Seasons of Agony and Grace

An Archetypal History of New England Puritanism (Part 1)[1]

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This paper, the first in a three-part serialization of a major portion of Rod O'Neal's Ph.D. dissertation, provides an example of an archetypal-astrological analysis of a specific historical movement. Combining careful archetypal discernment with detailed historical research, this paper serves, in many respects, as a paradigmatic case study of this method of analysis, which O'Neal has called archetypal historiography. Focusing in particular on the cyclical alignments of two planetary pairs, Uranus-Neptune and Saturn-Pluto, O'Neal demonstrates that the major characteristics and historical events of the Puritan movement consistently reflect the range of phenomena associated with these archetypal complexes.

This essay is the first in a three-part series that together present a detailed archetypal history of a single historical movement, the Puritan movement, especially as it developed in New England. Despite the many critical assessments of its influence on American and British culture, Puritanism is arguably one of the more important religious movements to have emerged from the Reformation, profoundly shaping many aspects of modern Western European civilization. Most obviously, Puritanism has deeply affected the religious culture of the entire English-speaking world, its influence felt worldwide today through contemporary Christian fundamentalist and evangelical groups. Puritanism is a taproot of Pentecostalism, one of the largest and most rapidly growing Christian groups today. Beyond the religious sphere, the effect of Puritanism on world culture extends into political, economic, and intellectual spheres worldwide through the impact its many seventeenth-century institutions had on both Britain and the American colonies.

The historical importance of Puritanism has produced an enormous amount of research, making it an ideal subject for a case study in archetypal historiography.[2] Building on the research and approach outlined by Richard Tarnas in *Cosmos and Psyche: Intimations of a New World View,* a primary goal of this case study is to demonstrate that a specific historical movement not previously researched from this perspective presents recognizable patterns of significant correlations that are in synchrony with the general timing of specific planetary alignments and that present defining characteristics consistent with the archetypal themes

1. This article is a modified extract from chapters 1–3 of O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace: An Archetypal History of New England Puritanism" (PhD diss., California Institute of Integral Studies, 2008), 1–83.

2. I have described this discipline in more detail in "Archetypal Historiography: A New Historical Approach," *Archai: The Journal of Archetypal Cosmology* 1, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 68–76.

typically associated with those alignments.[3] Such a study would thereby add to the body of data referred to by Tarnas and affirm the vision described in *Cosmos and Psyche* of profound patterns of collective human responses in synchrony and thematic resonance with the cyclic activation of certain archetypal complexes.

The major events in the history of New England Puritanism clearly fall into three distinct periods. Each of the articles in this three-part series will focus in turn on one of these periods. The present article examines the emergence of the Puritan movement out of Reformation impulses in Elizabethan England. The second article will explore the period of Puritan dominance in both England and New England during the mid-seventeenth century. And the third article will focus on the fragmentation and transformation of Puritanism that took place during the first Great Awakening in the 1730s and 1740s.

Historical Context

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, a large migration brought more than twenty thousand members of the Puritan religious sect from England to the shores of North America to found the original New England colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay.[4] These Puritans carried with them a specific set of beliefs and goals—both a comprehensive, systematic world view and a historical vision—that would have enormous defining influence on the institutions and thought of what would become the United States of America. That influence, traced by many, pervades not only the various religious institutions that developed in America, as one might expect, but its central democratic and religiously tolerant political institutions as well.[5]

Religious toleration and democratic governmental institutions, however, were not the central goals of the Puritan founders, who were primarily concerned with creating a uniform religious community. The Puritan emigrants who "came to Massachusetts during the 1630s hoped to do more than merely escape from persecution: they wished to strike a blow for the

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3. Richard Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche: Intimations of a New World View* (New York: Viking, 2006).

4. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 62.

5. I refer to the United States of America as America, following the practice of historians of the United States. This brief historical introduction is based upon many sources. For general histories, see Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life 1500 to the Present* (2000; repr., New York: Perennial / HarperCollins Publishers, 2001); and Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas that have Shaped Our World View* (1991, repr. New York: Ballantine, 1993). On the Reformation, see Roland H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985); and Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2004). On Puritanism in general, see especially Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (1976; rev. ed., Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995); Marty, *Pilgrims;* and Elizabeth Flower and Murray G. Murphey, *A History of Philosophy in America,* vol. 1 (New York: Capricorn Books / G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977).

true faith by erecting a model Christian community."[6] In important ways, therefore, the New England Puritan project can be viewed as a social utopian experiment intended and designed to foster proper religious attitudes, right beliefs, right practices, and most importantly, to nurture and midwife the all-important regeneration experience known as conversion.

It is important to remember that the motive force behind the Puritan migration was not simply a flight from religious persecution, although that was certainly part of it. More dominant in their thinking was the failure of reform efforts in England, especially the harsh opposition of Charles I. Another important motivation was the isolation to be found in the new world, which would eliminate the confusion of a complex doctrinal heterogeneity that constantly exerted disruptive forces on congregations, often pulling devout members into apostasy, and forever preventing the formation of a secure center of true religious belief. That very isolation, Perry Miller observes, which they did indeed find in the wilderness of the New World, is one of the reasons why the New England Puritans form such a compelling topic for research.

> The fascination of this region, for the first two hundred or more years of its existence, is that it affords the historian an ideal laboratory. It was relatively isolated, the people were comparatively homogeneous, and the forces of history played upon it in ways that can more satisfactorily be traced than in more complex societies.[7]

It is more complete, therefore, to think of this large religious exodus as a great utopian experiment in which the designers and directors had clear intentions of founding an ideal religious community. Theirs was a grand mission with a life- and world-changing vision: to create an isolated, dedicated, and uniformly devout society founded on the religious principles of standard Reformed doctrines, guided always and in all matters by close and careful readings of the Bible to help formulate and constitute the proper institutions and policies for governance of individual, church, and state.

That the intention of the Puritan founders of the New England colonies was in the modern sense a social experiment is no doubt only partially accurate. It is certainly difficult to imagine them using such a concept given their absolute certainty in the guiding wisdom of the Bible and their covenant with God. But the conscious design of their intentions to manipulate society, individual, and belief toward a very specific utopian ecclesiastic goal is quite clear.[8] If an ideal religious society was the New England Puritans' formal collective goal, the purpose of that society was in service to a much more important personal goal: to foster the personal relationship with God that would lead to the transformative and regenerative

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6. Bremer, *Puritan Experiment,* 55.

7. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953; repr. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press / Harvard University Press, 1998), vii.

8. See, for example, Robert McDermott, "The Spiritual Mission of America," *Revision* 16, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 18.

experience of the Holy Spirit called conversion. An almost obsessive devotion to this "new birth" was one marker of Puritans' famous ardor.

> Puritans were a "hotter sort" of Protestant, and what kept them bubbling was a religious sensibility intimately bound up with conversion, an emotional confrontation with grace borne by the Holy Spirit in the Word. This encounter formed the nexus around which Puritanism developed its strain of evangelical piety, and some have accounted it the movement's "essence." The emphasis is well placed. Few topics so occupied Puritan preachers as did explicating the pangs of the "new birth," and few activities so engrossed believers as did scrutinizing themselves to discover how far regeneration had proceeded. On one level, the reasons for this concern are obvious. Puritan theology insisted that the straight and narrow path to heaven traversed the gate of conversion; those whom God had elected to salvation passed through a protracted experience of desperation and relief.[9]

In their scrutiny of "how far regeneration had proceeded," Puritan theologians came to theorize that a process of preparation and purification helped the future saint accept the Spirit's reconstruction of her soul, in some way making regeneration less difficult. Known as the stage of preparation, it became a familiar theological concept in New England, and in many ways an unadulterated environment for the proper preparation of a society of potential saints was exactly what the New England isolation would allow these Puritans to create. Ideological and political isolation within this context, therefore, was the means by which these religious social pioneers could create a controlled environment of communal conformity that would serve as an incubator for the maximized production of that critical religious experience sought by all good Puritans: conversion.

It is my conviction that the intense focus of the Puritans on the conversion experience in the isolation of New England created what was essentially an incubation tank, which—during the more than one hundred years of Puritan dominance—produced a general yet deep yearning within the collective American psyche for profound personal transformational experiences.[10] These experiences have occurred on the individual biographical level throughout history, but they also appear in major cultural or historical waves. For Europeans on American soil, the first of these great spiritual transformational waves took place in the 1730s and 1740s and was known as the Great Awakening, a massive religious revival movement that swept through the American colonies converting tens of thousands. Since that time, major waves of spiritual and religious revival have remained a part of the human landscape in America, including other major waves peaking during the early nineteenth

9. Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4–5.

10. Ahlstrom, *Religious History,* 116.

century in the Second Great Awakening, in the explosive emergence of Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century, and, again, within the explosive growth of Pentecostal and charismatic movements of the late twentieth century, to mention just a few of the major, related phenomena.[11]

These major spiritual and religious efflorescences have occurred in counterpoint to the predominant trend of secularization in Western civilization that took place throughout the modern era, in which most traces of belief in supernatural agents, magical thinking, and reliance on the Christian God were gradually eliminated from the modern world view of scientific materialism. This predominant disenchanting trend is one major outcome of the cosmological shift that Richard Tarnas describes as "the Copernican shift of perspective," involving

> the liberation from the ancient and medieval cosmic womb, the radical displacement of the human being to a relative and peripheral position in a vast and impersonal universe, the ensuing disenchantment of the natural world . . . a primordial event, world-destroying and world-constituting.[12]

That this process of disenchantment occurred in many stages is clear, however, when one follows the course of major ideas through the Renaissance to the present. A very rough outline of that process might begin with particular fifteenth-century Renaissance humanists who wrestled a certain amount of glory from the realm of heaven to give dignity to humanity's creative earthly existence. Martin Luther's Reformation then extracted another

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11. For an important presentation of these major waves of spiritual awakening, see William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607–1977* (1978; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). On Pentecostal and charismatic movements, see Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (1995; repr., Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001); and Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1997).

12. Tarnas, *Passion of the Western Mind,* 416. Max Weber was one of the first and most significant writers to refer to this process by which the supernatural was removed from the cosmos as one of disenchantment. In his famous essay, *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism,* Weber argues that the Protestant attitude—especially that of the Puritans of England and America—toward work as a holy vocation contributed to the rise of capitalism. (Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism and Other Writings*, ed. Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells [New York: Penguin Books, 2002], 8–36, 105–122.) I am not here concerned with that controversial and highly influential thesis, but another in which Weber describes how the Reformation began a process of eliminating the supernatural from the modern scientific world view. Weber refers elsewhere to this process as the "disenchantment of the world," a process that has produced an era in human history (our own) "characterized by rationalization and intellectualization," from which "precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations." (Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays on Sociology,* trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills [1919; New York: Oxford University Press, 1946], 154.) This process of rationalization and intellectualization has created a universe in which there are "no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play," but rather a universe, in which "one can, in principle, master all things by calculation," which "means that the world is disenchanted. One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed. Technical means and calculations perform the service. This above all is what intellectualization means." (Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 139.)

measure of spiritual authority from the hierarchy, sacraments, and established practices of the Roman Catholic Church to vest the individual human with a personal relationship with God. Copernicus and the early Scientific Revolution tore the Earth from its central place of cosmic significance and shattered the crystalline spheres of heaven. Newton's mechanistic physics and cosmology, Locke's empirical psychology, and Enlightenment rationalism each provided key elements that contributed to the elimination of supernatural agents from physics and epistemology and to the relegation of God to the role of Divine Engineer and Architect, no longer intimately and personally involved in his creation. Darwin's theory of evolution continued this disenchanting project by eliminating God from the very process that created the particular species of animal that was once considered separate from all other animals—formerly known as "Mankind," uniquely fashioned in God's image, now referred to as *homo sapiens,* an evolutionary by-product of environmentally selected random genetic mutations.[13]

The story presented here centers on a single yet critical stage in this larger process of secularization and disenchantment, specifically when adoption of the Enlightenment ideas of Locke and Newton seemed to require a separation from the medieval Christian reliance on supernatural agents to explain the physical world and how we are able to know that world. For America, that critical transition occurred during the Great Awakening, which Alan Heimert and Perry Miller describe as the "final break with the Middle Ages and her entry into a new intellectual age in the church and in society."[14]

It is the evolution of the Puritan world view in this process of secularization and disenchantment that forms one of the major focuses of this case study. The changes explored here concern an evolution of ideas and viewpoints that resulted from a dialectical engagement of two types of tensions: first, internal tensions inherent in specific theological doctrines and philosophical positions within Puritanism; and second, externally derived tensions resulting from the encounter between the Puritan world view and the new ideas of empiricism, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment. Together these two sources of tension created a conceptual revolution in the Great Awakening after which it was possible to conclude that a "psychological earthquake had reshaped the human landscape."[15]

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13. For the disenchanting trends of major intellectual and historical movements of the modern era, see especially Tarnas, *Passion of the Western Mind,* 298–365. For an influential account of the disenchanting trends initiated and sustained by Reformation impulses specifically in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (1971; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1991), especially chapter 2, "The Impact of the Reformation," 58–89.

14. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds., *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xiv–xv.

15. Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 187.

Foundations and Emergence

I have provided elsewhere an overview of the major characteristics of the Puritan world view, including details of their physics, theology, and psychology, as well as an overview of the major historical events and dynamic periods in the emergence and evolution of New England Puritanism.[16] Within the quite specific doctrinal and conceptual focus of this case study, three major periods emerged out of that examination. Although intense controversy and crisis are essential features at the heart of all three periods, providing the energy and motivation for much of what is most problematic and most creative about each, the general characteristics of each period may be distinguished nonetheless, which may be briefly summarized as follows: The first major period was one of emergence, encompassing those events leading to and surrounding the birth of the Puritan movement in Elizabethan England during the 1560s. In New England Puritanism, the second major period was one of expression and elaboration, marked by the foundation of the Puritan colonies, the promulgation of a formal statement of orthodoxy in the Cambridge Platform that defined what was known as the New England Way, and internal doctrinal controversies in the debates of the Half-Way Covenant during the mid-seventeenth century. During this same period in England, roughly1640 through 1660, Puritans came to political and ecclesiastical power through the English Civil Wars and Cromwell's Protectorate, with major consequences for subsequent English political, religious, and social history. The third major period was one of transformation and fragmentation, involving a revolution in the collective American psyche that resulted from the events of the Great Awakening during the 1730s and 1740s, in which Jonathan Edwards made fundamental revisions to the Puritan conceptual framework that broke apart the monolithic doctrinal cohesion of the New England Way. As previously stated, the three articles that are planned for this journal will present an archetypal historiography of each of these three major periods in turn, examining within these three contexts many of the details of these and other major defining events.

A preliminary examination of the outer planetary alignments in effect during each of these three major periods shows that all three coincided with consecutive major alignments of Uranus and Neptune (see table 1). This notable set of correlations may serve as an entry point into an archetypal historiography of this important movement. To understand what such correlations might reveal, we must first examine the characteristic themes of the archetypal principles associated with the planets Uranus and Neptune and the archetypal complex formed by their combination.

16. See chapter 2, "Historical Background," in O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace,"15–45.

The Uranus-Neptune Archetypal Complex

The orbital periods of Uranus and Neptune are approximately eighty-four and one hundred and sixty-four years respectively, meaning that Uranus takes approximately eighty-four years to make one complete journey around the sun while Neptune takes approximately one hundred and sixty-four years to complete a similar journey. As do all planetary pairs, the combined movements of Neptune and Uranus form a cycle similar to that of the lunar cycle, which moves from new moon (conjunction, or 0° alignment) through full moon (opposition, or 180° alignment) to another new moon (conjunction). One complete Uranus-Neptune cycle takes approximately one hundred and seventy-two years.

Using an orb of 15° to delineate start and end dates for conjunctions and oppositions, the duration of Uranus-Neptune axial alignments varies from thirteen to eighteen years. Using these conventions, table 1 shows that all three major periods of Puritan history occurred in coincidence with three successive axial alignments of the Uranus-Neptune cycle starting with the opposition of 1556–1574, through the very next axial alignment, the conjunction of 1643–1658, to the second opposition of 1728–1746.

Table 1 **Uranus-Neptune Axial Alignment Dates and Major Puritan Periods**

Alignment	Start	Exact	End	Major Events
Opposition	1556	1563–1567	1574	Emergence of Puritan Movement • (1559) Elizabethan Settlement reinstates the Act of Supremacy and institutes the Act of Uniformity. • (1563) Thirty-nine Articles define official Church of England doctrine and practice. • (1566) Puritan opposition coalesces into identifiable religious movement.
Conjunction	1643	1649–1650	1658	New England Way, Half-Way Covenant Defined • (1646–1648) Cambridge Synod • (1656–1657) Ministerial Assembly
Opposition	1728	1734–1738	1746	Great Awakening • (1734–1735) Connecticut River valley revivals • (1740–1742) Great Awakening revivals and controversies • (1735–1746) Jonathan Edwards revises Puritan conceptual framework

The archetypal principle associated with the planet Uranus represents the Promethean impulse toward innovation, eccentricity, liberation, rebellion, illumination, and the search for truth. Tarnas has presented convincing evidence that the Uranus archetype has strong similarities with the myth of Prometheus, especially in their mutual associations with

> change, rebellion, freedom, liberation, reform and revolution, and the unexpected breakup of structures; with excitement, sudden surprises, lightning-like flashes of insight, revelations and awakenings; and with intellectual brilliance, invention, creativity, originality, and individualism.[17]

Also associated with the Trickster archetype, the Uranus principle typically correlates with sharp shifts in perspective and new visions of reality that occur through sudden, unexpected developments or by means of surprising insights that break through or break down established limits, definitions, rules, and structures. Representing brilliant lightning flashes of illumination or enlightenment, the Uranus archetype frequently correlates with genius, brilliant episodes of creativity, and altered states of consciousness that bring new intellectual or spiritual understanding. More problematic associations with the Uranus archetype include instability, disruption—the principle of change itself—as well as rebellion, revolution, social unrest, and challenges to the status quo, tradition, and authority.[18]

The archetype associated with the planet Neptune represents the divine realm, including the transcendent realm of Plato's archetypal Forms and the mythical and archetypal realm of Jung. The Neptune archetype represents the fount of creative inspiration for music, art, and writing; the source and locus of the mystical unitive experience; and the wellspring of mythology, theology, metaphysics, and the imaginal. Reinhold Ebertin, a pioneer in empirical research on the significance of planetary archetypes and their combinations, refers to the Neptune archetype as "the mysterious, the unfathomable," as that which "greatly influences our spiritual life," positively conferring "receptivity, sensibility, inspiration, contemplativeness, empathy, tendency to mysticism, all encompassing love," as well as more problematic characteristics such as "impressionability, hypersensitivity, obscurity, confusion, deception, aimlessness, lies, deceit."[19] Tarnas finds the Neptune principle to be associated with the dissolution of strict definitions and the permeation of concrete physical reality by the "subtle, formless, intangible, and invisible," frequently involving

> the impulse to surrender separative existence and egoic control, to dissolve boundaries and structures in favor of underlying unities and undifferentiated wholes, merging that which was separate.[20]

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17. Richard Tarnas, *Prometheus the Awakener* (Woodstock, CT: Spring Publications, 1995), 11.

18. For more on the Uranus archetype, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 92–96; Robert Hand, *Horoscope Symbols* (Atglen, PA: Whitford Press, 1981), 72–75; and Tarnas, *Prometheus*.

19. Reinhold Ebertin, *Transits* (Tempe, AZ: American Federation of Astrologers, 1995), 75. For more on the Neptune archetype, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 96–98; Hand, *Horoscope Symbols,* 75–79; and for an in-depth Jungian and mythological exploration, see Liz Greene, *The Astrological Neptune and the Quest for Redemption* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1996).

20. Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 96.

Clearly, these two individual archetypes, Uranus and Neptune, have facets in common, especially their shared associations with breaking through (Uranus) or dissolving (Neptune) distinct boundaries, established structures, or preexisting rules, definitions, and limits.

When two planets move into alignment to form one of the major aspects (the conjunction, sextile, square, trine, and opposition), phenomena observed during such periods demonstrate characteristics of both archetypes in such a way that the two archetypes associated with those planets may be thought to create an archetypal complex. Tarnas describes an archetypal complex as

> a coherent field of archetypally connected meanings, experiences, and psychological tendencies—expressed in perceptions, emotions, images, attitudes, beliefs, fantasies, and memories, as well as in synchronistic external events and historical and cultural phenomena—all of which appear to be informed by a dominant archetypal principle or combination of such principles.[21]

In a sense, the two archetypes seem to activate each other, with one archetype inflecting the other in characteristic ways and vice versa.

True for each archetype individually, the combination of Uranus and Neptune is especially associated with individual and collective alterations in consciousness and shifts in existential paradigms. Ebertin, for example, describes associations with this archetypal combination as the

> elimination of waking consciousness; the development and growth of the subconscious powers or forces, inner vision, inner illumination and enlightenment, inspiration, idealism, an interest in spiritual subjects, religious problems, mysticism, art. Extraordinary and unusual inclinations. Mystics . . . mediums. Peculiar psychic states, inspirations, spiritual cognition and understanding.[22]

Historical periods during which Uranus and Neptune have formed major hard aspects present a rich range of archetypal correlations on both the personal and collective social levels, including the liberation of spiritual impulses; the birth of new religious movements; revolution and innovation in spiritual, mystical, and religious matters; sudden, unexpected intellectual insights into the archetypal realm; and profound intuitive insights or electrifying breakthroughs in philosophical understanding. In particular, I draw attention to three specific correlations typically found during periods of dynamic Uranus-Neptune alignments that figure prominently in this study: spiritual awakening, religious conversion, and social utopianism.

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21. Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 105.

22. Reinhold Ebertin, *The Combination of Stellar Influences* (Tempe, AZ: American Federation of Astrologers, 1997), 196.

The union of the Uranus archetype as the principle of the lightning flash of illumination and the sudden quickening of comprehension with the Neptune archetype representing spiritual realities and the experience of unitive consciousness quite simply represents spiritual awakening, whether that awakening takes place within the individual or the collective psyche. The Uranus-Neptune complex, Tarnas explains, is generally "associated, both in history and in personal biographies, with periods in which the archetypal—the mythic, the spiritual, the transcendent, the imaginal, the numinous—is suddenly awakened and liberated in new ways into human consciousness."[23]

Of particular relevance to this study, the Uranus-Neptune archetypal combination is associated quite specifically with the religious conversion experience: a sudden shift in perspective—often through an electrifying or ecstatic illumination of consciousness—that shifts an individual's entire being into a new apprehension of divine reality and purpose and into a fuller mode of participation in that reality and purpose. In many ways identical to the sense of spiritual awakening, it is important to emphasize the particular significance of the Uranus-Neptune combination as religious conversion because of the very specific associations the term *conversion* frequently has with the rebirth experience emphasized by the Christian evangelical tradition.

Another sense in which the Uranus-Neptune archetypal complex is specifically germane to this study is the social utopianism that is associated with both individual archetypes but especially with their combination. Each of the Uranus and Neptune archetypes is individually concerned with social utopias: the Uranus archetype in its associations with innovative and experimental future societies that break from tradition and emphasize individual liberty, freedom of self-expression, and justice; and the Neptune archetype in its associations as the source of ideals from which utopias are conceived, the realm of idealized, perfected worlds experienced in dreams and envisioned by the imagination.

Characteristic features of dynamic Uranus-Neptune alignment periods are easily identified in the three major periods of Puritan history, which can be briefly summarized for now as follows: During the Uranus-Neptune opposition of 1556–1574, we find the birth of the important new spiritual movement known as Puritanism as well as the formal definition of Anglicanism by the Elizabethan Settlement and Thirty-nine Articles. During the very next axial alignment of Uranus and Neptune, the conjunction of 1643–1658, we find in England the rise of Puritanism to religious and political prominence as well as a profusion of new religious sects in the years during and following the English civil wars. In New England during this same period, we find the elaboration of a utopian vision of a comprehensive ecclesiastical, social, and political system that placed the religious regeneration experience as the central, most important concept; the preoccupation during this period in clerical publications and sermons with the theological elaboration of the stages and signs of religious conversion; and, related to these developments, the breakdown of the original New England Puritan orthodoxy and the

23. Tarnas, *Prometheus,* 122.

liberalization of church membership in the Half-Way Covenant clerical debates. Finally, during the very next axial alignment of Uranus-Neptune, the opposition of 1728–1746, we find a period marked by mass spiritual awakenings; a major philosophical and theological revision in the works of Jonathan Edward, which contributed significantly to an enormously important cultural paradigm shift; as well as the rise of a globally important new religion in Methodism, and the birth of a new spiritual impulse in Evangelicalism generally, to mention only the most obvious and major examples relevant to this immediate history.

The Saturn-Pluto Archetypal Complex

Turning for now from these three major periods to focus instead on several of the most important specific events leading up to the emergence of the Puritan movement reveals an entirely different pattern of correlations.[24] These events include the posting of Martin Luther's Ninety-five Theses in 1517; the passage of England's Act of Supremacy separating the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church in 1534; the publication of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536; the ascension of Mary I in 1553, who reestablished Catholicism in England and began an intense period of Protestant persecution, sending into exile many English Protestants who then witnessed Reformation principles at work in major continental Reformation centers; and the oppressive measures to enforce the Elizabethan Settlement and Thirty-nine Articles in 1566 that consolidated Puritan opposition into a cohesive religious movement. With notable regularity, each one of these major events took place during periods of consecutive axial alignments—conjunctions and oppositions—of Saturn and Pluto (see table 2). Moreover, each of these events presents a wealth of phenomena that are remarkably consistent with characteristic themes typically found during periods when Saturn and Pluto have formed major hard aspects.

Table 2 **Saturn-Pluto Axial Alignment Dates and Major Reformation Events**

Alignment	Start	Exact	End	Event
Conjunction	1516	1518	1519	(1517) Luther posts Ninety-five Theses.
Opposition	1533	1534–1535	1536	(1534) Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1535) St. Ignatius publishes *Spiritual Exercises*. (1536) Calvin publishes *Institutes.*
Conjunction	1551	1552–1553	1554	(1553) Death of Edward VI. Mary I begins period of persecution, execution, and exile of English Protestants.
Opposition	1565	1567–1568	1569	(1566) Emergence of Puritan Movement

24. For a brief, narrative overview of these events, see chapter 2, "Historical Background," in O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace," 15–45.

Saturn completes an entire circuit around the sun in approximately twenty-nine years. Pluto takes approximately two hundred forty-eight years to complete an entire circuit around the sun.[25] The two planets take an average of thirty-three years to cycle from conjunction to conjunction, but because of Pluto's highly eccentric orbit and extreme variability of speed, individual cycles range from thirty to thirty-eight years. At either end of this range, the Saturn-Pluto cycle is approximately five times faster than the Uranus-Neptune cycle, which means that each complete Uranus-Neptune cycle may include up to five complete Saturn-Pluto cycles. What the Saturn-Pluto cycle gains in frequency, however, it loses in duration. Whereas Uranus-Neptune conjunctions and oppositions may remain within an active orb (15) for fourteen to nineteen years, axial Saturn-Pluto alignments typically last three to four years using the same orb. Within such contexts, the term *active orb* is defined as the range of degrees surrounding exact alignment during which correlations of archetypally relevant events or archetypal activity have been regularly observed.

As with the Uranus-Neptune cycle, understanding the archetypal associations with the major hard aspects of the Saturn-Pluto cycle may be approached by examining the combination of characteristics associated with the individual planetary archetypes. The archetype associated with the planet Saturn represents the principle of form, structure, and reality—concrete physical reality, as well as social, economic, and psychological reality. The Saturn principle represents the laws, rules, and necessities inherently required in any process that must be met for something to exist and endure. It is concerned with construction, formulation, assessment, stability, endurance, and accomplishment; and is associated with professions that work extensively with rules and structures, such as law, architecture, engineering, science, mathematics, statistics, and accounting. In important senses, the Saturn principle represents the Aristotelian formal cause: the form, shape, or format that the inchoate material substrate, the material cause, assumes when anything comes into existence. The Saturn principle represents both the process of manifestation and the organizational principles and physical necessities that this process and the end result must contain and obey for that process to succeed. The Saturn archetype also symbolizes the authority and knowledge required to judge and monitor that process. Governing materialization and manifestation, Saturn is associated with crystallization and incarnation, with differentiation and definition, with boundaries and distinctions, and with individuation and separation, all entailing the necessary exclusion of other possibilities.

Problematically, the Saturn archetype is associated with loss, constriction, restriction, opposition, negation, death, and is frequently correlated with heaviness, depression, sadness, loneliness, and pessimism. The Saturn archetype governs problems and difficulties, and is associated with the challenges of maturation, with those inherent properties or characteristics

25. For more on Pluto's official status as a dwarf planet or plutoid, see the fundamentals section of the *Archai* website (www.archaijournal.org/review/astrologicalterms.html#dwarf).

that predetermine patterns of behavior, and with fate and karma.[26] The Saturn principle is frequently personified as the taskmaster, teacher, authority figure, arbiter, judge—the Senex archetype. Positively, the Saturn archetype represents not only form and stability, definition and integrity, but also those traits that practically assist in creation: discipline, determination, discernment, criticism, judgment, wisdom, and an appreciation of symmetry, organization, order, practical stability, and proven means of accomplishment. It represents tradition and the past, status and the status quo, and reputation, accomplishment, and recognition.[27]

The archetype associated with the planet Pluto represents primal evolutionary energies: power itself, the elemental forces of nature, and the destruction and regeneration inherent in all natural processes, including, perhaps especially, life. The Pluto archetype represents the irrepressible energies of volcanic, tectonic, nuclear, evolutionary, and psychological processes, and is typically associated with events and processes that are titanic, massive, powerful, profound, or compelling. It represents the power dynamics in politics, political intrigue, and psychological and sexual manipulation. It is Kali or Shiva in the Hindu pantheon, universe-destroyers without whom cosmic cycles could not exist; and Hades in the Greek pantheon, whose abduction of Persephone out of innocence brought the cycle of death and rebirth to the world above. The Pluto archetype represents shadow, taboo, and feared elements, including the underworld, hell, Satan, and sin; but also the strength and regeneration that comes from successfully encountering what is feared. The Pluto principle intensifies, deepens, and renders obsessive. It represents the animal instincts, sexual urges, demonic possession, and the obsessions of all intense passions, including erotic, political, and artistic. It is associated with mass or mob psychology and with large collective movements.[28]

The archetypal complex formed by the synthesis of these two principles is particularly powerful, and characteristic phenomena associated with periods of major hard aspect alignments of Saturn and Pluto present archetypal dynamics that are extremely potent and highly complex. Both archetypes correlate with great difficulty or struggle, each associated in its own particular way with tremendous growth and learning, often through major trials and sometimes great loss. In their combination, the Pluto archetype as irresistible force meets the Saturn archetype as immovable object resulting in a titanic struggle that produces enormous structures through almost indiscernible, tectonic movement. Both archetypes contain concepts of death: Saturn through separation, ending, finality, old age, and senescence; Pluto through destruction and

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26. Both the Saturn and the Pluto archetypes are associated with fate and karma. From ancient times, the Saturn archetype has been closely associated with law, determinism, destiny, and fate. The Pluto archetype's associations with fate and karma are more closely aligned with the instinctual and psychological forces that compel behavior.

27. For more on the Saturn archetype, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 91 and 211; Hand, *Horoscope Symbols,* 67–71; and for a detailed exploration of the Saturn principle from a specifically Jungian and mythological perspective, see Liz Greene, *Saturn: A New Look at an Old Devil* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1976), especially 10–14.

28. On the Pluto archetype, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 98–100; Hand, *Horoscope Symbols,* 79–83; and for a detailed exploration of the Pluto archetype from a more specifically Jungian, mythological perspective, see Liz Greene, *The Astrology of Fate* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1995).

decay. Both individually hold concepts of inevitability and irresistibility**.** The combination in dynamic aspect is especially associated with fate, determinism, and predestination: the absolute and strict definition and immutability of the Saturn archetype made irresistible and overwhelmingly compelling on an enormous scale by the Pluto archetype.

Ebertin associates the Saturn-Pluto complex with "hard labour, cruelty" and with individuals and groups who demonstrate "tenacity and toughness, endurance," and the capacity to make "record efforts of the highest possible order" and perform "the most difficult work with extreme self-discipline, self-denial, and renunciation." He also associates Saturn-Pluto with "a hard and unfeeling disposition, also cold-heartedness, severity."[29] Highly appropriate for this case study, Ebertin's research also discerned Saturn-Pluto associations with "a fanatical adherence to one's principles" as well as "achievements brought about by large groups or masses of people."[30] As Tarnas summarizes important aspects of his research regarding this archetypal complex, "the successive quadrature alignments of the Saturn-Pluto cycle coincided with especially intense contraction," marked by periods of "crisis and conflict, empowerment of reactionary forces and totalitarian impulses, organized violence and oppression," and "an atmosphere of gravity and tension." During such periods, Tarnas continues, "profound transformation was a dominant theme," with that transformation coming "through contraction, conservative reaction, crisis and termination."[31]

Returning to the major events listed earlier that led up to the emergence of the Puritan movement, we can now examine the pattern of correlations these events present with axial alignments of Saturn and Pluto and the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex. This pattern of correlations begins with Martin Luther's most famous action. On October 31, 1517, Luther assumed his pivotal historical role as a spiritual and religious revolutionary by posting his Ninety-five Theses, thereby starting the world-changing movement called the Reformation. As figure 1 shows, Saturn and Pluto were within 5° of an exact conjunction when Luther posted his list of complaints against various practices of the Roman Catholic Church.[32]

The overall Reformation project and the specific events leading to the birth of the Puritan movement present themes that are highly characteristic of the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex, which include the life-and-death struggle that is birth; the discernment of evil in self and other, as well as the projection of evil onto others; social oppression and the concomitant battle against the oppressor; and significant manifestations of mass social movements, titanic struggles, and monumental efforts toward building something of enduring significance. Even the term *reformation* is consonant with central themes of this archetypal combination, with

29. Ebertin, *Combination,* 188.

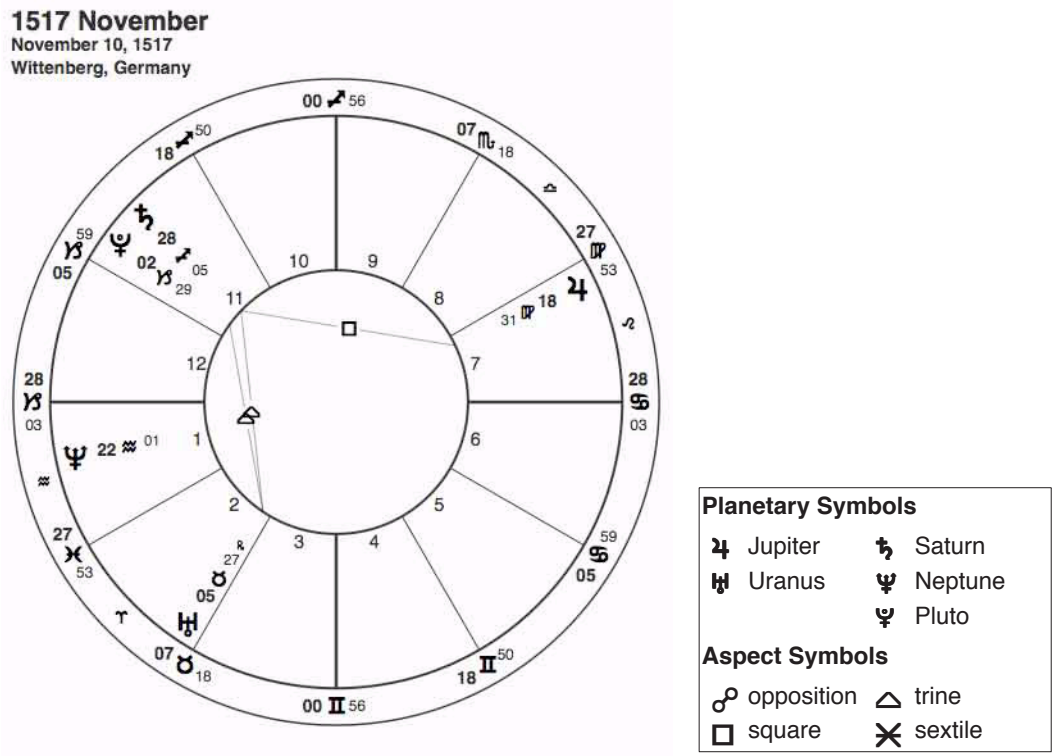
30. Ebertin, *Combination,* 188. For an in-depth exploration of historical correlations with the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex, see Tarnas, "Cycles of Crisis and Contraction," *Cosmos and Psyche,* 207–288.

31. Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 209.

32. October 31, 1517 in Old Style (Julian calendar) translates to November 10, 1517 in New Style (Gregorian calendar). This Saturn-Pluto conjunction began in 1516, was exactly aligned in 1518, and ended in 1519.

Saturn representing tradition, status quo, structure, form, and hierarchy, and Pluto representing irresistible evolutionary forces breaking down existing or traditional structures and regenerating them in a new form. It is important to remember that in Luther's case, while it was certainly his intention in late 1517 to reform many of the oppressive and abusive aspects of Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, it was not his intention to cause a separation or create a new religious entity. This focus on the reformation of existing structures, to strengthen them or correct them by a heightened opposition of existing tensions, rather than a focus on separation that results in an entirely new entity apart from the original one, is an important distinction for phenomena observed for the Saturn-Pluto complex in this study.[33]

Figure 1 **Outer Planetary Alignments, November 1517**



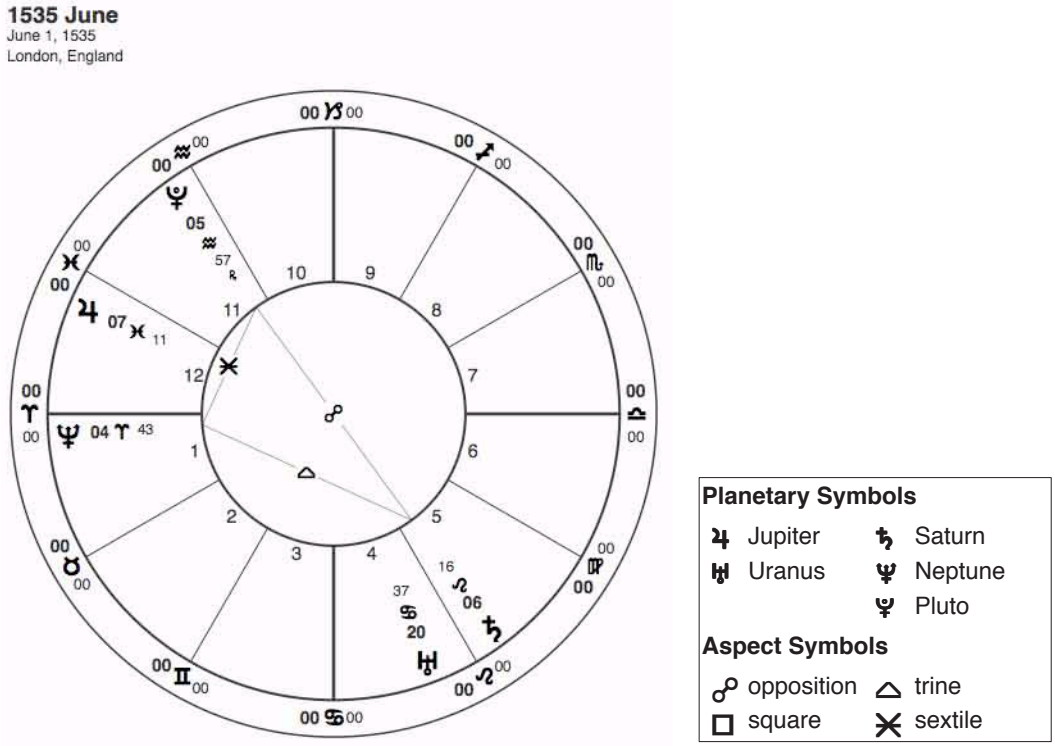
Source: all planetary alignment figures were created using Io Edition software from Time Cycles Research (www.timecycles.com).

The sequence of major events leading to the emergence of the Puritan movement continues during the very next axial alignment of Saturn and Pluto, the opposition that began in 1533 and ended in 1536 (see figure 2). During this same four-year period, Henry VIII engaged

33. Although periods of dynamic Saturn-Pluto alignments are frequently marked by intense polarization and profound divisions within existing structures, formal separations and schisms are more typically phenomena found during periods when Saturn and Uranus have formed dynamic alignments. This distinction between these two archetypal complexes will be explored in more detail in subsequent sections of this series and in future articles.

in an intense battle of wills with the pope over control of the Church of England, eventually separating from Rome by the Act of Supremacy in 1534;[34] St. Ignatius of Loyola published his Spiritual Exercises (1535), the foundational work of the Jesuit order, which was perhaps the most potent agent of the Counter-Reformation; and Calvin published the Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536), the foundational doctrinal statement of Calvinism that formed the heart of the Reformed Protestant tradition, which includes Puritanism as a major member.

Figure 2 **Outer Planetary Alignments of 1535**



Saturn-Pluto archetypal themes are perhaps not as evident in the character of Luther and the religious impulse known as Lutheranism that developed directly around him as they are in the character, thought, and works of John Calvin, whose life and thought were much more central to the history of Puritanism, who was born in 1509 during a Saturn-Pluto square alignment, and whose seminal work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* was published during a Saturn-Pluto opposition. Calvin's *Institutes* provided the foundational statements for the

34. The separation of the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church is a significant example of correlations of religious separation and schism that are typical during periods when Saturn and Uranus have formed dynamic alignments. Using the usual orb of 15°, Saturn and Uranus formed a conjunction starting in June, 1531. That conjunction was exact during 1533, ending in May of 1535. For more on typical correlations with the Saturn-Uranus complex, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 222–223. For more on these types of correlations in Puritan history, see chapter 4, "Crisis and Controversy," in O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace," 104–109.

doctrinal triumvirate of Reformed and Puritan theology, which are worth examining briefly at this point to better understand essential characteristics of Puritanism.[35]

The bedrock belief of Calvinist and Puritan theology was the absolute sovereignty of God: the omnipresent, omniscient, inscrutable, all-powerful creator, lord and master of the universe.[36] From this foundational belief, the second and more difficult doctrine of predestination, or election, logically flows. Because God is all-knowing, he knows everything that has happened and will happen. Because God is all-powerful, he ordains all that has happened and will happen, which means that he must know, and has himself ordained, which human beings will be granted salvation and eternal life with him. The third and final member of this triumvirate is the doctrine of human depravity, also known as the doctrine of original sin. According to this doctrine, the progeny of fallen Adam—all human beings—share fully in Adam's original sin of pride, and are therefore inherently sinful, utterly depraved, and unredeemed in the sight of God. That status of utter depravity cannot be changed through any word, thought, or action of the individual.

It was an integral part of the Puritan doctrine of human depravity that the human mind, once nearly divine and capable of directly perceiving divine and spiritual reality, no longer functions properly, especially in the proper hierarchical domination of one faculty over another. Since the Fall, the faculties of the imagination and the will were capable of misleading the faculty of reason, which was no longer able to make proper judgment and was therefore often wrong or confused. Befuddled or misled, reason could no longer function properly to govern the will. Ungoverned, the will and its irrational emotions gained dominance. This consequence is crucial to this study, since according to this Puritan faculty psychology, it is only through the grace of the Holy Spirit in the conversion experience that the hierarchical functioning of these faculties is healed. The conversion experience restores reason to its proper dominance of the will and renders reason impervious to the deceptions of the imagination, making the ongoing experience of divine grace the "rational control of impulse."[37]

Together, these three central doctrines—God's absolute sovereignty, predestination, and human depravity—created a horrifying picture of the fate of most of humanity, helpless to redeem their souls in the sight of God no matter how pious. The only means by which salvation could come was through the gift of God's irresistible grace, which could be neither earned nor refused, leaving the agonizing question hanging mid-air: who is saved?

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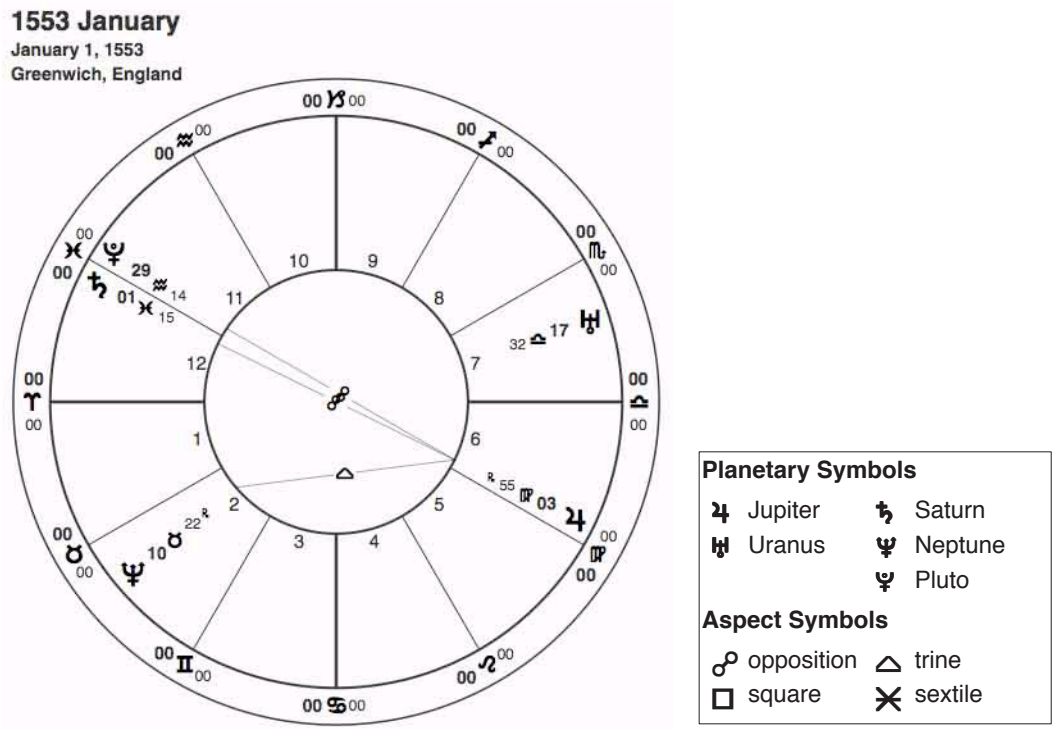
35. This difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism reflects archetypal differences in their natal charts. Luther was born in 1483 when Saturn and Pluto were not in quadrature alignment. By contrast, Calvin was born in 1509 when Saturn was square Pluto.

36. The following four paragraphs on Puritan theology are a summary extracted from chapter 2, "Historical Background," in O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace," 29–36. That section is based primarily on Ahlstrom, *Religious History,* 117–119, 124–134; Bremer, *Puritan Experiment,* 15–28; Cohen, *God's Caress,* generally, but especially 25–133; Flower and Murphy, *History,* 5–40; and Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 3–34.

37. Flower and Murphey, *History,* 44.

All three doctrines contain central themes that are highly characteristic of the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex. The concept of absolute sovereignty combines the authority of the Saturn archetype with the absolute power of the Pluto archetype. And from the combination of such typical Saturn archetypal themes as moral judgment, confinement, and isolation with such typical Pluto archetypal themes as shadow, sin, punishment, and the underworld, the other two Puritan doctrines are easily derived: human depravity and predestination, or the judgment of humanity as utterly sinful by an all-powerful and terrifying God who is willing to ordain from the very beginning that a vast majority of humanity will be condemned to eternal punishment in hell. Moreover, in this combination we also find the need for ever-vigilant repression (Saturn) of our human sinful nature (Pluto), which even if successfully achieved through great personal effort will probably not be sufficient to avert God's awful judgment.

Figure 3 **Outer Planetary Alignments of 1553**



The very next axial alignment of Saturn and Pluto was the conjunction that began in 1551, was exact in 1552–1553, and ended in 1554 (see figure 3). In 1553, the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary I to the throne of England ended reformation efforts within the Church of England, returning England and its church to Roman Catholicism and beginning a five-year period in which English Protestants were oppressed, persecuted, executed, and exiled. While in exile at major Reformation centers of continental Europe, English Protestants encountered Reformed principles at work in dynamic congregations within thriving communities. The encounters English exiles had during this period with Reform

doctrine served to strengthen their convictions, hone their arguments, and harden their resolve for furthering reform efforts in England when the opportunity next arose. Persecution, oppression, exile, strengthened convictions, and hardened resolve are all phenomena that are characteristic of dynamic Saturn-Pluto alignment periods. These phenomena combine Saturn's archetypal themes of authority, hierarchy, control, formal doctrinal systems, moral codes, boundaries, and resistance with Pluto's archetypal themes of political power and the irresistible impulse and will to fight, defend, destroy, and rebuild anew.

For English Protestants at home and abroad, an opportunity to implement the convictions hardened by persecution and exile presented itself at the death of Mary I and the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558. At first, reform-minded English Protestants were optimistic that they could steer the course of the Church of England onto a path more in line with continental Reformed Churches. Elizabeth, however, held a different vision. It was during 1566 that oppressive measures intended to eradicate these reform efforts resulted in the birth of Puritanism as an identifiable movement—precisely during the very next axial alignment of Saturn and Pluto, the opposition of 1565 through 1569.

Numerous traits of the Puritan movement described so far resonate strongly with typical themes of the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex, including: oppression and the determined opposition to oppression; an accurate discernment of evil as well as the projection of evil, the evil doer, or the sinner onto others, and onto the self; intense criticism and harsh judgment, which when directed at others can lead to recrimination and the dynamics of victimization, and when directed at the self can lead to intense feelings of guilt and shame; moral rectitude and exactitude; grim determination, hard work, and discipline; fate, determinism, predestination, and eternal damnation; restrictive, totalitarian government; the exercise of strict and comprehensive control; dictatorial tendencies within individuals or institutions; intense desire for purification and regeneration, which is either denied or obtained through arduous preparation, devotion, and purging; the erection and maintenance of rigid and secure boundaries, and an obsessive desire for seclusion and isolation to maintain purity and avoid contamination. Additional specific correlations will follow as we continue to explore the archetypal patterns revealed by the specific events and phenomena in this case study. For now, this summary list is intended to underscore the importance and pervasiveness of the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex in the character, historical development, and ideology of the Puritan movement.

In many important ways, therefore, it is possible to view the emergence and development of the central characteristics of the Puritan movement within a dialogical matrix symbolized by the interaction of the two archetypal complexes examined so far: Uranus-Neptune and Saturn-Pluto. The archetypal dynamism that exists between these two complexes represents quite well a key tension in the Puritan makeup: an almost irresolvable conflict between simultaneous impulses for, on one hand, an optimistic search for religious awakening and spiritual liberation (Uranus-Neptune) and, on the other hand, a pessimistic fatalism grounded in the doctrines of human depravity and predestination (Saturn-Pluto). Perhaps nowhere else is this tension more symbolically potent than in the archetypal dynamics present

in the planetary configuration involving all four outer planets that was operative during the emergence of Puritanism as a cohesive movement in England in the mid-1560s.

The Emergence of the Puritan Movement

While it is not possible to assign a precise date to the birth of the Puritan movement, it is possible to identify the specific time-frame and the significant events of its emergence as an identifiable religious movement.[38] It was after the Convocations of Canterbury and York consolidated the Elizabethan Settlement as the Thirty-nine Articles in 1563 that reform-minded English Protestants recognized the inevitability of ongoing political and ideological resistance to their ecclesiastical goals for a fully reformed English Church. Although before 1563 the question of proper clerical vestment was already generally acknowledged to be a primary and certainly the most visible point of controversy, the Thirty-nine Articles specifically established precise guidelines for ministerial dress. Certain vestments were thereby prescribed by specific royal articles, and all ministers of the English Church were required by those articles to conform in matters of dress. As a public form of silent protest against these prescriptions, a number of ministers deliberately wore vestments that did not conform to these articles and were, instead, more in line with reformed practices elsewhere.

By the end of 1564, the number of these nonconforming ministers wearing non-prescribed vestments had grown large enough to concern Elizabeth. In late January 1565, the queen composed a letter expressing her alarm at the "growing diversity of opinions" demonstrated by her clergy.[39] While Elizabeth's letter clearly stated her desire for ministerial conformity to the Thirty-nine Articles, she did not at this time demand actions to suppress these protests. Nonconforming ministers responded in similar vein. In March 1565, twenty nonconformist ministers sent a letter that formally requested the Queen's tolerance of their nonconformity and their desires for greater church reform. Despite asserting desires contrary to those of the queen, the tone of this ministerial letter was undemanding, with no indication that nonconforming elements had formed a separate movement.[40] In the months that followed, however, not only did the frequency of silent protests not diminish as Elizabeth had hoped, they grew more frequent and also increasingly vocal and critical of the queen's merely partial reform of the English Church.[41] It is important to note that all of these

38. This section on the emergence of the Puritan movement is heavily indebted to the works of Patrick Collinson, primarily his *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); as well as Collinson, *Reformation,* 123–143; Bremer, *Puritan Experiment,* 1–11; and Ahlstrom, *Religious History,* 84–98, 124–134.

39. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 69.

40. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 74.

41. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 75.

nonconforming clergy were ministers in the Elizabethan Church of England and that both their silent and their vocal acts of protests were meant at this point to reform the English Church from within, not to separate from it or to form a schism of any kind.

Although both the vehemence of and royal annoyance at these nonconforming protests mounted during 1565, the crisis came in London the next year, when suppression by the church hierarchy began in earnest.[42] In late March 1566, Archbishop Parker summoned one hundred and ten nonconforming clergy to appear at Lambeth where they were required to sign documents to indicate their willingness to conform to church prescriptions regarding vestments. More than thirty London ministers declined to subscribe and were suspended, some removed from their offices and deprived of their incomes. The suspensions were soon followed during Easter season by public protests and disrupted services in a number of parishes where either conforming clergy had been imposed on reform-minded congregations to replace suspended ministers, or where no minister was now available to preach and administer the sacraments.

Soon after the suspensions, in April 1566, Archbishop Parker published the *Advertisements,* which provided definitive public statements of the articles prohibiting nonconforming vestments.[43] The *Advertisements*, however, only strengthened the resolve of the most radical nonconforming ministers. The center of the nonconforming opposition was in London, where several ministers continued to protest both silently by vestments and vocally in sermons that openly criticized the queen, her bishops, and the woeful condition of her unreformed English Church. According to Patrick Collinson, "In these turbulent weeks, Puritanism was given definition" by these nonconforming ministers of London, who "first took the significant step of publicizing their cause in print."[44] Throughout this period, Robert Crowley was among the most prominent and vocal opponents of conformity, making the first open protest in late April 1566.

Archbishop Parker dealt with these problematic ministers by removing them from London, placing many under house arrest, so that by July 1566 only a small number of ministers continued to resist.[45] While in custody from June to October 1566, Crowley collaborated with other dissident ministers to write and publish the first Puritan manifesto, his influential *Briefe discourse against the outward apparell.* The appearance of Crowley's manifesto launched a publication frenzy marked by intense volleys of argumentative and accusatory documents, especially between Crowley and Archbishop Parker. The controversy grew pervasive and heated in England, marking "the end of merely fraternal disagreement," and expanded even further during this same period to include an extensive series of correspondence with the leading centers of continental reform.[46]

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42. For the details of this paragraph, see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 73–76.

43. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 76.

44. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 77.

45. For the details of this paragraph, see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 77–82.

46. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 77.

The earliest surviving written use of the term *puritan* occurred the following year (1567), describing the congregants of a small chapel in London who referred to themselves as "puritans or the unspotted lambs of god."[47] Moreover, it was precisely in such London radical congregations that a new and more extreme Puritan movement emerged that also clearly qualifies as having separatist intentions by going underground to establish secret and illegal congregations.[48] The earliest clearly documented official discovery of such an underground, separatist congregation took place on June 19, 1567.[49]

It was during the spring, summer, and fall of 1566, therefore, that the loosely affiliated and largely still assimilated nonconformists known as "puritans" or "precisians" met strict disciplinary measures that were meant to bring them into conformity and suppress their protests. Instead, those measures galvanized the nonconformists into a clearly identifiable movement whose ministers began publishing polemical tracts denouncing the popery and oppression of Elizabeth and her bishops. Church authorities met this resistance in turn by an equally polemical volley of publications and a series of further suppressive actions that by 1567 drove some London groups to form underground separatist congregations who identified themselves for the first time as Puritans.[50]

* * * *

During much of the 1560s, Uranus, Neptune, and Pluto had moved into alignment with each other in a configuration known as a T-square, which is formed by two planets in opposition alignment and a third planet in square alignment with each of the other two. The T-square of the mid-1560s was formed with Pluto in square alignment with both ends of a Uranus-Neptune opposition, as illustrated for May 1564 in figure 4. Table 3 provides more information about the timing of the three planetary alignments that formed this T-square. Note that all three alignments were within the usual active orbs (15° for oppositions and 10° for squares) from 1562 through 1570, and that the exact alignments for these three cycles occurred in three consecutive periods starting in 1563 and ending in 1572, generally the same period in which the Convocations of Canterbury and York (1563) defined the Thirty-nine Articles, heightening the nonconforming protests (1564–1565), which then deepened into a full-blown controversy and the birth of a powerful, historically important religious movement (1566–1567).

47. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 86–87.

48. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 87.

49. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 89–90; who uses New Style dates, 17.

50. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 65.

Figure 4 **The Uranus-Neptune-Pluto T-Square (May 1564)**

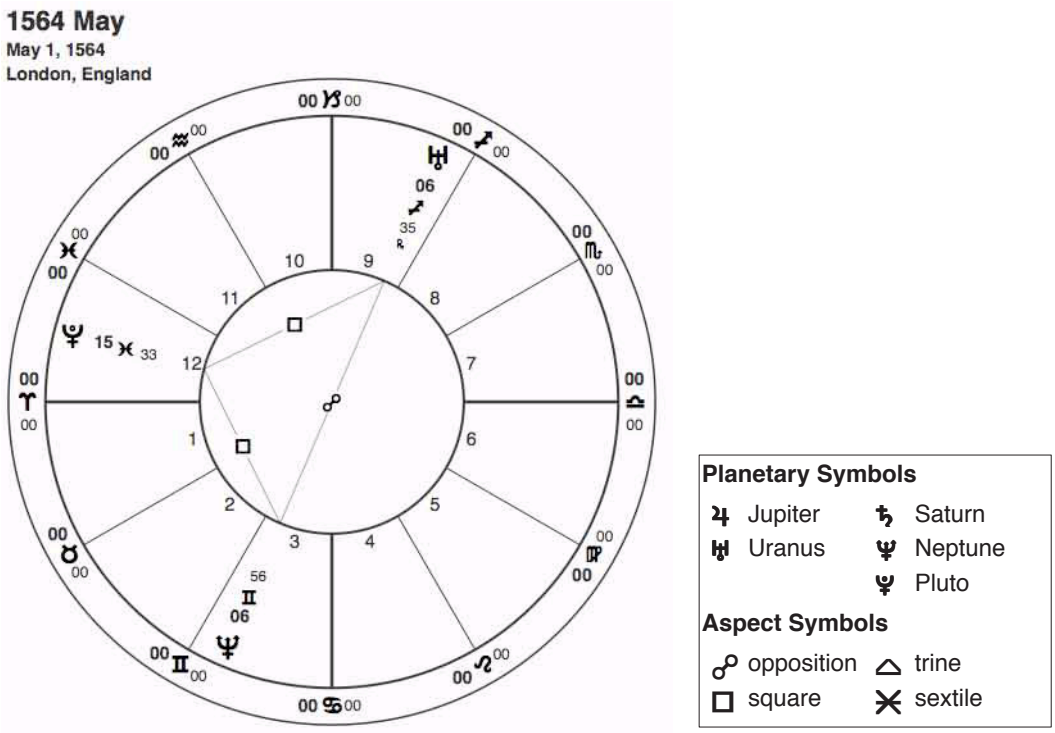


Table 3 **T-Square Configuration Dates**

Alignment	Start	Exact	End
Neptune square Pluto	1559	1569–1572	1581
Uranus opposite Neptune	1556	1563–1566	1574
Uranus square Pluto	1562	1566–1567	1570

Such quadrature alignments of all three of the outermost planets—Uranus, Neptune, and Pluto—are relatively rare. They occur when Uranus forms a major hard aspect with one of only four Neptune-Pluto quadrature alignments during one full Neptune-Pluto cycle. The Neptune-Pluto cycle is the longest planetary cycle in duration, taking approximately 495 years to travel from one conjunction to another conjunction. Neptune-Pluto conjunctions appear to coincide with the beginnings and endings of larger historical eras. The most recent complete Neptune-Pluto cycle began with the conjunction of 1386–1411 and completed with the conjunction of 1880–1905, roughly corresponding with the modern era from the early Renaissance in Italy to the events of the late nineteenth century that laid the seeds for the global postmodern era.[51] In the nearly 500 years between these two conjunctions, Neptune and Pluto formed quadrature alignments during only three periods: the first was a square

51. For more on the Neptune-Pluto cycle and its archetypal correlations with major historical eras, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 409–412, and 417–418.

alignment that lasted for twenty-two years (1559–1581); the second was the opposition, the mid-point of the cycle, that lasted for nearly thirty years (1631–1660); and the third was the final square alignment that lasted for twenty-three years (1806–1829). It was during the first square alignment of Neptune and Pluto in this particular cycle coincident with the modern period that Uranus formed an opposition alignment with Neptune and a square alignment with Pluto to form this rare T-square configuration.

In addition, Saturn moved into alignment with this T-square to oppose Pluto and square both Neptune and Uranus starting in the autumn of 1565. The alignment formed by Saturn joining the T-square is known as a grand cross, which in this case contains oppositions of both the Uranus-Neptune cycle and the Saturn-Pluto cycle, with square aspects all around. Each of these four outer planets, therefore, exists in a quadrature alignment with the other three planets in this configuration, as shown in figure 5. Starting in the autumn of 1565, this grand cross remained the dominant planetary alignment for much of the next three years. Table 4 provides more detail on the timing of Saturn's alignments with the Uranus-Neptune-Pluto T-square of this period to form this grand cross.

Figure 5 **Grand Cross Configuration (1565–1568)**

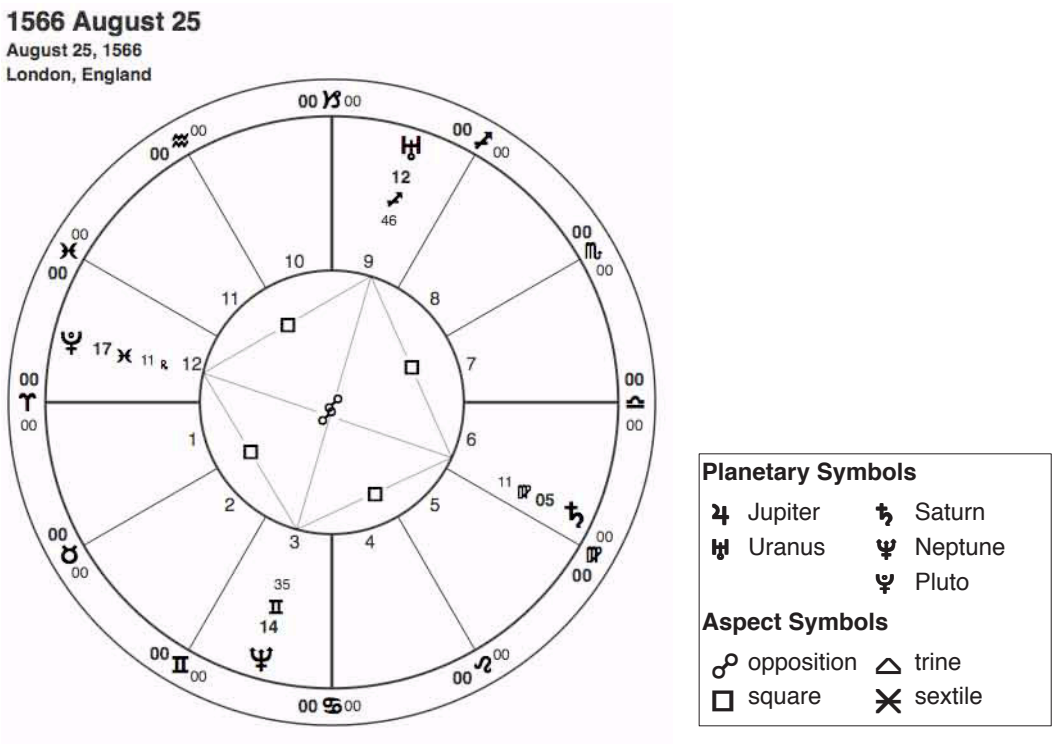


Table 4 **Saturn Alignment Dates with Grand Cross (1565–1569)**

Alignment	Start	Exact	End
Saturn opposite Pluto	October 1565	1567–1568	July 1569
Saturn square Neptune	November 1565	1566–1567	September 1568
Saturn square Uranus	August 1566	1567–1568	July 1569

That the Puritan movement was born during the period in which the three outermost planets formed exact or nearly exact alignments with each other in one of only four such quadrature configurations of the entire modern period is a notable correlation that presents a wealth of archetypal significance to which we will return. At this point, however, I want to highlight the significance of Saturn joining such a rare configuration to form a grand cross, in both its timing and archetypal significance. Consistent with the difficulties and challenges associated with the Saturn archetype and the Saturn-Pluto archetypal complex in particular, it was only after Saturn moved into alignment with this T-square in October of 1565 that the relatively amicable relationship between nonconforming ministers and Elizabeth's ecclesiastical hierarchy shifted into a tense crisis of deliberate acts of suppression, which were met in turn by defiant acts of resistance. The first definitive acts of suppression by the church hierarchy occurred in March 1566 when Archbishop Parker required more than one hundred nonconforming ministers to subscribe to articles requiring certain ecclesiastical vestments. As stated earlier, many of the thirty-plus London ministers who refused to subscribe were denied their offices and income. When even those suppressive measures did not suffice to silence dissent and establish universal conformity, those ministers who continued to protest were physically removed from London and placed under house arrest.

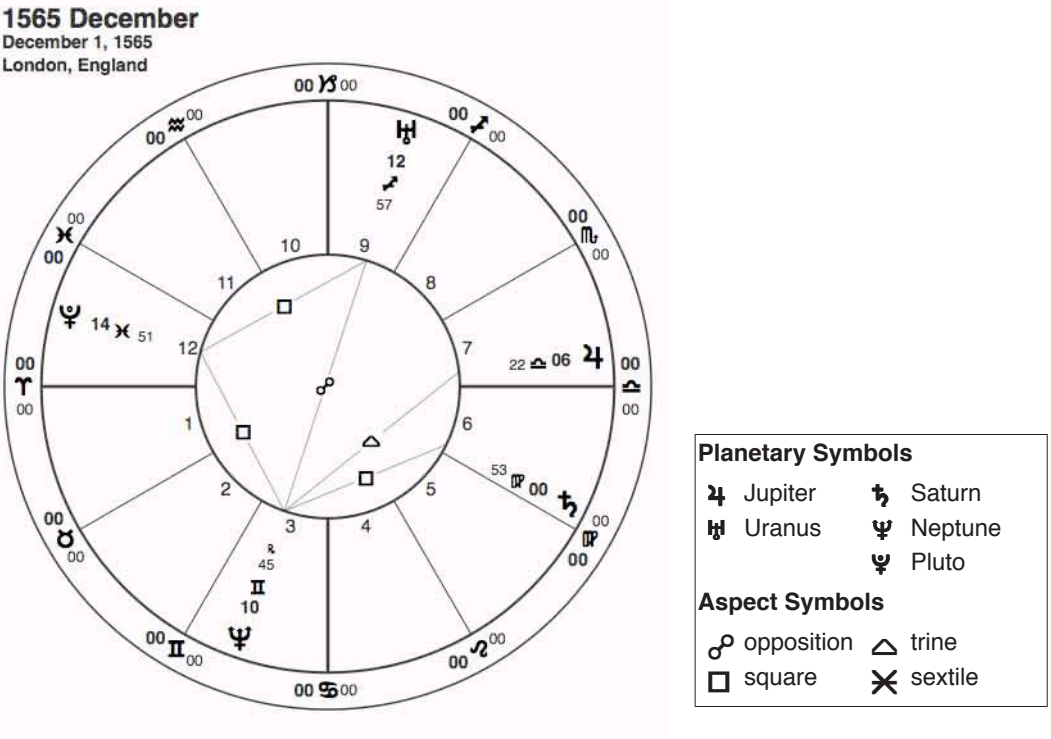
Although in March and April of 1566 Saturn was not within an active orb of Uranus, Neptune, or Pluto, most of the alignments of the grand cross had previously achieved an active orb by at least December 1565 when Saturn stationed retrograde within a 10° orb square Neptune and within a 14° orb opposite Pluto (see figure 6). After Saturn's motion turned direct in April 1566, Saturn moved within active orbs for all three alignments so that by late August 1566 the grand cross was fully formed, as illustrated earlier in figure 5.

The evidence of these events for the activated status of this archetypal configuration is consistent with the research presented by Tarnas in *Cosmos and Psyche,* supporting the convention established by him that once a planetary alignment moves within an operative, or active, orb, the archetypal complex associated with that alignment remains observably active until that alignment moves for the final time completely out of active orb, in spite of relative motions of the two planets that may temporarily cause the alignment itself to exceed an active orb.[52] According to this understanding, nearly all archetypal complexes of the grand cross of the mid-1560s would have continued to be activated after Saturn first moved into orb with Pluto in October and with Neptune in November of 1565 even though the varying retrograde and direct motions of these

52. Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche, 506, n16.*

four planets caused them to temporarily move out of orb in early 1566. The oppressive measures and defensive reactions of late 1565 and early 1566 confirm this convention.

Figure 6 **Outer Planetary Configuration December 1565**



Moreover, it was precisely during the period when nearly all of the aspects constituting this grand cross were exact—from the summer of 1566 through 1567—that Crowley wrote and published the first Puritan manifesto, the earliest surviving use of the term *Puritan* was recorded, and the first underground, self-identified separatist Puritan congregations appeared. And true to archetypal associations with Saturn and with the Saturn-Pluto complex in particular, the polemical nature of Crowley's Puritan manifesto launched a highly polarized public controversy that was debated primarily through published literature. As will be seen, intense public debates carried out by means of polemical publication campaigns is a recurrent theme for periods of dynamic Saturn-Pluto alignments in this study.

It seems accurate, therefore, to consider figure 5 to be a representative illustration of the astronomical configuration that was present during the emergence of the Puritan movement in the summer and autumn of 1566. The archetypal correlations between this configuration and the character and events of the Puritan movement are symbolically rich and should take into account several archetypal complexes in addition to correlations with the Uranus-Neptune and Saturn-Pluto archetypal complexes already discussed.

The *Saturn-Uranus* archetypal complex represents the principle of crisis itself, combining the Uranus principle's associations with sudden disruption and breakdown of the traditional forms and established structures of the Saturn archetype. The Saturn-Uranus combination also represents the impulse to establish and stabilize social structures (Saturn) that are new, innovative, rebellious, and aimed at individual freedom and self-expression (Uranus).[53] The dialectic between old and new forms contained in the Saturn-Uranus complex (within the spiritual and religious context of the Uranus-Neptune opposition of this period) is particularly well conveyed by Collinson, who concluded that Puritans

> never doubted that the interests of good order and of religion itself demanded that they should conform themselves even in their nonconformity.[54]

The formation of separatist Puritan congregations is another important correlation that is typically found during periods of Saturn-Uranus dynamic alignments, combining the themes of revolution, rebellion, and independence of the Uranus archetype with the themes of strict authority, tradition, and status quo of the Saturn archetype.[55]

Typical associations with the *Saturn-Neptune* archetypal complex combine the emphasis on structure, form, discipline, doctrine, and the elements of tradition, roots, the past, and returning to historical foundations and fundaments of the Saturn principle with the emphasis on the spiritual, religious, and ideal realms of the Neptune principle. Along these lines, we find correlations in Puritanism as a religion of disciplined spiritual practice—Saturn's rigor in the service of Neptune's spiritual purity—in its focus on the careful examination of the stages and processes (Saturn) by which one becomes more truly aligned with Spirit (Neptune), as well as in the social structure and doctrinal system (Saturn) that best foster theological and spiritual efforts (Neptune). The many detailed theological and psychological accounts of the religious regeneration experience also clearly represent the archetypal dynamics of the Saturn-Neptune complex. We also find the doctrinal position of the early Puritan movement becoming more clearly defined during the theological and ecclesiastical debates within the Elizabethan Church of England. Potent differences in theology and issues of ecclesiastical polity became apparent within both Puritanism and Anglicanism in light of the intense controversies of the 1565–1568 period.[56] Also correlative with the Saturn-Neptune complex is the sense of loss (Saturn) felt by the Puritans

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53. For a summary of many typical correlations of historical periods with the Saturn-Uranus archetypal complex, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 222–223.

54. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 361.

55. For more on how separatist and schismatic phenomena within Puritan history correlate with the Saturn-Uranus archetypal complex, see chapter 4, "Crisis and Controversy," in O'Neal, "Seasons of Agony and Grace," 104–109.

56. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* 101–121.

when they realized that their idealized vision (Neptune) of a truly reformed Church of England might forever be denied (Saturn).[57]

Consistent with archetypal phenomena typically associated with periods of dynamic *Saturn-Pluto* alignments are the antagonistic political observations already noted, which became more challenging and adversarial, more absolutely defined and adamantly defended, more polarized and polemic in synchrony with Saturn moving into opposition alignment with Pluto. In addition, the Saturn-Pluto complex contains many of those traits previously identified as central to the Puritan character and Puritan beliefs: their fierce determination, their immense collective ambition, their moral exactitude, their severe judgment of self and others, and the harsh Calvinistic doctrines of human depravity, election, and predestination, to mention but a few already listed. Also present, especially during the four-year period of Saturn's alignment to form the grand cross (1565–1568), are the rigidity and inflexibility of both sides of the Elizabethan religious debate, necessitated, or so it may have seemed, by the political and existential strait both Elizabeth and the early Puritan movement were navigating: after all, sixteenth-century England and Europe provide an intricate history of wars and executions.

Archetypal dynamics associated with the mutual activation of the *Uranus and Pluto principles* combine core elements of both archetypes: revolution, rebellion, innovation, instability, autonomy and emancipation, chaos and the breakdown of established structures and hierarchy that are characteristic themes of the Uranus archetype are synthesized with the titanic nature, drive for political power, destruction, and regeneration that are typically associated with the Pluto archetype. Archetypal correlations with the Uranus-Pluto complex are present during the 1560s in England in the social and political unrest of the general period, especially in the religious and spiritual (Neptune) dimensions of society with an intense focus on the ecclesiastical structure and doctrines of the Church of England.[58] Also relevant to the Uranus-Pluto archetypal complex is the birth of a movement (Puritanism) that beyond its central religious concerns would continue to exert revolutionary social and political pressures in both England and New England from its birth in 1566 through the late seventeenth century in England and considerably beyond the eighteenth century in New England, America, and the world.[59]

In addition to those characteristic phenomena already presented, correlations with the Uranus-Neptune archetypal complex include England's confirming itself as a country embodying the Reformation religious innovation and rebellion against established Roman Catholic authority and practices. The emergence of the Puritan movement represents the successful birth of a new and important spiritual impulse. Moreover, New England Puritanism, in particular, was centrally concerned with the theology and psychology of the religious

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57. See Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* 469–478, for more on archetypal correlations found in historical periods during major hard aspect Saturn-Neptune alignments.

58. See, for example, Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* for a detailed exploration of the intense political debates on ecclesiastical matters that took place during the entire Elizabethan period both in and out of Parliament.

59. For historical correlations with the Uranus-Pluto archetypal complex, see Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche,* "Epochs of Revolution," 139–205.

conversion experience, a major Uranus-Neptune theme that is a prominent feature of every subsequent period in the history of Puritanism during which axial Uranus-Neptune alignments have formed, including the decades of the Half-Way Covenant crisis and the Great Awakening.

As already noted, the alignment of *Neptune and Pluto* in 1566 places the birth of the Puritan movement during the first quarter alignment of this epochal, nearly five-hundred-year planetary cycle. Consistent with the combination of these two archetypes, the birth of Puritanism represents the emergence of a spiritual movement (Neptune) of titanic, world-altering proportions (Pluto) charged with a tension that would propel it into the future to challenge the institution of divine-right monarchy (which combines the divine realm of the Neptune archetype with the emphasis on political power of the Pluto archetype) to help shape Britain's constitutional monarchy.[60] The Puritan movement would also be enormously influential in shaping yet another Promethean, world-changing institution, the United States of America. These important developments in both England and America also present central elements that clearly incorporate characteristic features of the Uranus archetype as well.

Adding now to the observations of the previous paragraph some of the more challenging associations of the many archetypal complexes formed by either Saturn or Uranus in this grand cross (in significant ways they were never absent), note that the Puritan movement was born in controversy and difficulty (Saturn) and that it was revolutionary, nonconforming, and experimental (Uranus) even as it was determined to establish a new orthodoxy and articulate and defend new doctrines of conformity (Saturn-Uranus). Moreover, it was a religious movement of massive import that was constantly critical of others and itself in its quest for the perfect and properly moral way to exist on earth in maximum contact with God for the regeneration of the individual—combining each and every one of the archetypes at once. The society that Puritans established and defined in New England was an experimental, social utopia (Saturn-Uranus-Neptune) created through a desire for political, social, and ideological isolation and purity (Saturn-Pluto), which was meant to be ruled by a morally and doctrinally totalitarian government (the totalitarian and dictatorial governmental control associated with Saturn-Pluto combined with the theological and spiritual interests associated with Uranus-Neptune) that innovatively unified religious, educational, social, and political spheres in a representative model that ironically foreshadowed the democratic and religiously tolerant institutions of both England and the United States of America.

And finally, when examined more closely, even the fundamental significance of the Puritan formulation of their primary religious goal, conversion, may be extracted from the archetypal associations of this grand cross: a sudden, often electrifying, spiritual awakening (Uranus-Neptune) that transforms and regenerates the individual's moral and psychological faculties in a complete and utterly irresistible rebirth (Saturn-Pluto); an experience made possible through arduous preparation, involving intense self-examination, dedicated and

60. See, for example, Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1975; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1991); and Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603–1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1996).

disciplined study, and strenuous work (Saturn-Pluto), which will only consummate at a moment predestined by God when an individual is possessed by the Spirit in "a blinding flash, as a devastating spiritual rape"—the blinding flash, Uranus; the spiritual rape, Neptune-Pluto.[61]

The tension with which the Puritan movement seems to have been charged as symbolized by the grand cross configuration coincident with its birth was an intense driving obsession to connect with divinity and the divine realm in a particular manner that, according to its doctrines, required a certain form of freedom of worship that it would be denied for decades. That denial would create increasing psychological, social, and political pressures that would eventually find release in the English civil wars in one Puritan group and the Great Puritan Migration in another, both occurring more than sixty years later during the very next quadrature alignment of Neptune and Pluto, the opposition of 1631–1660. And it was precisely when both Uranus and Saturn moved into quadrature alignments with this Neptune-Pluto opposition of the mid-seventeenth century that the major conflicts, controversies, and defining conferences of both Puritan groups took place. For New England clergy, these events were centered in the important controversies and ministerial conferences of the Half-Way Covenant crisis, which is the subject of the next article in this three-part series.

61. Flower and Murphey, *History,* 9.

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