκκλησία (church). Just as Jesus was depicted as the Son of God, the man "in Christ" receives his adoption as a son and receives constant sanctification by the Holy Spirit.

Each man "in Christ" experiences the tension between "this age" and "the age to come" in which he will be united with God. The "age to come" will be initiated by the second coming of Jesus, an event which will be accompanied by the destruction of the present world order.

There are both trinitarian and subordinationalist elements in Pauline Christology.
This basic outline will be investigated in detail with reference to Edward Taylor's writings in the following chapters.

But for the Reformers and for the Puritan divines like Edward Taylor, the Apostle Paul's importance lay not merely in this paradigm of redemption. St. Paul's life as a minister, pastor, and evangelist was extremely influential in determining how the Puritans saw themselves. David Hall contends that the Pauline model was crucial in Calvin and the Reformers' concept of the minister: Paul stood as "a model of the perfect pastor. The Pauline model and, behind Paul, the prophets provided Calvin with the basis for his ideal of the faithful shepherd." This Pauline concept of the minister which had been inestimably influential in shaping first-century Christianity provided the New England Congregational ministers like Taylor with a concrete mold by which to shape their lives. One of the crucial characteristics of the Pauline model for ministry is Paul's insistence upon self-restriction. The Reformers redefined church polity and proclaimed the "priesthood of all believers" in part upon their recognition that St. Paul claimed no special status as a priest of God, that he instead depicted himself in the humble role of discipleship: "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ" (1 Cor. 11.1, italics added). In his ministry St. Paul subordinated his own personality to the εὐαγγέλιον that he proclaimed: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1.8). The Puritans

evidenced this same insistence upon the primacy of the "pure" proclamation of the εὐαγγελίον from scripture, in direct opposition to the evils of private interpretation or to interpretation according to church tradition.

The minister's roles in Pauline doctrine and in Puritan practice were varied: he was an ambassador, a slave, a shepherd, and a prophet. St. Paul proclaims himself an "ambassador for Christ" (2 Cor. 5:20) with the attendant glory of heralding the very words of God. But, on the other hand, the Apostle abased himself as "a slave to everyone" (1 Cor. 9:19) that he might win some to Christ. David Hall suggests that the Puritan minister reconciled his Pauline roles as ambassador and slave with his belief in double predestination by looking to Calvin: this was "a paradox that Calvin solved by assigning the ministry a double role": he continues, "Confronting men both as pastor of them all and the prophet to the few [the elect], he played different roles to elect and reprobate." 45 This tension of roles became more intense for New England ministers with the increasing secularization of the Congregational Church during the second and third generations following the Great Migration of 1628-1640 and culminated with the eventual admission of the Half-Way Covenant members to full communion.

But during Edward Taylor's active ministry the roles of the pastor as set forth by St. Paul and the Reformers were also important in uniting the community of Westfield by providing the settlers with

45 Hall, Shepherd, pp. 14, 15.
assurance and a cohesiveness based upon a common purpose, doctrine, and discipline. Taylor no doubt often reminded himself of St. Paul's instructions to the young minister Timothy to "Preach the Word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine" (2 Tim. 4:2). The primary occasion of the public administration of these duties was through the weekly sermon, which became the most important stabilizing agency in the settlement. As Larzer Ziff notes, "the sermon was the only regular weekly occasion on which the settlers would meet together under one roof and therefore was a moment of solidarity, a crucial means of psychological reassurance of the sanity of the arduous daily life in a wilderness."46 This very role of the minister to comfort and aid in the believers' sense of solidarity was stated by St. Paul as he described himself and Timothy to the church at Corinth as "helpers of your joy" (2 Cor. 1:24). Finally, there is even something of the Pauline spirit in the Puritan ministers' desire to communicate clearly with their congregations. St. Paul's emphasis upon the clear communication of the εὐαγγέλιον in speech that was "contemptible" (2 Cor. 10:10) and not with "wisdom of words" (1 Cor. 1:17) appears to have definite parallels among the Reformed ministers' use of the "plain style" in sermon delivery.47


47 Logical "method" was not viewed as embellishment by Puritan ministers.
Although the number and scope of Taylor's surviving sermons is limited and the focus of the extant poems is similarly restricted, there are two other sources which present a systematic theology affirmed by Taylor. These documents, "the two walls of the revolutionary years of Puritanism," are The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647) and The Cambridge Platform (1648). The New England Congregationalists adopted the Cambridge Platform to change "only those things which have respect to church government and discipline" because they had examined the Presbyterian Westminster Confession and found "the summ and substance therof (in matters of doctrine) to express not their judgements only, but ours also." This Congregational adherence to the Westminster Confession was reaffirmed by the Reforming Synod of 1679 through their adoption of the Savoy Confession of 1658 and was again confirmed at Saybrook in 1708. According to McNeil, these revisions were "not less Calvinistic but were expounding the church order of Congregationalism." Consequently, the

48 A holograph manuscript containing thirty-six sermons has recently been discovered in the library of one of Taylor's descendants. See Charles W. Mignon, "The Nebraska Edward Taylor Manuscript: "Upon Types of the Old Testament," Early American Literature, 12 (1977-'78), 296-301.

49 Ziff, p. 256.


Westminster Confession was the 'official' doctrine of New England Congregationalism during the period in which Taylor was writing and "stood as the official symbol of American Congregationalism for nearly two hundred years." The single most convincing evidence of Taylor's adherence to the Calvinist Westminster Confession is the fact that Taylor, in preparation for the formal organization of the Westfield church in 1679, had proposed to allow the Westminster Confession to stand as his personal creedal statement of faith. When he was forced to write his own profession, he altered the letter but not the spirit of the Westminster Confession. The significance of Taylor's belief in the Calvinist Westminster Confession is twofold: first, it definitely places him in the Reformed tradition which, like a thousand-stranded cord, ran through Calvin to St. Paul so that the very context of his theology is tempered by the Calvinist reading of St. Paul's epistles; second, the Westminster Confession provides a basic framework upon which Taylor's sermons and poems may be attached for comparison with the Pauline corpus.

52 Stanford, Diss., p. xcii.


54 Consult TCLS, p. 236, n. 21.


Two difficulties faced by everyone who studies Puritanism are the problems of influence and the problems of terminology. How "Calvinist" were the Puritans as Calvinists? And should one call the Congregationalists Puritans, Dissenters, Calvinists, or Reformers? On the question of Calvinism, the evolution of twentieth-century criticism of the Puritans is itself a history of orthodoxy, revision, and reformation. The revisionist historians had argued strenuously that the New England Congregationalists were maintaining a theology far removed from Calvin by both "method" and "Covenant theology." Later scholarship has reestablished (more correctly) the very close dependence of the Congregational divines like Taylor upon Calvin and has demonstrated that the "Philosophical differences between Calvin and the Puritans were not very great." Yet, as David Hall suggests, there is a danger in establishing a strict, monolithic view of Calvinism which is applied to every area of Puritanism: "The essential error has been to postulate a 'strict' orthodoxy, a 'pure' Calvinism, defined in terms of John Calvin and the Institutes of the Christian Religion. Once the name of Calvin becomes synomymous with 'orthodoxy,' certain deadly consequences ensue: the concept presumes a static system of ideas, so that change of any kind--any variation, no matter how slight--is taken as evidence for declining rigor and faith." Hall also posits that several of the Reformed theologians


such as Pareus, Beza, Zanchy, Piscator, and Bullinger may "figure more often than Calvin in the religious thought of seventeenth-century New England." Nevertheless, as Calvin is quoted in this study of Edward Taylor, Calvin's view is intended to illustrate one facet of the Reformed viewpoint, not a monolithic doctrine seen as absolutely binding upon all New England Congregationalists.

In addition to the problem of determining influence in Reformed theology, there exists the difficulty of inexact descriptive categories which may be applied to the Puritans. The predicament lies in the constantly changing and complex nature of the theological position which the terms Puritan, Dissenter, Calvinist, and Reformer are employed to describe. For instance, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries men were uncertain of the meaning of the term Puritan. An anonymous pamphleteer described the perplexing situation thus:

Long hath it vexed our Learned age to scan
Who tightly might be term'd a PURITAN.

In light of this difficulty, and although the terms mentioned above are used as basically synonymous when discussing Edward Taylor and other non-Catholic or non-Anglo-Catholic Christian theologians, it is one aim of this dissertation to provide a more exact understanding of


those underlying elements of the Reformed tradition which may be
designated as Paulinist, and thereby provide a more precise termin-
ology, not necessarily to replace present terms, but to serve as a
complement to them.

Another aim of this study is to investigate the particular
relationship between Pauline theology and what has come to be known as
the most prominent aspect of Puritan theology: double predestination.
The Pauline doctrine of history, and particularly its stress on both
realized and futuristic eschatology, seems to have definite parallels
with the Puritan view of history and the operation of God in double
predestination. The Reformers viewed history as the working out of
God's will in the fulfillment of the kingdom. The Congregational
belief may be summarized as follows: "As they interpreted the doc-
trine of predestination, it was a statement of God's promise to enter
into and renew a fallen world. The doctrine offered men the assurance
that 'God has willed and is acting in his power to restore and justify
them through his love.' Restated in this fashion, the doctrine took
on an eschatological significance, for it linked the election of the
saints with the coming of the kingdom."\(^6\)

Thus an examination of
parallels in the theology of Edward Taylor and St. Paul is likely to
clarify some significant similarities between the basic eschatological
outlooks of the two men and add to our understanding of seventeenth-
century Congregationalism.

\(^6\) Hall, "Understanding the Puritans," p. 42.
Finally, it needs to be clarified that this study is not an analysis of sources for Edward Taylor's theology, for such a task would range beyond the scope of a dissertation. Pauline thought reached Taylor not only directly through the Scriptures, but also through the many Christian theologians who had interpreted the Pauline text. Pauline theology and interpretation had filtered through the writings of such men as Origen, Tertullian, and Athanasius and had been partially solidified by the Nicene Council of 325 before reaching its first great, influential reformulation by Augustine. The Reformers (and before them Aquinas) Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Pareus, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchy; the Congregational divines William Ames, Richard Hooker, Richard Mather, John Cotton, John Winthrop, and William Perkins; contemporary or near-contemporary Congregational ministers such as Increase Mather, Samuel Danforth, Samuel Willard, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Prince, and Cotton Mather could all be possible sources for Taylor's ideological theology. The task of influence investigation is formidable and still lies open for students of Puritanism. Recognizing that there is a need to establish more precise intellectual connections between Taylor and his sources, both ancient and contemporary, this present study, however, endeavors only to distinguish in what ways Edward Taylor's theology resembles the first-century formulation of the "Apostle to the Gentiles." I will attempt

62 One further difficulty of influence source studies is that one should not always identify Paulinism with orthodoxy; Pauline thought doubtless fueled heresy as well as orthodoxy, so that even the very heresies Taylor fights, Socinianism, Arianism, Nestorianism, etc., may and do have "sources" in Pauline texts.
to avoid two oversimplifications of Taylor's relationship to St. Paul. The first is that everything Pauline in Taylor's thought came directly from St. Paul. The second is that Pauline elements in Taylor's theology came only from Taylor's contemporaries and teachers. Taylor knew Greek well and could encounter St. Paul directly, but he was also the product of his own century. How much Taylor was able to remove himself from the biases of his age is a question one may be able to answer more authoritatively at the conclusion of this study. As Taylor and other New England Congregationalists sought to reform and to purify the church by returning to the documents of the first-century Christianity, one should be able to discover significant parallels in the thought of two Christian writers, separated by centuries and oceans but one in devotion and purpose.

But, after all, Edward Taylor is not remembered or read primarily for his theology or the sermons he recorded, however interesting they are in their own right. Taylor is read primarily for the Preparatory Meditations written between 1682 and 1725 before Taylor's administration of the Lord's Supper. The real worth of any examination of Taylor's Pauline theological parallels is in whether the knowledge of Taylor's theology one has gained helps one better understand the poems. I believe it will. In chapters two, three, and four the Pauline pattern of Old Adam, Grace through Christ, and New Adam evidenced in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans will be examined in relation to Taylor's prose and poetry. Following a brief analysis of Gods Determinations, it will be the thesis of chapter five that a significant number of Taylor's Preparatory Meditations exhibit the tripartite
Pauline pattern with concomitant emotional states of despair, joy, and hope, so that Edward Taylor in his own private search for the security of election employs the paradigm which has permeated his, and the Puritan, theological outlook--the paradigm formulated by the Apostle Paul.
... it is impossible to think of our primeval dignity without being immediately reminded of the sad spectacle of our ignominy and corruption, ever since we fell from our original in the person of our first parent.

——Institutes of the Christian Religion
John Calvin


——Christographia

The Apostle Paul and Edward Taylor evidence no skepticism about the existence of God. For them theology begins with observing His attributes demonstrable in His creation, the cosmos. Consequently, the real dilemma each experiences is not over God's actuality, but over the disparity between his concept of the nature of God and his experience with man and nature. That a perfect God could create a world permeated by disease, hatred, war, and suffering needs theological elucidation. Both thinkers contend that the Genesis account of the creation of man and nature furnishes answers to this quandary which every Christian must face. St. Paul and Edward Taylor maintain unswerving conviction in the historicity of the biblical narrative as they analyze what went awry in God's perfect creation.
I. Creation: The Pauline Perspective

St. Paul's interpretation of the creation is essentially Hebraic. His substantitive addition to the Genesis record is his crediting to Christ an active role in the creation process. Although St. Paul does not utilize the Logos designation for Christ that the apostle John uses in his gospel's prologue (John 1.1-18), St. Paul claims some of the same attributes for Christ: Christ was pre-existent and pre-eminent as "the first born of every creature" (Col. 1.15).¹ St. Paul goes on to explain that Christ's preeminence proceeds from his role as creator of everything that exists: "For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist" (Col. 1.16,17).² Christ is not only the agent of creation, but he is, as one modern critic puts it, the "cosmic glue" which presently prevents the cosmos from moving to dissolution. Certainly one of St. Paul's key concerns as he writes of Christ's role in the creation is to combat those who give Christ a lesser status; St. Paul's interpretation of Genesis substantiates an ex nihilo creation through Christ.³ St. Paul leaves no quarter for

¹ Πρωτότοκος (firstborn) does not indicate, as some heretics of the second century were to interpret, that Christ was himself created, but that, of everything that exists in the material and spiritual world, Christ obtains the highest honor and precedence.

² Paul here intimates the essential hierarchy of the created order, even a hierarchy of the invisible, spiritual world before which man acts out his drama of existence.

³ Consult Whiteley, p. 18.
pre-existent matter or for creation by demiurge, the Greek concept which was the most widely held competing view of creation. In writing to the Greek Christians in Corinth, St. Paul asserts that both God the Father and the Christ are joint agents of the creation: "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him" (1 Cor. 8.6). Also, when St. Paul writes the Ephesian Christians that they have been "chosen before the foundation of the world" (Eph. 1.4), he implies an ex nihilo creation, so that the Apostle emphasizes the authority and preeminence of Christ through his role in creation.

Additionally, St. Paul, borrowing from the wisdom literature the figura of Wisdom personified, claims for the Christ all wisdom, and claims that the creation, as construct of eternal, divine wisdom, is in every essential good. Because the Christ is the very εἰκόνα (image) of God, he participates wholly in the Father's wisdom. As men become followers of Christ and are incorporated "in Him," argues St. Paul, they become partakers in that wisdom. Men receive "Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom" (1 Cor. 1.30). The proclamation of Christ involves proclamation of him as wisdom, "the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory" (1 Cor. 2.7). For St. Paul the wisdom of God as later revealed in the incarnated Christ began before the creation of a perfect world. Against a culture which personified wisdom into a mere abstraction, St. Paul presents the author of wisdom in corporality. Against a culture which believed that the creation of matter was performed by a demiurge because it was too evil for God
to contact, the Apostle proclaims the created order, spirit and matter, to be the product of the Father and Christ's wisdom and grace. Because of temperament or circumstance, St. Paul never takes time to extol the beauties of the creation as he writes epistles to meet the pressing needs of the first-century church. It is significant, however, that the Apostle asserts, "there is nothing unclean of itself" (Rom. 14:14) because he affirms the goodness of the creation; his affirmation flows like a pure stream through the morally stagnant proto-Gnostic heresies of his era.

II. Edward Taylor: Metaphors of Creation and Glory

Edward Taylor's metaphoric imagination expands the mere doctrine of God's \textit{ex nihilo} creation into a revery about the glory of God himself. Taylor's claims for the beauty of that \textit{ex nihilo} creation as it existed before the Fall constitute arguments employed to praise God as the Creator of all being and beauty. The Edenic garden glorified God through its own gloriousness:

That Bowr, my Lord, Which thou at first didst build
Was polish'd most gay, and every ranck
Of Creatures in't shone bright, each of them fill'd
With dimpling Glory, Ciel'd with golden plac'd
Of Smiling Beauty.

2.28, 1-5.

The best account of God's creation found in Taylor's poetry occurs in the "Preface" to \textit{Gods Determinations}:

Infinity, when all things it beheld
In Nothing, and of Nothing all did build,
Upon what Base was fixt the Lath, wherein
He turn'd this Globe, and riggalld it so trim?
GD, p. 387.

The obvious answer to Taylor's question is that there was no base for
God's lathe except God himself, especially not the base of pre-
existing matter. God's absolute sovereignty in creation is addition-
ally emphasized by Taylor's argument that the creation is sustained by
God: it was God "Who spake all things from nothing; and with ease /
Can speake all things to nothing, if he please" (GD, p. 387). This
comment is analogous to St. Paul's assertion that by Christ "all
things consist," although the Apostle appears to stress an ordering
principle of God's active involvement and not a sustaining one. Near
the end of the "Preface" Edward Taylor reiterates the supremacy of God
in creation ex nihilo: it is God "Which All from Nothing fet, from
Nothing, All" (GD, p. 388).

According to Taylor, Christ was an active participant in the
creation. The creation was accomplished by the agency of Christ, who
is the divine wisdom: "God in wisdom laid the foundation of the Earth
and by understanding establisht the Heavens Pro. 3.19, and these
things were effected by Christ" (C p. 312) Christ's power is to be
understood as illimitable, since he did "Create all things out of
Nothing: the which nothing but an infinite power could do" (GD, p.
64). Christ in his infinite power created the natural order in per-
fection. The crowning achievement of creation was man, the chief
glory and "mirror of God's Works" (2.30, 7). In his most detailed
account of the creation in the Preparatory Mediations Taylor, using the
language of faculty psychology, asserts that man is the chief glory because of his special relation to the Creator:

What Birth of Wonders from thy Fingers ends
   Dropt, when the World, Lord, dropt out of the Womb
Of its Non-Entity for to attende
   Thy Will its Cradle. And its Midwife Strong.
Non-Entity in Travail full did bare
   The World, big belli'd with all Wonders rare.

The Infant born, in'ts Cradle dormant lay,
   As Dead, yet Capable of Ery Form.
A jumbled Lump of all things ery Way
   Not any single birth of its yet born,
But when this Lump e'joy'd a Vitall Heate
   All Kinds of things did from its belly leape.

Life Vegetative now hatcht in the Egge,
   Flourishing some things nobler than the rest.
Life sensitive gives some of these its Head,
   Inspiring them with honour next the best.
And some of which Life Rationall Enfires,
   Cloath'd with a Spiritualizing Life, aspires.

This Life thy Fingers freely dropt into
   The Humane shaped elements and made
The same Excell the Rest and nobler goe
   Enspirted with Heavenizing trade.
   2.89, 1-22.

In the Christographia Taylor advances beyond the view that man is the chief glory, extending his argument for the importance of man's original glory to insist that the rest of creation depended upon the glory of man for its own glory. He claims "Man was created in the Glorious Image of God; was the glory of the whole Creation; and the glory of the Whole Creation did in an ordinary way depend on man's glory, because God had made him, as I may say, his steward to looke to his Creatures from them in a Rationall way to himself. Ps. 8. 4,5" (C, p. 96). For Taylor, man's very existence within the created order was
necessary to bring to completion the very good works for which it was
designed, all of which, ultimately, are to the glory of God.

This glorification of God by the natural order was to take place
in the heart of prelapsarian man who "then bore the Bell: / Shone like
a Carbunkle in Glories Shell!" (2.28, 5b,6). Edward Taylor elucidates
this doctrine in a sermon: "The Whole Creation doth bring all its
Shining Glory, as a Sacrifice to be offered up to God from, and upon
the Altar of the Rationall Creatur in Sparkling Songs of praises to
God" (C, p. 312). Therefore, man exists not only as the chief glory
of creation, but also as the instrument designed to praise the crea-
tion itself, all in praise of the Creator. God in Christ so created
the universe, according to Taylor, that it cannot function without
man. Perhaps the most significant act that testifies to this role
fulfilled by man is Adam's naming of the creatures in the garden, for
in that act man assumed the role of the mediator of glory, the badge
of his position being God's declaration of man's dominion over the
earth.

Edward Taylor, like the Apostle Paul, stressed the significance
of man's prelapsarian glory through the topos "praise by negation":
because of man's fall both man and the creation have had their glory
tainted so that in the post-Edenic natural world "there is a greate
Vacancy of all this glory" (C, p. 312). The want of God's indwelling
glory in man was undoubtedly the greatest loss man could suffer,
simply because his greatest glory was having been created in the
"image of God." With the loss of God's indwelling glory came the loss
of other attributes of God's presence; Calvin, noting St. Paul's
discussions of the nature of man after the Fall (1 Cor. 15.45; Col. 3.19; Eph. 4.24), infers "that at the beginning the image of God was manifested by light of intellect, rectitude of heart, and the soundness of every part." Taylor similarly attributes all these characteristics to prelapsarian Adam, and he adds that they were the result of God's grace which "was so in him as it never was in any again, Christ only excepted" (C, p. 95). It was thus the presence of God's grace which made man before the Fall the closest representation of divinity in all creation: man was the "mirror" of God.

This prelapsarian condition in the spiritual life of Taylor, who appears as a type of Puritan Everyman wrestling over his soul's condition, is often recapitulated in the opening few lines of the Preparatory Meditations. He frequently describes himself before his own fall from relationship with God as the representation of God's glory and as an original participant with nature. In this prelapsarian unity he asserts that everything in nature testified to God's glory:

Begraade with Glory, gloried with Grace,

In Paradise I was, when all Sweet Shines
Hung dangling on this Rosy World to face
Mine Eyes, Nose, and Charm mine Eares with Chimes.
All these were golden Tills the which did hold
My evidences wrapt in glorious folds.

1.31, 1-6.

4 Calvin, I, p. 164.

5 Consult Owen Barfield, Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolotry (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., undated) for an engaging discussion of man's loss of original participation with nature.
Taylor's reference to the senses speaks directly to the harmonious relationship of God, man, and nature. Man's loss in the Fall was so horrible precisely because his station had been so elevated:

This life adepts mans Person to be made  
  All Glorious with shining Grace indeed,  
And in this glory in Gods Holy trade  
  Of Grace unto his Glory to proceed.  
  

Occasionally, the loss of this glory is puzzling to him:

I humbly Crave this Riddle to unfold  
Seing Lord, thou madst man Compleate at first,  
How Comes't to pass When Natures egge, that holds  
  Her Chicken brake, the bird defilde out burst?  
  2.70, 1-4.

More personally, Taylor queries, "How brave, and bright was I then, Lord, myeselfe?" (2.28, 7). The expected and unstated answer to his question is very, and the poignancy of the past tense functions to intensify his sorrow that his bravery and brightness were totally lost in Adam's and his fall.

III. The Fall: Satan's Motives and God's Permissive Will

Edward Taylor, like St. Paul, wrote little about the actual mechanism of Adam's fall. Following traditional commentary, Taylor surmises that Satan's course was motivated by envy of the glorious image of God in Adam: "If you had but Seen the glory of Adam in his Innocency, no doubt but it Would have filld you with admiration. Satans Envie doubtless was mooved with mischievousness against him,
from the Wonderful glory that God had put upon a bitt of Earth, and had ennobled it so dazzlingly to Created Eyes with Such a measure of bright Shining Grace" (C, p. 251). Taylor expands his analysis of Satan's motives to a far more important motive, Satan's desire to destroy God's grace toward his new creation: Satan's "Design discovers itselfe, [that] it was to ruine mankinde in the Head of all mankinde, that was the Originall of all men; and the Head Covenantanter for all with God. So that overthrowing of him, and destroying of Grace in him, all mankind ever after might never have any Such thing as Sanctifying grace amongst them" (C, p. 254). Here Taylor introduces two concepts which will be discussed in detail in the following pages. The first of these is the view of Adam as representative man, the corporate head of all mankind. The second is developed as the doctrine of Adam as the "Head Covenantanter," the recipient of the Covenant of Works. But before going to these two doctrines concerning Adam, it is important to notice Taylor's reply to an age-old dilemma: "Why did God allow his perfect will for creation to suffer frustration?" Taylor provides the traditional, orthodox reply by referring to God's permissiveness: "God did for the Shining forth of their glorious beams permit the darkness of Sin to invade mankinde, (for the Apostacy of Angells was no key to unlock this Cabinet) and all Gods transactings with fallen man in order to his recovery, are discoveries of the Glorie of God's grace, and Mercy" (C, p. 91). Though Satan was permitted to instigate the fall of Adam, according to Taylor, God's glory would later be magnified by the work of God through Christ in redeeming his elect. Edward Taylor argues that, in ultimate terms,
God controls history and he will be glorified by his elect; until the fullness of time when the elect will be taken to heaven, God permits sin to taint every human being since Adam.

IV. Old Adam and Original Sin

One of the Apostle Paul's great theological contributions was his typological linking of Adam and Christ as Old Adam and New Adam, or First Adam and Last Adam, to distinguish fallen, unregenerate man from the Incarnation of the Godhead in the person of the Christ and from the new creation of the elect in Christ. Edward Taylor and most other Puritan divines, through the extremely strong influence of Calvin, focused upon this doctrine as a process model for an individual's relationship to God. Because of the importance of this Pauline doctrine, the most pertinent passages in the Apostle's model are worth quoting in full:

Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: (For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded to many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justifiction. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.)

6 The complete passages developing the paradigm are Rom. 5.12-19 and 1 Cor. 15.21-47; only verses 25-44 of 1 Cor. 15 are omitted here.
Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.

Rom. 5.12-19.

St. Paul indicates the consequences of that imputed righteousness as he writes to the Corinthian Christians:

For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

1 Cor. 15.21, 22.

And so it is written, the First man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from Heaven.

1 Cor. 15.45-47.

When St. Paul asserts "in Adam all die" he develops a familiar Old Testament doctrine, the doctrine of human solidarity. According to the Apostle, all men, by the sheer fact of their existence, are incorporated "in Adam" and deserve death not because of their individual sinful acts but because fallen human nature stands under condemnation since Adam. This interpretation of St. Paul's comment seems clear, because St. Paul employs the same construction to indicate that "in Christ" men are not made "alive" (i.e. justified) by their individual righteous acts. Understanding this solidarity "in Adam" is

7 See Whiteley, p. 50 ff.; Ladd, TNT, p. 403; Davies, p. 32; Fitzmeyer, pp. 55, 56; Anders Nygren, Der Römerbrief (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1951), pp. 158, 159.
crucial to comprehending the critical incorporation passage in Romans 5:12 which is grammatically ambiguous. "For that [καὶ ἀν] all have sinned" may mean that all men died because they personally have committed sinful acts or it may mean that all men corporately "in Adam" have sinned because they sinned in Adam's original disobedience. St. Augustine had argued that all men sinned "in Adam" because "they were all in him when he sinned (quia in illo fuerunt omnes quando ille peccavit)."8

Thus from St. Paul through St. Augustine the concept of Old Adam reaches its most important formulation for Edward Taylor and other Congregationalists in the writings of Calvin. Quoting Romans 5:19, Calvin asserts, "Adam was not merely a progenitor, but, as it were, a root, and that accordingly, by his corruption, the whole human race was deservedly vitiated."9 Using the term original sin, which Paul did not, Calvin proclaims man's fall in Adam begot "a hereditary corruption and depravity of our nature."10 The effect of Adam's fall and all men's participation in it is of utmost significance in Edward Taylor's theology. Taylor defines original sin in terms closely parallel to Calvin's: "Original Sin... is the want of Original Righteousness together with a strong inclination unto all actual evil flowing from the guilt of Adam's first Sin over all his

8 Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, Bk. IV, Ch. IV, sec. 7, in Whiteley, p. 50.

9 Calvin, I, p. 215.

10 Calvin, I, p. 217.
posterity spring of all Actuall transgressions."11 Men have been made "Sinners and Children of Death by Adam" (C, p. 13).12 And, echoing St. Paul, Taylor writes that "All men benighted are by fall, and Sin" (2.114,7). Consequently, asserts Taylor, every man accepts as his birthright the guilt of Adam's fall in his own humanity.

In Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations the first Adam, as representative of human solidarity, often coalesces with Taylor, who represents unregenerate man, much as, in Romans 7, Old Adam merges with Paul, representative of unregenerate humanity. Behind both personal applications, in the meditations and in the letter to Roman Christians, stands the Pauline doctrine of the solidarity of all mankind in Adam. The very appellation Adam stands as the type of Everyman who, as a consequence of the primal parent's fall, stands outside of relationship to God. Any student of Pauline literature recognizes the numerous examples of this Old Adam-New Adam typology. Adam, Moses, the Ark, and David, for instance, are all, though in Old Adam, types for the New Adam personified in the Christ. Edward Taylor provided biblical sanction for his use of these types by tracing their history to Adam; in the Christographia he argues, "For the first Promise was made to Adam with which we may rationally Conclude did arise instituted Worship Suited to the nature of the Promise and the State of the Fall: and hence types were forthwith instituted" (C, p. 284). For Taylor, God himself established types, beginning with

11 From the Church Record, quoted in "Glossary" to Poems.

12 Taylor mentions both Rom. 5.12-14 and 1 Cor. 15.22.
Old Adam, so that man could better understand his postlapsarian condition and see the necessity for the antitype. The best concise statement of man's condition of alienation from God in the person of Adam comes in the famous words of the New England Primer: "In Adam's fall / We sinned All."

V. The Covenant of Works

Edward Taylor and other Puritan divines viewed man's fall as the result of his failure to keep God's Law, which was man's primary contract under the Covenant of Works. Puritan Covenant or Federal theology, the complete doctrine of two covenants between God and man, the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace, has been termed "the ultimate achievement of reformation biblical theology." One of the best statements of the Covenant of Works comes to us through the Westminster Confession:

13 Coolidge, p. 150. Puritan development of Covenant theology has been the source of a significant amount of criticism. The first major discussion of Puritan Federal theology (federal from the Latin foedus meaning covenant or compact) was Perry Miller's "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity" first published in 1935 in The Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and later reprinted in Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1956). An overly eager reading of Miller led some critics (particularly Samuel Morison) to argue that the New England Puritans were not Calvinists, but were instead covenant theologians. Two excellent articles counter Miller and trace the development of Federal theology: Leonard J. Trinterud, "The Origins of Puritanism," Church History, 20 (March, 1951), 37-57; Jens G. Moller, "The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 14 (1963), 46-67. Everett Emerson in "Calvin and Covenant Theology," Church History, 25 (June, 1956), 136-144, demonstrates that supposed differences between Calvin and the later covenant theologians are minimal and result primarily from the fact that Calvin considered his audiences converted.
I. God gave to Adam a law, as a covenant of works, by which he bound him and all his posterity to personal, entire, exact, and perpetual obedience; promised life upon the fulfilling, and threatened death upon the breach of it; and endued him with the power and ability to keep it.

II. This law, after his fall, continued to be a perfect rule of his righteousness; and, as such, was delivered by God upon mount Sinai in ten commandments, and written in two tables; the first four commandments containing our duty towards God, and the other six our duty to man.  

This particular theological formulation of a covenant with Adam at creation does not occur in the Bible. Indeed, most covenant theologians prior to 1580 constructed their entire doctrine of covenants upon the covenant made with Abraham. Later, by Edward Taylor's time, the extension of the Covenant of Works back to Adam had gained general acceptance. Peter Bulkeley, writing in 1651, argues that "When the covenant of works was made with man, he was then in his integritie, sin was not yet come into the world." Bulkeley's first distinction between the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace does not hark back to the Pauline distinction between Abraham's two sons in Galatians 3.5-25; 4.21-31, the seminal passage for earlier covenant theologians; instead, Bulkeley employs "logic" to connect Adam with the first covenant.

15 Trinterud, p. 42.
St. Paul's doctrine of the two covenants differs significantly. The Apostle, in his attempt to refute Judaizing teaching that Christians must live by the Old Testament law, asserts that the promise of a covenant of grace was made to Abraham and that the coming of the Christian eon brought fulfillment for that covenant. The law,¹⁷ God's moral directive given 430 years after Abraham (Gal. 4:17) functioned, according to St. Paul, as a "schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ" (Gal. 3:24) and was given by God "because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19). That is, as the Apostle reminds the Roman Christians, "Moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound," (Rom. 5:20) for "by the law is knowledge of sin" (Rom. 3:20). For St. Paul the law provided systematized proof that all men fell short of God's standards, just as Adam fell short of God's command in the Garden of Eden. The major difference between the Pauline conception of covenant and the Puritan federal theology lies in the fact that St. Paul sees no law—and consequently no covenant—from Adam to Sinai.¹⁸ Hence, he recognizes as the Covenant of Grace that covenant which existed only

¹⁷ Law in St. Paul's epistles means not only the Ten Commandments delivered to Israel on Mount Sinai (Sinai is occasionally used as a metonymy for the Ten Commandments) but also the system of rules formulated throughout the Old Testament, so that law assumes the meaning of any set of guidelines for conduct: i.e. the Moral Law.

¹⁸ See Rom. 5:12-14.

as a promise from the time of Abraham to the time of Christ and
existed in fulfillment only after the resurrection of Christ.19 This
first covenant St. Paul construes as a covenant which depends not on
man's performance, but solely upon God's grace. The second covenant,
given at Sinai, was given "paradoxically, in order to bring the people
to a recognition that their Covenant with God was unconditional; for
until they recognized their radical inability to fulfill God's condi-
tions of righteousness they might imagine that they were chosen for
doing so."20

Edward Taylor, in contrast to St. Paul, sees Adam as as the
recipient of the Covenant of Works and of the promise of the Covenant
of Grace. Initially, he describes the covenant, however, as a Cove-
nant of Life: "The First Dispensation of Divine Providence put forth
upon Man when Created, Was an act of Confederation, taking man into
the Covenant of Life with God. Gen. 2.16,17." Taylor then immedi-
ately explains Adam's particular obligation to God: "For hereby Adam
was under Speciall Dutie to improove all his admirable Qualifica-
tions." (C, p. 116). After Adam's failure to keep the Covenant of
Life, the covenant became known as the Covenant of Works, a covenant
not of opportunity but solely of obligation. This "first Covenant was
by the least failing imaginable broken unto Condemnation, unless
Satisfaction, which was as to mans attainments impossible, be fully
made" (C, p. 118, 119). In Gods Determinations this point is reite-
rated in "A Dialogue Between Justice and Mercy," as Justice says,

Lest that the Soule in Sin securely ly,
And do neglect Free Grace, I'le stepping in
Convince him by the Morall Law, whereby
I'll'st se in what a pickle he is in.
For all he hath, for nothing stand it shall
If of the Law one hair breadth short it fall.

GD, pp, 395-96.

Taylor's doctrine of the first covenant, the Covenant of Works, is
analogous to Paul's Sinai Covenant: both represent the Moral Law
broken by man. In the Preparatory Meditations Taylor regrets his
failure and admits the penalty:

But woe is mee! I have transgresst thy Law,
Undone, defild, Disgrac'd, destroy'd my Wealth,
Pursu'de by flaming Vengeance, as fire dry straw.

2.28, 8-10.

As soon as Adam, as representative man, had fallen short of the
Covenant of Works, according to Taylor, he fell out of relationship
not only with God, but also with the rest of God's creation. Hiding
his shame with a fig leaf, Adam hid from the God who had created him.

VI. Creation and the "Scale of Nature"

Before moving to Edward Taylor's doctrine of man's fallen nature,
it is necessary to note what has become a commonplace, that both St.
Paul and Taylor believed in a hierarchical universe. For both, God
participated in creation to establish an interconnected hierarchy or
chain of being in the created order. Taylor calls this arrangement

21 For the full discussion of this concept, consult Arthur O.
Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: The Study of the History of an
of sequential stages of being a "hierarchy of glory" (C, pp. 159,160) and a "Scale of Nature" (C, p. 22 ff.; TCLS, p. 101). In fact, Taylor adds angels and archangels to the "thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers" (Col. 1.16; Rom. 8.38) of the Pauline hierarchy of spiritual beings which inhabit the triple-layered universe.22 Both St. Paul and Edward Taylor insist that God's hierarchy was disturbed by the fall, first of the angels and then of man in the person of Adam. Taylor asserts that the "Fallen Angells having poison'd their own nature by the fall" (C, p. 117) have taken to their lower stations in the hierarchy misconceptions of the nature of Christ. Speaking of the general creation, St. Paul claims that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together" (Rom. 8.22) until God's work in Christ is complete and all vestiges of disorder and sin have been eliminated.

VII. Man After the Fall

St. Paul and Edward Taylor insist that during the present eon which anticipates the "age to come" (the dividing point being, in a general way, the Second Coming and Last Judgment), the marks of man's rebellion and sins against God abound. Taylor seems almost painfully aware of this innate sinfulness in man and of the consequent debasement of man's nature which resulted from man's rebellion. Therefore, particularly in the Preparatory Meditations, Taylor's images of man in his fallen condition have earned Taylor the reputation for being an

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22 Consult Phil. 2.10.
scatological writer. Indeed he is. The ultimate model for Taylor's scatological imagery may be St. Paul himself, who responds to God's grace by denigrating his own self worth. Writing to the Christians at Philippi, St. Paul asserts, "I count all things but loss for the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith" (Phil 3.8,9). The "all things" which the Apostle denigrates consist of his Jewish heritage, his strict religious training, and, most significantly, his zeal in affirming righteousness through observing the law. He states, in effect, that he stands before God with no intrinsic merits to exchange for his justification. St. Paul's use of the extremely strong word σκύβαλα, meaning "dung, filth, refuse," is consistent with his radical doctrine of the death of self as one accepts the righteousness of Christ within the Christian community because one must acknowledge all merit in God through Christ and absolutely none in himself.

After people become members of that community, St. Paul also tells them to cleanse themselves "from all filthiness of the flesh and

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25 See Rom. 6; Col. 2.12.
spirit" (2 Cor. 7.1). All vestiges of the world are seen as taints, blots, and defilements on the pure, cleansed new creation in Christ and within the community of believers. The former way of life has to be thrown on the refuse heap along with the old self, according to the Apostle.26 Humans mired in sin have nothing to offer God and must not only discard things that bolster their self-esteem, but they must discard the Old Adam in themselves. The scatological implications of the death to self, including the decaying, putrifying old self, are few in St. Paul's writings because he generally concentrates on the new birth which replaces the discarded old self.27

Even though Edward Taylor considers man in the same condition as the Apostle Paul, Taylor's scatological vision of man is much more sustained than St. Paul's. Images of filth and nastiness about in the Preparatory Meditations as Taylor represents unregenerate man in rebellion to God and without God's saving grace. As representative man, Taylor calls himself a "dish of dumps" (2.25, 7), a "dot of dung" (2.34, 12), a "dunghill" (2.67B, 14), "all filth" (2.26, 21), a "Dirt ball" (1.46, 7), a "Sty of Filth, A Trough of Washing-Swill / A Dunghill Pit, a Puddle of mere Slime" (1.40, 3-4) and insists he is "all O're / All fould with filth and Sin, all Rowld in goare" (2.125, 11-12). In a flurry of images within a single meditation, Taylor bewails his dismal condition:

26 Consult Keller, p. 192 ff; Grabo, Edward Taylor, p. 53 ff.

27 One additional passage of interest occurs as St. Paul tells the Corinthians that he and the other apostles of God were being "made as the filth of the world, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day" (1 Cor. 4.7).
My heart's a Swamp, Brake, Thicket Vile of Sin.
My Head's a Bog of Filth; Blood bain'd doth spew
Its venom streaks of Poyson o're my Skin.
My members Dung-Carts that bedung at pleasure,
Becrown'd with Filth! Oh! what vile thing am I?

This vileness Taylor again exposes in a meditation on Philippians
Chapter Three. He laments his "Vile Bodie":

Yet oh! the Relicks in the Cauldron will
Prove all things else, Guts, Garbage, Rotteness.
And all its pipes but Sincks of nasty ware
That foule Earth's face, and do defile the aire.
A varnished pot of putrid excrements,
And quickly turns to excrements itself.

Man's condition is described in terms of those things which exhibit no
worthiness and are, in fact, loathsome. In sin and rebellion against
God, natural man is not only not a fit instrument for God to use, but
he is nauseous and loathsome. He has become the excrement of crea-
tion. Thus, Edward Taylor's excremental vision is the consequence of
his understanding, colored through the lens of Calvin, of the biblical
statement of man's fallen, unregenerate nature. To charge that Taylor
exhibited "anal fixation" may be excellent Freudian criticism, but it
does not contribute to an understanding of Taylor's reliance upon
biblical, and specifically Pauline, precedent.

Images of sickness and disfigurement also permeate the Prepara-
tory Meditations. Man's postlapsarian spiritual decadence is captured
by Taylor through images of the decay of the physical body.\(^{28}\)

Applying the image of one of the most feared and deforming diseases of Bible times, he proclaims he is a "bag of botches," and a "Lump of Loathsomeness" because of his "Leproust flesh" (2.26, 5-6). It is clear by Taylor's use of the metaphor of leprosy that man in his "natural" state has been totally deformed from the perfection exhibited by Adam. Taylor finds that "Issues and Leprosies all ore mee streame" (2.27,8; italics mine), so that the created perfection of his body is defiled both internally and externally:

\[
\text{Hence all ore ugly, Nature Poysond stands,}
\text{Lungs all corrupted, Skin all botch't and scabd}
\text{A Feeble Voice, a Stinking Breath out fand}
\text{And with a Scurfy Skale I'me all ore clagd.}
\text{.................}\\
\text{Worse than the Elephantic Mange I spie}
\text{My sickness is. And must I it endure?}
\text{Dy of my Leprosy?}
\]

2.27, 13-16; 21-23.

An obvious implication of Edward Taylor's use of the leprosy images to indicate spiritual decay is that no human power can give the speaker aid: only God could cure leprosy. The result of leprosy unchecked is death; Taylor intimates that unregenerate man's spiritual future is the second death in the pit of hell. But another important adjunct to one's affliction with leprosy is that the disease always brought isolation from human contact; lepers were forbidden in Bible times from almost all forms of social intercourse. Spiritual leprosy brings

not only temporal isolation, but it also brings eternal isolation from God. In the Preparatory Meditations leprosy becomes a most fitting image of the condition of unregenerate, unredeemed man.

But Edward Taylor also uses other images to demonstrate the plight of man without God's saving grace who is at the mercy of Satan, the Adversary. He wails that he is "consumptive," "Halfe Dead: and rotten at the Coare" (2.14, 2; 2.14, 1) and, using the analogy of deformation through charring of his sunburned skin which is "Snake like pi'de," Taylor as Everyman exclaims, "I am Deform'd, and Ugly all become" (2.69, 9). This soul-deep ugliness stems from man's fall and transformation at the hands of Satan, the author of disease and death. This image of total ugliness recalls the powerful opening of Fulke Greville's famous meditation on spiritual deformity:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Down in the depth of mine iniquity,} \\
\text{That ugly centre of infernal spirits;} \\
\text{... each sin feels her own deformity.}^{29}
\end{align*}
\]

In several of the Preparatory Meditations poison leads to illness and deformity. Satan sends not only "Fiery Darts and Arrows" but he also transforms the very air into a poisonous agent that disorders Taylor's lungs. From this condition arise several "Soul Sicknesses":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hence come Consumption, Fevers, Head pains: Turns} \\
\text{Yea, Lythargy, Apoplectic Strokes;} \\
\text{The Catoches, Soul Blindness, Surdity,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[29\text{Selected Poems of Fulke Greville, ed. Thom Gunn (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), XCIX, 11. 1-3.}\]
Through the piling of images of sicknesses Taylor is attempting to indicate the seriousness of man's separation from God, the Creator of both body and soul. Poison itself appears as one of Edward Taylor's favorite descriptions of the working of sin:

Green, Yellow, Blew streakt Poyson hellish, ranck,
Bubs hatcht in natures nest on Serpents Eggs,
Yelp, Cherp and Cry; they set my soul a Cramp.

In another meditation the agent is not a serpent, but hell's spider and the deformation by poison is an infectious swelling which prevents entry to God:

A spider spit its Vomit on my Cheeks.
This ranckling juye bindg'd in its cursed stain
Doth permeat both Soul and Body; soile
And drench each Fibre, and infect each grain.
Its ugliness swells over all the iie.
Whose stain'd mishapen bulk's too high, and broad
For th'Entry of the narrow gate to God.
Ready to burst, thus, and to burn in hell.

Though Taylor's image does not attain to the sustained power of Jonathan Edwards' metaphor of the damned as a dangling spider extended
over the flames of hell, Taylor's depiction, through its detailed
grotesqueness, gains a brutality unmatched by Edwards' account.
Because man has metamorphosized from the image of God because of his
sin, images of disease, deformity, and poison serve Edward Taylor well
as metaphors for the total spiritual destruction that occurs in the
unregenerate man who has not yet received God's saving grace.

The New England poet also enjoins images which function more
complexly to describe man's fallen intellect and fallen will. One
major category of images that detail these aspects of man's fallen
nature is the image of obstruction. Unregenerate man's perception of
God and the creation are obstructed because of man's fallen intellect,
and, similarly, unregenerate man's ability to properly respond to God
is obstructed because of man's fallen will. Taylor admits that, his
reason tainted by the Fall, he uses "Sins Spectacles" (2.67B, 58), a
metaphor for the obstructing and distorting of his proper "sight" by
sin. He employs a similar image for the clouding of sight in a
description which parallels St. Paul's conversion experience:

But oh! thy Wisdom, Lord! thy Grace! thy Praise!
Open mine Eyes to see the same aright.
Take off their film, my Sins, and let the Rayes
Of thy bright Glory on my peepholes light.
1.35, 37-40.

Again using the concept of visual obstruction, he pleads, "Mine Eyes
are dim; I cannot clearly see" (1.43, 19-20). Images of other types
of obstruction are used by Taylor to indicate the condition of separa-
tion from God. In a sermon he argues that the "influences of Life...
Communicated from Christ the fountain of Life the Soule" cannot "be communicated where the pipes, and Channells of Convayances are Stopt, by Carnality, Worldliness, Earthlimindedness, Ambition, Pride, Contention, and the Lust and Humors of persons" (C, p. 194). Man's condition is compounded because, being fallen, he has lost God's greatest gift to see his predicament rightly: reason. And because man's perception is altered, he also judges incorrectly: "Indeed this misery is befallen our Nature by Sin that we judge not aright, as to the Kinde, and Sort of things" (C, p. 32).30 The minister and poet admits that his "thoughts in Snick-Snarls run" (1.25, 16) and that his "brain pan turrit is / Where Swallows build, and hatch: Sins black and red" (1.44, 26-27). Consequently, according to Taylor, man in his postlapsarian condition cannot control language: "Words are befould, Thoughts filthy fumes that smoake / From smatty Huts" (2.43, 19-20). This abuse of language which accompanies man's fall from primal relationship with God means that man can never use language properly with right reasoning in this life. As will be observed later, even regenerate man cannot fully attain perfected use of language because his reason, though strengthened by God's Spirit, does not attain to pre-lapsarian wholeness.

Additionally, it is not only man's reason which has been tainted; fallen man cannot will correctly either. Edward Taylor understands the close connection of the understanding and the will, for he states, "I cannot see, nor Will thy Will aright. / Nor see to waile my Woe, my

30 Consult Scheick, p. 59 ff. for further discussion of postlapsarian man's fallen intellect.
loss and hew" (1.16, 7-8). His own will has rejected the very goodness of God because of his defective willing: "All things smell sweet to mee: / Except thy sweetness, Lord" (1.3, 24-25). The "Hide bound Heart. Harder than mountain Rocks" (2.118, 1) is the sinful heart which does not desire God's will for itself. As William Scheick has noted, Taylor views the heart as a synecdoche for man's essential self and the gauge of man's spiritual condition.31 Natural man, according to Taylor, cannot in his depravity even desire the perfect things of God because his desires lead his will astray. His heart is torn by the "Splinters of the World that stick / Do in my heart. Friends, Honours, Riches. . ." (1.49, 13-14). Again selecting metaphors of obstruction but applying them to things which come out of, not into a man, he bemoans that his heart is obstructed by his inability to choose to follow God: "Black blood all clotted, burdening my heart" (2.25, 8). And, even more graphically, his heart, the seat of his will, becomes a "Temple of the God of Flies," Beelzebub (2.25, 14). This failure of intellect and will is most obvious to Taylor when he, as poet, tries to praise God. Just as his heart is a temple for the god of flies, his "Thoughts fly blow'd are" (2.25, 13). And in that temple his tongue becomes an altar for the damming god:

My tongue's an Altar of the forbidden Weare
Fansy a foolish fire enflam'd by toys
Perfum'de with reeching Offerings of Sins.
2.25, 15-17.

31 Scheick, p. 56.
This inability of man on his own to praise God becomes a major theme of the Preparatory Meditations and a primary means for Taylor to illustrate man's fallen nature.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{VIII. God Revealed: Natural Revelation}

Despite being out of relationship with God, postlapsarian man has not been left without witness to God’s perpetual presence. As St. Paul argues in Romans Chapter One, even the Gentiles who were without God's direct commands, the Law, shared in a knowledge of God through the creation: "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God" (Rom. 1.19-21a). This passage, the \textit{locus classicus} of natural morality in Scripture, implies that specific moral conduct can be intuited by man from observing the creation.

Shortly thereafter, St. Paul, proving that man without written law has also fallen short of God’s glory and intent for man, states that, "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness" (Rom. 2.14-15a). Calvin

\textsuperscript{32} For contrast, note that Taylor sometimes speaks as one of the elect in several of the Preparatory Meditations and has the will to praise God, but he lacks the power which only God can provide. 2.38 is an example of this type of meditation.
clearly agrees with St. Paul when he insists that "nothing, indeed, is more common, than for man to be sufficiently instructed in a right course of conduct by natural law." This Moral Law evidenced in creation is termed by Edward Taylor "the Law God in her [Nature's] Essence writes" (2.17, 16).

As was observed in the discussion of the Covenant of Works, the covenant theologians eventually suggested that the covenant began with Adam. The key method of doing this was through St. Paul's discussion of natural morality. As Coolidge observes, "since Paul holds the law which the Gentiles find in nature to be practically equivalent to the law conveyed in the Sinai Covenant, the Covenant of Works can also be called the 'Covenant of Nature' and the Gentiles can be seen to be included in it." The consequence of this is obvious to St. Paul: "For all have sinned and come short of the Glory of God" (Rom. 3.23). Postlapsarian man with the law was no better able to meet God's standards, according to the Apostle, than was postlapsarian man who had only the witness of natural revelation through the creation.

IX. God Revealed: Scripture Declares the Law

The second witness God gave to fallen man was divine revelation through the patriarchs, judges and, later, the prophets. According to Christian interpretation, God chose only the Israelites for this special revelation beyond the natural revelation given to all men. Such patriarchs as Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, and Moses received

33 Calvin, I, p. 241.
34 Coolidge, p. 102.
God's words directly. The Abrahamic covenant of grace and the ten commandments given at Sinai were recorded in Scripture for succeeding generations. In contrast to the patriarchs, most of the Judges of Israel, such men and women as Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Barak, Gideon, and Samson, demonstrated God's power through action and decision. After the founding of the monarchy, however, it was God's prophets who were the bringers of the divine message, God's laws for human conduct, which called man to change his behavior and heart in order to come once again into relationship with God, to, as it were, approach the position with God which Adam had abdicated through the Fall. The importance of the role of the prophet in bringing God's law is attested to by the recurrent pattern of Israel's reaffirmation of covenant and its subsequent falling away into apostasy, in effect enacting a federal or national fall which recapitulated Adam's original disobedience and fall.\(^{35}\)

The ineffectiveness of Scripture in changing man's behavior has been best explained as an inability to destroy the effect of sin:

"The law might declare the will of God, but could not impart the power to do it or break the thralldom of sin. It was therefore possible to be under law, recognizing its divine majesty and authority, and under

\(^{35}\) For instance, Josiah's discovery of the law (2 Kings chapters 22, 23) and his subsequent reformation of Israel stands as a parable of the effect of the law: when God's law was read the people were convicted of their transgressions of God's will for themselves, and they generally attempted to correct their errors. By the same token, the law was ineffective in transforming the wills of the people. The result of this was that the transformation was only temporary. As one learns, Josiah's son and grandson, Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 Kings 23:32 and 37).
the control of sin at the same time. Edward Taylor approaches this relationship of man and God's law be returning to the original intention of God's revelation in Scripture. Making reference to man's special, ultimate end, giving glory to God, Taylor declares that the Scriptures, even in declaring God's laws, could not effect righteous conduct:

And therefore he gave to man his own Holy law as a rule to regulate mans actions by, and so an Harmony arising in the exercise of these Curiously framed Organs and the whole fabrick Consisting of Body and Soule, should be as a Shining glory Served up to God. But man falling into Sin, never exercised this glorious image of God in him, nor these Curious Organ,s nor his more noble part in the way of obedience but all were Spoiled, and broke to pieces by the Fall. And his Holy Law never was Conformed unto: but lay violated: and was reduced to pour out its curse on man, as having none other way to Secure its own righteousness.

C, p. 314.

St. Paul explains the dilemma in terms of God's spiritual law and an inner, carnal law which are in direct opposition: "For I delight in the law of God after the inward may: But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members" (Rom. 7.22-23).

So, according to Edward Taylor and to St. Paul, God's law revealed in Scripture is powerless to change the will and the actions of fallen man; the ultimate consequence for postlapsarian man with or without the law is eternal wrath.

X. God's Wrath

The theology of God's wrath has been one of the most difficult concepts for students of Christianity, and Puritanism in particular, to comprehend. The basis for understanding Puritan concepts of God's wrath lies in understanding the New Testament idea of wrath. In the New Testament St. Paul asserts that wrath is the just penalty for rebellion against God and God's law. The last eon of history begins with "the day of wrath and the revelation of the righteous judgment of God" (Rom. 2:5). Additionally, the Apostle insists that the believers "shall be saved from wrath" (Rom. 5:9). For St. Paul, as for St. John, the ultimate motive for obedience to God is love, but fear of God's wrath is a starting place toward proper motivation. St. Paul's conception of divine wrath is not that anthropomorphized by Edwards' Enfield sermon. According to St. Paul, God's wrath is not the result of capriciousness or malevolence; it is the inexorable result of God's justice, impartially administered.

Like Jonathan Edwards, the Westfield minister Edward Taylor at times adopts a more anthropomorphic view of God executing judgment than does St. Paul. But Taylor never sustains the portrait of Christ's wrath as did Michael Wigglesworth in The Day of Doom. In discussing man's need for a mediator, Taylor posits: "For God being abused, and Dishonour'd by Sinfull Man, Sinfull Man is like to Sustain the Eternal Vengeance of an Offended God, unless Someone be found to take up the quarrell, and to mediate on mans account with God. For God will not Suffer his Honour to be trod underfoot, and not avenge it"
(C, p. 55). The greatest horror of God's wrath combines both the nature of the punishment and its duration. God's wrath will be everlasting: of unregenerate man Taylor says Christ "excludeth such as are thus negligent from Eternall Life, and Salvation, and locks them up in the dungeon of the Fall unto Eternall Damnation" (C, p. 257). And, borrowing an idea from St. John's Apocalypse, Taylor asserts,

This last is Call'd Everlasting Punishment
Or Everlasting sad Distraction
Or second Death. Not Life. Its Life all shent
Of Good, and fill'd with Deaths Edition.
This though the Worms alive, is Living Death,
A thousand times worse than to have no breath.
2.90, 13-18.

In 2.17 he completes the horror of this expectation by wailing that without Christ's sacrifice "I Under the Wrath of God must every fry:
(29-30). For Edward Taylor, as for the Apostle to the Gentiles, God's wrath is an active pursuant which consumes the unregenerate soul of fallen man throughout eternity.

In fine, God's image in man was vitiated by man's fall in the person of his primal parent, thus leaving man powerless to live up to God's standards revealed either in nature or in law. Having destroyed himself by not keeping the law of the Covenant of Works, man was bound in bondage to sin, sick and unable to fully exercise his intellect or will. But, according to St. Paul and Edward Taylor, the worst sickness was not merely the loss of a promise of eternal life; mere mortality would be a thousand times better than having to endure the
righteous wrath of a just God forever. For postlapsarian man there is no hope that he can do anything to prevent his eternal damnation and destruction. He can only despair.\(^7\)

\(^7\) As Norman Pettit observes, "The Moral Law, by the threat of damnation, convinces man of his sins, brings him to despair, and forces him to see that Christ is his only hope for salvation; for God does not allow man to partake of Gospel grace without some foregoing sense of bondage." The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), p. 16.
CHAPTER III

THE PERSON AND WORK OF CHRIST

Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him . . .

—Epistle to the Philippians

Christ, in his death, was offered to the Father as a propitiatory victim; that, expiation being made by his sacrifice, we might cease to tremble at the divine wrath.

—Institutes of the Christian Religion
John Calvin

Oh! Dignified Humanity indeed;
Divinely person'd: almost Deifide.

—Preparatory Meditations

I have endeavor by the Grace of God to affect your hearts with the excellency of Christ Jesus my Lord.

—Christographia

The central tenet of the Jewish Scripture is that God acts on behalf of his chosen people. "With a mighty right arm" (Exod. 15.6) he rescued the Israelites from bondage in Egypt. Thus the Jews looked historically to the Exodus from Egypt and futuristically to the coming of a Messiah. The Old Testament prophets foretold the advent of a Messiah who was to restore eternal peace in an eschatological kingdom.
Similarly, for both St. Paul and Edward Taylor the answer to man's enslavement to sin and his consequent eternal damnation under God's righteous wrath was the coming of the Messiah in the mightiest act of God in history: the Incarnation of God in Jesus of Nazareth. As fully God and fully man, Jesus accomplished on the cross the one thing that man could not do for himself: atone for man's sin.

Indeed, the very core of apostolic, and in particular, Pauline preaching is the doctrine of the nature and work of Christ. In defense of his εὐαγγελίον St. Paul claims he "preach[es] Christ crucified" which is "the power of God, and the wisdom of God" to "them which are called" but "a stumbling block to Jews" or "mere foolishness" to Greeks (1 Cor. 1:23,24). St. Paul evidences little interest in biographical details of Jesus: he accepts the historical Jesus, having been confronted by the risen Christ on the Damascus Road (Acts 9:22;26). In his epistles all ethical demands upon the Christian community are presented as they stem from Christ's redemptive action on the cross, an action which, to St. Paul, brought an eschatological redefinition of man's relationship to God.

Like the great Apostle to the Gentiles, Edward Taylor demonstrated an interest in the nature and work of Christ which seems to have exceeded most of his contemporaries. His Christographia represents a serious attempt to fuel the waning embers of third-generation Congregationalists with the heated coals of the excellency of Christ. Cotton Mather, writing in the Magnalia about the same time Taylor was

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1 As noted, the full title is A Discourse to[u]ching Christ's Person, Natures, the Personall Union of the Natures, Qualifications,
preaching the sermons of the Christographia, comments about the famous
divine Peter Bulkeley: "At Concord he preached ever the Illustrious
Truths about the person, the Natures, the Offices of Christ. (What
would he have said, if he had lived unto this Evil Day, when 'tis
counted good Advice for a Minister of the Gospel, Not to preach much
on the Person of Christ?"

Even admitting for a touch of Motherian
hyperbole, Edward Taylor's seriousness in examining publicly the
nature and work of Christ in Mather's own generation testifies to
Taylor's will to return to the theological bedrock of the "principles
of the doctrine of Christ" (Heb. 6.1).

Any separation of the titles which St. Paul and Edward Taylor
believed Jesus held is, of necessity, artificial. Yet by examining
Jesus as the Messiah, as the fulfillment of all prophecy and typology
in the Old Testament, and by examining Jesus as the "Son of God" and
"Lord of Creation," a more exact portrait of the "Jesus" of St. Paul
and Edward Taylor can be drawn. Both thinkers insist that the Incarnation and work of Christ on the cross is the central event of history: in becoming man and in being raised from the dead, Jesus as God

and Operations Opened, Confirmed, and Practically improved in
Severall Sermons delivered upon Certain Sacrament Days unto the
Church and people of God in Westfield. Structurally, the sermons are
arranged as follows: "Sermons I and II consider the natures of
Christ. Sermons III, IV, and V contemplate the nature and implica-
tions of the personal, hypostatical union of natures in Christ.
Sermons VI through XIII display Christ's properties and qualifica-
tions, both absolute and relative; and the final segment reveals
Christ's operations" (Grabo, "Introduction," Christographia, p.
xxii.).

2 Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (Hartford, 1810), I,
p. 362.
ushered the "age to come" into this present age, so that the Christian
has begun to participate in the last son of history.

I. The Incarnation

For Edward Taylor the sheer inconceivability of the Incarnation
testifies to its validity. He spends a major portion of the
Christographia proclaiming the wonders of the "hypostatical union" of
God and man in the person of Christ. This union he also designates as
the divine "theanthropie" (τὸ ἀνθρώπω Ἐμφανιστήρ), and he exerts great
effort defending the orthodox trinitarian position against those who
demean the manhood of Christ (the docetists and socinians) and those
who demean his divinity (most notably the "damned Quakers"). But even
so, he recognizes the limitations of human reason to comprehend such a
union: "But as to the Uniting of the Humane Nature, and the Divine
together in a Personall Union, it is so Singular a Worke, there is not
so much as a Shadow of it to be founde in the Creation to inlighten our
Conception in the Same. Reason cannot portray out the Same; all the
light in the Eye of Reason is not so much as Can make a little glimmering
thereof in the Soule. It is Res Fidei, Non Definitionis" (C, p. 24). Taylor also suggests that the Incarnation is a new order of
being, a tertium quid beyond reason's explanations:

O're leaping Reason's Shells
One made of twoness Humane, and Divine
Of Infinite, and Finite, (take my Word)
Compound, and Uncompound compose a Third.
(PM 2.32.B-11)
In a meditation upon John 1.14, "The Word was made Flesh," Taylor again proclaims the limitation of human reason to comprehend God's condescension. Taylor accomplishes this by playing the Calvinist tune of the alien transcendence of God:

Things styld Transcendent, do transcende the Stile Of Reason, reason's stares neere reach so high. 
But Jacob's golden Ladder rounds do foile All reasons Strides, wrought of THEANTHROPIE. Two Natures distance-standing, infinite, Are Onifide, in person, and Unite. In Essence two, in Properties each are Unlike, as unlike can be. One All-Might A Mite the other; One Imortall fair. One mortal, this all Glory, that all night. One Infinite, One finite. So for ever: Yet ONED are in Person, part'd never.

2.44.7-18.

This clasping of mortality by immortality becomes the motif of Taylor's illumination of the nature of Christ in the Christographia. He attributes the qualities of infinity, eternity, omnipotency, omnis-ciency, omnificency, and omnipresency to Christ in order to prove that Christ's visible manhood had Godhead qualities.

Precisely how God could become man is examined in detail by Taylor. As a Calvinist who believed in the inherent depravity of humanity, Taylor would seem to face an almost insurmountable difficulty to explain how God could become Incarnate and "put on" human flesh. The problem appears compounded because, Taylor postulates, this taking on of human nature was "costly" to God in that, from the point in time of his Incarnation, he was and is inextricably bound, in the second person of the Godhead, to humanity. As Taylor explains,
the God-man union in Christ became the turning point in history, the point at which the mode of God's being was in some transcendent way altered: "Hence it remains that he was Godhead alone without any manhood in Hypostatical Union unto himselfe from All Eternity untill his incarnation by the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin Mary. But from thence to all Eternity he abides God-Man in Hypostaticall Union inseperably" (C, p. 48). So the problem of God's incarnation in a fallen humanity becomes magnified if Christ exists in union with his humanity forever. Taylor is able to accomplish a solution to this dilemma by distinguishing between fallen human nature and sinful human nature. As a result of Adam's original Fall, all human nature has become fallen nature. But, as Taylor cleverly insists, "Fallen Nature is not Sinfull Nature before it is Rationall nature. The Materials of the Humane Body are not Human Nature in factum esse, but onely in fieri, not made, but in making, and so are not rationall while such, nor can be accounted Sinfull" (C, pp. 12,13). This distinction that the material of the human body is not sinful in essence, but sinful only after man's rational nature has animated it has interesting implications. Obviously it permits the virgin birth of Christ to still present the God-man Jesus untainted. But it also points toward man's rational nature, the intellect and the will as the seat of the Fall itself. Taylor, like the Apostle to the Gentiles, affirms the goodness of matter; there should be no false asceticism, as St. Paul

3 Concerning the significance of the will, see Scheick, p. 49 ff.
told the Colossians (2.20 ff.), because man's real problem resides in his need to have his intellect and will transformed.

Christ's role in fulfilling the Law will be examined later, but here it is significant to note that Taylor insists that Christ's body be formed of "humane nature," and not of the dust: "This body must not be formed, as Adams, out of the Earth, but out of our nature, and that because the Offence against God's Law, was committed by our nature; the Satisfaction, and the Reparation to be made was to be made by our Nature" (C, p. 11). That fallen nature prepared for Jesus did, however, undergo a catharsis of any "inclination to any Vice, or Sensuall motion disordinat" which, asserts Taylor, are ordinarily linked to the "Spermatick Principalls" (i.e. the male "seed"; C, p. 14) in the passing of Original Sin. Rather than receiving into its fallen nature these inclinations during the course of a non-miraculous human conception, the human nature of Christ was purged in the virgin birth: "But in the Conception of the humane Nature of Christ, the Materialls of the Body are purgd and cleansed by the Power of God, and the Operation thereupon Carried on by the Holy Ghost in order to their being Constituted humane Nature. And so this Humane Nature came into the World an Holy Thing. Lu. 1.35" (C, p. 14). In this way Christ escapes the curse of Original Sin and Taylor prepares for Christ to satisfy the Law. The pervasive tone of all of Taylor's discussion of the divine theanthropie is a sense of awe. After dismissing the creation of the "soul" of Christ ex nihilo "as all immortal Souls are made," Taylor exclaims, "But the Extraordinary Work was the Miraculous Providing and Preparing of the Humane Body of the Redeemer" (C, p.
11). For a Calvinist who accepted the depravity of man, the preparation of a "mortal" body of human nature to clothe God himself was the Miracle par excellence.

For the Apostle Paul the preparation of a body for Jesus was far less important than fact that God would stoop to become man at all. The "stumbling block" to the Jews was the insistence of the Christians that the transcendent God who controlled history would become immanent. In what was almost certainly an early hymn in the first-century church, St. Paul declares that Christ Jesus, "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. 2:6-8). The key words which indicate the "mind of Christ" as he became man are ἐκένωσεν, he "emptied" himself, and ἐτάπείνωσεν, he "humbled" himself. Both terms express attitudes about God utterly foreign to the Jews, but they are qualities which St. Paul sees resulting from and expressing the nature of God. One of the Christological doctrines which provides a key to St. Paul's understanding about the Christian life is this doctrine of κενώσις, or the doctrine of the emptying. Only when Jesus emptied himself in becoming man and in weakness allowed himself to be crucified could he be glorified. The Apostle tells the Corinthians, "For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God" (2 Cor. 13:4). And in the Philippian letter quoted above, St. Paul asserts that, after Christ's emptying and humbling of himself, "God hath
highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name"
(Phil. 2.9). This denial of self and of the "rights" of the self
which Jesus exhibited becomes central in the Pauline doctrine of the
death of the "old Adam" as one becomes a Christian; it will be dis-
cussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

II. The "Advancement of Humanity" in Edward Taylor's Christology

One of the most surprising outgrowths of Edward Taylor's examina-
tion of the Incarnation is a doctrine which one would hardly expect
from a Calvinist. In fact, the doctrine seems far closer to Pauline
optimism. As Norman Grabo notes in the "Introduction" to the Chris-
tographia, Edward Taylor posits the unusual, though not heretical
doctrine that the Incarnation, the divine theanthropie, elevates human
nature through the very fact that human nature has been conjoined with
deity. The same Calvinist who sees man in his postlapsarian condi-
tion as a "dish of dumps" and a "bag of Leprosy" can extol unfallen
human nature in the divine theanthropie:

For instead of rendering of Humane Nature by Sin less than a
Worm, and Viler than the Earth, it prooves the opening of a doore
to Advance it higher than Angells, and into a Personality with
the Son of God. Oh! then how is mans nature hereby advanced,
when a body is prepared of it for the Son of God? Higher it
cannot be, unless it could be deified. Created nature Cannot be
Deified: But Human Nature is advanced as Nigh to Deity, in its
Union unto the Deity in the Person of the Son of God, as Created
nature can be. Here then is unspeakable advantage brought to our
nature in that God prepares of it a Body for his Son. Oh!
admirable. Give place ye holy Angells of Light. Ye Sparkling
Stars of the Morning. The brightest Glory, the Highest Seate in
the Kingdome of Glory, the Fairest Colours in the Scutcheon of
Celestiall Honour, belong to my nature and not to yours. I

cannot, I may not allow it You, without injury to Mine own Nature, and Indignity and Ingratitude to my Lord, that hath assumed it into a Personall Conjunction with his Divine Nature and seated it in the Trinity. (C, p. 25)

Taylor insists throughout the Christographia that human beings receive greater honor than the angels because of the Incarnation. Generally he is speaking of Christ's human nature. Occasionally though, Taylor seems to conflate the glory of Christ's human nature, the glory of the elect who have "saving grace" through Christ, and the glory of all human beings (elect and damned), who receive glory only because human nature was glorified in the Incarnation. Taylor proclaims, "It is wonderful; it is the greatest Mystery in all the Creation of God. It is the Wonderfullst advancement given to our Nature that created nature is, or Can be capable of: it lifts up almost unto Deity itselfe" (C, p. 103) and adds, "But yet it [the advancement of human nature] is Conferrd on our nature, and so on us" (C, p. 31) to certify that every human being is thereby advanced. However, the honor is really efficacious to the individual only if he is one of the elect, for the advancement through the Incarnation does not provide saving grace. As one of the elect, Taylor also claims superiority to the angels:

Come down, bright Angells, Now I claim my place.  
My nature hath more Honour due, than yours:  
Mine is Enthron'de at Gods Right-Hand, through Grace.  

The results of this doctrine of the advancement of human nature are similarly confusing. Taylor seems to advocate a variation of the
felix culpa because human nature is advanced above Adam and Eve's through the divine theanthropos: human nature "is as much advanced above its first Glory in innocency, in brightness of Honour, and highness of excellency, as it was cast below that State in darkness of Sin, and dolefulness of Sorrow" (C, p. 95). Again Taylor elaborates on the advancement after man's Fall in the person of Jesus: "But now for God to assume in the Second person, Human nature into a personall Union to his Godhead, will do the thing. It advances Humane Nature into the greatest proximity to God that Created nature is capable of, out of the greatest distance from God possible, and makes it so much more Glorious than ever by how much it was fallen from glory" (C, p. 91; see also p. 92). Certainly one of the chief reasons that Taylor sought to elevate Christ's human nature was to combat those Socinians who, under the "influence of Satan," would dishonor the body of Christ. In fact, as part of this modified felix culpa, Taylor has Satan himself duped (the "Old Poole" of traditional felix culpa), but in Taylor's account the attribution of grace and glory to man's human nature is God's work: "So that note the Wisdom of Divine Grace hath made the Old Serpents Wisdom a pen in the hands of his own Envy writing himselfe, whether he will or no, to be an UTTER FOOLE. For instead of working mans Eternall Woe by his temptation bringing him into Sin, the Same hath been an occasion of greater Advancement than otherwise he was Capable of, and instead of bringing of him into Eternall Disgrace, and baseness, as being more base than the basest of Creatures, he hereby hath occasion'd greater Grace to begrace him, and more glory to be his portion" (C, p. 25). Grace and glory have been
united in the personhood of Christ and Satan has unwittingly participated in the advancement.

Yet though there seems no clear way for Taylor to distinguish between the bringing of saving grace to the elect and the bringing of glory and advancement to human nature in general because of the theanthropie, there is little need for him to do so. Taylor's doctrine of the advancement of human nature becomes for him a means of conversion. So when he declares the perfection of Christ,

Thy Body is a building all like mine,
   In Matter, Form, in Essence, Properties
Yet Sin ne'er toucht it, Grace ne'er ceast in't'shine.
   I, though not Godded, next to the'Godhead lies.
This honour have I, more than th'Angells bright.
   Thy Person, and my Nature do Unite.
   2.42. 31-36.

or when in the Christographia Taylor extols Christ's reason as unimpaired by the Fall (C, p. 177), he is attempting to create that sense of wonder which itself is transformed into obligation. Taylor proclaims: "For Mans Nature is higher advanced by and unto Godhead Nature than theirs [i.e. Angels]. And the Higher the Advancement is the greater is the Obligation upon the Advanced to adhere to God in Christ" (C, p. 161). So, unlike St. Paul who neither scours long to reveal the baseness of sinful man nor soars so high to proclaim the advancement of human nature, Edward Taylor strove to convert his hearers, to awaken the elect with their own sense of election, by praising the gloriousness of the human nature of Christ. While the practical outgrowth of the doctrine of the advancement of the human nature of every person is almost nothing if that person be not one of
the elect, the doctrine does make Edward Taylor one of the most optimistic preachers of his era. Though his doctrine of advancement does not militate against the vigors of the Calvinist doctrine of the depravity of man, it does soften the emotional impact of the darker doctrine by emphasizing positiveness. When it comes to the nature of Christ, Edward Taylor is no dour theologian; instead, he is a proclaimer of hope and advancement, an advancement that had as its aim the awakening of the elect through the kindling of their sense of wonder.

III. St. Paul: Christ the Fulfillment, Messiah and New Adam

Jesus was the fulfillment of Jewish and world history for Edward Taylor and for St. Paul. For the New England minister Jesus fulfilled Old Testament types and prophesies; for the first-century Apostle Jesus fulfilled the role of Messiah by establishing the kingdom of God with power. That St. Paul rarely refers to Jesus as Messiah (Christo$\varepsilon$) but normally prefers to call him Lord (Kurios) in no way minimizes the significance of the doctrine of Jesus' Messianic fulfillment in Pauline Christology. In fact, the single issue which separated St. Paul from Saul the Pharisee and from Judaism was his revaluation of Jesus as the Messiah, the bringer of salvation and the fulfillment of history. As George Eldon Ladd points out, in St. Paul's teachings Jesus fulfills the traditional roles of the Jewish Messiah, and if the Apostle had written to Jews, the doctrine of Messianic fulfillment would probably have been more extensively developed: "His coming stands in the stream of the redemptive history of Israel, the covenants, the Law and the promises (Rom. 9:5). The Messiah's coming
fulfills the promises given the prophets (Rom. 1.2) and his mission was accomplished 'in accordance with the scriptures' (1 Cor. 15.3). He preserves the functions of the expected Jewish eschatological redeemer. He is yet to appear in glory to establish the Kingdom (2 Tim. 4.11; 2 Thess. 1.5); he will be the judge of men (1 Cor. 5.10) and will destroy the wicked with the breath of his mouth (2 Thess. 2.8)."

So, although St. Paul does not use the Jewish terminology with his predominantly Gentile audience, he assumes Jesus is the Messiah who ushers in the new eon by fulfilling the Old Testament prophecies. For St. Paul, what has occurred in Jesus the Christ became "the termination and fulfillment of the great series of divine redemptive acts in the history of Israel" and integrated that process with the fulfillment of all human history.5

A major specific point of contact between St. Paul's and Edward Taylor's Christology occurs in the typological doctrine of Christ as the New Adam.7 Some critics even suggest that St. Paul employs the phrase "Image of God" typologically, so that it "must be connected with what is said in Genesis 1 ff. of the first Adam."8 If that be so, the passages incorporating that phraseology supplement St. Paul's

5 Ladd, _TNT_, pp. 408, 409.

6 Ridderbos, p. 50.

7 Consult Chapter Two for the initial discussion of Old Adam in typology. Consult Chapter Four for a discussion of the elect's corporate inclusion in the New Adam.

8 Ridderbos, p. 73; note especially "Christ, who is the image of God" (2 Cor. 4.4); "Who, being in the form of God" (Phil. 2.6); "Who is the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1.15).
discussion of Christ as the Second or Last Adam in 1 Cor. 15 and in Rom. 5. Additionally, significant to an understanding of this Pauline typological pairing is the Christological title "Firstborn of every creature" (Col. 1:15) which alludes to Christ as Second Adam. "Firstborn" not only refers to St. Paul's belief in the resurrection of Christ, who has become the first person of the new eon; but it also denotes, according to Ridderbos, "order of rank, position of rulership, in which it is easy to discover a reminiscence of the position Adam occupied" before the Fall. Of major significance is St. Paul's comprehension that Christ as "firstborn of the dead" (Col. 1:18) inaugurates a new humanity by virtue of his resurrection. Men after the order of Adam perish; men after the order of Jesus will never perish, according to the Apostle. The real significance of Christ as the Last Adam is that, unlike the First Adam who was merely a "living soul" without the power to give life other than through sexual generation, Jesus as the Second Adam is "a quickening spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45) who, being "the Lord from heaven" (1 Cor. 15:45), gives spiritual life because he is the author of life.

IV. Edward Taylor: Typology as Christology

Any student of the writings of New England Congregationalists can attest to the significance of typology as an instrument to view both the Old and New Testaments through a single lens: Christ. For men

9 Ridderbos, p. 81.

10 In addition to the Adam-Christ typology, St. Paul does use other typoi. The Apostle uses "various terms to describe the
such as Edward Taylor the study of Old Testament types was not an esoteric and narrow discipline.\footnote{11} The divines insist that types revealed God's truth throughout Jewish history and that the nature of God's personality revealed in the person of Jesus was prefigured historically by types. The promises of the Messianic kingdom were for Edward Taylor only one support of the twofold revelation of God in Christ through the Old Testament; the other support was Christ's prefiguration in types. As Taylor proclaims, "Hence all the Truth in these Prophesies, Promises, and Types lodges in Christ. Christ's coming made them True. Their Truth lieth in him" (C, p. 270). Perhaps the key observation that Taylor makes is that the truth of the types resides in Christ: he "made them True" by demonstrating that they accurately prefigured his nature and work. Thomas Davis notes the two-fold relationship between prophecy and typology: "Prophecy implies future fulfillment; typology asserts that the consummation has

typological event: in Gal. 4:22-24, for example, he interprets the fact that Abraham had two wives as an allegoroumena of the two covenants; in 1 Cor. 10:11, he refers to certain events in Old Testament as skias or "shadows" of the reality that came in Christ." Thomas M. Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology" in Typology and Early American Literature, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1972), pp. 16, 17. All further references to this collection will be designated Typology EAL.

\footnote{11} Just how important typology was to Edward Taylor is indicated in his preparation of thirty-six sermons on types from the Old Testament. In the introductory sermon Taylor explains, "the Type hath no Efficacy, but as it stands a representation of Christ unto us: & so it presents by its own Excellency as a type the Efficacious Excellency of Christ: & so its said to Expiate sin, or to attonce God. But then the Efficaciousness lies not in the Type, but in Christs Excellency." Charles W. Mignon, "Christ the Glory of All Types: The Initial Sermon from Edward Taylor's 'Upon the Types of the Old Testament,'" The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 37 (1980), 295.
occurred. Hence, Protestant allegory based on typical identifications, limits the vehicle of allegory to the Old Testament and its tenor to the New."\(^{12}\) Like the two faces of Janus, prophecy and typology provided Puritan divines with manifold testimony to the nature of God's work in Christ.

That Edward Taylor should have such a high view of typology requires little explanation. Calvin's theology radiates a dependence upon typological interpretation of Scripture. In fact, Calvin points to St. Paul's distinction between the spirit and the letter (2 Cor. 3.6) as being the essential difference between the Testaments:

"According to Calvin, all of the Old Testament represents the 'letter' of the law; the New Testament presents the 'spirit' of the New Law. Paul's statement that the 'letter killeth but the spirit giveth life' refers, in Calvin's view, to the essential differences between the shadowed revelations of the Old Testament and the typological reality of the New."\(^{13}\) For Calvin, then, typology became a fundamental structure, a primary mode of viewing the unity of the Testaments.\(^{14}\)

Trained in this Calvinist theological framework, Edward Taylor developed an avid interest in typology which led him to "a very sophisticated knowledge of typological traditions" including such patristic


\(^{13}\) Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology" in *Typology EAL*, pp. 39, 40.

\(^{14}\) A look at the bibliography section of *Typology and Early American Literature* reveals the pervasive influence of the typological interpretation in both Calvinist and non-Calvinist traditions; pp. 249-557.
writers as Justin Martyr, St. Basil, Theodoret, Chrysostom, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory of Nyssa. This interest in typological interpretation influenced Taylor's writing in at least two major ways: it permitted him to effectively explain the unity of biblical revelation while distinguishing between the rule of Ceremonial Law and the reign of Christ; secondly, it baptized his imagination with metaphors for the nature and work of Christ.

First, then, typology pointed to the ending of the Ceremonial Law of the Old Testament. The ceremonial worship, according to Taylor, embodied all religion between the Fall and the coming of Christ: "The truth of the Promises of the Types, and Ceremonies of the Law, is of Such Concern that all Religion, Faith, and Obedience ever since the Fall of our first Parents lieth on it" (C, p. 280). Because of the central role of types in Ceremonial Worship, Taylor designates it "Typicall Worship" (C, p. 123). Taylor even insists that because of man's Fall, types were the only "suitable" method of worship until the coming of the reality-bringing theanthropos: "For the first Promise was made to Adam with which we may rationally Conclude did arise instituted Worship Suited to the nature of the Promise and the State of the Fall: and hence types were forth with instituted" (C, p. 284). In this way Edward Taylor argues that Christ was the object, though typically represented, of Old Testament ceremonial worship and that there is essential unity in God's progressive revelation: Taylor proves "That the Old Testament believer did as trulie believe in

15 Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology" in Typology EAL, p. 45n.
Christ, as the New doth" by asserting, "For in that the one was under Christ in the Promise, Prophesy and Type, and the other under Christ dispensed in the Substance, Spirit, and Power of the Gospell: they both Sit under the Exhibition of the Same Christ, of the Same Grace, and in the Exercise of the Same faith; onely there is a difference as to the manner of the Dispensing the Same" (C, p. 287). In his most elaborate testimony to the typological ceremonial organization outside "Upon the Types of the Old Testament," Edward Taylor affirms this unity to be the wisdom of Christ: "But if we Seriously Observe them delineating out Christ and Containing Christ in them in dark draughts, and resemblances, we may see Christ the Wisdom of them all; and Such a Sweet harmony will appeare between them, and Christ, that will Evince a wonderfull Wisdom running thro' them all, and resting in him, as the Sum, Marrow, Spirit, Life, Design, and Efficacy and thereof the Wisdom of the Morall Law (Rom. 10.4); and as to Design, and Truth, he is the Substance, Body, and the whole Wisdom of the Ceremoniall institution. Col. 2.10.17" (C, p. 123).

And yet, though there is unity between the Testaments, there is also linear development. The Ceremonial Worship ended with the coming of the antitype, Christ: "When the light is Come, the Shadows fly away. And seeing he is the truth of all types, which were erected onely to typify him when he is come their typicall relation to him ceaseth, and when the nature Ceaseth, and is destroyed the thing is dead, and not for use: and Such then are all Ceremonies, and hence not to be used" (C, p. 288). The full significance of this lapse of the ceremonial law is comprehensible only against the backdrop of
Taylor's doctrine of man's sinful condition. Attributing Hebrews to St. Paul, Taylor asserts that legal rites were merely types of the real sacrifice for man's sin: "Our Apostle in this Chapter [Hebrews 10] layes before us the insufficiency of Legall rites, and Sacrifices for the doing away of Sin in that they were Shadows, and no such as the Image, of the things they imported" (C, p. 6). Taylor's clearest statement of the relationship between promise and type and the cessation of Ceremonial Law occurs in an attack on the ceremonial worship of "Papists, and Prelates": "We may here say With Bernard [of Clairvaux], the Promises are the seed, the Types are the Blossoms and Christ is the ripe fruite, And hence Ceremonies go no further" (C, p. 290). According to Edward Taylor, then the ceremonial observance replete with types was instituted only to be abolished. Like the law which was to be a "schoolmaster" to bring sinful man to Christ, the "Typick" dispensation pointed not to itself, but beyond.

The second product of the typological interpretation of God's revelation was the impact of the typic images on Edward Taylor's imagination. Students of the New England colonization have come to regard as commonplace the conclusion that typological interpretation raised the "imagistic consciousness" of the early colonists. The

16 Taylor illustrates the ending of Ceremonial Law by pointing to St. Paul's insistence that the Judaizers could not enforce one aspect of the Law and still remain under Grace in Christ: "the Apostle plainly asserts touching the use of one of these types that if a man be Circumcised Christ shall profit him nothing: -- but he is a debtor to the Whole Law Gal. 5.2,3" (C, p. 288).

entire American experience became the "errand into the wilderness" and the New England colonists felt they had become the New Israel.¹⁸ In a culture whose identity was created upon the forge of typological historicism, it is not surprising that Edward Taylor, the greatest poet of his era, should exhibit this imagistic consciousness in a high degree. In the Preparatory Meditations many of the poems utilize typological images of Christ, and, as Louis Martz noted, the initial thirty meditations of the second series are based upon types.¹⁹ As Taylor announces at the beginning of the series, "The glory of all Types doth meet in thee. / Thy glory doth their glory quite excell" (2.1 19,20). One of the most obvious pairings of type and antitype occurs when Christ is typified by an Old Testament personage. Abraham (2.4), David (2.12), Isaac (2.5), Jacob (2.6), Jonah (2.50), Joseph (2.7), Joshua (2.10), Moses (2.9), and Samson (2.11) all adumbrate

¹⁸ See Samuel Danforth, "A Brief Recognition of New Englands Errand into the Wilderness" (1670) in The Wall and the Garden: Selected Massachusetts Election Sermons 1670-1775, ed. A. W. Plumstead (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1968); see also Miller, Errand.

Jesus through some facet of their lives.\textsuperscript{20} Many of Taylor's images are taken typologically from some event or some element of worship in the Jewish experience. Thus Christ is represented as "Horebs Rock" (2.60. 25), a "brazen Serpent" (2.61. 38), a "Turtle Dove" and "Paschall Lamb" (2.71. 6), the "Lilly Flower" (1.5. 1), the "Rose of Sharon" (1.4. 10; 2.40. 13), and, perhaps by combining the last two, "Grace's Chiefe Flower pot" (2.15. 8,9), "my Refuge City" (2.28. 21), the "Tree of Life" (2.31; 2.57), a "Myrrh tree" (2.12. 13). In a series of images taken from the Tabernacle and Temple, Christ is the "Laver to wash off my Sin" (2.20. 31), the "Altars for Atonement" (2.20. 32), the "Sweet Sweet Incense" (2.20. 33), the "Golden Table" and "Shewbread" (2.20. 34), as well as "holy Oyle" (2.20. 36).

Expanding the image of the Tabernacle as a type, Taylor exclaims:

\begin{quote}
Thou art my Tabernacle, Temple right,
   My Cleansing, Holiness, Atonement, Food,
   My Righteousness, My Guide of Temple Light
   Into the Holy Holies, (as is shewed)
   My Oracle, Arke, Mercy Seat: the place
   Of Cherubims amaze at such rich grace.
\vspace{.5cm}
2.20. 43-48.
\end{quote}

Taylor employs additionally an image based upon the older story of deliverance from the flood:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{20} Robert Reiter argues that, of the thirty meditations in the second series, numbers 1-14 and 30 deal with Jewish rituals, and number 29 deals with Noah's Ark; he determines also that numbers 8, 19, and 28 do not deal with types. Reiter, "Poetry and Doctrine" in \textit{Typology EAL}, p. 164.
\end{quote}
But thou, my Lord, dost Antitype this Arke,
And rods't upon these Waves that toss and barke.

Bituminated ore within, and out
With Dressing of the Holy Spirits pitch
Propitiatory Grace parg'd round about.

2.29. 17-22.

The sealing of the ark with the propitiatory grace signifies the adequacy of the salvation of the Elect from the sea of sin, wrath, and "Firy Vengeance." So just as the Apostle Paul found the full significance of Christ in the fulfillment of prophecy and in Christ's office as Messiah, Edward Taylor framed the full significance of Jesus upon the two pillars of prophecy and typology, the first looking forward to fulfillment in Jesus as the Christ and the second looking backward from Jesus to be discovered as true. Supplying numerous images for and parallels to Christ, the types constitute one of the major stimuli for Edward Taylor's metaphoric imagination.21

V. Jesus: Son of God, and Lord

Before moving to the work of Christ in the writings of St. Paul and Edward Taylor, it is important to examine two titles attributed to Jesus which contribute to an understanding of St. Paul's and, subsequently, of Edward Taylor's Christology. The Apostle to the Gentiles speaks of Jesus occasionally as the "Son of God," though not with the

21 In addition to the standard Old Testament types, Edward Taylor employs New Testament images and his own poetic images in such the same way he employs the types, so that he, in effect, participates in the divine act of typic creation. Christ is, based on the New Testament, the "Lamb of God" (1.19. 17), the "First Born of er'y Being" (2.2. 7),
frequency of a writer like St. John. The designation was not new to St. Paul; it had belonged to the early church and its roots reach back into both Hellenistic thought and Old Testament theology. The central expression of St. Paul's understanding of Jesus as the divine Son is Romans 1:3,4: "Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." For St. Paul, Jesus has been designated the son κατὰ σάρκα (according to the flesh) and ἐν δυνάμει (in power). Jesus descended from the lineage of David, says the Apostle, but the real significance of Jesus' Sonship rests in the resurrection which, because it demonstrated God's power, fulfilled all the claims that Jesus made about himself. And, as Fitzmeyer notes, most instances in which St. Paul uses the title "Son" are passages in which Jesus is described as submitting to the Father's salvific plan:

a "Well of Living Water" (2.47. 25), a "Well of Aqua-Vitae" (1.10. 10), and the "Bright Morning Star" (2.114. 1); additionally, Christ is "Heavens Sugar Cake" (1.8. 30), a "Ball of Glory" (1.16. 19), a "Golden Still" (1.7. 2), "Heavens Golden Spout" ("The Return," 1. 25), a "Magazeen of Love" ("The Return," 1. 19), a "Golden Stepping Stone to Paradise" ("The Return," 1. 27), a "Golden Ladder into Heaven" ("The Return," 1. 26), the "Pole Star" (2.114. 28), the "Sun, that Shines Out Saving Grace" (2. 68A. 24), and "Wisdoms Sparkling Treasury" (2.45. 13).

See Ladd, TNT, p. 417 ff.; Fitzmeyer, p. 31 ff.; Ridderbos, pp. 68, 69. St. Paul identifies Jesus as "the Son of God" in the following: Gal. 2.20; 3.26; 2 Cor. 1.19; Eph. 4.13. He also employs the title "his Son," i.e. the Father's, in the following passages: 1 Thess. 1.10; Gal. 1.16; 4.4, 6; 1 Cor. 1.9; Rom. 1.3 9, 5.10; 8.3, 29, 32 (own is added). In Col. 1.13 St. Paul designates Jesus "the Son of his love."

Consult Fitzmeyer, pp. 31, 32.
"Thus, in Pauline theology it is the term *par excellence* to express the divine love involved in the salvation of man." It is from these passages which describe Christ functionally (rather than with reference to status) that St. Paul's apparent subordinationism is derived. The Apostle is concerned with Christ's obedience to the Father's will and not with the subordinated "nature" of Christ. Consequently, because the Jesus of whom St. Paul writes was declared the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει* by the resurrection, the Apostle most often speaks of him, as he does in Rom. 1:3, as "Lord."

Significantly, then, the term *Κύριος* (Lord) "is the title *par excellence* for Jesus in the Pauline writings," and, subsequently, for all Christendom. Of course, the term had its origins in the Septuagint where it is used for the tetragrammaton (YHWH) or *αδεναι*, and its usage had probably become customary in the nascent Christian community, but St. Paul doubtless assisted its widespread and...
permanent usage. St. Paul's use of the absolute ἄνθρωπος for Jesus makes it clear that he had ascribed to Jesus some of the functions of God. In fact, St. Paul only rarely uses ἄνθρωπος to refer to Jesus before his death and resurrection (1 Cor. 7.10, 15; 9.1, 9; 11.23, and Gal. 1.19). The title is closely tied to Jesus' "resurrection, exaltation and parousia." Partially because Jesus was proclaimed ἄνθρωπος by St. Paul and the other apostles, he was identified as God and the early trinitarian formulations were strengthened. An essential requirement to become a member of the Christian fellowship was believing Christ's resurrection and confessing the Lordship of Jesus (Rom. 10.9). The full importance of the confession "Jesus is Lord" is brought to light by the contrasting confession of the official Roman religion, "Caesar is Lord," and by the teachings of early heretics. To combat the heretics, who were attempting to establish personal followings in most cases, St. Paul asserts, "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost" (2 Cor. 12.3b; see also 1 Cor. 1.2; 2 Tim. 2.22; cf. Acts 9.14, 21; 22.16). St. Paul is, in the confession of Lordship, attesting to the working of God's Spirit in the life of a faithful believer, a doctrine which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. By the power of his resurrection, Jesus had become the Lord of all


29 Whiteley, p. 106; Ladd TNT, pp. 418, 419.

30 Whiteley, p. 109.
humanity: "For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living" (Rom. 14.9). And when the Apostle applies Joel 2.32 to Jesus, "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. 10.13), it is understood that the confession of Lordship means man's salvation (Rom. 10.9) and that the resurrection is inextricably tied to the end of time, for it is as God that Jesus exercises his Lordship. This eschatological link between Jesus and God occurs expressly in St. Paul's references to the judgment: as George Eldon Ladd notes, "the Day of the Lord (1 Cor. 5.5; 1 Thess. 5.2; 2 Thess. 2.2) has become the Day of the Lord Jesus (2 Cor. 1.14), the Day of the Lord Christ (1 Cor. 1.8), or even the Day of Christ (Phil. 1.6, 10; 2.16)."

The designation κύριος was for St. Paul and the first-century Christian church the title of preeminence and authority. The Pauline hymn of Philippians 2 moves from Christ Jesus' kenosis (emptying) to the grand crescendo of his absolute preeminence as exalted Lord: God has "highly exalted him" (v. 9) so that "at the name of Jesus every know should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2.10, 11). The importance of this doctrine of Jesus' Lordship in St. Paul's thought is attested to by Oscar Cullmann: St. Paul's declaration in Philippians 2 "is the foundation of every New Testament passage which

31 TNT, p. 417; note also that "the judgment seat of God" (Rom. 14.10) is also the "judgment seat of Christ" (2 Cor. 5.10). The A. V. incorrectly translates "of Christ" for both."
actually identifies Jesus with God." And, at the very instant that St. Paul proclaims the Lordship of Jesus over all creation, the Apostle affirms Jesus' Sonship by naming God "the Father." In the Pauline synthesis the twin identities of Jesus as the Son of God and as Lord become fused in the cross and resurrection: as Jesus submitted to death as the Son of God, so he was exalted as the risen Lord.

Even a cursory reading of Edward Taylor's Christographia reveals the extent to which Taylor labors to distinguish Jesus as the Son of God. He does this primarily to defend the orthodox positions on the nature of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Early in these sermons Taylor asserts that, although all three members of the Godhead participated in preparing a human body for the Son, "it doth in more especiall manner of Operation fall upon the Father" (C, p. 10). And yet, turning to the hymn of Philippians 2, Taylor insists that Christ's participation was volitional: "He took upon him the form of a Servant" (C, p. 16). The kenotic descent of the Son did not violate the unity of the Godhead because, according to Taylor, "the Godhead of the Father and the Son is essentially, and inseparably the Same" (C, p. 70). Consequently, any honor due to Jesus is likewise due to the Father because of their "Godhead-essence" (C, p. 70). In demonstrating that Jesus was at once fully God and fully man, Taylor points to the fact that Jesus "is as frequently Styled the Son of man, as the Son of God" (C, p. 81). And, although he does not use the designation "Son" as many times in the Preparatory Meditations proportionately as

32 Cullmann, Christology, p. 218.
he does in the Christographia, Taylor affirms Jesus' dual Sonship by designing him as the "Son of Man" (2.28. 25; 2.91. 24) and the "Son of David" (2.113. 37) as well as the "Son of Righteousness" (2.135. 3). Thus, one may observe that the designation of Jesus as the Son is not Taylor's most often used title for Jesus. When Taylor employs it he is generally distinguishing the office of the incarnate second person of the Trinity from the other two persons.

In Taylor's other major work, The Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper, the concept of divine Sonship is all-important because the book focuses on the metaphor of the divine eschatological banquet. This feast is symbolized (and becomes more than symbol, moving beyond the temporal eucharist) by the Lord's Supper which, as a church ordinance, is simultaneously memorial to the death of Jesus and prophecy of the second coming of Jesus. The metaphor of the divine banquet which is taken from the parable of the Banquet of the Kingdom in Matthew 22 presents God the Father as a king honoring the marriage of his Son (Jesus) and the Son's bride (the church). The parable adverts to the Jewish-historical doctrine of the eschatological "Kingdom of God." Though the kingdom was in some senses realized because Jesus as the divine Son proclaimed "the Kingdom of God is at hand," yet the kingdom is also a future hope because God and Christ do not fully reign in the present. As C. H. Dodd explains, in this second sense the kingdom "is itself the eschaton, or 'ultimate,' with which eschatology is concerned."^33 What occurs as Edward Taylor explains

^33 C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961) p.23; see also John Bright, The Kingdom of God
the nature of the Lord's Supper (i.e. that it is not a "converting ordinance") in the Treatise is that one's understanding of the Preparatory Meditations is enhanced: Jesus as the Son is at once the one being honored at the banquet, and he is also the one who, because he offered himself on the cross, offers himself at the feast continually as the bread and wine, his body and blood. For Taylor Jesus as the Son is both bound in time in the celebration of the Supper which prophesies his return in glory, and Jesus is beyond time, because he is celebrated at the eschatological banquet of the kingdom.

But as in St. Paul's Christology, Taylor's Jesus of the eschatological banquet is not merely the Son of God: he is the resurrected Lord of heaven and earth. Edward Taylor's characteristic designation for Jesus in the Preparatory Meditations is "Lord." Used primarily as address, "Lord" becomes a testimony to Taylor's conviction of the resurrection, so that Jesus is proclaimed the living Lord: "I thank thee, Lord"; "thy Rising up o're bosat / My Soule with Hope" (2.30. 73; 2.30. 69, 70). In a passage which illustrates the distinction between the humanity of Jesus and his authority as risen Lord, Taylor explains "thou both Lord, and Son of David art" (2.113, 37). Although the given text of the meditation is Rev. 22.16 ("I am the Root and Offspring of David"), Taylor obviously has the dominical assertion


34 In the Preparatory Meditations "Lord" appears 672 times, "Christ" 127 times, and "Son" less than thirty-seven times, according to Gene Russell, A Concordance to the Poems of Edward Taylor (Washington, D. C.: Microcard Editions, 1973).
recorded in Matthew 23.42 ff. in mind: Jesus baffles the Pharisees by making claim to immortality through quoting Psalms 110.1 in which David, referring to the Messiah, says, "The Lord says to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool." For Edward Taylor, as for the Apostle to the Gentiles, "Lord" is the preferred designation for Jesus because the resurrection confirmed Jesus' claim to divinity. For both thinkers the address of "Lord" signified personal fealty to Jesus and a proper recognition of Jesus' authority. Just as St. Paul, blinded by the light on the Damascus road and faced for the first time with the reality of resurrection of Jesus, queried, "Who art thou Lord?" (Acts 9.5), Taylor, who knows Jesus is Lord, reverses the question as he searches for assurance that he is one of the elect: "Lord, Who am I?" (1.38.1).

VI. The Work of Christ: St. Paul and Metaphors of Atonement

St. Paul subordinates all else in his thought to the atoning work of Christ which was accomplished in love "which passeth knowledge" (Eph. 3.19). The "mystery" (Eph. 3.3) of Christ's dealing with man's sin and his restoring of a proper relationship between God and man centers upon Jesus' death, which the Apostle refers to as Christ's death, blood, cross, or crucifixion. Writing in the heat of argument, St. Paul never theorizes about the modus operandi of the atonement to counter "the Jewish-synagogical doctrine of redemption";

35 "death"—Rom. 5.6 ff.; 8.34; 14.9, 15; 1 Cor. 8.11; 15.3; 2 Cor. 5.15; Gal. 2.21; 1 Thess. 4.14; 5.10. "blood"—Rom. 3.25; 5.9; Eph. 1.7; 2.13; Col. 1.20. "cross"—1 Cor. 1.17 ff.; Gal. 5.11; 6.12, 14; Eph. 2.16; Phil. 2.8; Col. 1.20; 2.14. "crucifixion"—1 Cor. 1.23; 2.2; Gal. 3.1; 2 Cor. 13.4. Consult Ladd, TNT, p. 423.
with the Corinthians the Apostle explains the atonement in a way that combats incipient Greek gnosticism; in Thessalonika the Christians need answers about how Christ's atonement affects the future; at Colossae the burning question is how Christ relates to the "cosmic powers"; at Ephesus the Christians need to know the "place and significance of Christ as head of the church and head of the world."\textsuperscript{36} St. Paul adapted his response about the atoning work of Christ to each of these audiences; consequently, in his epistles the Apostle "offers us not theories but vivid metaphors."\textsuperscript{37} These metaphors range from the forensic metaphor of justification which became for Calvin, Luther, and the other Reformers the Biblical doctrine of atonement \textit{par excellence}, to metaphors from accounting (imputation, reckoning), business (purchase), the slave market (ransom, redemption), and the social/societal sphere (reconciliation). Like the various facets of a cut jewel, the various metaphors of the Pauline doctrine of the atonement reflect the "truth of the gospel" in divergent paths. Every facet reflects a pure image of the truth, but no single facet gives the whole truth. Inevitably, perhaps, each surface has dazzled some thinkers with a singular view that obscured the whole and theological distortion followed. Only the complex matrix of doctrines gives the irreducible Pauline perspective of the atonement.

\textsuperscript{36} The general suggestion and direct quotations are from Ridderbos, p. 160.

In Protestant theology the Pauline use of "justification" to explain the atonement has been at the fore. The term δικαιοςία is taken from the forensic arena and means that man, who is the slave of sin and under the eternal wrath of a just God, is declared righteous before God.38 As George Eldon Ladd explains, "forensic means that God is conceived as the ruler, lawgiver, and judge, and justification is the declaration of the judge that a man is righteous."39 This forensic righteousness before God is the "verdict of acquittal. To justify means to declare 'not guilty!'"40 In order to fully understand the doctrine of justification it is necessary to observe that this forensic righteousness is an expression of the quality of relationship41 and that God's declaration is bound inextricably with the Pauline conception of the "righteousness of God."

The conclusion of Chapter Two left man in a condition of sinful degradation and alienation, facing the wrath of a just and righteous God. How God can "declare righteous" sinful man who is definitely not righteous is the crux of the theological problem. St. Paul solves this dilemma by designating Christ's atoning work on the cross in its redemptive-historical or eschatological character. At the cross the


39 Ladd, TNT, p. 443.

40 Morris, p. 241.

41 Ladd, TNT, p. 440; Whiteley, p. 160.
"righteousness of God" has been revealed.\textsuperscript{42} In fact, St. Paul contrasts this "righteousness of God" with the "wrath of God": in the gospel "is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men" (Rom. 1.17, 18). Similarly, the Apostle connects the revelation of the "righteousness of God" with Old Testament prophecy: "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 3.21, 22). It is important to distinguish between the various meanings of the phrase "the righteousness of God" to find the meaning intended intended by St. Paul. It is not used by St. Paul to indicate a quality possessed by God. Herman Ridderbos asserts that in Pauline thought "righteousness" is "not a divine but a human quality and that the righteousness 'of God' further defines that quality as righteousness that can stand before God (cf. Rom. 2.13; 3.20), which is valid in his judgment, the righteousness that God attributes to man as opposed to his own righteousness (Rom. 10.3).\textsuperscript{43} This objective quality of the righteousness of God is made quite clear in Philippians 3.9: "And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by

\textsuperscript{42} Ridderbos, p. 161 ff.

\textsuperscript{43} Ridderbos, p. 163. In this way the genitive is treated as a genitive of source and not a mere genitive of relationship or a subjective or possessive genitive.
faith." Therefore man is declared righteous by God through a righteousness not his own, a righteousness that has God as its source and is imputed to him by God. Imputation is St. Paul's "way of saying that God accords believers that standing that they could never reach of themselves." Consequently, the forensic declaration of righteousness and the imputation of righteousness are clearly two designations used by St. Paul for the same occurrence.

Just as significant as the fact that the ground of justification in Pauline thought is the death of Jesus, the means by which that declaration of righteousness is appropriated to the individual is faith. So, although righteousness is a "gift" (Rom. 5:17) which is "of God" (Rom. 10:3; 2 Cor. 5:21), it is a gift which becomes efficacious only when the individual receives it by faith. This is why St. Paul declares that "righteousness" is "of faith" (Rom. 9:30; 10:6) and "of God by faith" (Phil. 3:9). The Apostle labors to make clear that man's reception of the gift of righteousness by faith does not become simply a new legalism wherein faith is viewed as the activity of man by which he merits this "declaration of righteousness." St. Paul accomplishes this by opposing absolutely the synagogical doctrine of justification. In the synagogical doctrine,

44 St. Paul speaks of "imputed" righteousness in Rom. 4:6, 8, 11; 4:22 ff.; Gal. 3:6. Ladd observes that, contrary to Calvin and many of the Reformers, the righteousness of God in Christ is never imputed to the believer, but "righteousness on the basis of faith" (Rom. 4:3); _TNT_, p. 450.

45 _Morris_, p. 246.

46 _Ladd, TNT_, p. 448.
God's judicial declaration of man's righteousness was always a future eschatological event. What St. Paul declares, however, is that God's forensic declaration of righteousness is "a present reality already realized in Christ." There can be no question of faith being a new law to earn righteousness because the "age to come," the future eschatological event, has broken into "this age" so that "God has pronounced the eschatological verdict of acquittal over the man of faith in the present, in advance of the final judgment." As a final observation on St. Paul's polemical doctrine of justification, one notes that all three persons of the Trinity are involved in man's justification: "those whom he called, the Father also justified" (Rom. 8.30); the Apostle also affirms to the Corinthian church that they are "justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 6.11). Justification, according to St. Paul, is God's declaration, through the activity of the Father, Son, and Spirit, that unrighteous man is declared righteous before the judgment seat.

A second facet of St. Paul's doctrine of the atonement is his doctrine of reconciliation (καταλλαγή from καταλλάσσω "to make

47 Riddderbos, p. 164.

48 Ladd, TNT, p. 446. Ladd continues that it is important to remember that man's acquittal is forensic and his "declaration of righteousness" does not mean "ethical perfection." This crucial point that the release from the legal condition of "guilty" before God is not the same as the ability to break the power of sin is made by Morris, p. 247. Bornkamm observes that St. Paul rarely speaks of "forgiveness of sins" because "justification does not relate to actual sins committed in the past but to release from sin as a power which makes men its slaves" (p. 151). St. Paul's solution to this difficulty, the doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, will be discussed in Chapter Four.
peace\textsuperscript{49}. As justification is a forensic-religious term that is bound to St. Paul's eschatological view of the atonement, "reconciliation" is borrowed from the social-societal sphere.\textsuperscript{50} Reconciliation is another metaphorical answer to the dilemma of man's sinfulness and God's holiness. St. Paul expresses that sinful men are God's "enemies" (Col. 1.19-22) and that sinful men are enemies of each other (Eph. 2.11-16). Alienation and estrangement are the beginning points for the Pauline metaphor of reconciliation: sin has alienated man from God so that fellowship is no longer possible. According to the metaphor, sinful men "were sometime alienated and enemies in [their] mind[s] by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present [them] holy and unblameable and unproveable in his sight" (Col. 2.21, 22). By the atoning death of Christ man can be presented "holy" and capable of fellowship with a holy God. As Karl Barth remarks, man's ethical sinfulness is not necessarily altered: "'Reconciliation' is the restitution, the resumption of a fellowship which once existed but was then threatened by dissolution. It is the maintaining, restoring and upholding of that fellowship in the face of an element which disturbs and disrupts and breaks it."\textsuperscript{51} The close connection to St. Paul's doctrine of the

\textsuperscript{49} 2 Cor. 5.18-20; Rom. 5.10, 11; Col. 1.20,21; Eph. 2.16.

\textsuperscript{50} Ridderbos, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{51} Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, tr. G. W. Bromiley, Vol. IV, I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 22. Leon Morris notes that when St. Paul uses the term "peace" "reconciliation is always implied." Morris, p. 251. (Rom. 5.1; 16.20; Phil. 4.7, 9; 1 Thess. 5.23).
imputation of righteousness is clear. In writing to the Corinthians, the Apostle maintains the negative form of the doctrine of the imputation of righteousness is clear. In writing to the Corinthians, the Apostle maintains the negative form of the doctrine: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them" (2 Cor. 5.19). Men are reconciled because their sins are not imputed, but God's righteousness is. The key point of the Pauline doctrine is that, like justification, reconciliation is "the work of God alone in the self-surrender of Christ." The result of God's action through Jesus at the cross is a cosmic reconciliation in which "all things whether on earth or in heaven" (Col. 1.20, 21; see 2 Cor. 5.19) are restored to right relationship, in effect overturning the Fall. According to St. Paul, man is now at peace with God (Rom. 5.1) and, additionally, at peace with his fellow men who have also been reconciled with God (Eph. 2.14-16). In St. Paul's metaphor of reconciliation man receives true AT-ONE-MENT with God through the cross.

A third facet of the Pauline doctrine of the atonement involves the metaphor of sacrifice borrowed from Judaism. Christ is the "fragrant offering and sacrifice to God" (Eph. 5.2) offered as the paschal lamb (1 Cor. 5.7) sacrificed "for sin" (Rom. 8.3). More often, St. Paul refers to the "blood" of Christ with a sacrificial

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52 Bornkamm, p. 141.

53 Although reconciliation is always spoken of as a past event linked to the cross, the fulfillment is spoken of as both realized and future. See Ladd, TNT, p. 452; Rom. 8.20.
import. This usage for the atoning death of Jesus is so common that the very mention of blood in the New Testament becomes identified with "life violently taken away, life offered in sacrifice." Although it is clear that St. Paul proclaimed a "vicarious" atonement, it is not certain if he viewed the sacrificial death of Christ as "substitutionary," Jesus instead of man, or "participatory," man dies with Jesus as he is incorporated "in Christ," or both. D. E. H. Whiteley sanely combines both views as merely "vicarious: if he had not died on the cross, we should have perished eternally."

In St. Paul's doctrine of a sacrificial atonement there has arisen a controversy over the Apostle's use of the particular term ἱλαστήριον (from the Septuagint meaning "mercy seat" and referring to the Ark of the Covenant) in Romans 3.25: "Whom God set forth ἱλαστήριον (to be a propitiation) through faith in his blood." Although the word is derived from ἐχίλασκομαι "which throughout Greek literature means to propitiate or appease a person who has been offended," St. Paul

54 See Rom. 3.251 5.9; Eph. 1.7; 2.3; Col. 1.20.

55 Ladd, TNT, p. 426. Interestingly, Fitzmeyer insists that "blood was not meant as a "price to be paid": "Rather the blood was shed either to purify and cleanse ritually objects dedicated to Yahweh's service (cf. Lv. 16.15-19) or else consecrate objects and persons to that service" (p. 46).

56 Christ died "for us" 1 Thess. 5.9; Rom. 5.8; Eph. 5.2; Gal. 3.13; "for us all"- Rom. 8.32.

57 Whiteley, p. 130.

58 Ladd, TNT, p. 429.
is not giving the portrait of an "angry" God who must be appeased.\textsuperscript{59}
Rather, it is the love of God and the love of Christ (Gal. 2.20) which afforded any possibility of man's atonement: "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Rom. 5.8; cf. Rom. 8.3; 8.32). A traditional interpretation asserts that in choosing the term τιλαστηρίον St. Paul assuredly refers to the Day of Atonement on which blood sprinkled upon the mercy seat or cover of the Ark of the Covenant expiated (remitted) the sins of the people. In this way, St. Paul seems to imply, Christ is the new "mercy seat." Jesus, "sprinkled with his own blood, is the real propitiatory, the Father's means of wiping out man's sins."\textsuperscript{60} Seen in this light the Pauline doctrine of a substitutionary sacrifice blends with the Old Testament concept of the nature of God; and yet it also aids one in understanding God's wrath as an essentially eschatological construct. Because God is pure, holy, and righteous, he will, on the "Day of Yahweh" execute his divine and just wrath (not anger) upon those who have consistently resisted his will. St. Paul proclaims there is a way out for the man who seeks God: Christ has been a willing sacrifice.

\textsuperscript{59} It is significant that the idea of the appeasement of a god's anger is a pagan Greek concept and is not even found in the Old Testament. Consult Ladd, p.424. For a brief sketch of the controversy surrounding the translation of τιλαστηρίον as "expiation" instead of "propitiation" to avoid connotations of appeasement, see Whiteley, p. 145 ff.

\textsuperscript{60} Fitzmeyer, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{61} ransom: λύτρωμα (Titus 2.14), ἀντίλυτρον (1 Tim. 2.6), ἐπολύτρωσις (Rom. 3.24). purchase: ἄγοράζω (1 Cor. 6.20; 7.23), ἐχαγοράζω (Gal.3.13; 4.5).
Closely related to the idea of sacrifice in Pauline thought is the metaphor of redemption through ransom or purchase. The idea of ransom in classical and Hellenistic Greek is the price that is given to redeem something "in pawn, of money paid to ransom prisoners of war, and of money paid to purchase the freedom of a slave." St. Paul posits that "the great God and Saviour Jesus Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity" (Titus 2.3, 4) so that man might be freed from the thralldom of sin. In the other instances where the Apostle speaks of "redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3.24) or of Christ as a "ransom for all" (1 Tim. 2.6) he does not specify to whom the price was paid, but it is clear that the price was Jesus himself, so his death was a "substitute-ransom." It is significant that in the letter to Timothy St. Paul refers to Jesus not only as the ransom but also as the mediator: "there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ who gave himself a ransom" (2.5, 6). It is as a bridge between holy God and sinful man that Jesus offered himself as a ransom to redeem man. Additionally, St. Paul employs images of purchase which are taken from the ordinary business marketplace rather than from the slave market as "ransom" was. George Eldon Ladd remarks on the nuance of meaning

Ladd, TNT, p. 433.

Ladd, TNT, p. 433. Note that St. Paul's use of "ransom" refers, in all probability, to Jesus' comment about himself: "For even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10.45).

The only other passages in the New Testament which refer to Jesus as a mediator are found in Hebrews, which Taylor assumed St. Paul authored: Heb. 8.6; 9.15; 12.24.
between ἀγοράζω (purchase) and the λύτρον word group: "the idea of purchase has a slightly different emphasis from the ransom words. The latter point more to the negative side—that from which men are redeemed: sin and death. The idea of purchase emphasizes a change in ownership. The believer now is the property of God by right of purchase." When St. Paul mentions that the believers "have been bought with a price" (1 Cor. 6.20) he does so to stress the enormous cost of the purchase and to reiterate that they are not their own possession, a doctrine which relates closely with the death to self.

Two final facets of the complex Pauline doctrine of the atonement blend because they involve the new creation in Christ: the "adoption" metaphor and the "participatory" doctrine of atonement. In the Galatian letter St. Paul declares that the redemption purchased by Christ leads to man's close relationship with God. This bond is so tightly reconstructed that it can be characterized by sonship: "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ" (4.4-7). St. Paul doubtless has taken the metaphor of sonship from the Old Testament in which God makes the covenant promise: "And I will receive you and will be a

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65 Ladd, TNT, p. 434.
66 Fitzmeyer, p. 39.
father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters" (2 Cor. 6.18 quoting 2 Sam. 7.14). Because the children of Israel had broken this covenant so often, the promise of sonship had assumed an eschatological character, and it is in this way that St. Paul employs it in Galations 4. As Hermann Ridderbos postulates, "Sonship is therefore a gift of the great time of redemption that has dawned with Christ." It also becomes clear that St. Paul associates sonship with the operation of the Holy Spirit in those who are incorporated "in Christ." Such a doctrine is found in the passage in Galatians quoted above, and it is also central to the other cardinal passage on adoption: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ" (Rom. 8.14-17). Through the metaphor of adoption St. Paul claims that the believer becomes "one" with Jesus and is restored to relationship with the Father. In the first-century culture it was a great thing to be adopted because adoption indicated that a man had considerable love for a child, and that he was willing to bear the responsibility of caring for him. St. Paul declares that God has this kind of love for sinful man. According to the Apostle to the Gentiles, the believer becomes part of the divine family of God because God willingly adopts him as son and heir.

67 Ridderbos, p. 198.
One receives adoption, St. Paul elaborates, by being a joint participant in the ignominy of Christ on the cross. The conclusion of Romans 8.17 affirms this: "if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together." This participatory view of the atonement in Pauline thought reaches its highest expression in Romans 6 where St. Paul attempts to explain that the Christian should not desire to sin because he has "died" to himself: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life" (6.3, 4). The believer, according to St. Paul, participates in the atoning death of Christ by incorporation "into Christ" through the death to self in baptism. Participatory language is also used in the Apostle's declaration of solidarity "in Christ" as opposed to solidarity "in Adam" (the sinful man under the curse of damnation; 1 Cor. 15.22). Similarly, St. Paul argues that the believer should not live for himself because every believer has died "in Christ" (solidarity): "one died for all, then were all dead: And that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again" (2 Cor. 5.14, 15). Through the corporate inclusion of "his own" in Christ and their participation in his atoning death, St. Paul argues, they receive a new life which is

68 Note the substitutionary "for them" of v. 15.
declared righteous because it is controlled by Jesus, who, verified by his resurrection, became a "lifegiving spirit." 69

As all of the Pauline metaphors for the atonement are fused together, certain principles shine forth as primary. Man in sin is alienated from God, sold as a slave to sin. God through the work of Christ on the cross places man in relationship with himself, demonstrating his mercy and grace while at the same time meeting the severe requirements of his perfect holiness and justice. This simultaneous triumph of God's justice and mercy is best demonstrated in St. Paul's epistle to the Roman Christians: God declares his objective righteousness to be man's so that God "might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus" (Rom. 3.26). God's justice required that man achieve a righteousness which no mere man can achieve; God's mercy declares man forensically righteous so that God becomes the justifier. Having been placed in relationship with God, the believer is transported, as it were, into the eschatological "present," God's new creation in Christ.

VII. Edward Taylor and the Work of Christ

If the Pauline doctrine of atonement be a multi-metaphored gem, Edward Taylor's doctrine of atonement is that gem sent spinning at dazzling speed. Metaphors which seem to occupy more or less discrete categories in Pauline thought are whirled together in Taylor's writing so that when one metaphor is used to explain the work of Christ there

69 See Whiteley, p. 134; Fitzmeyer, pp. 40, 41; Ridderbos, p. 125.
are often two or three others to accompany it. Of four major works which Taylor ascribes to Christ, it is the "works of Redemption" which occupies the greatest part of the Christographia, the Preparatory Meditations, and Gods Determinations. The starting point for discussing God's redemptive action in Jesus is for Taylor, as it was for St. Paul, man's utter depravation in sin. The New England divine works outward from the Curse of the Law in a fashion that is perhaps more sustained than the Apostle, but once the concept of man's guilt before God's Law assumes center stage, Taylor applies all of the Pauline metaphors for the atonement. Taylor observes man's need because of the Curse in both the spiritual- eternal realm and the physical realm: "Man is dead and buried in the Grave of Divine indignation on [sin's] account Eph. 5.14, and Naturall Life is butcherd by it" (C, p. 190). Edward Taylor here adroitly reverses the language describing spiritual death which St. Paul applies to the death of the old self ("Old Adam") in baptism (Rom. 6.1 ff.). Regarding the necessity for atonement through Christ, Taylor insists that there is "none other way of escaping a death, and Damnation, but Christ" (C, p. 257), so that there is "no coming to God but by him" (C, p. 71) because he is the sinner's "only Mediator" (C, p. 71; cf. 1 Tim. 2.5). And as the mediator between God and man, he "must deliver unto man, the whole will of God" (C, p. 58) which means that the full revelation of

70 The other major works ascribed to Christ are the "creation of the world," the "works of Providence," and the "Resurrection" (C, pp. 220, 221).

71 Taylor probably alludes to St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20.27).
God's redemptive plan has been made clear in Jesus. Just as with Taylor's doctrine of the advancement of human nature, Taylor's preaching about the work of Christ does not smell of fire and brimstone (although it can do that) as much as the fragrance of sweet sacrifice, "rich in the language of hope and assurance." As Norman Grabo points out in his introduction to the Christographia, Taylor's entire theology and his life work as a minister to be "an efficient cause of God's grace" depended upon his fellow man's acceptance of Jesus as mediator: "therefore, Taylor directs his energies, as both preacher and teacher, to unfolding this crucial conception—the nature of Christ as redeemer."

Before examining Taylor's doctrine of the atonement it is important to observe what will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Four: as a Calvinist Edward Taylor believed that the atoning work of Christ was efficacious only to the elect, who had been predestined by God for salvation. This fact is not always obvious because Taylor does preach and speak with such hope and assurance, as if, contrary to Calvin, everyone who heard him might be redeemed. This proclamation of grace was always a paradox in Calvinist preaching, for the preacher who can tell his hearers to "Strive for a Saving interest in Christ Jesus" (C, p. 167), to "Endeavor for a Saving Relation to, and Propriety in Christ Jesus" (C, p. 72), and to "labour for an implantation into him" (C, p. 195) also holds to the creed that "Neither are


73 Christographia, p. xix.
any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.\textsuperscript{74} Thus, when Taylor proclaims the "Gospell," he (and all Calvinists who hold to double predestination) does so to awaken the auditors' sense of when Taylor proclaims the "Gospell," he (and all Calvinists who hold to double predestination) does so to awaken the auditors' sense of election. So when Taylor uses terms such as "the Unjust" (C, p. 344), the "offender," (C, p. 56), and "Offending man" (C, p. 221), he may be referring to either the elect or the damned. If his hearers are of the damned (and know it!), Taylor consoles them by stating that the only activity of God through Christ in their behalf is that Christ postpones their dissolution, and he supports his doctrine by citing the Apostle Paul: "By Mans Sin life fell down to utter ruin. As it was falling Christ caught it, and saved it, and so it fell out of the First Adam's into the Second Adam's hand. Otherwise it had been dasht all to pieces by the Fall forthwith. Hence tho' he is properly the Saviour of the Believer, yet hee hath for their sakes, so far interposed between the desert and the present Execution that he grants them and other things living to live that he Saves them alive for a Season. So he is the Saviour of All, tho' especially of the Believer I. Tim. 4.10" (C, p. 186). Taylor's "Gospell, .... the Doctrine of Salvation" (C, p. 295) is good news for the elect only, and it is good news to them solely because "their lives run uniform with this Doctrine, that is the rule thereto" (C, p. 295). The elect, according to

Taylor, "cannot miss of Salvation" (C, p. 295). That very security is problematical, and for that reason it is the individual Calvinists' obsession to search for assurances of election.

Election has significance, though, only through the salvific work of Christ. For Edward Taylor that means that Jesus' death on the cross had made satisfaction to the righteous requirements of the law, as St. Paul claims in the epistle to the Galations: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us" (3:13). Taylor strains to declare, like St. Paul, the essential goodness of the law, claiming that "God ever designed to magnify his Law and make it honourable Isai. 42.21, Ps. 148.2" (C, p. 17). That is why, Taylor claims, the Law had to be fulfilled: "So that the Obedience intended in the morall Law was reserved to be performed by Christ, and hence the Law being broken by all mankinde, and it exacting obedience, and Satisfaction at their hands, which they never can give, they might be thereby constrained to make their recourse unto Christ to obtain true obedience unto the law performed by him for them" (C, pp. 270, 271). Jesus was able to atone vicariously for his elect because he had exhibited a "most glorious Conformity to the Rules of God" (C, p. 165) and was thereby worthy to "remoove the Curse" (C, p. 181). Taylor insists that Christ's dual hypostatic nature was absolutely necessary to meet the requirements of the Law and restore all things "that are lost in Adam" (C, p. 127): "Hence the two natures must be both united in the Person of the Redeemer, that so the impossibility of being under the Law, of the God head might be Supplied by the proper nature of the Manhood, and that the impossibility of Satisfying, and
meriting, that is in the Manhood might be Supplied by the infinite Worthiness of the Godhead: (C, pp. 98, 99). Because only Jesus had this hypostatic union it is only he who "brings, and tenders satisfaction on the account of the transgressions against the Law" (C, p. 352). Man, because he is "Delinquent," cannot remove the Curse which brings "the Stroake of Gods wrath" (C, p. 352).

By beginning with the Law and its resultant Curse, Taylor clearly advocates the Pauline formulation of the doctrine of justification, although the New England minister almost always mixes other metaphors with the forensic. Recalling the exact phraseology of St. Paul in Romans 3.22, Taylor explains righteousness by imputation: "Imputed righteousness, i.e., the righteousness of Christ's active and passive obedience made ours by God's imputation, and our own... called the righteousness of God by faith" (TCLS, p. 29). Taylor, like St. Paul, understands the relationship that results from the imputation of righteousness to be justification: "In justification we are to consider the soul to be put into a righteous state as to the justice of God's law" (TCLS, p. 210). In meditation 1.19 he explains how that justification occurs in an expanded forensic metaphor:

See, how he from the Courthouse shining went, 
In Flashing Folds of Burnisht Glory, and 
Dasht out all Curses from the Covenant
Meth Justices Acquittance in his hand 
Pluckt out Deaths Sting, the Serpents Head did mall 
The Bars and Gates of Hell he brake down all.
1. 19. 25-30.

75 See also C, pp. 18, 21.
In two other meditations Taylor connects Christ's action in court not with acquittal but with payment in metaphors that combine justification, substitutionary atonement, and redemption:

What love, my Lord, dost thou lay out on thine
When to the Court of Justice cald they're judg'd.
Thou with thy Blood and Life dost pay their fine
Thy Life, for theirs, thy Blood for theirs must budge.
Their Sin, Guilt, Curse upon thyselfe dost laye:
Thy Grace, Thy Justice, Life on them Convay.
2. 34. 43-48.

I sin'd. Christ, bailes. Grace takes him Surety,
Translates my Sin upon his sinless Shine.
He's guilty thus, and Justice thus doth eye.
And sues the band, and brings on him the fine.
2. 17. 19-22.

The concept of paying a fine moves easily to metaphors of redemption through purchase or ransom and to metaphors of sacrificial offering.

Though Taylor most frequently refers to the "satisfaction" of the Law through Christ's death (C, p. 98), he also indicates that Christ's sinless life more than merely satisfied the Law; it redeemed: "His Life in its exercise as in him was Meretorious: it was not onely Obedience to the Law, Nor onely Satisfactory: but also Meretorious, being the price of the Purchase of our Redemption" (C, pp. 184, 185).

The new covenant of Grace in Christ becomes for Taylor the "Covenant of Redemption" (C, p. 348). The ransom/purchase metaphors are sometimes employed by Taylor singly, so that Jesus was "paying the price of our redemption" (C, p. 179) or in combination with forensic metaphors in which Christ was the payment of security: "The Law [caught] Christ as he was their Surety and had put himselfe in their place; as he had undertooke to pay their debts, so the Law Sued him, and ceized
upon him in the Humane Nature that he had assumed into his person
Isa. 53.6, 10, Rom. 8.3, 2 Cor. 5. ult" (C, p. 88). In two other
related combinations of Pauline metaphors, Christ makes payment. In
meditation 1. 14 (15) Christ volunteers, "I'le pay the fine that thou
seest meet to set / Upon their Heads: I'le dy to cleare their debts"
(11. 7, 18). Four meditations later Taylor also combines forensic,
redemptive, and accounting metaphors: "He's Cancelling the Bond, and
making Pay: / And Ballancing Accounts: its Reckoning day" (1. 19, 23,
24).76 Similarly, Taylor proclaims that the unjust person's "Pardon
is procured, his Favour with God is obtain'd: his guilt is removed in
Gods account and his Eternall Glory is purchased" (C, p. 344). But,
as was observed in the writings of St. Paul, Christ's death not only
redeems man from sin, the Curse, and death, it also purchases things
lost in Adam's Fall: "Holiness and the Image of God is purchased for
them. Tit. 2.14, Heb. 10.10. Christ offering himself for us Redeems
to Holiness, and Purity, and Eternall Glory is a Purchased Possession
Eph. 1.14" (C, p. 19). In sum, Taylor views Jesus as the Redeemer
who, through his death on the cross, has purchased "a New Way of
access to God" (C, p. 119).

For Edward Taylor, as for the Apostle Paul, the purchase price
was no less than the sacrifice of Jesus. This concept of Christ as an
"Expiatory Sacrifice for Sin" (C, p. 7) falls under the category of
the "Propheticall Office" in Taylor's triune categorization of Christ

76 Taylor is here probably referring to the accounting termin-
ology of Romans 4 which is closely connected with imputation: note
the Apostle's contrast between v. 8 ("not impute sin") and v. 9
("faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness").
as Prophet, Priest, and King. In Taylor's discussion Christ is both the one who offers the sacrifice (the priest) and the offering (himself): "Christ as to his Priesthood riseth up as the Pillar of Frankincense in a perfuming vapour, that Quencheth the fiery beams of Gods Wrath, and doth Sweetly perfume and delight the minde of God pacifying him and purchasing all things for his people" (C, p. 367). The concept presented is clearly "propitiatory" because of the term "pacifying." In another instance Taylor says that "Christ's name / Propitiation is for sins" (1.40, 50) and then mentions the "burning flame" (1.51) of God's wrath. In the Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper Taylor notes, using St. Paul's words, "He is the propitiation for our sins. He is the ilasmos, the sacrifice that brings God's mercy and kindness to us" (p. 209). It is perhaps most significant, not that Taylor mentions propitiating God's wrath, but that he so rarely does. It is the excellence of Christ, not the wrath of God, with which Edward Taylor hopes to move his hearers.

Perhaps it is because Taylor was so often concerned with the Lord's Supper that one element of the sacrificial metaphor of atonement predominates Taylor's thought: the blood of Jesus. He calls it "Covenantall Blood," (2.70; 2.78; 2.102), "Theandrick Blood," (2.111), and the "pure red blood of Zion's Grape" (2.104). It may seem strange that the blood of Christ becomes a "Springtime Flood" which fills the Pit, "Sins Filthy Dungeon State" and allows the

77 Taylor here follows Calvin, I; p. 425 ff.
"Prisoners" to come "Padling in their Canoees apace with joyes / Along this blood red Sea" in 2.78, but Taylor attempts to focus the efficaciousness of Christ's atonement in his sacrificial blood. In the most sustained passage on "blood" in Taylor's writings (TCLS, p. 203 ff.), the New England minister, beginning with Jesus' declaration "this cup is the New Testament in My blood," explores every Pauline metaphor of the atonement in relation to the blood of Jesus. With regard to "internal properties," Taylor declares it is "the most noble blood in all the earth" (TCLS, p. 205), "the blood of God himself" (p. 206), "heart-affecting blood," "altogether innocent blood," "righteous blood," "holy blood," "precious blood" (p. 207), and "efficacious blood." With regard to "external properties," it is "covenantal blood," "meditorial blood" which "comes between thee and God to prevent God's wrath from running upon thee" (p. 208), "redeeming blood," and "meretorious blood." With regard to special properties unto God, Christ's blood is "reconciling blood," "satisfying blood" (p. 209), "propitiating blood, or the blood of atonement," "interceding blood," and "advocating blood." With regard to man, it is "victorious blood" (p. 210), "soul-converting blood," "justifying blood," "sanctifying blood" (p. 211), "sin-mortifying blood," "soul-beautifying blood," "soul-settling, pacifying, and comforting blood," "soul-fattening and feeding blood, and therefore strengthening blood," and "glorifying blood." The point of such elaboration by Taylor lies in his hope that he might arouse his auditors first, to think of the

78 All quotations about "blood" are from TCLS and page numbers will be indicated only with the initial quotation on a particular page.
sacrifice of Christ, and, second, to think of the effect of the blood (mystically, operating in the Lord's Supper) in their lives as God's elect, creating a sense of awe and obligation to God.

In addition to Taylor's sacrificial view of the atonement, he also speaks in Pauline terms of Christ's mediatorial role in effecting a reconciliation between God and man. Taylor often mixes metaphors so that he can say that Christ's "Work is to make Reconciliation for the sins of all the Elect" (C, p. 219), where "satisfaction" or "sacrifice" would be logically correct. And at times Taylor seems to conflate "reconciliation" with making sacrifice: "the workes of a Mediator, is to reconcile the Offended, to the Offender. God is Offended, his Law transgresst. The Reconciliation then must be Satisfaction to the Law for the wrong done it" (C, p. 56). The way Jesus reconciles, as has been noted, is by bearing "the Curse" (C, p. 56). So, although the central content of Taylor's interpretation of the reconciling activity of Christ is the restoration of relationship between God and his elect, Taylor most often explains the accomplishment of the reconciliation as a saving from the Curse or wrath of God. Hence, "a Reconciling of the Almighty God to offending man" becomes "paying a price to the Infinite justice of God" (C, p. 221; ransom/redemption plus forensic metaphors) or "the Securing of the best of them from the Wrath of their Maker" (C, p. 280) which, with God's sanctifying power, means "the restoring of them again into a state of Fitness for Eternall Glory" (C, p. 280). Of Christ's authority to accomplish these things there is no question; in one meditation he
says, "With God it maketh Reconciliation / By offering, and Holy
Intercession" (2.52. 17, 18).

In the Christographia Taylor, using the Pauline determination of
sinful men as enemies of God, explains the great difficulty of the
task "to bring the Elect back again to God" (C, p. 399): "These [men
in their sinful, alienated state] are enemies to God in a State of
Sin, under the powers and Dominion of Hell, Satan, and Sin. They must
be Conquer'd, Subdued, their Enmity Slain, the Power of Darkness
destroy'd, and they revived by a Spirituall, and Divine Virtue" (C, p.
221). The great miracle of reconciliation is that, by God's grace,
men who have received forensic justification can be sanctified, made
new, so that they become more like the God to whom they are reconc-
ciled: "And yet again the Persons are to be recovered out of a
Spirituall dead state, and brought into a State of Spirituall Life,
and so new made; made new Creatures and furnisht with all Saving Grace
and so fitted for glory" (C, p. 221). That new life, for St. Paul as
well as for Edward Taylor, occurs only "in Christ," the term which
designates incorporation into the mystical church of Christ. 79

79 Taylor mentions two other Pauline metaphors of the atonement:
"Adoption of Children" (C, p. 113) and "Implantation into Christ" (C,
pp. 187, 197, 262). Both of these are metaphors of incorporation.
St. Paul employs the grafting image in his discussion of Gentile
incorporation into the redemptive community of the church in Romans
11, but he does not apply it to individuals as Taylor appears to do.
CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ADAM AND THE NEW COVENANT

That ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead

And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

—Letter to the Ephesians

We have said that the symbols by which the Church is discerned are the preaching of the Word and the observance of the sacraments....

—Institutes of the Christian Religion
John Calvin

This Kingdom is wholly Spirituall: and it is universall, Set up in the hearts of Every individuall person from the beginning to the end of the World, that shall be Saved: and it consist[s] in the Uniting the Soule to the King, whereby the Soul is matriculated, Implanted into Christ, and Swears alligiance to Him.

—Christographia

From the black despair of man caught in a web of selfishness and sin to the ecstatic wonder and joy of the atoning work of Christ, the Pauline paradigm shifts toward the practical arena. What does man do now that he has been justified? If a man has participated in the death of the old self in baptism, how is it that his new self resembles Christ? The answers to these and many other practical questions touched upon in the last chapter are explained by Paul through the
doctrine of covenants. The New Covenant begets a new order of existence in the "age to come" which has become present reality in the church of Christ. The Pauline metaphor of the church as the Body of Christ, the fulfillment of the New Covenant in Christ, integrates all believers into an organic unit which has as its mission the proclamation of the good news of redemption through Christ so that, ultimately, God may be glorified.

For Edward Taylor the doctrine of the new creation in Christ leads to a tension between the believer's confidence in God to accomplish his divine purposes through the church and the fear of not knowing assuredly of one's incorporation in that body. Although St. Paul argued that one could never be wrested from the secure hands of Christ, he also knew that a person could deny the faith and suffer damnation. Interpreting St. Paul through Calvin, Edward Taylor experiences a far greater tension about the disparity between the invisible church (those known by God to be justified) and the visible church (those who claim church membership) than did the Apostle. The Pauline assurance gives way to Taylor's self-doubt and the Calvinist penchant for soul-searching to discover evidence of election. Whereas for St. Paul the term "hope" is an assurance not yet totally fulfilled, for the New England minister "hope" is an apprehensive wishing for assurances of election. This apprehensive hopfulness informs nearly all of Taylor's Preparatory Meditations.

1 I Tim. 1.19, 20; I Cor. 9.27.
I. The New Creation "In Christ"

As has been observed, Christ as the New Adam has ushered in a new eon in human history. According to St. Paul, that new eon participates in a covenant which has replaced the Old Law. This new covenant secured through his blood (1 Cor. 11.25) reaches past the law to the covenant promise made to Abraham (Gal. 3.16, 17). This new covenant is characteristically expressed by Paul as the inclusion of the Christian "in Christ," or into the corporate body of believers. The inclusion "in Christ" involves a radical new creation: "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold the new has come" (2 Cor. 5.17). This newness involves an identification with the New Adam, the rebirth and sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, and the gradual renewal of the Christian's character. This restoration of wholeness involves nothing less than becoming like God himself; St. Paul can say, "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" (2 Cor. 3.18). The transformation of the believer begins in "this age," but it occurs to the believer who has begun a new life in the "age to come," and it is to reach fulfillment in a spiritual life with God in eternity.

Incorporation "into Christ," synonymous with incorporation in the church and with salvation, occurs, according to St. Paul, by faith at the point at which the believer dies to himself. St. Paul argues, "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ

2 The AV reading "All things are become new," based upon the Textus Receptus is an inferior reading. See Ladd TNT p. 479 n. 1.
were baptised into his death? Therefore we are buried by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6.3-4).

He reiterates the importance of the death of the old self again in 6.6: "our old man is crucified with him that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." This doctrine of the death and rebirth of the believer consequently precedes St. Paul's ethical exhortations. In his letter to the Colossians, the Apostle reminds the hearers that they have died to themselves before he commands them to "put to death" whatever belongs to their sinful nature. He reminds them that they have been "Buried with him [Christ] in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the operation of God, who raised him from the dead" (2.15). Later, he repeats the doctrine: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." (3.1-3). Being "hid with Christ" is St. Paul's designation for the objective and the mystical incorporation that occurs at baptism. As Herman Ridderbos observes, "Baptism as the incorporation into Christ is for them, therefore, the demonstrable line of demarcation between the old and the new, and faith in the gospel means a new self-judgment, that of being dead to sin and alive to God." The objective death and burial

3 Ridderbos, p. 214.
in baptism stands as the sacramental point of transformation from the old life to the new eon.

Lest it be thought St. Paul and the early church made baptism a new legalistic mechanism to achieve a New Covenant contract to merit salvation, the Apostle is clear to point out that baptism and inclusion into the body of Christ occur as natural developments of the faith of the believer. St. Paul insists that after the believers have been buried with Christ in baptism, "Ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God" (Col. 2.12). In Pauline thought, one "should never, of course, say 'baptism' without thinking 'faith.'" The appropriation of God's justification, as observed in Chapter Three, involved the believer's reception of the atoning work of Christ through faith; in a similar way the new life in Christ begun at baptism is a life of faith. Even in St. Paul's "mystical" pronouncements about the new Christian life, the Apostle insists that the operative condition is faith. In Gal. 2.20 after asserting that he no longer lives, but it is Christ who lives in him, St. Paul adds, "the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." His prayer for the Ephesian Christians illustrates that faith is in some way the mode for Christ's indwelling; he asserts, "Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" (Eph. 3.17).

In Pauline theology this close linking between what appears to be an act of man (having faith) with the act of God (giving faith) is not

4 Whiteley, p. 170.
always distinguished. In some instances, such as in Eph. 2:8, 9, faith is credited wholly to the work of God: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God; Not of works, lest any man should boast." Perhaps the greatest declaration of the Pauline doctrine of faith is that found in Romans 1:16, 17 where the Apostle quotes Hab. 2:4: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth ... for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, The just shall live by faith."5 Quite clearly the Christian incorporation into the new humanity is an incorporation by faith into a life sustained by faith. Because the Christian is a citizen of the new eon while living in the old, his victory in Christ is partially completed, partially anticipated. St. Paul affirms this tension when he tells the Corinthians, "we walk by faith, not by sight" (2 Cor. 5:7).6

II. Taylor and the Church

Just as Edward Taylor expresses wonder, joy, and amazement at the preparation of a physical body for Christ, so he is enthralled by the idea of the Church as the present Body of Christ. He often explores the Pauline metaphor of the believers as the "body" of Christ. One of

5 Or, according to Anders Nygren, "He who is righteous by faith shall live." Nygren, pp. 60-72.

6 The problem of faith as God's gift and as man's effort is further complicated by St. Paul's listing it as, on the one hand, a "gift of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22) and, on the other, one of the things for Timothy to pursue (1 Tim. 6:11).
Taylor's most enlightening comments about the church occurs as the New England minister quotes the Apostle Paul (Eph. 1.23) in the Christographia. Notice the luxuriant, "mystical" language of Taylor's Preparatory Meditations applied to the Church:

The Holy Apostle Paule, personating the Body of the Elect of God, under the Sweete enravishments given his Heaven born Soule, in Such influences, as were poured out upon it, from the Electing, Redeeming, and Regenerating Grace of God in Christ, soars up into Heaven with holy Praise, and adoration on this account, which when he had done he having heard how the Same Grace, had gloriously broken forth upon the poore Gentiles at Ephesus, Greatly affected therewith breaks forth into a transcendent Strain of Tryumphant Praise to God, on this account, accompanied with ardent Prayers, that God would give them the Spirit of Wisdom, and Revelation; in the Knowledge of him: that they may know what is the Hope of his Calling: and what the riches of the glory of his Inheritance in the Saints: and what is the exceeding greatness of his power towards Such as believe, according to the Working of his mighty Power: which he wrought in Christ: when he raised him from the dead: and Set him at his own Right hand in Heaven etc. and gave him to be head over all things to the Church. Which Church now is described in our text. Which is his Body, the Fulness of him that filleth all in all. O! what wonder is here?" (C, p. 299).

This passage brings up several of Taylor's interests. Election and the regeneration process that occurs "in Christ" constitute two of his foundation doctrines about the Church. The "fulness of him who filleth all in all" is Taylor's allusion to the presence of Christ in the Church. Of this, Taylor affirms, "there is in Christ, and in his Church a mutuall Inbeing" (C. p. 305, cf. p. 300) by which Christ dwells in the body of the elect. The church, composed of the elect saints, is the kingdom of God evidenced in the hearts of individuals who corporately compose this "mystical body: of Christ" (p. 328).
Taylor offers as a security to his hearers the doctrine that the church cannot be incomplete since it is the work of God in Christ, and God cannot make something either imperfect or incomplete. If this be so, then "every Child of God shall in a Sort make to the Compleating of Christ" (C, p. 317). This generates, according to the New England minister, confidence in the elect, who need never fear falling from God's grace, an essential point of Calvinism: "Here we have the perseverance of Saints confirmed: and the great Security of Gods Children from falling away, undeniably evinced. For in that the Church is Christ's Fulness, Christ should want of his fulness if any Single member should perish" (C. p. 319). As Norman Grabo observes, this confidence that one will not miss his salvation if he is of God's elect is "perhaps the primary source of Taylor's optimism in the Calvinist scheme."7 For Taylor the mystical body of Christ is the full statement in its spiritual nature of the work of Christ among men.8

As the head of the Body, Christ is designated by Taylor as the second Adam and bringer of the new covenant of Grace. Taylor links the covenant doctrine with the typological identification: God "hath made another Adam to be advanced to be head of his Church: in whom there is a greater Fulness of grace than ever, there was in the first

7 Grabo, "Introduction" in Christographia, p. xxvii.

8 Taylor clearly distinguishes between the "mystical body" and the "visible saints," those who profess Christ by outward standards but who are reprobate and are destined for damnation: "This Church doth not Consist of any painted, Flowrisht up, or Hypocritical professours of Christianity. Such are rotten members of the visible
nant" (C, pp. 254, 55). Christ inaugurates the Covenant of Grace which becomes virtually synonymous with the Church. Taylor appears much less interested in the Pauline doctrine of the participatory death and resurrection of the believer than he is in the believer's recounting of his spiritual experience, the believer's "spiritual relation," which signifies God's grace on his behalf, a hopeful, though not foolproof sign of one's election. In this way Taylor's Calvinism leads him to a far more subjective evaluation of one's status before God than does St. Paul's theology. Part of the problem appears to be that many theologians, including Calvin, came to accept the Pauline Damascus road experience as normative for conversion, rather than the combination objective/subjective conversion experience described in the Pauline epistles. Coolidge explains that Calvinist Federal or Covenant theology replaced the individual's Pauline participatory death/resurrection/new-life conversion experience with corporate covenant salvation defined by the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace. The Pauline conversion experience was replaced with the individual's search for evidence that he was a member of the covenant of people: body: but never had any union unto the Head at all" (C, p. 300). The full significance of the metaphor of Christ as the head of the body becomes apparent in the doctrine of covenants.

9 It is interesting to note that Taylor, although he believes only those in the church will receive grace, does not demand that the believer be a member of a particular church polity ("Nor is this Church any one Particular Society Ecclesiasticall: tho' a Church of true believers. For every particular Church of Saints, is but a part of this Body and therefore not the whole" C, p. 301), nor does he insist that the believer be a member of the visible church ("a greate deale of the Matter of this Body may be no member of any Particular Church, as Such as Die Converted by not joyned to any" C, p. 301).
"By substituting the assurance of salvation (i.e. looking for signs of inherent grace) for salvation itself as the object of the quest, and the conditions of the Covenant for Christ as the effective means of mediation between God and man, the Federal Theology tends to undo Paul's transformation of Deuteronomy." \(^{10}\) It seems that Taylor's great interest in the person of Christ keeps him from the extreme position of the Federal theologians, but the idea of Covenant is important to him: The Covenant of Grace becomes the vehicle whereby the believer is united to Christ: "For he [the Believer] being implanted into Christ doth derive life from Christ upon a New Covenant right to it and interest in it, by means of the Union that he stands in unto Christ. Hence saith the Apostle 1 Cor. 6.17. He that is joyned to the Lord is one Spirit first joyned to the Lord, and then by this juncture is Conveyed the Spirit of the Lord into the Soule (C, p. 187). Thus for Taylor the impersonal doctrine of covenants gives way to the mystical union of the believer with God.

This mystical union with Christ corresponds most closely with the subjective experience of the Pauline term "in Christ" and the Pauline doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. \(^{11}\) "The Mysticall Union

\(^{10}\) Coolidge, p. 137; Coolidge refers to Rom. 10.5-11, a passage on righteousness by faith.

\(^{11}\) Although Taylor does mention "baptismal dedication" (C. p. 263), he does not view baptism as the point at which grace is imparted or the point at which the believer dies to the old self, as in Pauline thought. As Donald Hall observes, "the very nature of the Puritan movement, rooted as it was in a repudiation of the sacerdotal system, made uncertain the importance of baptism" (Donald Hall, Shepherd, p. 63). For the New England Congregationalists baptism was generally a "promise of salvation; it [grace] is actually received only after spiritual regeneration" (Ursula Brumm, "The 'Tree of Life' in Edward
is to Communicate the Personall Excellency into the heart, and Life of ever Member that the functions thereof may be mannaged with a Godlike glory upon them, and so then to act thus will be to the Glory of God, the Glory of the Personall Union, the Glory of Christ's Person; the Glory of the Mystical Union, to the Glory of Grace, to the glory of Profession, to the Glory of each Member of the Body, and to the glorious Consolation of the Soul and its eternall Salvation" (C, p. 105). This mystical union with Christ becomes for Taylor the central experience of existence, for he uses the doctrine of the mystical union to prove the resurrection of the believer, quoting the words of Jesus: "The body of a Saint abides united to Christ in the Grave, and by this argument Christ proves the Resurrection out of Moses, Mar. 12.26. 27, saying I am the God of Abraham, etc. so that Abraham, Isaak, and Jakob being in a Mystical Union with God (i.e. United in the Covenant of Grace) tho' their bodies were in the grave, their Union unto God was not dissolved" (C, p. 89).

Additionally, Edward Taylor, through this theology of the Covenant of Grace, asserts that the New Covenant in Christ brought with it new church ordinances and a new church polity, as opposed to Ceremonial Worship and Jewish Temple organization: "God Exerts New-Covenant Taylor's Meditations," Early American Literature, 3(1968), p. 76).

This is born out by Hall: "Most of the preachers moved away from Calvin on the subject of the sacraments. He had taught that Christ appeared in the Lord's Supper and the conversion occurred in the act of baptism. But Perkins separated faith from the sacrament of baptism, arguing that the ceremony was merely 'a prop and stay for faith to lean upon.' Perkins and the brotherhood put greater emphasis upon the adult (or self-conscious) experience of effectual calling" (Hall, Shepherd, pp. 62-63). So in this case Calvin appears closer to St. Paul than does Taylor and his contemporaries.
Ordinances, and all Divine Worship to be Celebrated therein unto God in Such a way as were adapted as a means of Grace to atone for Sin, to ingenerate Grace in the Elect, and to bring them to God in Divine Light into the Understanding; and in Divine Grace Inlivening the will Spiritually, and of a Divine Life introducing a Godlike life, and Conversation" (C, p. 119). This engendering of grace in the believer appears to involve the initial call to saving grace as well as the Pauline doctrine of sanctification. So the coming of the New Covenant dispensation of God's grace is aided by and may have been thought synonymous with a new kingdom polity which replaced ceremonialism.¹²

But just as surely as it is the Covenant of Grace which unites the believer with Christ, so Taylor insists that Faith likewise is the central force of the new mystical union with Christ: "Our Fellowship (κοινωνία Communion) is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, and Faith being the unifying bond that unites Christ and the believer together, it is the instrument by which Life is derived into the Soule from Christ. Hence the Apostle, the Life that I now live, I live by the Faith of the Son of God. Gal. 2.20, and faith is laid out for this work. Hab. 2.4. Rom. 1.17. The just shall live by his Faith" (C, p. 188). Although Taylor clearly states the Pauline doctrine of faith, he apparently does so without the full complement of meanings of the Pauline doctrines: faith is the act of man, the gift of God, and an "obedience to God" (Rom. 1.5). Because the conversion

¹² Even though God appears to be the sole actor in the drama of the salvation of his elect, Taylor advises his hearers to "be in pursue after a Saving interest in Christ" (C, p. 294).
experience for Taylor required the subjective spiritual regeneration first, the believer was forced to search himself inwardly for faith in a way foreign to the first-century church. The introspective nature of New England theology derives in large part from this emphasis. McGiffert emphasizes this inwardness which characterized Taylor and others: "By shifting the requirement of salvation from doing penance to being penitent, these spiritual mentors drove back the problem of assurance from outer appearance to inner reality, from public act to private attitude, and so made the search for assurance a radically inward undertaking, challenging each devotee to sound the bottomless deeps of his own heart." 13

Taylor also believed, however, that the Spirit operated ordinarily through the Word to convert the elect: "Everyone that hath an ear to hear hath a right to hear the Word, it being of a general nature, and dispensed to man in his fallen state by God Himself, and that not for Adam's sake only, but for all his posterity, seeing common bounty is unto all through Christ, for the elect sake, and that the means, for converting efficacy of free grace is administered ordinarily through the Word, which is preached general, and hath in its nature the ear for its proper object, the nature of the ear lays claim to the articulate sound upon the account of common bounty. And seeing free grace useth articulate sound, as its instrument to convey converting efficacy into the soul" (TCLS, p. 84). Similarly Taylor believed that

the Christian should not expect "extraordinary revelation" of his calling or of his own spiritual condition: "We are in the way of ordinary dispensations, and therefore are not to expect extraordinary communications; the wedden garment [i.e. inherent, saving grace] is attained unto by ordinary means, and therefore ordinary means are sufficient to discover the attainment thereof. An ordinary call makes it your duty to approach to the wedden: hence no extraordinary discovery of your preparation for it is to be expected" (TCLS, p. 157).

Taylor clearly understood, nevertheless, that the faith of which St. Paul talked was not merely an intellectual experience: it had to result in a transformed intellect and will. The divines designate that process regeneration and sanctification. But before the transformed life in the New Adam is examined, the thorny difficulty of predestination and foreknowledge in the theologies of St. Paul and Edward Taylor must be discussed.

III. Predestination in Pauline Thought

Nearly every student of Pauline theology recognizes that the Apostle believes in predestination, but defining exactly what kind of predestination he advocates is a far more difficult problem. Perhaps the first and most important observation about St. Paul's teaching on election and predestination is that the subjects always arise when the Apostle is talking about something else. Consequently, the doctrine is not fully developed, as C. K. Barrett observes: "We are not

14 See Scheick, p. 67.
dealing here with a rigidly thought out and expressed determinist philosophy, but with a profound religious conviction." The sovereignty of God or God's love for man is generally the subject of Paul's thought when he writes of election. Consequently, the Pauline doctrine grows out of St. Paul's discussion of God, not man. The two key passages on predestination follow:

For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.

Rom. 8.29, 30.

According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love: having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will.

In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.

Eph. 1.4, 5, 11.

The second passage treats the adoption of the entire Christian community as "sons," and most commentators feel that the Apostle's comments apply to the corporate unity of the Church, which becomes the main theme of Esphesians. Even so, St. Paul will later in that epistle stress the individual's place in fulfilling the needs of the Body (4.11ff), the logical conclusion of which is that the predestination

of the Body would of necessity involve the predestination of individuals. But the Apostle does not press for the logical conclusion and, as will be seen, it is a mistake to assume that he did. The first passage does indicate St. Paul's belief in God's election for the saving of man. The Apostle seems to believe that God set aside certain men for salvation, and those he foreknew, he predestinated "to be conformed to the image of his Son."

Does the Apostle to the Gentiles though, believe in "double predestination," salvation for the elect and damnation for the reprobate? A. M. Hunter vehemently denies that he does: "The short answer is No. Reprobation is 'the shadow side' of the doctrine of election. But into that shadow side Paul does not peer. Not a word does he say about men being predestined by God to eternal damnation. It is true that to say that some people are eternally elected to salvation implies, in logic, that others are eternally rejected. In logic, Yes; but here Paul is splendidly illogical."^16 And if one follows St. Paul's arguments closely it is clear that the opposite of election is "not predestination to perdition; it is unbelief - a self-incurred thing."^17 This can be clearly seen at the conclusion of Romans 9 where Paul ends his discussion of God's rejecting the Jews and the election of Gentiles by asserting that the Gentiles were righteous because they sought to please God by faith, and not by works.18

^16 Hunter, pp. 74, 75.

^17 Hunter, p. 75.

^18 The passage which most disturbs students of Pauline theology is his discussion of the Jews (Rom. 9-11). In Romans 9 St. Paul
Belief (or faith) and election complement one another. At that critical juncture where the sovereignty of God and the freedom of man meet, St. Paul affirms both.

One of the mediating elements in the Apostle's doctrine of sovereignty of God and the free will of man is the "call" of God. According to St. Paul, man has been called to salvation (1 Thess. 5:9) from the beginning (2 Thess. 2:13). He has been called to holiness (1 Thess. 4:7), to peace (1 Cor. 7:15), grace (Gal. 1:6), to fellowship with Christ (1 Cor. 1:9) and to share the kingdom and glory of the Son (1 Thess. 2:12). That call occurs "in Christ" (Rom. 1:6) and comes through the proclamation of the gospel: "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth: whereunto he called you by our gospel" (2 Thess. 13b-14a). Again, God's choice, the Spirit's sanctifying activity, and man's belief in Christ fuse in a Pauline affirmation of God's and man's active response to the proclamation of the gospel. Modern theologians are much more aware of the fragile nature of this than were the Reformation thinkers. Karl Barth insists that the Reformers quotes Malachi 1:2, 3 ("Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated") to argue that the Jews' rejection of Jesus was so that "the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth" (Rom. 9:11). Those who interpret this passage as pointing to damnation for those not chosen should remember that St. Paul does not speak of damnation, but only rejection, for later these "vessels of wrath fitted for destruction" (9:22) will all be saved (11:26). God's electing purpose works out his will so that man might be saved and not condemned, says St. Paul.

19 C. K. Barrett distinguishes between "God action" (calling) and human action, which he identifies as conversion (See 1 Cor. 7:18; Gal. 1:6; Col. 3:15; 1 Thess. 4:7). Barrett, p. 170.
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missed the Pauline emphasis on the activity of God in their formula-
tion of double predestination from St. Paul's writings: "When the
Reformers applied the doctrine of election and rejection (Predestina-
tion) to the psychological unity of this or that individual, and when
they referred quantitatively to the 'elect' and the 'damned' they
were, as we can see now, speaking mythologically. Paul did not think
either quantitatively or psychologically, nor could he have done so,
since his emphasis is set altogether upon God's concern with the
individual, and not upon the individual's concern with God. . . . The
Individual is not more than the stage upon which election and rejec-
tion take place in the freedom of men."²⁰ Herman Ridderbos concurs
that the mystery of God's foreknowledge and foreordination in Pauline
thought have often been taken from the context or pushed to rigid
logical conclusions which the Apostle avoids: the double predestina-
rrians "place Paul's pronouncements concerning the church as foreknown
by God and elect in Christ under another point of view than that of
Paul himself and thus abstract and extrapolate them from the context
of the Pauline doctrine of salvation, an extrapolation that easily
leads to conclusion Paul himself does not draw and which are entirely

²⁰ Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns
in conflict with the tenor of his preaching." St. Paul does believe in predestination, but he believes in predestination for grace only, not predestination to damnation.

IV. Edward Taylor and Predestination

In 1555 Calvin wrote the Bernese Council: "I know well enough that we ought to be humble and modest in the treatment of this profound mystery ["Double Predestination"]... [my] only object is to subdue the pride of the human spirit, and to teach it to reverence, in all fear and humility, the majesty of God." It was with this spirit that Calvin pushed the Pauline doctrines toward a logical conclusion that even St. Paul would not accept. And, even though Edward Taylor believed in the "darker side" of double predestination, he was, in the true Pauline Spirit, much more interested in the salvation of the elect, as God's Determinations testifies. So although Taylor, trying to emphasize the majesty of God, can state, "He Knows the Elect, and Reprobate: he knows their Seasons, he knows their Remedies, and Ruines: he knows the Degrees of Influence for their Seasons" (C, pp. 120, 121), he more frequently discourses on God's favor towards man. In the Christographia he acknowledges: "But I chiefly aim at those Providences as execute the Decree of bringing the Elect to a State of Salvation in the Dispensations of the means of Grace. For at the Same time in the Same Seate or House by the Same individuall Word or Sentence in a Sermon one is not observant at all, another hears it,

21 Ridderbos, p. 351.
22 Quoted in McNeil, p. 211.
and may be never heeds it more, another is inlightened, another con-
victed, another is inraged, another is humbled, another is reformed, another regenerated, another is Edified and brought up higher in Grace by it: and everyone hath So much from it as exactly answers the Decree of God touching everyone there" (C, p. 20). Taylor admits, along with St. Paul (2 Cor. 2.16), that the gospel is the savor of life to some and to others the savor of death. But the purport of both the passages from the Christographia and the Second Letter to the Corinthians is positive. The key element in both is that God leads the believers in "triumphal procession": God's adopted sons are the victors over Satan and death.\(^{23}\)

In regarding how a man experiences this spiritual regeneration, Taylor is clear that God is the possessor of the divine initiative: "The Principal of the Souls returning to God is the passive principle of Grace wrought upon the Will by the free grace of God."\(^{24}\) And yet, as has been observed, Taylor does not hesitate to preach a modified form of repentence in which the person seeking salvation attempts to align his moral-ethical life with God's rules for conduct, the Bible: "And if you have not that Saving grace as yet, yet if you endeavour to have your Lives run forth into gracious exercise, you are in the ready way to have grace and glory too. O then Strive after a life of Grace" (C, p. 263). Norman Pettit has explained this tension evident in

\(^{23}\) "His Election is made in Christ. His predestination unto the Adoption of Children, and the Counsill of his won Will are all in Christ Eph. 1.4.5.6.11" (C, p. 113).

\(^{24}\) Church Record, p. 45, quoted by Scheick, p. 70.
Taylor's theology as the result of an attempt to interpret two diverse areas of the Life of St. Paul: "When [Puritan divines] turned to Paul's relation of his own conversion, or to the Reformed interpretation of Pauline theology, they saw that grace came, to be sure, as a sudden seizure. But when they turned to Paul's preaching, to the teaching of Jesus in the gospels, or to the Old Testament itself, they discovered that faith could come in other ways; that it might be 'weak' at first, and that it was possible to be prepared for its coming." So Taylor's doctrine of predestination modified slightly the utter helplessness of man seeking God in effect, if not in doctrine. In fact, the Westminster Confession explicitly denies that man is able to prepare himself to receive saving grace: "Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto." God may, however, prepare the believer through divine initiative. Pettit points to this same fundamental tension in Pauline thought which led the Taylor and other New England Congregationalists to trouble their "dialectic over the immovable rock of the free will-fixed fate dilemma": "Paul tells the Romans, 'it is not of him that willeth... but of God that showeth mercy' (Rom. 9.16). Yet Paul

25 Pettit, p. 7.
26 Schaff, p. 623.
presents the Philippians with the paradox, 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure' (Phil. 2.12, 13)." 28 According to the Apostle, man acts, but man acts as God acts in and through him. John Cotton echoes the dilemma by insisting that God first gives himself to man: "For the order of Nature in giving the Covenant: not Obedience first, not faith first, nor any thing else first, but himself in Donum primum & primarium, and in him, all his goodnesse." 29 Taylor argues similarly in negative form that man is not lost except by his own action, but man at his best has a "Righteousness [that] is merely negative. Though none be damned but such as sin imbrace: / Yet none are save'd without Inherent Grace" (GD, p. 393).

The obvious consequences of Edward Taylor's acceptance of St. Paul's doctrine of the divine initiative ("God works both to will and to do") as axiomatic with double predestination is that he is extremely concerned to find assurance that he is one of God's elect. What had been for St. Paul firm ground of conviction ("for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day," 1Tim. 1.12) becomes for Edward Taylor a question (Lord and I thine? art thou, Lord, mine?" 1.35, 7; "Am I espoused to thee?" 2.115, 1) or a demand that God administer saving grace to him ("do thou/Sill, Plate, Ridge, Rib, and

28 Pettit, p. 3.

Rafter me with Grace" 1.30, 28; "Take me, my Lord, into thy golden Ark" 2.29, 43). At one point Taylor ponders the doctrine of election:

All, Lord, or None at all! this makes mee dread.
All is so Good, and None at all so bad.
All puts faith to't: but none at all strikes dead.
I'lle hope for all, lest none at all makes sad.
Hold up this hope.

2.42, 31-35.

McGiffert portrays this soul-searching agony that each man must undergo so he can find assurance of election: "If anxiety was normal, it was also mandatory. Those who were not assiduously anxious—the spiritually torpid, for instance, or Antinomians who claimed to have convincing, if private, notice of God's favor—were almost certainly bound for Hell. It followed that the sound believer could measure his assurance by his anxiety; the less assured he felt, the more assurance he actually had. This is the central paradox of Puritan piety."30 In the Preparatory Meditations his lack of total confidence is the greatest qualitative difference between Edward Taylor and the Apostle to the Gentiles. Out of the depths of sin and confronting the atoning work of Christ St. Paul proclaims, "Therefore, since then that we have such hope, we use great boldness" (2 Cor. 3.12). Taylor, hoping for election and fearing to presume it, can only stammer, "Am I a bit, Lord, of thy Body?"31 (2.15, 43).

30 McGiffert, p. 20.
31 The implied answer, it must be noted, is "Yes."
V. St. Paul and the New Man: Regeneration, Sanctification, and the Holy Spirit

In St. Paul's theology the historical event of the cross confronts man with the decision to become Jesus' disciple so he may appropriate the electing grace of God. But for St. Paul that death to self in baptism is merely the beginning, for the new believer rises to walk "in newness of life" (Rom. 6.4). That new life of the believer consists not only in baptismal regeneration but also in daily renewal through the power of God's Spirit: "According to his mercy he saved us, but the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus 3.5). The "new man" in Christ through his sacramental incorporation by baptism must experience the daily process of "putting on of the Lord Jesus" (cf. Co. 3.10; Rom. 13.14). The newly generated life of the inward man is "renewed day by day" (2 Cor. 4.16) in the lost image of God (Co. 3.10; Eph. 4.24). In this way, according to St. Paul, man in Christ participates in the process of renewal which will ultimately lead to his transformation by degrees of glory, into the very image of Christ himself (2 Cor. 3.18). Eventually, that transformation will lead to the eschatological conforming to the resurrection body of Christ, what the Apostle designates "his glorious body" (1 Cor. 15.43 ff; Phil. 3.21).

Renewal and regeneration occur primarily in the heart and intellect of the believer, according to St. Paul. As Herman Ridderbos observes, the Pauline doctrine of the regeneration of the heart is multifarious: "Christ 'dwells' in the hearts of his own through faith (Eph. 3.17); God 'sends' the Spirit of his Son into their hearts (Gal. 4.6) as the earnest and seal of their complete redemption (2 Cor.
1.22). He 'pours' his love into their hearts through the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5; cf. Tit. 3:5); he 'writes' his will in their hearts by the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:3); he 'illuminates' their hearts with the knowledge of Christ (2 Cor. 4:6); he enlightens 'the eyes of their heart' through the Spirit of wisdom and of revelation (Eph. 1:18). The peace that has been accomplished by Christ 'speaks the last word' in their hearts as an arbitrator again and again (Col. 3:15; cf. 1 Thes. 3:13), 'guards' their hearts against wandering and temptation (Phil. 4:7), and directs their hearts in the right path in order that they may show love and be patient (2 Thess. 3:5)."^32 Similarly, St. Paul's concept of the renewal of the intellect or understanding (νόημα) is inseparable from his doctrine concerning the heart. As a result of the continual renewal of the mind, the regenerated believer can discern the "good, acceptable, and perfect, will of God" (Rom. 12:2). As one of the saved, the Apostle claims to have "the mind of Christ" (νοῦς χριστιανός; 1 Cor. 2:16). This regeneration of the intellect is "not so much a matter of thinking in an intellectual sense, but of the new moral and religious consciousness, of the new insight into who God is and what his will is according to his revelation in Christ."^33

Closely associated with regeneration in Pauline thought is the Apostle's doctrine of the believer's sanctification. One mistaken conception of the Pauline doctrines of justification and sanctification is that "justification" applies merely to the onset of the

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^32 Ridderbos, p. 327.

^33 Ridderbos, p. 228.
Christian life, whereas "sanctification" delineates the ongoing process of life-change through the work of the Spirit. As Ladd notes, the term ἁγιός (sanctified) is soteriological before it is moral.34 The root meaning of ἁγιός is "devoted to the gods, sacred, holy, pure."35 St. Paul, borrowing from the Old Testament, asserts that the man who is newly created in Christ and who has died to himself is set apart or consecrated to God (Rom. 12.1). Ethical purity results from the fact that ἁγιός one has totally dedicated himself to the things of God, but holiness is a description of a state of disposition toward God. In fact the most common meaning of ἁγιός in Pauline thought is the designation of Christians as saints, or people dedicated for service to God. Ultimately sanctification has an eschatological goal: "It is God's purpose that the church should be finally presented to him in splendor, 'without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish' (Eph. 5.27; see Col. 1.22; 1 Thess. 3.13; 5.23)."36 Believers have been called not "unto uncleanness, but unto holiness" (1 Thess. 4.7) and should "now yield [their] members servants to righteousness unto holiness" (Rom. 6.19) as they cleanse themselves "from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 7.1). Sanctification involves the operation of the Spirit (2 Thess. 2.13) and the will of the believer. Just as "justification" is a term from the courtroom to

34 Ladd, TNT, p. 319.
35 Liddell and Scott.
36 Ladd, TNT, p. 520.
explain the believer's right relationship to God, so St. Paul employs "sanctification" from the Hebrew-Hellenist religious vocabulary to explain the believer's total dedication to God.

The mode of regeneration and sanctification within the New Man in Christ is the Holy Spirit of God operating in his life. The Spirit plays an extremely important role in Pauline theology. In fact, for St. Paul possessing the Spirit is equivalent to being a Christian: "now if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is not of his" (Rom. 8.9b); "for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God" (Rom. 8.14). St. Paul makes it clear that the "gift of the Holy Ghost" (Acts 2.38) which St. Peter promised in the first sermon at Pentecost is the possession of every believer in Christ: "For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body ... and have been all made to drink into one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12.13). D. E. H. Whiteley indicates that "the teaching that the Spirit has been given to all Christians as such can be regarded as the fundamental teaching upon which all St. Paul's other utterances concerning the spirit are based."37 The close connections between Jesus as risen Lord and the Spirit are consumated in 2 Cor. 2.17: "the Lord is that Spirit." George Eldon Ladd pinpoints St. Paul's typological statement of 1 Cor. 15.45, "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit," as the locus of the Pauline concept that Christ as resurrected Lord brings "the age to come," the higher, spiritual level of existence into "the present age": "For Paul, the

37 Whiteley, p. 125.
last Adam is Christ in his resurrected glory who has entered into a transformed realm of existence."  

Of the operation of the Spirit, St. Paul asserts, God has poured out his Spirit (Rom. 5.5; 2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; Gal. 3.5; 1 Thess. 4.8); consequently, believers have received the Spirit (Rom. 8.15; 1 Cor. 2.12; 12.13b; 2 Cor. 11.4; Gal. 3.2) who dwells in them (Rom. 8.9, 11; 1 Cor. 3.16; 6.19; 2 Tim. 1.14). The Spirit "of Christ" (Rom. 8.9) or "of his Son" (Gal. 4.6) witnesses to them (Rom. 6.18), helps them in weakness (Rom. 8.26), and guides them (8.14). Indeed the new covenant which was "not in tables of stone; but "in fleshy tables of the heart" by "the Spirit of the living God" (2 Cor. 3.3) is the covenant of freedom from "the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8.2). Similarly, St. Paul contrasts life "in the Spirit" with life according to the flesh (Gal. 6.8; Rom. 8.4 ff) which had been associated with "Life in Adam." This is made particularly clear in Galatians 5.22 ff. where the "works of the flesh" are contrasted with the "fruits of Spirit" ("love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance") which are the natural outpouring of the Spirit operating in the life of the believer. In sum, in Pauline thought the Spirit operates in the lives of the believers to transform them into mature, spiritual members of the body of Christ through gifts which equip the church for service to the glory of God (Eph. 4; Rom. 12; 1 Cor. 12 and 14).

38 Ladd, TNT, p. 489; As to whether St. Paul saw the Father, Son, and Spirit in the "precise" Trinitarian orthodox formulation, D. E. H. Whiteley insists, "although God, Christ, and the Spirit were in the
VI. Edward Taylor and the New Man:
Regeneration, Sanctification and the Holy Spirit

The believer's acceptance into the covenant of grace, or his spiritual regeneration is one of Edward Taylor's central themes. The New England minister believed, like St. Paul, that God in Christ provided the power for the generation of his own: "Spiritual Life; this is begun in time, and flows from Christ in its Essence and in its Increase. All is from him. Hence is that call. Eph. 5:14: Awake thou that Sleepest. Stand up from the dead, and Christ Shall give thee light" (C, p. 181). Taylor is also quite clear in distinguishing the difference between man's obedience before and after the establishment of the Covenant of Grace in Christ. Following the argument of St. Paul in Ephesians 2 that the believer has been created to do good works as a response to God's grace (rather than doing good works to expect payment from God in a new Christian legalism), Taylor explains the work of regeneration in the elect: "Hence Christ in his Compact with his Father in the Covenant of Redemption, having the Security of the Whole lying in his hand, came and assumed our nature to glory his law in, and fulfill it Isai. 42.21, and having done this gives out a renewal of his holy Image on man again in the Work of Regeneration, afresh upon his Soule in Evangelicallo Colours according to the eternall purpose of God Rom. 8.29. He gives him a new Stock of grace to improve in Obedience to the Holy law of God Eph. 4.22. 23. 24. Col.

forefront of St. Paul's mind he was not aware, like St. John, of a problem of the Trinity, p. 129.

39 See Brumm, "Tree of Life," pp. 78-79 on regeneration, especially for Taylor's use of the Pauline image of the olive tree.
3.8. Eph. 2.10, but changeth the Nature of the Obedience from Legall, to Evangellicall, because the Qualifications fitting and inabling thereunto, are wholly New-Covenant Gifts: and the Condition, Nature and Use of the Same wholly Evangelical" (C, pp. 314, 315). Several things are of significance here. According to Taylor, regeneration occurs only in the elect "according to the eternal purpose of God." And, whereas man on his own was not able to meet the requirements of the law because of his own depravity, the elect are given grace to "improve in obedience"; Taylor recognizes that perfect obedience is an end which is progressively achieved; in the Church Record Taylor proclaims, "The Reall Change of State is a progressive renewal of the Qualities of man in the likeness of God." 40 Similarly, Taylor employs the analogy of the seed which grows progressively: "The being of Grace is from him as a Spirituall Seed in the Soule, and the increase and growth of Grace to full Stature is from him" (C, p. 182). This may perhaps be an oblique reference to St. Paul's statement about God's role in developing Christians: "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" (1 Cor. 3:4). The source of continual growth in grace and Christian maturity for the elect is God's operative power.

The renewal of God's "holy image" is also important in Edward Taylor's doctrine of regeneration. Christ's work was not completed on the cross, according to Taylor: he is to "bring the Elect back again to God, and to restore them unto Gods Likeness, and favor" (C, p. 399;

40 Quoted by Scheick, p. 51; see also Emerson, p. 140, on Calvin's teaching of the gradual nature of the regenerative process.
italics added). A key element in this regenerative transformation is the "Intellectual Faculties of the Elect" (C, p. 373) which had been tainted in the Fall. Using images drawn from the Jewish temple, and drawing on passages from St. Paul and the Psalms, Taylor begs for God to restore his intellect and his will:

Renew my Soule, and guild it all within:
And hang thy saving Grace on ery Pin.

Pourtray thy Glorious Image round about
Upon thy temple Walls within, and Out.

Garnish thy Hall with gifts, Lord, from above
With that Rich Coate of Male thy Righteousness,
Truth's Belt, the Spirit's Sword, the Buckler love
Hopes Helmet, and the Shield of Faith kept fresh.

New mould, new make me thus, me new Create
Renew in me a spirit right, pure, true.

Lord make me thy New Creature, then new make
All things to thy New Creature here anew,
New Heart, New Thoughts, New Words, New wayes likewise.

This regenerative process "undoes" the damage suffered by the elect in the Fall so that the elect might be "set apart" for a life of holiness. According to the Westfield minister, only Christ's Saving Grace permits man to regain his right reason and will which were damaged by his fall. Taylor here follows Calvin: "It cannot be doubted that when Adam lost his first estate he became alienated from God. Wherefore, although we grant that the image of God was not utterly effected and destroyed in him, it was, however, so corrupted, that anything which remains is fearful deformity; and, therefore, our deliverance begins with that renovation which we obtain from Christ, who is, therefore, called the second Adam, because he restores us to
true and substantial integrity.\textsuperscript{41} For Edward Taylor, this "renovation" began and ended with a holy life before God.

Consequently, in Taylor's doctrine the believer's holy life becomes a living memorial to the Lordship of Christ and, consequently, a sign of one's election. In his \textit{Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper} Taylor, after explaining the efficacy of the wedding garment of God's inherent grace, informs his hearers that the Christian life is a life of holiness based upon the holy Scriptures (p. 161). The believer is to have "internal holiness" (The psalmist's "create in me a clean heart, O Lord, and renew a right spirit." Psalm 51.10); "external holiness," which is the "practice of piety"; "closet holiness," which is "the communion of the soul with God in secret" (prayer, contemplation); "family holiness" (Abraham-like he commands his house and children, if any, to "fear the Lord"); "conversation holiness" (speech and manner of life); and "temple holiness" (seeking "God's house") (TCLS, pp. 167, 168). This holiness or sanctity is the result of Christ's giving light of holy conduct to the "intellectual Seate" which is enthroned in the heart of man (C, p. 389). Thus Taylor maintains, with St. Paul, the close tie between the believer's holy conduct and the Spirit of Christ within him; Taylor employs an organic metaphor to indicate the "natural" connection: "The Outward Compliance with this Doctrine lies in an holy Life, which is the Sweet blossomings of the inward Grace upon the Visible branches of the \textit{Lingnum vitae}, or tree of Righteousness or plants of the Lords

\textsuperscript{41} Calvin, I, p. 164; see 1 Cor. 15.45; Co. 3.19; Eph. 4.24.
Setting" (C, p. 390). Earlier in the Christographia Taylor uses a similar metaphor to maintain, like Calvin, that the spiritual life results from the flowing of Christ into every area of the believer's life: "And Christ Jesus hath the Principalls, and Seed of Such a life ["a Spirituall, and Holy life"] in him to bestow and doth bestow the Same upon all implanted into him. And they are to derive influences from him to mentain Such a life, and to influence every branch of their lives accordingly, that so all may flourish, and abound in Holiness and the fruits thereof" (C, pp. 197, 198).42 Indeed, the Preparatory Meditations abound with images of purification and sanctification as Taylor seeks a total dedication to God. Christ "kils the Leprosy that taints the walls: / And sanctifies the house before it falls" (2.75, 41, 42). More personally, he begs Christ "Who died on the Cross to Cross out Sin: (60, p. 444), to destroy sin in him:

Blesst Lord, my King, whre is thy golden Sword?
Oh! Sheath it in the bowells of my Sin.
Slay my Rebellion, make thy Law by Word.
2.16, 31-33.

In his dissertaion upon the blood of Christ in the Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper, Taylor proclaims that blood to be both "sanctifying blood" and "sin-mortifying blood" for the believer: "Heart holiness and life holiness, yea, and state holiness is by this blood. It is

42 Calvin is clear that the holy life requires not merely the cessation of grosser sins, but a total transformation: "For the spirit, which is contrasted with the old man, and the flesh, denotes not only the grace by which the sensual or inferior part of the soule is connected, but includes a complete reformation of all its parts (Eph. IV.23). And, accordingly, Paul enjoins not only that gross
the blood whereby they are sanctified, and for this end it is heart-
purifying blood that purgeth away all sin, and from an evil
conscience, and also it brings in the sanctifying grace of the Spirit.
For the blood of Christ, with the eternal Spirit, doth thus sanctify"
(TCLS, p. 211). Being sanctified, or set apart, Taylor insists, leads
to correct ethical living: "One case of faith on the blood of Christ
will break the bones of the body of sin in the soul. This is the
Spirit's physic that destroys the deeds of the flesh" (TCLS, p. 211).

Edward Taylor insists that one should not necessarily assume that
he is not one of the elect if he discovers sin in his life: "So you
are not to conclude negatively that you have not this wedden apparel
in that you find some sins make head or some flaws in duties. But
your judgment must be made from the ruling habit in the soul whether
it be gracious and sanctifying, or sinful and defiling. For it is the
ruling qualification that is essential to the state, and not some
particular acts" (TCLS, p. 163). This appears to free his New England
audience from the total paranoia which could result in the detection
of a flaw which might be interpreted as a certain sign of one's
damnation. And yet the haunting question for every one of Taylor's
auditors and for Taylor himself was "How many sins are to be
overlooked before they are to be considered a ruling qualification of
the state of sin?" Taylor's public response in his Treatise
Concerning the Lords Supper is more optimistic than the private

appetites be suppressed, but that we be renewed in the spirit of one
mind (Eph. IV. 23), as he elsewhere tells us to be transformed by the
renewing of our mind (Rom. xii.2)." Calvin, I, p. 218.
wrestling of the Preparatory Meditations. In the sermons on the Lord's Supper, Taylor asserts one could not only have "evil and vain thoughts" but also some heinous sins and still be of the elect. And for support he turns to the Apostle to the Gentiles: "such thoughts all corrupted and sinful men are subjected to. Sanctified Paul had them. The choicest of the saints of God have not only had such thoughts infesting their souls, but so prevalent as sometimes to produce acts by the oversetting temptation of adultery, treachery, incest, murder, hypocrisy, drunkenness, and cursing and swearing falsely" (TCLS, p. 187). Turning to the Paulie metaphor of the Old Man in Adam and the New Man in Christ (and the warfare in the soul of Romans 7), Taylor exhorts: "So long as thou art in the body, thou wilt have a body of sin in thee, so long thou wilt have the inclination ['unto unwarrantable things:] vexing of thee thus. For the law in the members will be warring, the flesh will be lusting against the spirit. There will be a tendency to rebellion attending the being of the Old Man. There is spiritual war that you are entered upon. The New Man having took possession in the Soul and dethroned the Old Man,

43 Taylor writes metaphorically of sin and the regenerate, sanctified Christian in a passage which illustrates his attitude in the Preparatory Meditations: "As the ill humors in the body will abide till this earthly tabernacle be dissolved, so will the being of sin continue in us so long as we are at home in the body: yea, and more, we shall find these vermin crawling in our souls oft times, as worms in our bowells, infesting out thoughts and sometimes crawling out in our discourse, and flyblowing our works, both civil and sacred concerns. So that our best service will appear unto us as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness as a filthy rag or a menstrual cloth" (TCLS, p. 152).
the Old Man is raising forces against the New" (TCLS, p. 153). And so as Taylor observes the soul caught up in spiritual warfare, he affirms St. Paul's doctrine that only the Holy Spirit enables the New Man "in Christ" to mortify the deeds of the flesh.

For Edward Taylor, although he is a trinitarian, the operation of the Spirit is essentially the working of the Father or of Christ. The Spirit initiates the conversion process: "the Spirit of God in conversion doth not observe method, but some single sentence of a sermon, whether well methoded, or of a more loose discourse, He singles out, and sets home upon the soul to its conversion" (TCLS, p. 158). And for the New England minister it is the Spirit who "seals" the elect in a holy, sanctified life: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God Rom. 8.14. All that verdure, Flourish, and greenness that adorns our Lives, whether Naturall, or whether in Morall Comliness of Affability, Courtesie, Equity, Sobriety, Modesty, Liberality, Veracity, etc., or of a Spirituall Conversation, in the Practice of Piety, and Holiness of Life, to the Glory of God, it is all from Christ. It ascends up from the Soul to God as Christ by his Dispensation actuates the Soule" (C, p. 183). God and Christ through the Spirit attend the elect believer in the "spiritual warfare managed

44 Taylor also argues that "a multitude of carnal thoughts, or worldly ploddings about the things of this life" does not disqualify one from the certainty of God's electing favor: "Where I have one thought of spiritual concerns, I have twenty laid out upon the things of the world. Truly this is the condition of God's children here in this life. While we have these bodies of clay to look after, and are be trusted with the concerns of families, towns, and public duties in our hands, they necessitate our thoughts" (TCLS, p. 153).

45 Consult Scheick, p. 76 ff. on Taylor and the Holy Spirit.
against sin": "this whole war is such as in managed by the Spirit" (TCLS, p. 192). Taylor continues, "And hence the victory that thou gainest is gained by the Spirit over sin. If ye by the Spirit mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live" (TCLS, p. 193; quotes St. Paul in Rom. 13). Thus in Edward Taylor's doctrine the Spirit of God aids the elect in following the ethical example of Christ (C, p. 33), and that holy life becomes the chief testimony of one's election.

VII. Edward Taylor, St. Paul and the Assurance of Salvation

Taylor turns to the Apostle to the Gentiles when he approaches the problem of finding assurance of one's election in Christ. The doctrine which Taylor eventually proclaims falls close to Pauline optimism and may be said to nearly circumvent, if not annul, the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination. "It is a duty in all," proclaims Taylor, "to make after assurance. Rather give diligence to make your calling and electin sure" (TCLS, p. 156). This searching for assurance of salvation has far-reaching consequences in the practical area of Taylor's theology. First, a person may be one of God's elect and be unaware of the "testimony of the Spirit of God" (TCLS, p. 19). For that hearer Taylor explains at length precisely how the Spirit testifies so that the hearer might find that testimony. Taylor believed one could have some measure of assurance when the testimony of man's heart "witnesseth with Gods Spirit of this in two ways: 1. By inward tokens, as sorrow for sin, faith in Christ...Love of Righteousness of praying for pardon. 2. By outward fruits, as a
holy life, and Conversation." In explaining how one comes to God, Taylor distinguishes between two kinds of faith, "faith of assurance" and faith "of affiance and trust" (TCLS, p. 189). He argues that man may not come to God's grace without first having faith; but he does not mean Calvin's saving faith: his insists that initial faith is merely the faith of affiance and trust. Consequently, he urges his hearers "to get faith" of affiance and trust. At the juncture he asserts that one may have faith and not really know it in a passage which seems to open the door of election to true Pauline breadth: "If from the heart thou art sorry that ever thou hast transgressed God's law, dost watch to thyself that thou live up unto God's Word in soul and body, and thy conscience doth not reproach thee, as sinning where thou seest the matter is evil by choosing, or doing of it. If unto this thou add this, an hearty and sincere attendance upon the worship of God in Christ, in all known duties of religion i order to God's glory that are of a general nature belonging to all, whether in church fellowship or no, and doest hope in Christ for salvation, and leave thyself with Him in ways of ovedience for acceptance with God and justification, I assure thee that thou hath the faith of God's elect. The promises belong unto thee" (TCLS, p. 189; italics added). This

46 From "Theological Notes"; MS, Redwood Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island, p. 27; quoted in Scheick, p. 86.

47 Taylor adds to this assurance the argument that it is "contrary to the calls of God either in nature or in the scripture" to doubt that what faith one has is not the faith of being one of God's elect. He proclaims, "For it is to Believe thy own damnation. Wherefore this is nothing but the delusion of Satan" (TCLS, p. 190). For another approach to Taylor's optimistic acceptance of evidence of election, consult David L. Parker, "Edward Taylor's Preparationism: A New Perspective on the Taylor-Stoddard Controversy," Early American Literature, 11 (Winter 1976/77), 259-278.
has to be one of the most optimistic pronouncement of any Calvinist in Taylor's time, and it is an indication of Taylor's closeness with Pauline doctrine.

Taylor ties the search for assurance of salvation in with another Pauline doctrine, that of hope. Taylor reasons from hope to probability: "Christ dwells in the soul by hope. It is the instrument of communicating much of the love of God to the soul. Hence a well grounded hope is sufficient warrant to approach [the Lord's Supper as one of the elect]. But the knowledge of probability that the wedden garment is ours, is a good and warrantable ground for hope in the Lord Christ to stand on. No man can deny this with any shew of reason" (TCLS, pp. 158, 159). If the last sentence refer to the individual, it is indeed ground of assurance, for the circularity of Taylor's argument (hope begets probability of election which begets hope of election) cannot be broken in the heart that seeks assurance.

But Taylor expands the ground of assurance to deal with the believer's fluctuations in mood, attitude, and evaluation of the signs of election. He claims one may be of the elect and then lose his knowledge of election, experiencing doubt and fear of damnation and yet be one of God's elect. He asserts this on the basis of the fact that man's will and intellect are fallible and are not always correct indicator: "For the infallibleness of it [the wedden garment of saving grace] lies in the truth of the knowledge of the thing known and not in the assurance that the soule hath within itself that he knows it (TCLS, p. 157). Taylor has shifted from a subjective hope within the individual to a more Pauline objectivictiion of hope, for the real answer to man's
election lies objectively in the will of God in Christ, and man can be certain that God is faithful. Finally, in an astounding passage on how man obtains that faith that leads to the knowledge of election (and which answers several questions about how at least this particular Calvinist can preach to predestined souls) Taylor turns to St. Paul and the proclamation of God's word as instrument which engender faith: "his house is ordained for this very end, that Christ and grace and this wedding garment may be conferred on sinners: 'Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God' (Rom. 10.17). Hence Christ saith, 'Hear instruction, and be wise, and refuse it not: blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gate, waiting always at the post of my doors' (Prov. 8.33, 34). Hence hear, and your soul shall live" (TCLS, p. 175). Although he does not push his argument to its final terms, Taylor comes as close as possible to stating explicitly that election (of which faith is a prime assurance) comes by hearing the Word of God. At a practical level Taylor, like the Apostle to the Gentiles, acts as if God's saving grace reaches men through God's electing favor to all men. There is indeed a "dark" side to double predestination, but Edward Taylor emphasizes man's striving toward election and salvation.  

48 An additional way to seek assurance of election, according to Taylor, is to act as if one were one of God's elect: "For although you are to endeavor after a knowledge of infallibility, yet if you attain unto a knowledge of probability, you are to build upon it" (TCLS, p. 175). This seeking amounts to an "exercise of faith" and not presumption against God: "Go out to Christ Jesus in Acts of Faith. Endeavor to be acting all graces' part, as humility, meekness, patience, love, hope, and chiefly faith; go out to Christ in all graces and endeavor to put on Christ by faith, roll thyself on Him, be acting faith on him, endeavor it: often the wedding garment is put on
The Pauline imperative for the church, God's collected New Men in Christ, the body of Christ operating in the world, is to be Christ's ambassadors: "And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; To wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ" (2 Cor. 5:18-20a). The Christian, according to St. Paul, who comprehends his life as a daily denial of self offers the message of reconciliation to the world. Edward Taylor, as a minister and Christian, saw his role tinted through Calvinist glasses: his great message was that those who search honestly could find God's electing favor and assurance of election. The new man in Christ could ride the "golden coach of Glory" from the suburbs of glory to glory Himself.

in the endeavors thus to put on the Lord Christ. It's no presumption to believe, because we are commanded to believe, and so doth all that go on in unholy ways" (TCLS, p. 175).
CHAPTER V

"MY HEART THY Hallelujah'S PIPE SHALL BE":
PAULINE THEOLOGY AND THE POETRY OF EDWARD TAYLOR

Not by works of righteousness which we had done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; Which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; That being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

—Epistle to Titus

[Hope] is the very spring that sets all the wheels a going.

—The Saint's Everlasting Rest
Richard Baxter

Symbols are a language which enables poems to be permanently valid, and that if we will learn the language, which is in some cases an archaic and difficult one, we shall not mistake the poet's tone of voice, but accurately take his meanings even across intervening centuries.

—A Reading of George Herbert
Rosemond Tuve

Had Edward Taylor's poetry not been recovered from the Yale University Library manuscript collection, our view of the Puritan American experience would have been both impoverished and distorted. The critical debate about Taylor's poetry and his Calvinist orthodoxy was a testimony that his sensuous religious poetry confronted the prevailing "revisionist" literary and historical interpretation of Congregational theology and aesthetics. In the previous three chapters it has become evident that Taylor's version of Calvinist theology
has much in common with the theology of St. Paul. But, because Edward Taylor is valued primarily for his poetry, the true worth of this study demands that an understanding of how Pauline theology permeated the poet's own theology must help us understand his poetry. This chapter offers evidence that the theological framework of the Pauline paradigm of salvation is one of the significant, primary models for Edward Taylor's poems. The Pauline paradigm presents a conceptual framework upon which the public poetry of Gods Determinations and the private poetry of the Preparatory Meditations were framed and elucidated. By analyzing Gods Determinations and those Preparatory Meditations which appear to share elements of the Pauline schema, I hope to provide another tool for a more complete understanding of the American colonies' greatest poet, Edward Taylor.

I. Pauline Theology and Gods Determinations

Edward Taylor's Gods Determinations is his attempt to justify the ways of God to man. As theodicy, Gods Determinations attempts to "console and reassure believing Christians that it is possible to find in themselves the signs of saving grace." Like his sermons, the thirty-five separate lyrics of Gods Determinations testify to Taylor's optimism within the deterministic scheme of Calvinistic theology. He displays this public optimism in his decision to depict the salvation of the elect, not the damnation and destruction of the reprobate, as Wigglesworth had done in The Day of Doom. Taylor's subject is "the

1 Donald E. Stanford, "Edward Taylor," in Major Writers of Early American Literature, ed. Everett Emerson (Madison, Wis.: The Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1972), p. 82.
various methods by which God brings the predestined elect to heaven, that is, the mysterious workings of grace in the heart of man."² It is not, as one critic has observed, that "Taylor has almost no concern with the 'last things',"³ but, in true Pauline spirit, the present becomes for Taylor the very pregnant eschatological now in which the will of God to save his own is worked out in time. Gods Determinations is Edward Taylor's poetic defense of God's electing love in the life of unregenerate man; in it Taylor proclaims that God's Covenant People can depend on his faithfulness, not their own. If Gods Determinations is, as Karl Keller asserts, "the best poetic defense in American literature of covenant theology,"⁴ it is a defense better understood in light of the Pauline paradigm of salvation.

Critics have debated about the structure of Gods Determinations and about Taylor's possible sources.⁵ Of much greater interest here is Taylor's concept of his audience. Michael Colacurcio has demonstrated

² Stanford, Edward Taylor, p. 33.
⁴ Keller, p. 130.
⁵ Although Louis Martz, in his "Forward" to Poems declares Gods Determinations "a significant work, unique in English poetry," his final evaluation of the poem is that it is "a labor of versified doctrine." (Martz, "Forward" to Poems, p. xiii.) Nathalia Wright sees the medieval morality play as Taylor's possible source and thus views the poem primarily as a drama. ("The Morality Tradition in the Poetry of Edward Taylor," American Literature, 18 [1946], 1-17.) Wright's misreading of Gods Determinations as advocating universal salvation is a testimony to Taylor's concern with the saved and not the damned, who are dismissed early in the poem. Jean Thomas finds a "homiletic tradition," more significant than a structure based upon morality plays. (Jean L. Thomas, "Drama and Doctrine in Gods
convincingly that Gods Determinations is Taylor's response to his New England congregation's wrestling over the Half-Way Covenant. If, as Professor Stanford suggests, the handwriting indicates a date for Gods Determinations between 1680 and 1700, Taylor would have been actively involved in trying to persuade his congregation that full membership (and hence a full admission to the Sacraments) was a possibility even under the strict determinism of Calvinist theology. Taylor's "liberal" opponent at Northampton, Solomon Stoddard, insisted that, among other things, because it was impossible to have absolute assurance of salvation, no one should be kept from observing the Lord's Supper. By contrast, Taylor was determined to convince his congregation that one may be reasonably certain of his salvation if he experiences God's working in his life. Since most Westfield inhabitants, hoping to be of the elect, could point to such evidences within their lives, Taylor could insist upon the traditional closed communion, open only to church members with full membership status. Consequently, Edward Taylor sought to proclaim God's saving grace to those members of his Westfield congregation who were on the brink of knowing they had God's

Determinations," American Literature, 36 [1956], 452-462.) Norman Grabo, after analyzing the poem as drama, suggests the most fruitful analysis of Gods Determinations is that the poem is a fully-developed meditation (Grabo, Edward Taylor, p. 159). Donald Stanford suggests, in addition, a variety of possible influences: the grammar school dramas of Terence and Plautus, schoolboy dialogues in Latin based upon the Bible, the satirical verse debates of the pamphleteers, Wigglesworth's Day of Doom, Lorenzo Scrupoli's The Spiritual Conflict, (perhaps) Bunyan's The Holy War, and the battle imagery present in the general Puritan concept of the Church Militant. (Stanford, Edward Taylor, pp. 26-29.) St. Paul's list of Christian weapons and defenses in Ephesians 6.10 ff. is the locus classicus of the doctrine of the Church Militant.
electing favor. Colacurcio suggests, "the implied audience of the poem is precisely the half-way member of the Puritan congregation: the theme is the desirability of a more complete and active participation in 'particular church' than that provided for by the Half-Way Covenant of 1662."\(^6\) Taylor acknowledges that God's elect always come to God only by overcoming the Scylla of despair wrought from self-doubt and the Charybdis of presumption to election. *Gods Determinations* is the New England minister's attempt to help his audience ascertain their election by doing just that.

The very title suggests a basic four-part structure, although there are variations within each section:

I. Gods Determinations touching his Elect, and
II. The Elects Combat in their Conversion, and
III. Coming up to God in Christ together with
IV. The Comfortable Effects thereof

The first five sections of the poem tract God's relationship to man from the Creation and man's Fall (with the subsequent banishing of the damned souls to hell in satisfaction of God's justice) to God's offer of Saving Grace expressed toward his Elect. "The Preface" opens the long poem with a series of questions which echo God's questions to Job and also the Pauline query of Romans 9 in which man as the pot stands questionless before God the Potter. God's infinite transcendence is nowhere shown as well as in the description of the creation:

Who spake all things from nothing; and with ease  
Can speak all things to nothing, if he please.

\(^6\) Colacurcio, p. 299.
Whose little finger at his pleasure Can
Out mete ten thousand worlds with halfe a Span.
GD, p. 387.

Although God "Gave all to nothing Man," (GD, p. 388) so that his
"nothing Man" might glorify God, man fell and lost the light of God:

But Nothing man did throw down all by Sin:
And darkened that lightsom Gem in him.
That now his Brightest Diamond is grown
Darker by far than any Coal pit Stone.
GD, p. 388.

Taylor has followed perfectly the Pauline paradigm of man's relationship to God. In the second section, "The Effects of Mans Apostacy," Taylor presents fallen man in his darkened condition. In martial terms, man's heart is besieged, the "Enemies prevail," and man "finds God stand as Enemy." "Bereav'd of Reason" because he has fallen, man faces "Armies of armed terrours": within he finds, "sad amazement," without, "all things fly about his Eares," above, heaven is falling on him, below, "th' Infernall Burning lake," behind, "Vengeance persues" him, and before him he sees "God storming in his Face" (GD, p. 389). Running first and then lying still to avoid his fate, fallen man is presented in a panicked "Living Death by Sin" (GD, p. 390). During a heavenly debate between Justice and Mercy, twin aspects of the nature of God, Mercy-as-Christ agrees to "be incarnate like a slave below" (GD, p. 393). Joy is apparent in the poem for the first time since the creation because man can hope that he is one of God's elect. In the fifth section, "Gods Selecting Love in the Decree," God prepares a
feast and sends a "Royall Coach" (which represents the church) for those given saving grace (GD, p. 400). The damned, who have slighted the Call of God's election, are dismissed, and the real subject of Gods Determinations commences: how God "coaches" his elect to salvation despite the attacks of Satan.

Taylor approaches his subject with the same sense of awe with which St. Paul treats his discussion of the salvation of the Jews in the "fullness" of time. The elect are divided into various ranks: Rank I immediately responds to God's call; Rank II is captured by God's Mercy, and the third Rank consists of two groups: those captured by Justice alone, and, finally, those captured by Justice and Mercy. Gods Determinations addresses those men and women who have never experienced a spiritual approach from God and offers hope: even those who have previously struggled against God's electing call will be moved by his Justice or his Grace. Taylor's message is clear: not one of God's elect shall miss his salvation.

The middle section of the poem treats in greater detail this winning of the various ranks to Christ. Satan, with "Griping Paws, and Goggling Eyes" "Like some fierce Shagg'd Red Lion, belching fire" (GD, p. 407) assaults the "Inward Man," who, by introspection, knows his own inadequacy of intellect and will; Satan also assaults the "Outward Man" with the charge that his actions do not merit God's salvation. The final attack against the individual man comes against his very efforts to serve God. Satan insists that man presumes to God's grace if he fails to admit that he is self-oriented even in worship, and, consequently, the soul is a hypocrite: "Thy joy is
groundless, Faith is false, thy Hope / Presumption" (GD, p. 412). The despair to which the soul is driven by Satan's accusations is precisely that point which St. Paul reaches in Romans chapter seven. Man, even in his religious devotion, has nothing to offer God. It is the very mystery of Grace, argues St. Paul, that God has taken man at his most helpless point and offered salvation. It is in man's weakness that he learns to depend on God and not his own resources. The soul in "The Soul's Groan to Christ for Succour" recognizes Satan's ploy:

He strives to mount my sins, and them advance
Above thy Merits, Pardons, or God Will
Thy Grace to lessen, and thy Wrath t' inhance
As if thou couldst not pay the sinners bill.

GD, p. 413.

The response to the soul's outcry, "Christ's Reply," represents Taylor's finest plain style poetry. "Peace, Peace, my Hony, do not Cry," Christ begins. Taylor very cleverly addresses the problem of a believer's doubt by arguing that Satan's very attack is evidence of that soul's election. But Christ then indicates that Satan's temptation and accusation fall within the express purpose of God:

Fear not, my Pritty Heart.
His barking is to make thee Cling
Close underneath thy Saviour Wing

GD, pp. 414, 415.
Like St. Paul in his discussion of the role of the law to help man recognize his need for God, Taylor's Christ assures the fearful soul that Grace can only be comprehended when man understands the enormity of his sin. Christ distinguishes between sin and sinner as he depicts a God of forgiveness and sternness:

I dare the World therefore to show  
A God like me to anger slow:  
  Whose wrath is full of Grace.  
Doth hate all Sins both Great, and small:  
Yet when Repented, pardons all.  
  Frowns with a Smiling Face.  

GD, p. 417.

According to Taylor's Christ, election involves repentance after the elect recognize that they have been under wrath.

After Satan attacks the second and third ranks for being presumptuous if they look to God's grace, and they debate which is in the worse condition, both recognizing that they "long ago deserv'de Hells flame" (GD, p. 429), a saint, who represents those who first accepted God's grace, charges the two ranks with being "too backward": "Thy Grace-outbraveing sin is bashfullness" (GD, p. 434). The argument which the saint gives the two struggling ranks is similar to Taylor's sermons of optimistic assurance: "Do all Good Works, work all good things you know / As if you should be say'd for doing so" (GD, p. 444). The soul is told then to "undo all you've done, and it deny / And on a naked Christ alone rely" so that faith alone becomes the source of hope. In other words, Taylor through the saint insists that right conduct brings and is evidence of right standing. The practical
import of the saint's argument is that anyone who seeks God and who makes Grace his way of life will have the genuine gift of election and glory. In "Some of Satan's Sophistry" the saint explains Satan's method of attacking God's elect so they will despair or become arrogant with presumption: "He tempts to bring the soul too low or high," "To keep on either side of the golden mean" (GD, p. 477). Just as St. Paul had turned to the objective fact of a risen Lord to bolster belief in his first-century hearers, Edward Taylor in Gods Determinations attempts to prevent the would-be believer from trusting in his feelings by drawing his attention to objective evidence of God's working in his life.

The response by all ranks at hearing the good news of God's grace is ecstatic joy. The journey has been completed. Edward Taylor's version of the Pauline paradigm of salvation informs the structure of Gods Determinations: "Desire Converts to joy: joy Conquours Fear" (GD, p. 455), so God's elect may participate with God through church fellowship. Songs of realized hope and victory permeate the final sections of Gods Determinations. The hope which the ranks have sustained through the assaults of Satan is a hope which is realized in joy. The proper outlet for joy within the covenanted church fellowship is faithful praise. All doubts have been laid aside. In a final choral refrain, God's elect pour forth his praise as they make their way to heaven:

For in Christ's Coach they sweetly sing:
As they to Glory ride therein.

GD, p. 459
Like the Apostle to the Gentiles, they have "fought a good fight, and have finished [the] course, have kept the faith," and await their "crown of righteousness" (2 Tim. 4.7,8).

As public poetry *Gods Determinations* lacks the sustained intensity of the private *Preparatory Meditations*. The lyrics are uneven, though some of Taylor's finest lines are contained in the "Preface." The poem presents a "version of the Puritan psychology of conversion" which, long before it was a Puritan psychology, had its roots in the profound Pauline optimism of salvation through grace. As he sets forth to instruct hesitant half-way church members that they are not totally at the mercy of the capricious God of pure Calvinism, Taylor turns to the Pauline drama of conversion in Romans. Although St. Paul acknowledges "all have sinned" (Rom. 3.8), he likewise insists that Christ died for his enemies that they could experience his grace, and ultimately, an assurance of salvation despite their self condemnation (Rom. 5.8). The joy of full church membership and participation is available to those for whom Christ died, for "there is no condemnation because the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ has set [them] free from the law of sin and death: (Rom. 8.1, 2).  

II. Pauline Theology and the *Preparatory Meditations*

Edward Taylor's enduring contribution to the world of letters as the first major poet of American Literature is his *Preparatory Medita-

7 Colacurcio, p. 302.

8 Taylor adds, in the last stanza of *Gods Determinations* that some "few" go to glory "As Travellers afoot" (GD, p. 459). This
tions, written at intervals of about two months from 1682 to 1725. These 2159 meditations, all written in the popular six-line stanza of Herbert’s “Churchporch,” testify to the absolute importance of the Lord’s Supper in the spiritual life of Taylor and the elect community of saints at Westfield. Because the church ordinance of the Lord’s Supper epitomized the entire salvic experience, it provided an ideal vehicle for meditation. In his Treatise Concerning the Lords Supper Taylor explains the role of meditation preparatory to the observance of the Supper: “As Paul said to Timothy so say in this case, ‘Meditate on these things’ (1 Tim. 4.15). Meditate upon the feast: its causes, its nature, its guests, its dainties, its reason and ends, and its benefits, etc. For it carries in its nature and circumstances an umbrage, or epitomized draught of the whole grace of the gospel. For here our Savior is set out in lively colors” (TCLS, p. 203; italics added). In this passage Taylor provides a key for interpreting many of his meditations. Because the Lord’s Supper is an “epitomized draught of the whole grace of the gospel,” meditations based upon it might be expected to depict the passage of sinful man to God’s grace. That is precisely what occurs in those meditations which illustrate the Pauline paradigm of salvation.10

appears to be his admission that God’s elect may exist outside the official, covenanted church community.

9 St. John, p. 6.

10 During the writing of this chapter a study was published which examines the pervasive influence of the “Protestant-Pauline paradigm” (election, calling, justification, adoption, sanctification, glorification) upon the religious lyrics of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne, and Edward Taylor: Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Protestant
Before examining the particular meditations it is necessary to observe Taylor's theology of the Lord's Supper. Taylor, following Calvin, viewed the Lord's Supper and baptism as seals of the Covenant of Grace which God has given his elect: "This ordinance of the Lord's Supper as it's a seal of the covenant of grace, so it's a significant seal, a sign thereof, a sign signifying the terms and privileges of the covenant set before us by God Himself in Christ.... It signifies to us what God in Christ hath done for us; it signifies to us what it calls for from us" (TCLS, pp. 91, 92). The interpretation of the Lord's Supper as seal and sign combatted Solomon Stoddard's liberalizing plea for "open" communion as a converting ordinance.  

Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979). Professor Lewalski's findings corroborate my own; however, her discussions of Taylor fail to detail how "Pauline" thought informs the meditations. Having stated that Taylor's "poems owe little to theories regarding the biblical lyric genres, or to the poetic books of the Bible themselves," (p. 395) she asserts that Taylor's meditations generally conform to the "sacramental-deliberate meditation" and that "though Taylor's poems are in large measure discrete exercises" (p. 396), there is development of Series I and Series II which conforms to "the classic Protestant paradigm" (p. 397) and "reflects the speaker's spiritual growth and development" (p. 396). Although Professor Lewalski insists that "every poem in Taylor's two meditative sequences enacts in little the essential spiritual dilemma" (p. 398), she fails to illustrate the specific Pauline elements of the spiritual dilemma. The substance of her discussion of the meditations is essentially an essay of rhetorical methods of development in the meditations. Professor Lewalski's examination consequently neglects to substantiate the particular influence of the theological paradigm which has been designated Pauline.  

and defended against both transubstantiation and consubstantiation.\textsuperscript{12} As Professor Stanford has demonstrated, Calvin's \textit{Institutes} provides the basis for Taylor's understanding of the Lord's Supper.\textsuperscript{13} Calvin asserts, "the signs are bread and wine, which represent the invisible food which we receive from the body and blood of Christ . . . [who] is the only food of our soul . . . that, refreshed by communion with him, we may ever and anon gather new vigour until we reach the heavenly immortality. But as this mystery of the secret union of Christ with believers is incomprehensible by nature, he exhibits its figure and image in visible signs adapted to our capacity."\textsuperscript{14} Later Calvin clarifies what he means by this "sealing": "The visible sign if given us in seal of an invisible gift as that his body itself is given to us."\textsuperscript{15} This method of interpretation Calvin designates the "sacramental mode of expression according to the common use of scripture."\textsuperscript{16} Calvin admits he does not fully understand this mystical presence, but insists it is an object of the senses, not the intellect: "Now, should anyone ask me as to the mode[of uniting Christ to the believer in the Lord's Supper], I will not be ashamed to confess that it is too high a mystery either for my mind to comprehend or my words to

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
  \item For Taylor's attack on Roman Catholic and Lutheran views of the Lord's Supper see PM 2.108, 7-24.
  \item Calvin, II, p. 557.
  \item Calvin, II, p. 564.
  \item Calvin, II, p. 574.
\end{enumerate}
express; and to speak more plainly, I rather feel than understand it
and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I have no doubt that
he will truly give and I receive."17 This statement may assist us in
understanding Taylor's meditations because one of the most noted
qualities of the meditations is the sensory imagery depicting Christ.
Taylor's view of the Lord's Supper in 2.108 follows Calvin's "sacra-
mental mode":

Its Sabbath Entertainment, spirituall fare.
It's Church banquet, Spirituall Bread and Wine.
It is the Signet of the Kings right hande.
Seale to the Covenant of Grace Gods bande.

The Sign, bread, made of th' kidnies of Wheate
That grew in Zions field: And th' juyce we sup
Present from the grape of Zions Vine sweet, great
Doth make the Signall Wine within the Cup.
Those Signals Bread and Wine are food that bear
Christ in them Crucified . . . .

2.108, 33-42.

The covenant sealed by the Sacraments thus becomes a witness to true
church fellowship and corporate commitment, but it also signifies the
individual's own election. As signs and seals of the Covenant of
Grace, the bread and wine often bring Taylor to meditate on the plight
of his soul in reference to the salvation paradigm of St. Paul.

For Taylor the imperative to meditate upon the Lord's Supper as
"an epitomized draught of the whole grace of the gospel" meant self-
examination. St. Paul, in 2 Cor. 13.5 had enjoined the Corinthian

17 Calvin, II, p. 587; italics added.
Christians to examine themselves "to see if [they] be in the faith"; consequently, in Puritan theology the individual's examination for signs of God's electing purpose became a predominant motif of medita-
tion. Edward Taylor's three stages of preparation to take the sacra-
ment, "prayer, meditation, and self-examination" (TCLS, p. 41), all
evidence themselves in the individual meditations which look backward to the operation of saving grace in the life of the speaker and forward to the repeated "sealing" of that grace in the Lord's Supper. Doubtless Taylor would have known well Baxter's famous dictum that proper meditation is not "the bare thinking on Truths, and the rolling of them in the understanding and memory" but that its true purpose is "to get these truths from thy head to thy heart."\(^{18}\) The moving of one's affections from "dull indifferency"\(^{19}\) rests as a foundation for the sensuous, emotion-laden imagery of Edward Taylor. A key method for Taylor to move his affections is the reconstruction of the paradigm of his salvation in Christ. Indeed the quality which distinguishes Taylor's meditations from the gloom of much of Puritan writing is his generous treatment of the theme of grace. Man has become undeniably alienated from God by sin, but God's grace in Christ will not nor cannot be prevented from redeeming his elect. The Pauline joy of triumphal procession (2. Cor. 2.14) pervades many of Taylor's meditations and testifies to God's grace. Taylor seems to have taken to heart Baxter's instruction that one's meditations not center too


\(^{19}\) Baxter, p. 181.
much on "Sin and Wrath, Judgment and Damnation"; "But it's Heaven, and not Hell, that I would perswade you to walk in; it's Joy and not sorrow that I perswade you to exercise."20

Edward Taylor's individual Preparatory Meditations have been analyzed by various critics who have suggested several meditative "patterns." Most of the proposed structures complement each other. Norman Grabo argues for a common tripartite structure in many of the meditations: 1) statements or questions, 2) development, and 3) final petition or praise.21 Donald Junkins notes that Taylor begins many of the Preparatory Meditations with a reference to God and then contrasts that with his own unworthiness.22 Robert Reiter, discussing the typological poems of the second series, argues for a triune form: 1) a confessional or personal introduction, 2) development of a type, and 3) a prayerful, affective conclusion.23 Donald E. Stanford argues that many of the Preparatory Meditations follow a tripartite structure, based in some measure upon the meditative system of memory,

20 Baxter, p. 154.

21 Grabo, Edward Taylor, p. 165.


23 Reiter, p. 165. With regard to the conclusion, Michael North observes that in many of the Preparatory Meditations the last two lines form a balance between "the donation of Christ" and "Taylor's own donation of praise." North, p. 16.
understanding, and will. More importantly, Professor Stanford suggests that in most of the meditations of this type, the subjects are paired with an emotion suited to the subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Emotion</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Original Sin</td>
<td>1. Despair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Christ's Saving Grace</td>
<td>2. Joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Possibility of Personal Salvation</td>
<td>3. Hope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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What one observes in many of the poems in which such a tripartite movement occurs is the basic outline of the Pauline salvific paradigm: Sin, Grace, and Hope. In addition to the large number of Preparatory Meditations which follow a structure in this exact pattern, there are many meditations which rely on the Pauline paradigm with variations. Following is an analysis of the poems which exhibit the tripartite Pauline paradigm exactly. In the second major division of this chapter, those poems which rely upon the Pauline model but which exhibit modified surface structures will be discussed.

The very title of Taylor's work, Preparatory Meditations before my Approach to the Lord's Supper. Chiefly upon the Doctrine preached upon the Day of Administration, indicates the spiritual emphasis of these mental exercises, particularly as Taylor contemplates the salvation experience. That the Pauline paradigm plays a significant role

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in the structuring of the meditations comes as no surprise. It is, after all, the Protestant structure to comprehend the salvation process. The three-part formation of the Pauline paradigm (Man's fall in sin; grace revealed in Jesus; confidence in God's care in this life and in the life to come) structures over thirty of the Preparatory Meditations while modifications of the basic pattern inform, explicitly and implicitly, more than thirty-five others. Comprehending the Pauline analysis of man's condition before God helps the reader to understand more precisely how the Pauline paradigm of salvation functions as one of several major influences upon the content and structure of the Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations.  

III. Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations: The Pauline Paradigm Completed

"The Reflexion," one of Taylor's most successful meditations, demonstrates a paradigmatic movement from sin to grace to hope for election following introductory praise of Christ. The setting of the meditation is the eternal eschatological banquet moved to the realized present with Christ presiding over his table. The poem opens with Taylor questioning his election, "Ben't I a bidden Guest?" (4). His fallen sinful condition is explained in personal terms in stanza three and within the analysis of man's Fall in stanza four. The sinful filth which stops his "Soule's thy Conduitt, Pipes" (13) is a direct result of the Fall of man: "Earth once was Paradise of Heaven below /

[25 The poems within each grouping will be discussed in the order of printing in Poems. Consult Appendix A for a complete list of paradigmatic poems.]
Till inkefac'd sin had it with poysn stockt" (19, 20). Finding that paradise has been locked in "Heav'ns upmost Loft" (22), Taylor envisions God's Grace in a Celestial metaphor in which Christ "Pearlelike" reflects heavens glory on the world so that the "Saints Heavens-lost Happiness [is] restor'd" (30) like sunlight reflected by the moonlit earth. The final two stanzas of the meditation return to Taylor's questioning his own election and to images of Christ as the Rose of Sharon seated at the head table ready to carve food for his elect. His questions ("Carv'st no morsell sweet for mee." 34; "Shall not thy golden gleams run through this gloom?" 39) remain unanswered until the petition of the final lines which indicates hope of security at the eternal banquet because of the transference of the Christ life: "Pass o're my Faults: shine forth, bright sun; arise / Enthrone thy Rosy-self within mine Eyes" (41, 42). The emotional movement of the poem is from the opening concern for woe and despair to elated joy at the work of Christ to reserved hope in the final two lines. This tripartite structure of the meditation contains the essence of the Pauline model; in an "epitomized draught of the whole grace of the gospel" Taylor struggles through the self-doubt and despair of his sinful condition to glory in the joyous exaltation of the Christ who makes grace possible. The Pauline optimism is tempered here, as in nearly all of Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations, by his fear of presumption; and yet the final stanzas of the meditations brim with an expectant hope which approaches, though it never reaches, Pauline confidence.
Meditation 1.8 follows a similar pattern in which the hopeful expectation of election falls just short of St. Paul's optimism. After an opening stanza detailing the arrival of the "Bread of Life" at his door, Taylor develops the story of his spiritual condition in Pauline terms. His sinful condition is metaphorically depicted by a Bird of Paradise in a Wicker Cage, his corpse, which "Had peckt the Fruite forbad" (9) and "fell in to Celestial Famine sore" (11). Stanza three reiterates the plight of the lost bird by insisting that neither angels nor the world has a remedy for "this sad shape" (19), and here the poem reaches its emotional nadir. In response to man's despair, "Gods Tender Bowells run / Out streams of Grace," (19, 20) and Jesus, the "Purst Wheate in Heaven" (21), is transformed into "Soule Bredae" (27) or "Heavens Sugar Cake" (30) which supplies fallen man's every need. The proclamation of God's grace is characterized by an exuberance which turns to reflection as the image of the bird in its wicker cage dissolves before the Herbertian image of the soul itself being offered the Bread of Life, God's grace: "This Bread of Life dropt in thy mouth, doth Cry. / Eat me, Soul, and thou shalt never dy" (35, 36). Taylor has managed to conceal his hope of election in the offer of election by Christ himself. The Lord's Supper does not convert, Taylor insisted in his controversy with Solomon Stoddard, but it does serve as a model of the sweetness that comes to God's elect when they are secured by God in Christ.

The next paradigmatic meditation, PM 1.10, takes as its subject the blood of Christ figured in the "Red Wine" of the Communion. Stanza one opens with a paean to the glory of God which precedes the
development of the meditation. In stanza two Taylor explains his fallen state of sin as sickness: "My Soule had Caught an Ague, and like Hell / Her thrist did burn" (7, 8). In this poem his sinful condition is deemphasized when compared to the working of God's grace in Christ. After asserting that God sprang a well of "Aqua-Vitae," he moves to a common Taylorian theme, the elevation of humanity through the divine theanthropoy:

But how it came, amazeth all Communion.
Gods onely Son doth hug Humanity,
Into his very person. By which Union
His Humane Veans its golden gutters ly.
And rather than my Soule should dy by thrist,
These Golden Pipes, to give me drink, did burst.
1.10, 13-18.

His implied reference to the post-death piercing of Christ's side becomes absorbed in the metaphor of Christ as conveyor of grace. And yet Christ is not only mediator; he is the sacrifice. Consequently, Taylor speaks of Christ as "Glory's Chiepest Grape" which "bleeds" into his cup (35, 36). To further emphasize the purity of God's actions in Christ as grace or unmerited good will, he indicates the weakness of human response: "Nay, though I make no pay for this Red Wine, / And scarce do say I thank-ye-for't; strange thing!" (37, 38). The request for salvation through election and reception of saving grace is truncated into two requests: he asks God to untap the "Buts" of the "blesst Nectar" of Christ's blood in lines twenty-eight and

following, and he closes the meditation with the request for the Lord to "make [his] life, Lord, to thy praise" (41). This is the first of many paradigmatic poems in which Taylor's doubtful spiritual condition (i.e. he does not appear to have achieved security and fulfillment in redemption and sanctification) is exemplified by his inability to properly praise God. Here he indicates that, in his present condition, "My blottings Jar / And wrack my Rhymes to pieces in thy praise" (31, 32). Thus the production of divinely ordered verse becomes synonymous in Taylor's poetry with the perfect relationship with God and certain evidence of election.

Another meditation which illustrates the three-part Pauline structure employs, as evidence of election, the ability to see, instead of ability to praise. PM 1.16 opens in stanza one with a vision of Taylor's (and man's) soul being encapsuled by "Leafe Gold" (1) indicting his prelapsarian purity. The stanza ends abruptly with his version of the fall: "thy Curst Foe had with my Fist mine Eye / Dasht out, and did my Soule Unglorigy" (5, 6). Taylor's recognition, through this metaphor of his loss of sight, that he cannot even properly will God's will leads him to admit his ultimate doom: he "must / From Heavens sweet Shine to Hells hot flam e be thrust" (10, 11).

Immediately following this despair-filled emotional trough, he argues (in stanzas three and four) God's grace in Christ through one of the oldest English-language Christian metaphores, the sun: "Grace then Conceald in God himselfe, did rowle / Even Snow Ball like into a Sunball Shine" (13, 14). Joy dominates this section of the meditation as he proclaims that grace will "Lighten [his] Eye" (18) if he is one
of the elect. The final movement of the meditation is Taylor's request for grace, for he lives in the hope of its coming. He prays, "Thou Lightning Eye, let some bright Beames of thine / Stick in my Soule, to light and liven it" (31, 32), so he "shall be grac'd withall for glory fit" (33). Glory lost in his fall has been restored through God's grace so he may hopefully offer a sacrifice of praise.

Stepping outward from his individual plight, Taylor in PM 1.18 presents what almost amounts to a paradigmatic morality play. Stanzas one through three detail the condition "here below" (2) as armed warfare: "Souls Charg'd with Sin, Discharge at God" (7) and fill the world with wickedness and "Horrid Crimes" (11). The battle is fully engaged as "Vengeance" wreaks retribution on the rebellious souls with "Soul-piercing Plagues, Heart-Aching Griefs" (14). The rebellion becomes stalemated, however, as sinful mankind "can ne're o'recome, nor undergo" (18). Into this stasis of sin, Jesus "Step't in" (25) as "The fairest Flower in all God's Paradise" (24) and routes "Vengeance's Troops" (31) in the joyous display of God's grace. Taylor clearly accepts Christ's sacrifices as full restitution ("The Curse now Cures" 34). Line thirty-six, "The Law was Cursless made in Cursing him," clearly echoes Paul's comment on the law: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us" (Gal. 3.13). The final section of the poem tantalizes with the possibility of realized hope: what Christ did in the past on the cross is now in the process of being realized by Taylor. Christ sends his Love beaming upon the New England minister's heart "to animate th' Affections till they blaze; / To free from Guilt, and from Sins Slough, and, Shame"
This meditation fastens upon the greatest tension in Calvinism: will the Work of Christ be appropriated to the individual seeking election? Taylor's answer in this meditation appears to be, "yes: it begins now, but hope cannot full be realized in this life."

What began as an abstract, dramatized version of the fall and God's redemption by Grace through Christ turns, ultimately, to Taylor's personal quest for satisfactory hope of salvation.

Meditation 1. 19 follows this same Pauline model of redemption with the similar feature that Taylor introduces "I" only in the last two lines; the rest of the poem details man's fall and the coming of grace in Christ in general terms which apply to all the elect. The meditation opens with the Fall:

The Candle of the World blown out, down fell.  
Life knockt a head by Death: Heaven by Hell.  
Alas! this World all filld up to the brim  
With Sins, Deaths, Divills, Crowding men to Hell.  
1.19, 5-8.

God's grace is depicted as "Gods milkwhite Lamb" (9) who has been felled by the forces of evil. In a beautifully-handled traditional image, Taylor calls the Lamb's death "Brave Pious Fraud" (13), like the setting of the sun: it will rise again in the east just as Christ was raised. The central section of the meditation describes God's grace: "Oh! sweet, sweet joy!" (19); "He's Cancelling the Bond, and making Pay: / And Ballancing Accounts: its Reckoning day" (23, 24).

Both present and future tenses are indicated by the purpose clause.
The condition of grace for Taylor, who hopes to be one of the elect, is once again expressed as both present and future tense. In the final two stanzas of the meditation he notes that the curse has been removed from God's first covenant: God's grace in Christ "Plukt out Deaths Sting" (29) and, fulfilling the curse of Genesis 3.5, Christ "the Serpents Head did mall" (29). Taylor's hope rests in his final longing, yet unrealized, that as one of the elect he can put his foot upon the "neck" of the grave and of death and sing, with the apostle Paul, "Grave, where's thy Victory? Death, Where's thy Sting?" (36; 1 Cor. 15.55).

Meditation 1.25 moves to the personal immediately as Taylor, following the Pauline paradigm, laments his fall from relationship with God by comparing himself to a bell which has lost its clapper or bell rope. Nakedly, he stands before God who justly holds the death bell: "My soule starke nake, rowld all in mire, undone. / Thy Bell may tolle my passing Peale to Hell" (9, 10). In this condition he bewails his inability to appreciate the glories of the world ("Prrty Bird, Flower, Star" 14) because his fallen reason is deranged: "my thoughts in Snick-Snails run" (16). Taylor represents the coming of God's grace in Christ by "glorious robes" brought out of Christ's grave which "outshine the Sun-Shine, Grace the Rose" (21). His emotion at the appearance of grace is undisguised as he contemplates his own election: "I leape for joy to thinke, shall these be mine?" (22). In the conclusion of the meditation Taylor asks, "Lord, make my Soule Obedient: and when so, / Thou saist Believe, make it reply, I do" (29, 30). The final stanza represents the ultimate fulfillment of his
hope: elected, he will give himself totally, ("th' Cabbinet and, Pearle together" 36) to the Lord.

An account of Taylor's plight in Pauline terms is likewise the subject of PM 1.31. The meditation opens with the glory of a prelapsarian paradise where, sinless, he was "Begracde with Glory, glorified with Grace" (1). He then describes his fall into sin in brisk terms:

But as a Chrystall Glass, I broke, and lost
That Grace, and Glory I was fashion'd in
And cast this Rosy World with all its Cost
Into the Dunghill Pit, and Puddle Sin.

Reversing the banquet imagery of the Lord's table, Taylor declares "Satan is now turnd Cook" (13). In his fallen state, eating all food covered by sin's sauce, he has lost all spiritual orientation. "My tast is lost" (20), he cries out; "Hell Heaven is, Heaven hell, yea Bitter Sweet" (23). The application of God's grace in Christ in restoring the "cooking' to Jesus brings an emotional response of joy: he feels his "Heart leape for joy and sing" (29). That joy is displaced by hope for salvation in the third section of the paradigmatic meditation. Employing the legal-title imagery which also runs through the poem, Taylor hopes for election to full legal rights:

Cleare up my Right, my Lord, in thee, and make
Thy Name stand Dorst upon my Soule in print,

28 Taylor had earlier described sin's effect: "Right's lost in what's my Right" (17).
In grace I mean, that so I may partake
Of what I lost . . .

1.31, 37-40.

The final two lines conclude with his now familiar request to sing in thanksgiving for Grace.

His inability to praise God properly because of human weakness and sinfulness becomes an increasingly important theme in Taylor's meditations beyond this point, beginning with poems written in 1689. As evidence, the next meditation in the first series which demonstrates the tripartite Pauline structure, PM 1.34, opens with a two-stanza declaration of Taylor's inability to praise. Wanting to offer praise to God, he finds that "Impossibilities blocke up [his] pass" (2). Indeed, his difficulty is two-fold because, first, his "tongue Wants Words" (3) to reveal his thoughts, but, second and more serious, his "Minde / Wants thoughts to Comprehend [God's] worth." (3, 4). Despite this difficulty, he speaks on, hoping that God will accept his feeble praise, just as parents are pleased with the feeble efforts their child makes to talk. Man's fall is presented briefly in the metaphor of captives taken: "Poor wretched man Deaths Captive stood full chuffle" (13). The bulk of the poem details Christ's victory over death in emblematic terms. After Taylor announces, "Cruel Death lies Dead" (18), he explains that Christ in his grace has made

29 Swollen; ill-"Glossary" to Poems.

physical death work for good, echoing Romans 8.28, so that "The Golden Dore of Glory is the Grave" (24). At this working of good out of ill he expresses amazement and joy: "Death Tamde, Subdude, Washt fair by thee! Oh Grace! Made Usefull thus!" (31, 32). The final stanza concludes the tripartite structure with Taylor's hope for election expressed first as request, "Say I am thing, My Lord" (37) and second as Pauline exultation, "Death Where's thy Sting?" (42).

One of Taylor's longest paradigmatic meditations at seventy-eight lines, PM 1.36 is based on the Pauline text of 1 Cor. 3.22, a passage which proclaims Christ's preeminence over all present and future things. He opens by lamenting his "rocky heart" (1) and confessing he is "As full of Sin I am, and Egege of meate" (23). Interestingly, Taylor ponders his sinful condition against three possibilities as he addresses God: "Dost Vileness choose? Or can't thy kindness shown / Me meliorate? Or am I not thine own?" (11, 12). Rejecting the first two options because they would taint God's glorious holiness and the third because it would damn him, Taylor insists he will "ken o're Reasons head at Graces hand" (118) to "crave a Pardon" (36) from God's storehouse of grace. The prevailing question of the meditation "But am I thine?" (55), is answered in the final stanza, which proclaims hope:

But that there is a Crevice for one hope
To creep in, and this Message to Convay
That I am thing, makes me refresh.

1.36, 73-75.
The hope of the election crowns the meditation with promises of praise offered in thanksgiving, the future and present conjoined as the conclusion of the paradigm.

A much shorter poem which demonstrates Taylor's reliance on the despair (sin)-joy (grace)-hope model is PM 1.39. The poem opens with ragged, frenzied lines apparently demonstrating the coarseness of his desperate condition:

My Sin! my Sin, My God, these Cursed Dregs; 
Green, Yellow, Blew streakt Poyson hellish ranck. 
Bubs hatcht in Natures nest on Serpents Eggs
1.39, 1-3.

In such a sinful state Taylor despairs because he cannot win the struggle: "Black Imps, young Divells, snap, bite, drag to bring / And pick mee headlong hells dread Whirle Poole in (11, 12). The movement of the poem shifts abruptly in stanza three as he requests, "Lord, hold thy hand" (13) and exclaims, "There is an Advocate" (16) as he responds to the doctrine of God's grace with great Joy: "Joy, joy, Gods Son's the Sinners Advocate / Doth Plead the Sinner guiltless, and a Saint" (19, 20). Christ's grace-bearing advocacy, Taylor explains, is composed of arguments which are the consequence of his sacrifice ("Out of his Flesh and Blood" 27) and which are celebrated by the elect at the Lord's Supper. The poem concludes with his hope to be one of the elect in the legal imagery which has pervaded the

31 PM 1.39 continues this courtroom imagery from PM 1.38 where Taylor admits his debt to God by saying, "I'me under Gods Arrest" (38).
poem: "Make me thy Friend, Lord, be my Surety: I Will be thy Client, by my Advocate" (43, 44). The almost contractual obligation to praise God for his election once again closes this poem in Taylor's attempt at Hebrew parallelism: the final two lines repeat the halves of the line which precedes them:

Thou wilt mee save, I will thee Celebrate.  
Thou'lt kill my Sins that cut my heart within:  
Any my rought Feet shall thy smooth praises sing.  


The hope remains future tense for him, but the smooth final lines become his attempt to realize that hope and contrast markedly with the roughness of the opening section depicting his sin. Because hope cannot live without the glimmer of possibility, Taylor writes more successfully as evidence of saving grace.

Another example of Taylor's wrestling with his own sinfulness in a paradigmatic meditation occurs in PM 1.30. Eight of the meditation's eleven stanzas detail his condition in sin. Employing, as Professor Stanford notes, an echo of Herbert's refrain "Was ever grief like mine?" from "The Sacrifice," Taylor elaborates on his sinful condition using scatological images, calling his state a "Dunghill Pit" (4), "A Sty of Filth" (3). He indicates his awareness that his struggle is "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. 6.12) by talking of his heart as Satan's soil, his "Bowling Ally" (11), and his "Palace Garden" (13). That Satan should be presented as playing games ("Nine Pins, Nine Holes," "Cudgells, Kit-Cat,"
Cards, "Dice," "Noddy," etc.) in his heart may seem a queer metaphor, but to Taylor the argument presented is a strong one: his soul is no longer engaged in battle with evil; he has so totally lost that Satan can play games at leisure, fearing no assault. That his condition is fatal comes as no surprise to realistic Taylor:

Was ever Heart like mine? Pride, Passion, fell.  
Atheism, Blasphemy, pot, pipe it, dance  
Play Barlybreaks, and at last Couple in Hell.  
1.40, 19-21.

In fact, in stanza eight he attributes his lack of total despair to God's "grace" because it seems to him that his "sin is greater than [God's Saving] grace" (48). Taylor again demonstrates his awareness of the Pauline doctrine that man must experience near despair over his alienated condition before he can achieve an understanding of God's grace.

In stanza nine of PM 1.40 Taylor's emotional state shifts abruptly following the last word of stanza eight: "grace." He declares the possibility of hope for salvation following his joy over Christ's grace. He insists, "Christ's name / Propitiation is for sins" (49, 50), recognizing Christ's redemptive role in the salvation of the elect. He then requests personal election: "Lord, take / It so for mine" (50, 51). In an image calculated to recall Christian baptismal cleansing, Taylor again requests election and purification:

Then soake my soule in Zions Bucking tub  
With Holy Soap, and Mitre, and rich Lye
The propriatory power of Christ's sacrificial death to bring grace is not explored at length. For this reason the middle section devoted to God's grace is shorter than the third section devoted to Taylor's hope for election and far shorter than the opening stanzas on his sinful condition. In the last lines of the meditation he prays and hopes that Christ's blood will quench God's wrath and "slay Sin" (66) in his life and that he will be eternally (implanted) "brencht" in God's love. His faith has triumphed over his awareness of sin, although his hope for election is ultimately unrealized in this life.

The next meditation in the first series which exhibits the Pauline thematic structure, PM 1.45, begins similarly to PM 1.40. Taylor laments his fallen state—"My Heart's a Swamp, Brake, Thicket vile of Sin, / My Head's a Bog of Filth: (2,3)—and summarizes his plight: "Becrown'd with Filth / Oh! what vile thing am I?" (7). This self-deprecation lasts for three stanzas. Through the remainder of the poem he presents grace both as present reality and as future expectation. In stanza four grace appears to be realized: Taylor claims his hands are washed in grace, his feet are made to walk in God's path, and his head is hugged to the Lord's bosom, all despite his own enmity with God because of his sinful condition. Beyond that, the grace of "Saints and Angell's (26) has made a "Crown of Glory (30) for his head. He experiences a sharp tension, for no matter what vision of the glory of grace he has in the present, it is only in the future that his election and transformation are confirmed. He recog-
izes this dilemma by insisting that in the eschatological future his "sorry Verse" (38) will be glorious as he tunes "an higher pin" (40). Throughout this sequence of Preparatory Meditations Taylor evidences his highest awareness of himself as poet; the metaphor of poetic praise becomes synonymous with living a glorified life as one of God's elect. The aim of life, then, becomes expressed in Taylor's wish "To tend thy Lord in all admiring Style" (1.41.40).

In the final meditation of the first series which follows the Pauline structural pattern, PM 1.47, Taylor truncates his discussion of God's grace. The meditation opens with the poet in his prelapsarian glory: "I wore Angells Glory in each part; (3). the fall and subsequent corruption of the self is depicted by a spider which "spit its Vomit" (6) on him and permeated both "Soul and Body" (8) so that he swells too large for entrance through "the narrow gate to God" (12). Consequently, his lost condition is summarized in the opening line of stanza three: "Ready to burst, thus, and to burn in hell" (13). The remaining lines of the third stanza present God's salvific grace as Taylor "discovers" a plantain, or medicinal herb, which drips a balm which, like the "Balm of Gilead" restores his soul and allows entrance to God. The poem closes with his request, "Lord feed me with this Waybread Leafe, I pray" (18), and his vision of the "Gartes of Pearle" (25) through which his hope will be realized in eschatological victory. Instead of a spider, his soul will have Angells "Who'l guard my Pearl to glory, hous'd in clay" (24). The tension inherent in Christianity was for Taylor, as it was for all Calvinists, to hope that one's clay housed a pearl indeed.
In the second series of *Preparatory Meditations* Edward Taylor develops thirty meditations through typological comparison of Christ with Old Testament figures. Many poems in the typological sequence are shaped by the tripartite structure derived from meditative practices and from the theology of St. Paul. The initial poem of the series, PM 2.1, opens with Taylor's confession of sin; he is "Leaden heeled" (1), his heart "bedded is in Snow" (2), his spirits are dull, and his sin stains are deeply imbedded. The second movement of the poem, which focuses on the glory of Christ's grace, is the section which is most altered by the typological comparisons because Christ is glorified through his typification in the Old Testament. In this first poem which introduces the typological sequence, Taylor gives no specific typical comparison with Christ. Instead, he praises typology itself and thereby glorifies Christ: "The glory of the world slickt up in types" (13) meets in Christ, but "Thy glory doth their glory quite excell" (20). He experiences joy in thus glorifying Christ as the prophesied and typied bringer of Grace. The final section of the meditation contains Taylor's hope for election through his request for God's pardon: "Then Pardon, Lord, my fault: and let thy beams / Of holiness pierce through this heart of mine" (31, 32). The final

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32 For a recent examination of Taylor's typological sequence with reference to the Nebraska holograph manuscript of thirty-six sermons on types, see Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 89-111.

33 It should be noted that some of Taylor's metaphors of sin are cradled within requests to be changed; for instance, he begs God to "File" and make "sharp and bright" his "dull Spirits" (5).
couplet is in the form of a promise: if he is made new in Christ, he will offer praise for his election.

In PM 2.3 Taylor displays the Pauline paradigm within his typic comparison of Christ with Adam and Noah. After a brief comparison of himself with a marigold which closes its petals at sundown, he laments that his apples merely "ashes are in apple shells / And dirty too" (4, 5). In other words, he is a sinful and fallen creature, though he once exhibited the glory of the divine essence, as he states in stanza three:

... my dusty essence thin
Impregnate with a Sparke Divine, deface,
All Candid o’re with Leprosie of Sin.
2.3, 14-16.

"Impregnate" functions adjectivally rather than an an imperative:

Taylor knows that he retains vestiges of God's "image" even in his sin (which he characterizes as leprosy). The poet shifts from his sin and imperfection with its concomitant despair in stanza four. His sins appear to block the way of grace and faith. "Faith," he insists, "scarce can toss a Sight / Over [his 'brissled sins' (19)] head upon thyselfe to light" (23, 24). Difficult though it be, faith is able to overcome his sins to reach Christ, so he can be "A Mediator unto God for mee" (22). Stanza five marks another transition as Taylor expresses hope for election. Just as he had trouble affixing his faith on

34 Stanford notes that these apples are "Apples of Sodom (Dead Sea Fruit) of fair appearance but turning to smoke and ashes when picked."
Jesus because of his horrid sins, so he has difficulty accepting that God's love could come to "me Sins Dunghill" (26). Indeed, he again approaches despair: "this makes my pale face Hope almost despair" (30). In the final stanza he moves the reader from this second trough of near-despair to genuine hope as he suggests that only a small portion ("a titimous Quill" 31) of "Graces milk Pails" (32) will avail him. The poem closes in two of Taylor's finest lines explaining what it means to perform acts of verbal praise: he hopes in election "To build there [i. e. in his heart] Wonders Chappell where Thy Praise / Shalt be the Psalms sung forth in gracious layes" (35, 36). The movement of this meditation completes the Pauline structure: from his sin through the glory of Christ's grace to hope for salvation, Taylor views Christ as more glorious than Adam or Noah.

In PM 2.8, which is based on St. Paul's exclamation in Romans 5.8 that "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us," Taylor meditates paradigmatically upon a typical comparison of Christ with a Dove and then with Christ as God's love letter. After opening with a declaration of amazement at God's love, he presents this general portrait of man's fall: "Poore sinfull man lay grovling on the ground. / Thy wrath, and Curse to dust lay grinding him" (7, 8). Fallen man was, according to Taylor, destitute in a world full of curses, and God's love was "Caskt in Heaven" (12) beyond man's access. Stanza three presents the coming of Grace through Christ in several disparate images. First, God's love chased sin to heaven as a gunshot chases a flock of doves; "Graces Bird did hatch" (17) from that nest, and God takes a feather to make a pen to write his "Love Letter" (21) to man.
This letter of grace in Jesus opened heaven and "rout the Curse, Sin Divell, Hell (Oh Deare), / And brake Deaths jaw bones, and its Sting destroy" (33, 34). Taylor turns toward hope for election in the final stanza; amazed at God's grace, he requests (he almost seems to "demand" of God in his desperation) that this love letter be sent to him as his clear and certain hope of election: "My God / This thy Love Letter to mee send" (37). In the closing couplet he expresses hope that he will, as one of God's elect, have the opportunity to praise God with the "Angells" (41).

This inability to praise God properly because of sinfulness becomes a dominant theme in Taylor's next paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.13. He asserts, "I fain would praise thee, Lord, but when I would, / I find my Sin my Praise dispraises bring" (1, 2). Sin fouls the hands he would raise in praise and prayer and, employing the metaphor of the Old Testament heave offering, Taylor laments that his mind is "heartless" (6) and he cannot, consequently, heave his heart to God. Leaving his sinful condition, he next discusses Christ's glorification through his typological pairing with Solomon. Christ is praised for his kingship, his wisdom, and his building of spiritual temple (as Solomon had built the temple of God), which is God's elect. In this way Taylor is able to praise the person of Christ, "the perfect'st jem / That Adams off spring ever brudled" (20, 21), and God's effective grace in his gathering of the elect for all eternity.

35 Note that Taylor here plays against St. Paul's injunction on prayer and holiness: "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting" (1 Tim. 2.8).
The final section recals the poet's opening declaration of his sin before moving to his request for saving grace and election. The glory of Christ scarcely reaches him, he insists, because his heart "Is so ditcht with Sin" (38). "Oh! feed me at thy Table" (43) is his ultimate request for salvation. In the final two couplets Taylor assures God that his election and sanctification will consummate, ultimately, in his ability to glorify the Lord.

In the following meditation, PM 2.14, Taylor recapitulates the Pauline paradigm emphasizing the central section on God's grace through Christ. The only unusual feature of the meditation is the large number of questions used to develop the poem. He begins the meditation with graphic images of his sin-sickness: "Halfe Dead: and rotten at the Coare: my Lord! / I am Consumptive" (1, 2); "In Guilt and Filth I wallow, Sent and Swell" (6). Beginning with stanza two Taylor opens each of the following six stanzas with a question. "Shall not that Wisdom . . .?" opens stanzas two through four as he queries if the Wisdom in Christ can "purge all Filth and Guilt" (11), "guide" (18) him until he gains glory, and "adorn [him] with Grace" (23). Christ is praised highly as Taylor asks,


This praise of Christ through the offices of prophet, priest, and king is his testimony to God's grace through Jesus. In the concluding stanza Taylor hopefully requests salvation—"Draw out thy Wisdom,
Lord, and make me just" (i.e. "justify me")--and he promises gratitude of praise: Let thy rich Grace mee save from Sin, and Death: / And I will tune thy Praise with holy Breath" (47, 48). God's grace has been victorious over sin and death through his crucifixion and resurrection, so Taylor awaits a future personal victory over sin and death as one of God's chosen elect. He has followed the Pauline pattern of salvation in his meditation: his thoughts have moved from the despair of his sin and the joy of Christ's bringing grace to his personal hope for election.

PM 2.17, a typological meditation based on Ephesians 5.2 which describes Christ as the antitypal sacrificial offering for man's sins, also illustrates this Pauline paradigm well. The first sixteen lines rehearse man's creation as the epitome of God's handiwork; then Taylor recounts his fall from relationship with God: "But man the best servd thee the Worst of all" (5). He gives center stage to Christ's sacrifice for his elect from line seventeen through line forty-two. The process of substitutionary atonement through Christ's sacrifice is described in personal terms:

I sin'd. Christ, bailes, Grace takes him Surety, Translaes my Sin upon his sinless Shine. He's guilty thus, and Justice thus doth eye And sues the band, and brings on him the fine. 2.17, 19-22.

An interesting tension develops between stanzas five and six. Taylor presents Christ's sacrifice for himself as one of the elect in stanza five: "Hence thou alone art made for mee / Burnt, Meat, Peace Sin,
and Trespass Offering" (27, 28). But in stanza six the sacrifice is for the elect and the poet requests to be one of them: "This fire upon thee burnt, and is allay'd / For all of thine. Oh make me thine I pray" (31, 32). Taylor's double stance as elected and still hoping for election illustrates again the precarious Calvinist balance between despair and presumption. After two stanzas reiterating God's grace in Christ and offering himself in a hope-filled request to have his love rolled in God's love (43, 44) and to have Christ as his sacrifice (49) so he may be atoned for, Taylor says he will praise God in hope of election: "in hope of Which I in thy Service sing / Unto thy Priase upon my Harp within? (53, 54). Here he clearly establishes that the praise offered to God is offered as a token of hope to be realized in the future.

In PM 2:18 Taylor analyzes the typic comparison of Christ as God's altar. He opens with a recognition of his sinful, fallen state, complaining that he is "A Lump of Lewdeness, Pouch of Sin, a purse / Of Naughtiness" (4, 5) and that his "Heart's a Park or Chase of Sins" (13). He summarizes his need before God: "sure then I lack Atone- ment' (13). He requests salvation early in the meditation (lines six and thirteen) as he develops the curious image of Christ, not as sacrifice, but as the altar upon which his elect sacrifice themselves. The power to destroy sin in their lives resides in the altar:

This Golden Altar puts such weight into The sacrifices offer'd on't, that it Ore weighs the Weight of all the sins that flow In thine Elect. 2:18, 25-28.
Later he joyfully exclaims that the sacrifice destroys "Vengeance" (29) "And from [the Elect's] Guilt and shame them cleare deliverers" (30). Christ as the antitype of the altar sanctifies and purifies his elect who have been offered to God. "This atones for sin" (39), Taylor exclaims, completing his typological presentation of God's grace in Christ. One should note that Taylor's sacrifice of himself upon Christ's altar parallels St. Paul's doctrine of the believer's death to himself when he becomes Christian. The poem continues, however, with a sophisticated alteration of the altar analogy so that Christ becomes a substitutionary sacrifice as Taylor hopes for and requests election:

Lord let thy Deity mine Altar bee
And make thy Manhood, on't my sacrifice
For mine Atonement; make them both for mee.

2.18, 55-57.

His use of the subjunctive "let" presents his election as an unaccomplished event, but in the final stanza he exclaims that even thoughts of election make him offer his "Sacrifice of Praise in Melody" (64) which, when angels catch his tune, will indicate his actual election.

PM 2.20 is an interesting paradigmatic meditation because Taylor merges future tense into the present in such a way that hope for election becomes, as it were, "realized" during part of the poem. His personal fall into sin is presented in the image of himself as God's "Worship-mould" (1), or pattern of worship, which has been distorted, his "Print" (3) blurred by sin. Taylor begins with the
tabernacle as a type of Christ. Using this typical comparison, he presents his election:

Thy Son, my Lord, my Tabernacle he
Shall be: me run into thy mould again.
Then in this Temple I will Worship thee.

2.20, 8-10.

This might be the conclusion in many of Taylor's meditations, but in 2.20 it precedes a long listing of temple objects which also typify Christ, demonstrating the efficacy of God's grace in Christ. Christ is the antitype of the Temple's and Tabernacle's "Laver, Alter, Shew Bread" (23), "Golden Table" (34) "Sweet Incense" (33) "Golden Candlestick" (35) "Mercy Seate" (42) "Guide of Temple Light" (45) "Oracle, Arke [of the Covenant]" (47), and "Medium of God" (49). All of these types in some way witness to Christ, who is also the "holy Oyle in the Grace's Pipe. / The flames whereof, enmixt with Grace assaile / With Grace the heart" (36-38). These descriptions and typological comparisons are made in the present tense, as if Taylor's election were assured. But just as it seems that the joy of God's grace has become realized hope, he asks, "Art thou my Temple, Lord?" (53) and the reader is aware that Taylor has been attempting to have "realized" hope which brings full security of election. The final stanza, however, restores his hope for election to the future tense: if he is chosen as one of the elect he promises to bring "Temple Musick" (60). So, although the poem presents the prominent Pauline tripartite structure, Taylor varies tense to give his hope for election more credibility.
PM 2.23 employs a paradigmatic typological comparison of Aaron and Christ. After a three-stanza opening of praise for God through meiosis, Taylor states his sinful plight in stanza four:

Sins thick and three fold at my threshold lay  
At Graces threshold I all gore in Sin.  
Christ backt the Curtain, Grace made bright the day,  
As he did our Atonement full step in.  
2.23, 19-22

In this way he accepts the historical fact of God's grace before he expands Christ's typological comparison with Aaron. Aaron's sacrifice of two goats (one of which was killed and the other released) to atone for the sins of the Israelites typified, according to Taylor, Christ's manhood (killed) and his Godhead (the released scapegoat). Joy reigns during this segment as the poet celebrates God's grace. The poem ends in hope for election, completing the Pauline formula, as Taylor requests God to accept him and prepare him for service:

Lord, let thy Gracious hand me chafe, and rub  
Till my numbd joyns be quickn'd and compleat,  
With Heate and Spirits all divine, and good,  
To make them nimble in thy Service Greate.  
Oh! take my ALL thyself, all though I bee  
All bad, I have no better gift for thee.  
2.23, 67-72.

His hope for regeneration, presented here in terms of warming from cold, remains a key element in the tripartite structure, although it receives less emphasis than the first section depicting his sin and the second section analyzing Christ as antitype of Aaron.
The inadequacy of the type (when compared to Christ) informs the opening section of the next paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.26. From the initial cry, "Unclean, Unclean" (1) Taylor enlarges on his sinful condition: "A bog of botches, Lump of Loathsomeness: / Defiled by Touch, by Issue: Leproust flesh" (5, 6). The tension of his own unworthiness intensifies as he holds out the standard which he must meet to be one of the elect: "Thy Churches do require / Pure Holiness: I am all filth, alas!" (13, 14). In this despair he points to the ineffectiveness of Old Covenant sacrifice: the heifer's ashes are too weak to cleanse (19-21), while dove offerings merely emblematize Christ's blood which could wash sin (21-24). Having come to Christ's ability to offer pardon, Taylor ecstatically shouts "Oh! richest Grace" (25), praising Christ as the "bright Chrystall Crimson Fountain" (29) that washes sin away. He hopefully states his plea for regeneration and election in the final stanza:

Oh! wash mee, Lord, in this Choice Fountain, White That I may enter, and not sully here Thy Church . . . . 2.26, 31-33.

Taylor thus employs typological comparison to emphasize man's sinfulness and the inadequacy of Old Covenant ordinances prior to Christ so Christ may be praised.

In the following paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.27, Taylor transfers his gaze from Christ's glory to his own sinful, fallen condition figured by leprosy. Finding that "Issues and Leprosies" (8) stream all over him, he has been forced to flee God's camp, Israel here
representing the elect of God. Grace in Christ is typified in the poem through the sacrifice of turtle doves and rams and through the application of sacrificial blood to his right ear, thub, and toe for purification. Taylor punctuates his presentation of the efficacy of God's grace with requests for that grace (24; 37-39, 53, 54) before closing the meditation in a stanza hopeful of cleansing (election). He requests "The Breath of Sanctifying Grace" (58) and Christ's atoning blood: "Lord, Cleanse mee thus with thy Rich Bloods Sweet Shower / My Issue Stop: destroy my Leprosy" (61, 62). The type (leprosy) has been assimilated into Taylor's application of the Pauline paradigm; leprosy types sin which will hopefully be cleansed by Christ's gift of grace if the poet is one of God's chosen.

Taylor employs another type paradigmatically in PM. 2.28: the cities of refuge established as a protection against family vengeance and retribution when Israel conquered Canaan. The meditation begins with a rehearsal of creation, including a portrait of man as God's chief glory. In stanza two he recounts his personal prelapsarian glory and fall, almost as if he were St. Paul's representative man:

How brave, and bright was I then, Lord myselfe?
But woe is mee! I have transgresst thy law,
Undone, defild, Disgrac'd, destroy'd my Wealth,
Persu'de by flaming Vengeance.

2.28, 7-10.

The question of Taylor's election and salvation, the question upon which the entire poem turns, is this: "Shall I fall by the Venger's hand, before / I get within the Refuge City's doore?" (17, 18).
Following his query, he explains God's grace as it is typified by the cities of Refuge. Knowing that, by his sin, he has murdered the Son of Man as well as himself, Taylor pleads to God: "Thou art my Refuge City" (21); "Let mee in" (24). His hope of election consists primarily in his request for wings ("Godlen Wings of Faith" 27, and "sails" 31) to speed his flight from Vengeance to the City of Refuge which is the harbor of God's saving grace. With his hope grounded in God and his saving grace, Taylor attempts to escape just wrath by seeking assurance of election.

Meditation 29 of the Second Series also illustrates a classic example of the SIN-GRACE-HOPE paradigm which provided Edward Taylor a conceptual framework to examine man's relationship with God. Taylor stumbles for a place to start his meditation because man's fallen condition leaves him in hopeless despair:

2.29, 1-3.

From his sinful position he examines Noah's ark as a type of Christ. The flood covered the earth in Noah's day just as God's wrath pours from "Smoakie Clouds of Wrath" (6), the "Fountains of the Deep" (7), and "Cataracts of heaven" (7) to inundate sinful man. Helplessly lost, he cries out for the ark which Christ Antitypes. Pressing the analogy, Taylor explains that Christ's human nature, like the ark's gopher wood, was "Bituminated" (20) inside and out with "the Holy Spirits pitch" (21) and "Propitiatory Grace" (22). That only the
 elect of God will be saved is made clear:

All that would not be drowned must be in' t
Be Arkd in Christ, or else the Cursed rout
Of Crimson Sins their Cargo will them sinke
And suffocate in Hell, because without.
2.29, 31-34.

The transition between the second section of the meditation (grace-joy) and the final section (hope for election) occurs in lines thirty-five and thirty-six. Taylor hopes for the joy of grace through election: "Then Ark me, Lord, thus in thyself that I / May dance upon these drowning Waves with joye." Following a one-stanza description of the church as an ark where concord prevails even between enemies, he again hopes for election by request: "Take me, my Lord, into thy Golden Ark" (43) that he may "swim safe ore all" (46) hell's flames. Resolution is reached by anticipation: hope for election sustains the poet in his earthly life as he awaits the eternal and irrevokable answer.

In PM 2.30 Taylor uses the Pauline typological comparison of Christ and Johah. In stanza two he reiterates man's fall; the serpent lurked beneath "an apple paring" (10) and destroyed man who "was the mirror of thy Works / In happy state, adorn't with Glory's Wealth" (7, 8). Man's condition was such that, according to Taylor, he "lost God, and lost his Glee" (12). Thereafter in the meditation Taylor praises Christ through typic comparison of Christ with Johah, who was three
days in the belly of "Neptunes Dog," a "Mighty Whale" (27).\(^3\)

Just as Jonah proclaimed repentance to Nineveh, so Christ offers grace to his elect: "in glorious Grace he to the Heather goes / Envites them to Repentence, they accept" (61, 62). The outcome of the acceptance of grace through repentance by God's elect is that death dies: "Death on her deathbed lies, Consumes and pines" (66). Taylor applies the antitype to himself, seeing the efficacy of Christ's grace generating hope:

Here is my rich Atonement in thy Death.

This turns from me Gods wrath: Thy sweet, sweet breath
Revives my heart: thy Rising up o're boast
My Soule with Hope seeing acquittance in't.
That all my sins are kill'd, that did mee sinke.

2.30, 67; 69-72.

The final movement of the meditation concludes with hope for election through Taylor's thanking God for his past action (the sacrificial atonement) and the request that Christ's "Dovy wing" (74) overshadow him and the celestial dews of Christ's grace "besprindge" (76) his soul in election.

In PM 2.34 Taylor abandons typology and fashions his own meiotic analogies to praise God in a long, five-stanza introduction. In one of his most quoted lines, he compares Christ's incarnation in a

\[^3\] Jesus himself had said that Jonah's plight had signified his burial and resurrection: "for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Matt. 12.40.
physical body with the principle of finding "a Pearle in Oister Shells" (19). His poetic argument following the introduction develops according to the Pauline paradigm. He laments that God's "Justice doth stave / Off from the bliss Love" (31, 32) of God unregenerate man, who is "defiled by Sin" (31). Having thus mentioned man's sin-stained condition apart from God, Taylor moves to the theme of grace. He employs two interconnected metaphors; first, Love turns the "Conduit Cook" (35) to convey the blood to repay the elect's debt in an accounting metaphor. Next, the blood is employed in a cleansing metaphor which depicts God's grace:

Loves Milke white hand
Then takes and brings unto her Ewer of blood
Doth make Free Grace her golden Wisp, and Sand
With which she doth therein them Wash scoure, rub
And Wrince them cleane.

2.34, 37-41.

In the following stanza Taylor joyously restates Christ's dispensing of grace: Christ pays the elect's fine in the "Court of Justice" (44) and assumes the elect's "Sin, Guilt, Curse" (47). The final movement of the poem contains the poet's hope-filled request for grace and his offer of service and praise: "Make such a Change, my Lord, with me, I pray" (49); "Wash off my filth, with thy rich blood, and I / Will stud my praise with thankful melody" (53, 54).

Not until PM 2.60A does one encounter another meditation which exhibits formal influence by the Pauline redemptive model. Taylor opens by revealing his need ("Ist die of Famine, Lord" 5) and then he specifies his real problem: "I'm sick; my sickness is mortality / And
Sin both Complicate" (7, 8). Through a typological linking of "Manna" with Christ he reveals God's answer to man's sinful condition: "Nought but a bit of manna can mee save" (12). This declaration marks the transition to the second section of the poem in which Christ's saving grace is delivered to the elect through Christ the "Bread of Life" (26) in a metaphor authorized by Jesus himself (Jn. 6.48) and particularly suited to preparation for administration of the Lord's Supper. The elect, who receive the Bread of Life, live a "Life of lively Grace" (27). Interestingly, as Taylor compares Christ to the manna which fell in a dew upon the camp of the Israelites, he points to the Bible ("in thy word" 19) as the place where grace-begetting experience begins. The poem ends with three stanzas of request for regeneration and hope for election. "Refresh my Sight, Lord" (31), "Delight my fast" (32), "Enrich my Stomach" (33); "And with this Angells bread me recreate" (34) he pleads. The final lines, like so many final lines of previously analyzed meditations, offer the fruit of praise for election.

Taylor's image of the self as a china or amber casket in the next paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.67A, presents a curious beginning because he compares the cask to silver bowls apparently sent to the

37 This request also includes a wish to be the manna pot in the Ark of the Covenant; see Exodus 16.32-34.

38 One should note that the second-to-last stanza contains anti-Stoddardean elements: Taylor pushes his Mannah-Christ as Bread of Life typological comparison to insist that the Lord's Supper, if mishandled (such as being administered to the non-elect) will occasion spiritual sickness: "Yet where it is not rightly used it turns / To Nauseous set, and doth occasion worms" (41, 42).
Temple by one of the Ptolemies (5). In stanza three he concludes this opening comparison with the brokenness of the cask and its unsuitability for service. Taylor then confirms man's fallen, desperate condition as he enters the first section of the Pauline paradigm:
"Distempered by ill Humors" (22), "The Spirits and the Vial both are sick" (19). He despairs at his own inability to alter his sinful condition:

I fain would Cure
Of all ill Humors, Sickness, wound or Sore
But cannot do the same.
2.67A, 29-31

However, in his despair he joyfully considers God's grace in Christ, who comes "With healing in his Wings Physician-wise" (34). As long as the possibility of grace through election exists, Taylor indicates he will not succumb to despair: "While healing Wings abide, Ile not give o're" (48). The poem moves to a conclusion with his prayer for election:

Grant, Lord, mine Eyes . . .
Thy shining Sun of Righteousness may kiss
And broodled bee under its Healing Wing.
2.67A, 56-58.

Taylor's hope rests in his future healing by the Son of righteousness, who has healing in his wings (Mal. 4.2). If he is one of God's elect, he promises he will offer praise like a "Nightingaile in th' Spring" (59).
PM 2.69 similarly demonstrates evidence of the Pauline paradigm. Despair pervades the first three stanzas as Taylor laments his fallen nature:

Dull' Dull' My Lord, as if I eaten had
A Peck of Melancholy: or my Soule
Was lockt up by a Poppy key, black, sad.

Deformed and nauseous, he exclaims, "mine iniquities / Like Crawling Worms doe worm eat on my joys: (11, 12) and protests that, though he lives "in Physicians shop," "a Dove / Of hellish Vermin range all ore [his] Soul" (15, 16). Out of despair he experiences the joy of finding grace available through Jesus, who has become the Lilly of the Valleys (Song of Solomon 2.2):

But oh! the Wonder! Christ alone the Sun
Of Righteousness, that he might do the Cure
The Lilly of the Vallies is become.

Assuming that election and grace will be forthcoming (Christ "shall / Be to mee Glory, Med'cine, Sweetness, all" 29, 30), Taylor hopefully requests his election using the image of the Lilly of the Valley:

"Lord, make me th' Vally where this Lilly grows. / Then I am Thine, and thou art mine indeed" (37, 38). He closes the meditation with a comment on the mutual propriety that will occur when he is made one of God's elect: his life will be glorious, but God will have that glory returned in his praises. From sin to joy through Christ, Taylor has
aimed at hope for election which balances between despair and presumption.

In the next paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.70, Taylor applies St. Paul's contrast between the Old Covenant with its seal of Jewish circumcision and the New Covenant sealed by a "Circumcision made without hands" (Col. 2.11), which is associated with baptism. The poem opens with the poet questioning about man's fall and the taint of original sin; when God made man complete, he queries how would it be that when "Natures egge" (3) broke, "the bird defilde out burst?" (4). Dropping his question unanswered, Taylor moves to examine God's grace through covenant seals. Sinful, rebellious man under the Covenant of Grace needs a sign or seal of his election, he argues, just as the Israelites needed circumcision as a sign of their special covenant relationship with God under the Covenant of Works. Taylor here presents God's grace in Christ in an unusual way, as Professor Stanford's note to the meditation indicates: the blood of circumcision under the covenant of Works is a type of the blood of Christ which atones for sin under the Covenant of Grace. First, Christ's circumcision, identified in the headnote passage as man's "putting off of the sins of the flesh" in baptism, pacifies God's wrath (19, 20), brings righteousness, purges sin, mortifies proud nauthtiness, and wishes the elect with grace (21, 22). Taylor joyfully asserts that baptism, which is "so keen and Cutting sharp" (32) is a better seal of the new covenant (34) and is, therefore, rightful heir to circumcision. The central section of the meditation (stanzas two through six), then, explices God's grace through circumcision and baptism as type and
antitype, respectively. The final two stanzas contain the poet's hope-laden request for implantation and cleansing: he wants Christ's "Blood to wash away the filth in mee" (38) with "New Covenantall blood" (44) in an obvious sacrificial-baptism metaphor. His hope for election is shown most strongly as he combines his request with images of baptism and cleansing, followed with promises to praise God when he is elected.

Another example of the influence of the Pauline paradigm is found in PM 2.75 in which Taylor expands on St. Paul's phrase "our vile bodie" in Phillipians 3. After two stanzas expressing amazement that God would choose to implant the "Sparkling Gems" (5) of his grace in the vile bodies of his elect, he explains man's sinfull, fallen condition through the analogy of the body as a "Mudwall tent" (13) which houses the soul. The body is innately sinful, according to Taylor, who describes it scatologically, as its own decomposition after death testifies: "Guts, Garbage, Rotteness / And all its pipes but Sincks of nasty ware" (22, 23). It is "A varnisht pot of putrid excrements / And quickly turns to excrements itselfe" (25, 26). To complete man's fall, he insists that man's soul is defiled by his body:

The Soule Creeps in't. And by it's too defil'd.
Are both made base and vile, can have no peace
Without, nor in.

2.75, 32-34.

In this condition of sinful depravity he voices the ultimate question of whether God's eternal purpose has been thwarted by the fall: "What now becomes of Gods Electing Love?" (38).
The question functions as a turning point in the poem, for immediately Taylor presents saving grace as God's response to man's condition in imagery from the cleansing of houses (Leviticus 14.33 ff): Christ "kills the Leprosy that taints the Walls: / And sanctifies the house before it falls" (41, 42), a "falling" which is a metaphor for eternal damnation. To clarify this metaphor of grace he insists that, for God's elect who have "bodies very vile and base / Christ hath enthron'de all sanctifying Grace" (47, 48). The joy of grace informs this central section of the meditation which ends with Taylor exclaiming, "Angells are amazed stand" (54) at God's wonderworking grace.

The conclusion, full of the hope for election, contains his confession of vileness and his request for salvation: "Oh! make my Body, Lord, Although its vile, / Thy Warehouse where Grace doth her treasures lay" (55, 56). He offers God "Glorious praise in e`ry room" (60) if he is elected by God's "free Grace" (59).

In the next paradigmatic meditation, PM 2.77, Taylor follows the metaphor of singing through all three stages of the Pauline pattern. He emphasizes his sinful condition by compressing the paradigm's final two elements, grace and hope for election, into one closing stanza. Mentioning his "Dungeon State" (1) in the waterless pit Zechariah 9.11 (the scriptural text for the meditation) in the opening stanza, Taylor explains his fall from paradise metaphorically:

I, as a Gold-fincht Nighting Gale, tun'd ore
Melodious Songs 'fore Glories Palace Doore.

But on this bough I tuning Pearcht not long:
Th' Infernall Foe shot out a Shaft from Hell,
A Fiery Dart pild with Sins poison strong:
That struck my heart, and down I headlong fell.
2.77, 11-16.

In this "Pit of Sin" (19) with his "Gold-Fincht Angell Feathers dapel'd in / Hells Scarlet Dy fat, blood red grown with Sin: (23, 24), Taylor has no relief from "Fears, Heart-Achs, Grief" (31). From the despair of his entrapment in the waterless pit, he points to the possibility of God's saving grace in the final stanza:

thy golden Chain of Grace
Thou canst let down, and draw mee up into
Thy Holy Aire, and Glory's Happy Place.
2.77, 37-39.

There is no formal request for God's election, only the subjunctive promise that if God's grace saves him then he will "twang" (42) God's praise on his harp. The poet assumes that the request is self-evident, acknowledging that his hope rests upon God's absolute mercy.

In the following meditation, PM 2.78, Taylor again uses the waterless pit of Zechariah 9.11 as a metaphor for man's separation from God. Instead of focusing chiefly on his sin as in the previous meditation, he achieves a balance between sin (three stanzas) and God's grace (four stanzas). The poem opens, according to the Pauline model, with the poet's "fall" from bliss into the waterless pit of sin and despair. He alters the Genesis account so he "falls" after merely seeing the fruit of the "Tree of Knowledge" (2). The signs of the tree initiated severe headaches which confused his steps and led to
his fall into the pit. The first section ends with Taylor trapped in "Sins Filthy Dungeon State" (13) which "next doore is to Hell" (6). Section two, depicting God's grace to his elect, opens with the curious figure of God as an "Artist" (20) who anvils out "A Golden Coarde, and bucket of Grace Choice / Let down top full of Convenantall Blood" (21, 22). The emotional condition of the elect as they are released because of God's free blood of deliverance is nothing less than ecstatic joy:

Padling in their Canoos apace with joyes
Along this blood red Sea, Where joyes do throng,
And sayling in the Ark of Grace that flies
Drove sweetly by Gailes of the Holy Ghost.
2.78, 32-34.

The poem concludes with Taylor's request for grace and election through Christ's "Covenantall blood" (43) which will release him from "Sins dry Dungeon pound" (44). In hope that he is one of God's elect, he promises praise from his sails if indeed he be wafted by the Holy Spirit's gails.

The final meditation which follows the structural pattern of the Pauline paradigm without modification is PM 2.89. Taylor details the creation ex nihilo and the subsequent rise of life (vegetative, sensitive, rational, and spiritual) before recounting man's fall briefly: "But man by Sin hath lost all life, and marr'd / Himselfe eternally.

Taylor here combines Biblical and classical knowledge because the "Barath'rick pit" refers to a deep pit at Athens into which condemned criminals were thrown. "Glossary" to Poems, p. 525.
Death's his reward" (23, 24). He jubilantly proclaims God's offer of grace to his elect as payment to the Law: "making Solution / Unto the Creditor, dost Grace Confer" (27, 28). After further illustrating God's grace by arguing that Christ came to give his elect "Spiritual Life" (37) which had been lost in their fall from God, Taylor hopefully requests the engraving of God's spiritual life in his own life: "Lord, in my Soul and Life this life entwist" (52). He closes by promising to bear glory for God if God will glorify him in election. Beyond PM 2.89 none of Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations employs the Pauline paradigm as a structural model without modification.

IV. Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations: The Pauline Paradigm Modified

In many of Taylor's Preparatory Meditations the Pauline paradigm exists embedded below a surface structure which displays variations on the basic model. These variations and modifications occur in one of two forms: either the order of elements (sin-despair; grace-joy; hope for election) is altered, or Taylor presupposes the existence of that element without elaborating on it. One might argue that the Pauline paradigm has so pervaded Taylor's theology that every poem implies an underlying substructure depicting the process of the elect's movement from sin through the operation of grace to hope for election.40

40 Indeed, Professor Lewalski broadens the influence of the Pauline-Protestant model so much that almost any spiritual experience will fit into the paradigm. She observes: "except for a beginning with effectual calling, and ending with the longing for final glorification, the various stages [election, calling, conviction of sin, repentance, faith, justification adoption] are not so much sequential
However, it appears more helpful in understanding Taylor's Preparatory Meditations to categorize his major variations from the paradigm. Of the remaining meditations which exhibit influence of the Pauline paradigm, there are four major categories: 1) poems in which the Sin-Grace-Hope structure has been altered or in which an element has been added; 2) poems in which the paradigmatic structure has been altered and one of the constituents is implied; 3) poems which follow the paradigm but in which the "Sin" constituent is implied; 4) poems which follow the paradigm but in which "Grace" is implied. These groupings merely facilitate an understanding of the theological substructure of Taylor's Preparatory Meditations with reference to the Pauline paradigm of redemption and are not meant to be categorical.

The first group includes meditations in which the elements of the tripartite structure are resequenced, intermixed, or have an added element. IN PM 1.14, 15 Taylor illustrates God's grace in the opening five stanzas as Christ is praised for his atoning sacrifice on the altar of Justice (stanza four). Only after grace has been extended by the risen Christ (stanza five) does the poet explicate his sinful condition: he has a "Frost bitten Love, Frozen Affections" (31), a "heart of Adamant" (36), and a "Congealed Heart" (37). The poem closes with his request that Christ, with his "Priestly Golden Oares" (43), row in his "Lumpish Heart" (43) to warm his affections for God, and his request for Christ to be his high priest (49) so he can be as concomitant; they "may and should be newly experienced and and relived at any time, to provide matter for meditative exercise."

Lewalski, p. 265.
borne to God's throne as one of the elect. This same restructuring of
the Pauline paradigm so that grace preceds sin and hope occurs in PM
1.24, PM 2.5, PM 2.11, and PM 2.24.

In PM 1.21 which derives from Eph. 2.8, "Through him we have an
access to the father," Taylor begins be describing the heavenly palace
of God's glory; in stanza two the Lord offers saving grace by conduct-
ing the poet through the gates to the palace of God. Upon God's
request to enter, he hesitates, insisting on his sinfulness with
metaphors of a sluggish heart, a deadened mind, and a dirty spirit.
The poem ends in hope as he requests of Christ, "lead me to thy
Fathers House above" (38). The next meditation of this subgroup, PM
2.5, is a typological comparison of Isaac and Christ, which explains
God's grace by comparing Isaac's and Christ's sacrifices. Sin is
finally explained as the cause of the sacrifice in stanza four: "Oh
cotly Sin!.../ What fills my Shell, did make my Saviour die" (21,
22). The poem concludes with Taylor's request in hope that Christ
will refine his inner man and will feed him the "Angell Mess" (39) of
the eschatological banquet.

PM 2.11 resembles PM 2.5 in that Taylor compares Christ to his
type in another Old Testament hero, Samson. In the opening seven
stanzas he rehearses Samson's life and sacrifice ("Took Gaza's Gate
on's back away wnet hee" 34) and compares them to Christ's: "Thou
rose didst from thy Grave and also tookst Deaths Doore away throwing
if off o'th'hooks" (35, 36). In stanza eight he reiterates his sinful
condition and closes the meditation in the hope that Christ will be
his "Samson, Lord, a Rising Sun" (49) to conquer his foes that he,
like an elect flower, might be set in the sunshine of God's saving grace. In the final meditation of this subgroup, PM 2.24, Taylor praises the diving theanthropy as God's method of procuring grace for man. He implies man's fallen state throughout the poem and mentions sin directly in line forty-one. He concludes the meditation with hope of election as he requests God's saving presence in the metaphor of tenant indwelling: "Lord lease thyself to mee out: (55). In all of the preceding meditations Taylor begins by discussing God's grace; the effect of this reordering of the Pauline redemptive structure is to magnify the significance of grace and to diminish the significance of speaker's sin.

Other meditative variations in which all three paradigmatic elements occur include the following: PM 2.33, PM 2.39, PM 2.50, PM 2.60B, PM 2.84, PM 2.87, PM 2.95, PM 2.103, PM 2.107, and PM 2.132. In PM 2.33 Taylor mentions the tree of life which, in context, implies saving grace before he meditates according the tripartite paradigm of sin, grace, and hope. He expresses joy that God offers grace to the "Sinner" and "Worm-hol'de thing" (15) in a self-consuming metaphor: "The fruits doth sacrifice / The tree that bore't" (29, 30). His request for grace ends in hope of election: "Then make me, Lord, they Friend" (37). In the next poem of this group, PM 2.39, all three elements of the paradigm are present; Taylor intermixes pleas for election and grace throughout the meditation. From his opening "Poor wither'd Crickling" (1) to his assertion that his "Chilly Love" lies sick of the Ague (11), his comments on his sinfulness are laced with requests for grace (4, 5, 12). In the final sections of the poem
which depict God's grace and victory over death the poet pleads for election as he does in the traditional paradigmatic poems. He hopes against hope that he can exclaim with St. Paul, "Death, Where's thy Sting? Grave, Where's thy Victory?" (36). In another variation, PM 2.50, Taylor submerges the Pauline matrix beneath a doctrinal "proof of types": in stanza one he glorifies Christ, but the effects of sin and the fall, particularly the loss of "truth" (11), cause God as artist to devise the Old Testament system of Promises, Prophecies, and Types which lead to the revelation of grace in Christ. The proof of this system explained, he concludes by requesting to be a part of eternal truth in election. "Grace" occurs in the poem only as Taylor explicates the typic comparisons.

Another modified Pauline poem in which Taylor's sinfulness is presented only within the hope-filled request for election is PM 2.60B. He analyzes Christ as the antitype of the rock at Horeb in the meditation. His confession of the sinful condition which prevents him from writing pleasing poetry is followed by his praise of Christ's gracious outpouring of grace and righteousness. As Taylor requests election in the first three lines of the final stanza he counters each request with a brief contrast of his present condition:

Lord, oyn t me with this Petro oyle. I'm sick.  
Make mee drink Water of the Rock. I'm dry.  
Me in this fountain Wash. My filth is thick.  
2.60B, 37-39.
A similar transformation of the paradigmatic three-part structure occurs in PM 2.84 which opens with Taylor's explicit question which appears implicitly or explicitly in most of his meditations: "Hast made mee, Lord, one of thy Garden Beds?" (1; i.e., Am I one of the Elect?). In this poem images of sin and grace appear immediately as he extends the garden metaphor. For instance, as he explains what Myrrh (grace and sanctification) will do, he also reveals his fallen, sinful condition: "Its bitter kills the Vermin in my Hive: / The Sweetness make my inward man revive" (29, 30). Taylor ends his meditation in the hope of his election, the hope that God will indeed cure him with myrrh.

Taylor opens PM. 287 by querying, "Life! Life! What's That?" (1) and spends two-thirds of the poem providing various definitions before the final two lines of the fifth stanza where he explains that "Death by a SINFULL Morsell killed" (30) the glory of life. Completing the Pauline paradigm in stanzas six and seven, Taylor praises Christ's grace ("Dy'dst in our Stead, that wee might still have life" 34) and hopes for election ("Give me, Lord, Life, and Grace" 41). In PM 2.95 Taylor intermixes the first two elements of the Pauline schema, sin and God's grace. He praises God through much of the meditation by disparaging himself, which necessitates his evaluation of his sinful nature. The "poore soul" (13) compares himself to a mote, emmet, and ant before his most deprecatory statement: men are "Crumbs of Clay, bing'd all and drencht in Sin" (20). He contrasts God's grace in Christ with man's fallen state and states that the "King of Kings most bright" (14) lays his head on the chopping block.
to "stop the gap with Graces bought" (21). Christ thus prepares the way from "Death's realm" (30) to the "Fathers Hall" (31). Taylor closes the poem in hope, still admitting that he is worthless dust: "And though I'm dust adorn me with thy graces / That though all fleck with Sin, thy Grace may shine" (44, 45). The next poem which follows the Pauline pattern, PM 2.103, appears in this category as a variant because it seems little more than "versified doctrine," one of Taylor's worst poems qua poem. In fact, the poet enters the poem only at its conclusion. The meditation depicts a "Parliament" which functions like a morality play. Justice, Wisdom, and Grace act out the historical development of ceremonial law and typology as they lead man from his sin to a condition of grace in Christ in the Pauline pattern.

Dogma predominates, and the poem concludes with Taylor's request for "true Grace" (67).

An unusual meditation in which Taylor adds to the tripartite formula is PM 2.107. Following opening praise for God, and brief developments of man's sin (stanza two) and God's grace (stanzas three through five), he analyzes the four causes ("The End, Efficient, Matter, and the Form" 32) of the Lord's Supper. This analysis preceds Taylor's conventional request for election: he hopes to be sealed in God's pardon and Covenant of Grace (57, 58). The final poem of this group, PM 2.132, is a poem in which "Hope" for election predominates the other structures in the Pauline model. Taylor reveals his sinfulness in his confession of the failure of his poetry in stanzas one and two. His poetic evidence of God's grace is the presence of the "Lilly" (27) and his request for election begins in stanza four and
continues through the end of the meditation (six full stanzas): "I hope I am one of these Lillies pure" (23); "If I thy Lilly and Sweet be" (29); "If I thy Vally, thou its Lilly bee" (31); "Make mee thy Lilly Lord" (43). In the preceding meditations Taylor has modified the Pauline model of redemption by adding material or resequencing the three-part structure.

The next group contains four meditations in which the order of the constituents has been altered and at least one element is implied by Taylor. In PM 1.4 he reverses the paradigm while repeatedly requesting sanctifying grace. Hoping for salvation, he begs God to lead him into the "Rosy Bower" (19) of the elect, and then he beseeches God as a "Chymist" to "distill" Sharon's rose into four curative elements:

Its Cordiall, ease doth Heart burns Caused by Sin.
Oyle, Syrup, Sugar, and Rose Water such.
Lord, give, give, give; I cannot have too much.

1.4, 45-48.

These requests presented in the hope of election, however, bring Taylor to realize the sacrifice necessary for Christ ("Sharons Rose") to offer sanctifying grace. Additionally, he recognizes that Christ's grace is eternally operative because of Christ's resurrection: "but yet this mangled Rose up again / And in its pristine glory, doth remain" (53, 54). The poem concludes with another request in one of the meditation's smoothest lines: "Open thy Rosie Leaves, and lodge mee there" (60). Taylor has progressed from joy at God's grace in Christ to sorrow for his sinful, lost condition, punctuating both
sections with pleas full of hope for election. In the next meditation of this group, PM 1.5, Taylor hopes for election in requests that Christ be his "Lilly Flower" (1) and that he be the Lilly's "Flower Pot" (6) or "Valley" (7) in each of the poem's three stanzas. The only explicit confession of sin occurs in line seven as he admits that his heart is "barren." God's saving grace in Jesus is also implicit in the figure of the Lilly of the Vallies. The poem is primarily a poem of hope and optimism.

The next poem of this group employs medicinal images to represent grace. In PM 2.62 Taylor's hopeful requests for salvation through election occur simultaneously with his admission of sin; additionally, the requests imply the second element of the paradigm, the efficacious operation of saving grace through Christ. The setting is the eschatological feast and the poet's burning question is "Am I bid to this Feast?" (5). His request for God to prepare ("fit") him for the feast involves purging with divine unguents and, as he assumes a gardening metaphor, the rooting out of weeds. His confession of his need for purification constitutes his admission of his sinful condition within the meditation. The three-part model has been altered so that, the central element of grace being assumed, the fusing of confession and request indicates that this meditation presents an outer edge where the paradigmatic structure formally dissolves into theological background. (This Pauline theological background appears to exhibit less formal influence as the poet writes from "blessed Canticles" late in his career.) Another poem in which the Pauline paradigm dissolves in the same manner is PM 2.67B. Taylor also merges
requests for election and confession of sin while assuming the operative power of God's grace. After praising God's glorious Easter sunshine, he admits his sinfulness by first deprecating his poetry in scatological language (himself a "Dunghill"; he desairs: "My Soule sends out such putrid sent, and rhimes / That with thy beams would Choke the aire with Stincks" 15-16) and then by cataloging diseases caused by Satan. He interrupts this catalog in stanza seven with another request for saving grace (Christ to be his physician) and then continues for five stanzas to the end of the meditation requesting healing and listing diseases. Taylor's requests for election, couched in the metaphor of Christ as physician, assume that saving grace operates through Christ's atoning sacrifice.

The final poem of this group of meditations in which paradigmatic order is altered and one or more elements is assumed, PM 2.144, differs from most of the other meditations because in it Taylor assumes that he is already one of the elect; the poem focuses upon Christ's inspection of his vineyard and the poet's fear that he may not bear fruit and thus prove that he was not really one of God's elect from the beginning.42 "Am I a grafted Branch in the' true true Vine?" (7) begins his requests for assurance of election which then become requests to bear fruit: "Oh let my blossoms and my Buds turn fruits / Lest fruitless I suffer thy prooning Hook" (11, 12). He implies his

42 The metaphor Taylor uses probably refers to St. Paul's comments to the Gentile Christians in Rom. 8.17-24 that "If God spared Not the Natural branches [the Jews], neither will he spare you" (v. 21). Likewise, Taylor was aware of Jesus' analogy of the vine and branches in John 15.1-6 in which he warns that the unfruitful branches will be "case forth" and burned.
sinfulness in stanza three as he requests a purging so he may indeed bear fruit. One unusual feature of the central section of the meditation is a pair of "if...then" statements in which Taylor asserts that, though he appears with the elect, he can be counterfeit. He presents his possible loss in two metaphors: "If in thy Nut Tree Grden I am found / Barren thy prooing knife will Cut and Wound" (17, 18), and "If in thy nuttery, I should be found / To beare... a nut / All Worneate" (19-21), "I well may feare thy prooing hook will Cut / And Cut me off" (22, 23). So, in this highly modified meditation in which the poet hopes for election by assuming he is of the elect, the traditional paradigmatic order collapses amid Taylor's constant requests and his assumption that the reader comprehends his sinful condition and the power of God's grace in Christ. The meditation ends with his promise that, if he be one of God's elect, he will praise God with "Angelick melody" (41).

The next group of meditations which demonstrates evidence of the Pauline paradigm are those poems in which Taylor follows the tripartite (SIN-GRAACE-HOPE) thematic organization, but in which he assumes or implies the sin constituent. The initial poem of this group of four meditations, PM 1.32, opens as he implies his sinfulness and fallen nature evidenced in his inability to write poetry which can properly treat God or God's actions on behalf of man. Unfit "Ragged Rhimes" (2) are all his "Phancy" (2) can produce:

My tazzled Thoughts twirld into Snick-Snarls run.
Thy Grace, my Lord, is such a glorious thing,
It doth Confound me when I would it sing.

1.32, 10-12.
The second stanza mentions the "Object mean" (13) which "by the Prince of Darkness was beguilde" (14) and the reader must assume Taylor refers to himself. Thus the initial section of man's despair at his sin is developed by implication. The second element of the paradigm, God's grace through Jesus, occupies stanzas four through five as grace vents the heart of the Lord to convey "Heavenly Aqua Vitae" (28) into joyous "Earthen Pitchers" (27) who are his elect. Hope pervades the final three stanzas as he requests that God's "Golden Gutters" (29) run into his "cup" (30) and that God speak the word of election to him. In the second poem of this group, PM 1.38, Taylor makes sin implicit through the Pauline image of God's legal courtroom. His sinful state is briefly mentioned as part of his request for grace and election in the final stanza ("My sin is red; I'm under God's Arrest" 38). Otherwise the meditation moves from an explanation of God's grace with Christ as the Advocate (26) who pleads the sinners' case against God's pure law (17). The poem ends with the hopeful request, "Lord, be my advocate (37), as the poet offers in return "Wagoon Loads of Love, and Glory" (42).

The next meditation in which Taylor implies but does not directly develop his sinful condition is PM 2.22, a long typological poem in which God's gracious rescue of man is typified in Israel's rescue from Egyptian bondage. His implied sinful and lost condition is mentioned as "Egyptick Slavery" (7) and later as "Enslaving 'Gypsies Sins" (14). God's grace to man is, of course, represented in and typified by the
"Paschall Lamb" (15) of the Passover feast\(^{43}\) and the entire exodus experience. Taylor joyously designates the antitype as "Christ our Passover" (55). Hope reigns through the conclusion of the meditation as he makes his request in two stages. First, he requests cleansing ("Lord, purge my Leaven out" 31; "My Souls strong Post baptize with this rich blood" 32) so he can begin the escape from sin's slavery. The second request occurs as he explains the antitype: the exodus and new beginning are types of Pentecost, the time of the beginning of God's church. Taylor asks the Lord to make him a guest of the Pentecostal feast, i.e. the Lord's Supper as fused Pentecostal and Eschatological banquet of the Kingdom of God's elect.

In the following modified paradigmatic poem, PM 2.68A, Taylor implies the world's and his sin in images of darkness which oppose God's saving sunshine of righteousness. After lamenting this "dungeon world" (13) of darkness, he metaphorically identifies the joyous shining of the sun with the giving of saving grace: "But thou'rt that Sun, that shines out Saving Grace" (24). In the final movement, the poet's hopeful requests for salvation, the implied sin of the first stanzas is made explicit as he requests God to shine brightly in such a daylight that will drive "Sin and Darkness" (50) from him and "them Coffin in Earth's Shade below" (51). The meditation concludes the Pauline paradigm with his enravished soul contemplating the eschatological sunshine of salvation in mansions prepared for the elect. The next meditation of this group, PM 2.112, ranks among Taylor's most

\(^{43}\) Consult note to line ten in Poem.
successful and most hopeful meditations, for it celebrates the victory of God's elect over death. Throughout the poem Taylor focuses upon the operation of God's grace through the substitutionary atoning death of Christ which effects the death of death itself. He implies man's and his own sinful condition throughout the poem. He assumes the guilt of his sin, for instance, as the "fierce fiery arrow / Shot from the splendid Bow of Justice" (13, 14) strikes Christ instead of himself so that Christ takes Taylor's death (8, 19) upon himself. He joyously proclaims, using St. Paul's words, death's "Sting is gone" (31). In his request for saving grace, he hopes that he will find the "Sin, Curse and Death" (37) that belong to him slain by Christ. An understanding of this decidedly Pauline theology which pervades the poem helps the reader comprehend the complete poem, just as an understanding of Taylor's dependence upon the emblem tradition helps one understand his portrait of death in stanzas four through six.

The final poem in this group of modified paradigmatic meditations is PM 2.114. Taylor opens by praising Christ as the Morning Star of the Apocalypse and mentioning sin in a simple generalized reference: "All men benighted are by fall, and Sin" (7). In the central segment of the poem he identifies the operation of God's grace with the light and guidance of Christ who directs the elect as their "Pole star" (28) so they may "Let Grace sing now" (30) as they sail "from Enemies / Coasts unto Graces Realm" (51-52). The meditation concludes with the poet's metaphoric plea for election ("Grant me, my Lord, by thee, my Star to steere" 43) and his prayer for saving grace, that the steerage will be from darkness "to th' Bay / Of Consolation and the Holy Ghost"
The meditations just discussed demonstrate Taylor's modification of the Pauline paradigm, so that, by assuming or implying his sin, he may emphasize God's grace and his hope for election.

In the final category of Preparatory Meditations which evidence the Pauline paradigm Taylor follows the paradigmatic order, but he assumes God's grace. There are more meditations (twelve) which vary from the Pauline pattern by implying God's grace than by any other variation. PM 1.3 is the first meditation of this type; Taylor's sinfulness is attested to by his inability to smell and contain the "Sweetness" (11) of Christ. His admission of his sinful condition through stanza five moves him immediately to an expectant request for salvation: "this is my Case. All things smell sweet to mee: / Except thy sweetness, Lord. Expell these damps" (25, 26). This hope of election completes the poem as he asks the Lord to "break thy Box of Ointment" (37) on his head so that "Dunghill Damps" (34) will no longer be to him sweeter than God's grace. Taylor does not elaborate upon Christ's atonement to provide for grace; instead, he assumes the efficacy of God's grace as he requests salvation. The meditation thus moves emotionally from the despair of sin to hope as he eagerly awaits electing favor. PM 1.26 also demonstrates this two-part structure. Taylor contrasts his sinfulness and unworthiness ("thy Nothing Servant" [1] with a "hidebound" heart [6]) with God's salvific pardon in Christ: "I am undone, unless thy Pardons doe / Undoe my Sin I did, undoing mee" (15-16). This implied operation of grace in the form of a pardon becomes explicit in his request for grace, and his thankfulness for the hope of salvation: "New make my heart" (34); "Thy Par-
dons then will make my heart to sing" (35). In PM 1.29 Taylor announces his sinfulness by declaring himself a withered branch taken from the Tree of Life. He continues to attest to his sinful condition when he claims he cannot praise God well and that he was removed from the Tree of Life by "Vice" (10). His request for election begins as early as stanzas two and three in which he declares he will bear fruit if he is grafted back into Christ the "Tree of Life" (8). After an analysis of his relationship to Christ if he were grafted ("I am thy Patient, Pupil, Servant" 20ff.), he concludes the meditation with the final plea of hope for election: "Make mee thy Grafft, be thou my Golden Stock" (40).

PM 1.30 is, like PM 1.26, a two-division poem almost evenly divided between Taylor's analysis of man's sinful condition and his request for electing grace, the work of God's grace in Christ being assumed as pre-condition of his request for election. The basic metaphor of the poem is the destruction of God's perfect palace by man's Fall. The palace was "Broke, marred, spoild, undone, Defild doth ly / In Rubbish" (5, 6). The third stanza obliquely intimates Christ's sacrifice, but the poem becomes colloquy in the final four stanzas as the poet, employing several metaphors, requests electing grace. He asks to be made God's "Shining Temple" (31), a "Hall" (37) garnished with spiritual gifts (taken from Ephesians 6), and an entirely "New Creature" (45) with "New Heart, New thoughts, New Words, New wayes" (47). The most memorable leis of the meditation are found in his request to be renewed as God's palace:
My Lord, repare thy Palace, Deck thy Place.
I'm but a flesh and Bood bag: Oh! do thou
Sill, Plate, Ridge, Rib, and Rafter me with Grace,
Renew ny Soule, and guild it all within:
And hang thy Saving Grace on ery Pin.
1.30, 26-30.

Since the text for the meditation is St. Paul's doctrine of the new
creation in Christ (2 Cor. 5.17), there can be little doubt that
Christ's grace is operative, though not explicitly developed in the
meditation.

The typological sequence in the Second Series of Taylor's
Preparatory Meditations contains several meditations in which he
assumes the reader's implicit understanding of God's grace operating
through Christ. PM 2.4 introduces an interesting variation on the
"typic" comparisons: Christ antitypes Abraham, so Taylor requests
election in the conclusion of the meditation by requesting not to be
the antitype of Hagar ("the Bondsmaid" 25), and her seed (Ishmael) but
to be the antitype of Sarah and her seed (Isaac), the child of promise.
Throughout the poem Taylor mixes the typic comparisons with metaphors
of garden, conduit, and math. He depicts his sinfulness in the opening
stanza when he admits "My Garden [is] over grown with weeds" (2);
he requests election by completing the metaphor in stanza one as he
asks God to till, prune, and weed him. His second request for grace
occurs in stanza five after he has requested to be Sarah's antitype:
he begs the Lord to "Distill thy Spirit through thy royall Pipe / Into
my Soule" (27, 28). The poet's request for salvation in the final
stanza introduces an entirely new metaphor: he asks Christ to set his
"Figure" (35) before his "sums" (34) which, by themselves, are always
"Cyphers" (33) before God. In this meditation he admits his sinfulness and requests in hope God's electing favor through most of the poem. The Pauline paradigmatic order is evident, but Taylor assumes grace through Christ so the poem moves from despair immediately to hope for election.

In PM 2.6 Taylor types Jacob with his antitype, Jesus. He declares his sin by lamenting his inability to write well: "black Sin" (1) stains his "Tunes" (2) of praise. His comparison of Jacob and Christ continues from stanzas two through five as Jacob's marriage and twelve sons are antityped by Christ's marriage to the elect and the twelve apostles, respectively. The final two stanzas contain his request for election in hope. His first request contains admission of sinfulness again ("Lord pardon mee, my Sin, and all my trash" [43] "a Carnall minde" [48]) while in his final request for election Taylor perhaps borrows from Isaiah's coal of God (Isaiah 6.6): "Oh! blow my Coale" (49), he begs, that he may praise God's "Rich Grace" (54). Only in the final line of the meditation does he mention grace explicitly, although the role of Christ to obtain it has been implicit throughout the poem.

Meditation PM 2.16 illustrates a similar structure in which Taylor repeatedly requests election after admitting his sin. He begins his meditation with a paean to the Lord's glory, intimating that man's true position and glory can only be achieved by being the subject of Christ as king over the house of Jacob (14). The ravages of sin have separated him from that kingdom: he has experienced "Sins mutiny" (17) and like a "fiery Bramble" (21) has produced not wine or
oil but "A gilded Cask of tawny Pride, and Gall / With Veans of Venom" (23, 24). The poet's despair reaches a climax in line thirty when he exclaims "Oh! rotten heart!"; from this depth of despair he seeks hope of reconciliation by requesting Christ to kill his old man of sin. He demands that Christ sheath his golden sword "in the bowells of [his] Sin" (32) to "Kill my Hypocrisie, Pride Poison, Gall" (43). Similarly he requests that Christ graft him into the olive tree of the house of Jacob (37 ff.) and prune his sins to make him one of the elect. His final hope-filled request is for Christ to transform him into God's "Turtle Dove ore laid / With golden feathers" (44, 45). Taylor's meditation moves from an emotional condition of despair to hope as he assumes the efficacy of God's grace in Christ.

A modified meditation in which Taylor implies God's grace not in the type, Jacob's house, but the antitype, the Church, occurs in PM 2.51. The poem opens with his despair at his sinfulness: "My heart, my Lord, 's naughty thing all o're" (1). After lamenting his inability to praise properly because of his sinfulness, Taylor nevertheless praises the glory of God's Church, the body of Christ which contains both men and angels. That the Church shines out grace (21) implies the operative power of redeeming grace, and he analyzes the "gracious fullness" (31) of Christ's mystical body as he hopes for election and inclusion in the body of Christ: "Me tenant in thyselfe, my Lord" (28). In the final stanza Taylor first queries and then assumes his election in what may be his approach to realized eschatological assurance: "Am I a bit, Lord, of thy Body Oh! / Then I do claim thy Head to be mine own" (43, 44).
Taylor employs a similar modified form in PM 2.54. In the opening two stanzas he laments his inability to praise God because he is "Untun'de" (1) and reveals his sinfulness as he immediately requests "gracious Grace" (9) to "File off the rust: forgive my sin, and make / My Heart thy Harp" (7, 8). God's grace is implied through the body of the meditation in which he praises Christ's prophetic, priestly, and kingly roles. This praise culminates in stanza eight as Taylor, hoping against hope, requests to be planted in "Priestly Sunshine" (43) and so to be reconciled to God; requests to receive a beam of the "Prophetick Sun" (45) to fill his spiritual eye with light; and requests the flame of "Kingly Sunshine" (47) to burn up his sin and sanctify his heart. The second element of the Pauline paradigm, the gracious operation of Christ, is implicit throughout his analysis of Christ's "offices" and in his hope-filled requests for election. In the next modified paradigmatic medication, PM 2.74, Taylor, in self-dispraise again almost despairs at his lack of poetic ability to praise Christ, which is attributed to his sinful, "lumpish-heart" (4). From this admission of sin, he offers his feeble praise to Christ. By praising Christ's glory he implies praise for Christ's atoning grace; this implication finally becomes explicit in line twenty-six as he praises Christ for "The Glory of ripe Grace." The praise closes in the poet's hope-filled request in the final stanza: he asks the Lord to "Pull my eye lids ope" (37) that they may be pulled from worldly beauties to the beauty of Christ. Such devotion would be certain evidence of election. From his admission of sin through praise of Christ's glory (implying grace), Taylor hopefully awaits saving grace,
the Pauline paradigm modified by the poet's assuming (rather than developing in detail) God's grace through Christ.

In the next modified meditation, PM 2.83, Taylor pursues a typological linking of the Garden of Eden and its antitype, the Church. He relates man's Fall through "first Adam ['s]" (4) expulsion because of his sin (5). By the beginning of stanza five Taylor claims that not only is the Church the corporate antitype of the garden which Adam failed to keep and from which he was exiled, but the garden's personal antitype is also "the Soule, of thy Redeem'd (25). He implies God's grace in Christ through his discussion of God's "Garden-Church" (7) of the elect. Only as he requests salvation as one of the souls which is Christ's garden does he explicitly mention grace: "Make mee thy Garden; Lord, thy Grace my plant" (31). His final request for election lies couched in the hope-filled request for Christ to check Taylor, who is a grape in the vineyard (Church): "And make my Grace bleed in thy Cup rich wine" (34). He hopes to be fully identified with Christ and the wine of the Lord's Supper—its self a testimony to the reality of God's grace.

The final two meditations which present modification of the Pauline paradigm are PM 2.94 and PM 2.118. In PM 2.94 Taylor's primary interest is hope for election, and he presumes God's grace and "Saving Faith" (8) as one of the elect from stanza two through the close of the meditation. He admits his fallen sinfulness as he expresses amazement in stanza one that "Earthen Pitchers" (5; 2 Cor. 4.7) which are "Worm eaten'd ore with Sin" (4) can be receptacles of God's love. The assumption that he be one of God's elect is thought
"spic'de with Saving Faith" (7) to convey his soul to heavenly mansions. This meditation of what Taylor apparently thought admissible presumption and hope closes in outright request that he indeed be fitted with "rich robes" (25) fit for the eschatological mansion because they have been dipped in Christ's grace-giving blood (27-28). The final poem, PM 2.118, resembles PM 2.51 because in it Taylor assumes the efficacy of Grace in Christ without elaborating upon it. The poem thus moves from his admission of sin to praise which is linked to his request for election. "Oh! Hide bound heart. Harder than mountain Rocks" (1) he laments, but immediately praises the "Golden head" (13) of Christ which contains a "golden brain Pan" (25) which dispenses "Golden laws" (30) and "Golden influences" (31) to his elect to produce "A golden race" (42) in Christ. Once again, his praise of Christ and his body the Church affirms the implicit assumption of God's grace. In closing he echoes the "golden" theme as he requests Christ to become his "Sovereign" (50) and make him a member of the "Golden body" (51) of God's elect Church. From admission of sin through implicit grace evidenced by the Church, Taylor completes the Pauline paradigm by expectantly hoping for election.

That nearly seventy (or approximately one third) of Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations reveal structural and theological patterns parallel to the Pauline paradigm of salvation should not be surprising, since this Pauline theological framework had become the method of Reformation and Calvinist theology. Inheriting the Pauline theological interpretation of God's dealings with fallen man and inheriting a meditative tradition with a ready-made three-part
structure, it seems natural that the New England minister and poet should write meditations in which the two traditions merge. The drama of his search for security often leads him to recapitulate the Pauline drama of redemption as he tells of (first) falling from glory into the despair of sin, (second) joyously celebrating Christ's victory over sin and his offer of grace to the elect, and (finally) hoping to be received "in Christ" as one of the saved.

Beyond the parallels with the Pauline paradigm in many of the individual meditations, there arises another important question: Does Taylor's Preparatory Meditations evince a macro-structure which reveals the Pauline model? A few critics have speculated that the two series, PM 1 and PM 2, may represent attempts at overall organization according to Taylor's own Treatise Concerning the Lords Supper, becoming, as it were, a "macro meditation." Attempts to find such an overall pattern are problematical and critics who propose them usually retreat to the safety of a vague, general restatement so that one is not clear exactly how the series is shaped. The evidence from the density of poems illustrating the Pauline paradigm indicates

44 Lewalski, p. 177 ff. Professor Lewalski sees the First Series as more highly organized according to a series of topics presenting "the sacrament as an epitome of the covenant of redemption: Christ's love for mankind; the beauty, excellence, and glory of the bridegroom and the feast; Christ's mediatorial role (his offices, his passion, his exaltation, and enthronement in heaven; the benefits the soul enjoys through the covenant of grace"; p. 177.


46 For instance, after admitting that the Second Series demonstrates less of a unified design than the First Series, Professor Lewalski ventures: "in very general terms the 'Second Series'
that Edward Taylor wrote more paradigmatic meditations earlier in his life. Almost exactly one half of the First Series meditations demonstrate influence of the tripartite Pauline structure. Similarly, half of the Second Series meditations through 2.50 evidence the Pauline pattern. From 2.51 through another fifty meditations to 2.100 only two-fifths of the poems show such a pattern. Beyond 2.100 only eleven meditations out of fifty-six demonstrate the tripartite formula. Taylor's poems beyond 1710 (2.100) shift from the development of the entire redemptive scheme in individual meditations to meditations of praise for God and Christ. If one interprets this shifting emphasis upon the basis of the poems themselves, it seems that poems of praise would be better evidence of election than Pauline-paradigm poems because, according to Taylor, the proper ability to praise is God's gift to the redeemed. From this change one might argue that the reduced number of paradigmatic poems is due to the poet's increased need to have assurance of election. Thus, the shift away from paradigmatic poems may have biographical significance and may not be presents something of a developmental pattern intimating the speaker's own growth: he progresses from meditation upon the Old Testament types of the covenant, to Christ the Redeemer, to the benefits of the covenant, to the Bridegroom-Bride relation of Canticles, to a hesitant identification with the Bride" Lewalski, p. 78. But Professor Lewalski retreats from her assertion in a masterfully evasive explanation of exactly how the Pauline Protestant paradigm influenced the larger structure: "the Protestant meditative emphasis upon the analysis of spiritual experience in relation to some version of the classic paradigm of the spiritual life acts as in shaping force upon apparently amorphous collections of devotional poetry, as surely as it does upon individual poems." Lewalski, p. 178.
illustrative of an intended macro-meditative structure. As a result, the evidence is inconclusive about any paradigmatic macro-structure in Taylor's Preparatory Meditations. What is clear, however, is that the meditations themselves, especially before 1710, are heavily paradigmatic.

Ironically, the results in the series of Preparatory Meditations would appear identical because the emphasis upon praise for God's electing grace would occur as the last step in the paradigmatic macro-meditation.
CHAPTER VI

THE FINAL HARVEST

For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.

— Epistle to the Romans

God reigns when men, in denial of themselves, and contempt of the world and this earthly life, devote themselves to righteousness and aspire to heaven.

— Institutes of the Christian Religion

John Calvin

Thy Soule is Cast upon the onely Mediator between God and Man.
Now this must needs be Sweet. I am not upon a Sandy foundation.
I am founded upon a rock, in fixing upon Christ. I have the true Saviour for my Saviour. I am not under a Delusion, nor am I cheated.

— Christographia

As new works by the New England minister Edward Taylor are discovered and published, it will not be surprising to see additional parallels between his thought and the Apostle Paul's. The Pauline interpretation of divine history pervaded the intellectual and spiritual milieu of Taylor's seventeenth-century New England. The great quest for religious authenticity which defined the Reformation and which consumed Edward Taylor and his contemporaries led spiritual thinkers back to the experience of first-century Christianity, an experience dominated by the epistles of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

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As a Christian writer, Edward Taylor's purposes were threefold. First, he wished to praise God in an "All Admiring Style" (1.41, 40) even though he knew that God could work his will through weak vessels, even weak poets who, of themselves, write in a "homely style" (2.141, 14). Second, as a poet, Taylor's poetic meditations became assurances of his election. He parades metaphors before the reader's dazzled eyes because he believed a poet's ability to conceit demonstrated his nearness to Christ, who was and is himself the grand metaphor illustrating God the Father's gracious nature in the only language that fallen man could understand. The most poetic subject in the cosmos, Taylor would consequently insist, is the celebration of this divine theanthropos, whose redemptive death and resurrection are figured in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.¹

Third, Edward Taylor wrote to instruct and reassure his audience that they could have a measure of confidence that they were of God's elect. His public testimony to the elect's confidence in their election, God's Determinations, advances a profound optimism within an essentially Calvinist theology. And although in the Preparatory Meditations Taylor as a Calvinist Everyman remains caught in a tension

¹ That Taylor fought tenaciously for the Lord's Supper as the realized facet of the elect's predestined eschatological banquet and against Solomon Stoddard's liberalizing tendency in using the Lord's Supper as a converting ordinance comes as no surprise as one sees the parallels between Edward Taylor's theology and the theology of the first century Apostle to the Gentiles. The sacrament was of ultimate importance to St. Paul and the first-century Church. In fact, the Apostle argues that the Corinthian Christians were dying because they did not properly honor the body of Christ (the fellowship) in their administration of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11.30). Edward Taylor doubtless felt that the mishandling of the Lord's Super could produce the same effect in his era.
between the despair of his own sinfulness and the presumption of assuming he is one of the elect, his indomitable hope for full relationship with God could admit such a struggle. After all, Taylor certainly knew that even the great Apostle Paul himself had admitted that he struggled with his own desires so that, after preaching Christ's salvation to thousands during his lifetime, he might not himself be lost (1 Cor. 9:27).

Measured against "the Apostle," Edward Taylor may sometimes appear frantic as he searches for signs of election and salvation under the Covenant of Grace, but, measured against his contemporaries, Edward Taylor proclaims a theology of praise and relative assurance of salvation. Although he is acutely aware of man's sinful and fallen nature, Taylor seems to have followed progressively Richard Baxter's dictum for meditation: "But it's Heaven, and Not Hell, that I would Perswade you to walk in; it's Joy and not Sorrow that I perswade you to exercise." Just as his Gods Determinations testifies to Taylor's interest in God's salvation of the elect, so his Preparatory Meditations attests to the New England poet's attempt to escape the paralysis of fear and his attempt to attain confidence in his own election. To be a Christian for Edward Taylor meant to seek evidence of the restoration of one's original relationship with God "in Christ." In the first-century Apostle to the Gentiles Taylor found a man confident of his own salvation and of God's direction, so it is not surpr-

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ising that the thoughts of the two Christian thinkers should be in many ways similar.

In many ways this study is merely a beginning, for it raises new questions to replace those it answers. More work on Taylor and on other poets in the meditative tradition needs to be done to see if the Pauline paradigm can be found in the structural patterns of their meditations. Professor Martz and, more recently, Professor Lewalski have also laid groundwork for further investigation; detailed examinations of individual authors need to replace hazy generalization. Also, someone needs to investigate Taylor's *Metrical History of Christianity* to determine if Taylor demonstrates there the same Christocentric historicism as does St. Paul. Another topic which arose during the course of this study and which should be examined is the influence of the Psalms on Taylor's meditative process in the *Preparatory Meditations*. Although some critics have argued that the Psalms were not a conceptual or structural influence on Taylor, it appears evident that the structure of many of the Psalms parallels Taylor's meditative structure; for instance, Psalms 139 defines meditation as an interactive process similar to the *Preparatory Meditations*:

"Search me, O God, and know heart: try me, and know my thoughts: And see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting"

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3 Professor Lewalski ambiguously disclaims the influence of the Psalm: "For Taylor the Psalms are not a generic or conceptual model, but they serve nonetheless a vital role in the negative definition of the poet and his poems." Lewalski, p. 53.
In addition, the ending of the majority of Taylor's meditations, his offer to sing or praise God as a result of his salvation, is an ending that occurs in at least fifty-three of the Psalms.$^4$ So it appears, especially in the colloquy, (and perhaps in the entire meditation) that the parallels between the Psalms and Taylor's meditations are significant.

Because the trend in Taylor criticism of the last few years has been toward the interpretation of individual meditations as poems, another ripe area for study is reader-response criticism. As Taylor's individual poems are examined in more detail, this study of Pauline parallels will advance our apprehension of the theology which pervades the meditations. Armed with this knowledge, critics should be more successful in evaluating Taylor's aesthetic triumphs and his failures.

For the New England minister and poet, his Paulinism was not merely one aspect of his theology or his personality: it was, instead, part and parcel with his identity and informed his vision of life and art.

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$^4$ The fifty-three are the following: 13, 16, 18, 21, 26, 30, 32, 41, 45, 47, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 75, 79, 80, 89, 90, 97, 98, 100, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 134, 135, 136, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149.


Emerson, Everett. "Calvin and Covenant Theology." Church History, 25 (June, 1956), 136-144.


APPENDIX A

Edward Taylor's Preparatory Meditations
Analyzed According to the Pauline Paradigm

I. Poems which follow the paradigm.

"The Reflexion"  1.34  2.8  2.34
1.8  1.36  2.13  2.60A
1.10  1.39  2.14  2.69
1.16  1.40  2.17  2.70
1.18  1.45  2.18  2.70
1.19  1.47  2.23  2.75
1.25  2.1  2.28  2.78
1.31  2.3  2.30  2.89

II. Poems in which the paradigm appears in modified form.

A. Poems in which the modification includes resequencing of
   elements, intermixing of elements, or adding another element.

   1.14, 15  2.33  2.87
   1.24  2.39  2.85
   2.5  2.50  2.103
   2.11  2.60B  2.105
   2.24  2.84  2.132

B. Poems in which the elements are resequenced and at least one
   element is implied or assumed.

   1.4  2.62  2.144
   1.5  2.67B

C. Poems which follow the paradigmatic sequence and in which
   the SIN-DISPAIR element is implied or assumed.

   1.32  2.68A
   2.22  2.114
D. Poems which follow the paradigmatic sequence but in which the GRACE-JOY element is implied or assumed.

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VITA

Phill Warren Parmer was born in Amarillo, Texas, 27 September 1949. After graduating from Palo Duro High School (Amarillo) in 1968, he attended Tulane University from September 1968 through May 1969. He attended North Texas State University from September 1969 to May 1972, graduating magna cum laude with a B.A. in English. He was a recipient of the North Texas State University Alumni Association scholarship and was selected outstanding English major in 1972.


He began attending Louisiana State University in June 1972, received the M.A. in English in May 1974, and entered the Ph. D. program that same year. From 1972 through 1977 he served as a teaching assistant in the English Department at L.S.U.

From 1977 to 1979 he was an instructor in English at Angelina College in Lufkin, Texas. From 1979 to the present he has served as Assistant Professor of English at Oklahoma Christian College in Oklahoma City.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Phill Warren Parmer

Major Field: English

Title of Thesis: "LIKE LITTLE PAUL IN PERSON, VOICE, AND GRACE": A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDWARD TAYLOR AND ST. PAUL

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

July 20, 1981