A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN ANDREW MARVELL'S POETRY

By

HENRIETTA HARSH BUCKER

Bachelor of Arts

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

1960

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of
the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
August, 1963

OKLAHOMA
STATE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

JAN 7 1964

A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS IMAGERY

IN ANDREW MARVELL'S

POETRY

Thesis Approved:

David S. Berkeley
Thesis Adviser

Samuel H. Woods, Jr.

Robert MacVicar
Dean of the Graduate School

541848

PREFACE

When Andrew Marvell died in 1678 his friends mourned him as a verse satirist and pamphleteer whose attacks on the court and on the pretensions of the Anglican episcopate had made him obnoxious to the government of Charles II. In 1921 when the borough of Hull celebrated the tercentenary of his birth, T. S. Eliot defined the peculiar distinction of his greatest poems (none of which was published in his lifetime); and the Anglican divine, Hensley Henson, Bishop of Durham, praised the constancy of his religious faith and the disinterestedness of his life. Thus, in his lifetime and after, he was distinguished as a patriot, a poet, and a puritan. A study of his life and works reveals that each of these reputations is well deserved; and while Marvell is not the greatest man of his century, he is certainly one of the most interesting.

The purpose of this thesis is to study Marvell's use of religious imagery in his English poetry. Not only do the religious images add pictorial vividness, emotional richness, and spiritual depth, but I believe there is a definite pattern discernible in his choice of images to document his belief that God is at the center of an orderly world, and that God shows providential care for those who do His will. This thesis will include a study of conventional religious imagery

and biblical imagery in his sacred and secular lyric poetry, his topographical poem, "Upon Appleton House," his three eulogistic poems on Cromwell, and his satires written during the reign of Charles II.

I have examined all of Marvell's poetry in the definitive edition, the Oxford English Texts by H. M. Margoliouth, ed., *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, Vol. I, Poems* (Oxford, 1952). All quotations from Marvell's poems and from Margoliouth's notes will be included in the text. All biblical quotations will be taken from the *King James Version* and will be included in the text.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. David S. Berkeley, major adviser, for his encouragement and helpful guidance. His scholarly knowledge of seventeenth-century literature and his mastery of the Bible have been of inestimable value. I also wish to thank Dr. Samuel H. Woods, Jr., adviser, for his close reading and helpful criticism. I am grateful for the work of Miss Mary Helen Jaime, staff member of the Oklahoma State University library, in procuring for me four doctoral dissertations on Marvell's works through the inter-library loan service.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	MARVELL'S WORLD AND TIME	1
II.	RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN MARVELL'S SACRED POETRY	11
III.	RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN MARVELL'S SECULAR POETRY . .	25
IV.	RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN "UPON APPLETON HOUSE"	37
V.	RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN THE POETRY ON CROMWELL	48
VI.	RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN THE SATIRES ON THE REIGN OF CHARLES II	66
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	78

CHAPTER 1

MARVELL'S WORLD AND TIME

"Had we but World enough and Time?" the question Andrew Marvell asked of life or his lady in his most famous poem, "To his Coy Mistress," could well be the leitmotif of the lives of most seventeenth-century Englishmen. This transitional century records accelerated changes in all areas of life and thought; exuberant activity was the order of the day. Frontiers of the world became a part of common knowledge as travellers and traders circled the globe and brought back dark-hued natives and exotic botanical specimens to delight and intrigue the people of London.

Astronomers searched the heavens with their telescopes and discovered that the Milky Way was nothing more than myriads of tiny stars. "The world," wrote Robert Burton, "is tossed in a blanket amongst them: they hoyse the earth up and down like a ball, make it stand or give at their pleasure."[1]

Men explored areas of the mind, too. Clash and fusion of old and new ideas were seen on every side. Science, religion, politics, economics, law, literature, music, and architecture were all in a state of flux. According to Douglas Bush, "It is the impact of modernism upon medievalism which gives the age

its peculiar character."[2] Not that the concepts which the people were concerned with were really new. Other than the development of the new scientific instruments-- the microscope and the telescope --the ideas concerning the motion of the earth, the motion of the atom, democracy, ethics, and poetic principles had had their beginnings in ancient Greece and Rome, and evolution in these areas had been taking place through the centuries. Bush believes that what distinguished the seventeenth century from the sixteenth was "not so much the arrival of new ideas and forces as the accumulated and irresistible pressure of old and new ones in potent combination and interaction."[3] Herbert Grierson sees the dominant note of this century as the conflict between the secular and the spiritual, the world and the flesh against the spirit, a conflict which invaded every part of life.[4]

Like the twentieth century the intellectual climate of the seventeenth century was unusually complex as strong winds blew from every direction. No concept was allowed to stand without challenge. In rising to the new challenges the people reached a stage of exhilaration that was similar to the exhilaration of the preceding Renaissance period and of the succeeding age of reason. But this exhilaration was darkened with the disillusionment of civil strife and bitter controversy. Helen C. White believes that the strength of will which dominated the age grew from this complexity:

> Seventeenth Century England was a time of great confusion...but it was also a time of resolution, of conscious determination to do something about the confusion. It was a highly critical, intensely self-aware age, but it had within itself nothing of the

> passivity, the fugitiveness, the carelessness, the despondency, so often found in such times. In spite of the delicacy of the seventeenth-century analysis of mood and feeling, the center of seventeenth-century psychology was the will.[5]

This feeling of purpose which was found everywhere in the temperament of the time reached its peak in Puritan absolutism. To the Puritans all of the issues of life were of immediate and critical importance. They tried to solve their religious problems with the same intense thoroughness and precision that marked the new scientific research.

Many factors contributed to the tremendous force of Puritan absolutism: the growing nationalism, the increasing power of the middle class in business and government, greater educational opportunities, and the continuing demands for apostolic simplicity with firm adherence to the Bible as the sole authority for ecclesiastical government as well as of conduct and belief. All of these factors culminated in a gigantic protest against the existing order. With this protest went a growing determination to bring about a reform according to the Puritan pattern. This Puritan absolutism, religious in origin, brought about a political upheaval that ultimately limited the English monarchy and led to the colonization and development of a unique political system on American soil. Undoubtedly, these far-reaching developments are a part of the special fascination this century has had for Americans.

Margaret Wiley thinks that the pattern thus evolved has great significance for people today:

> The very violence of its religious controversy bears testimony to the fact that, unlike the previous age, it was certain that there was something in religion worth salvaging; and it was equally certain that the scientific philosophy could not be abandoned. What have the intellectual struggles of the western world from that day to this been concerned with if not this same dilemma? The seventeenth century, with its political upheavals which reached to men's very doorsteps, could not retire with its mistrust of all dogmatisms until it had worked out a satisfactory solution; and this may account for the central and creative role of action in the scepticism of the century. The complex and sturdy intellectual pattern which was worked out there is full of meaning for our own day, which has as yet not learned to cultivate its doubts and turn them into creative capital.[6]

This strong determination to work out life's problems in whatever way possible rather than letting them go unsolved through an inability to act is Marvell's conclusion in "To his Coy Mistress." The light tone can not mask the serious purpose of his words (ll. 45-46):

> Thus, though we cannot make our Sun
> Stand still, yet we will make him run.

Marvell's particular combination of wit and seriousness makes him at home with the literary stars who shine so brilliantly in this century. Ben Jonson and John Donne dominated the earlier part of the century and John Dryden was to be the chief influence in the waning years, while Milton, Marvell, Cowley, Davenant, Waller, and Denham were the poetic voices of the middle years. The widespread enthusiasm that greeted James I's ascent to the English throne in 1603 soon changed to the gnawing introspection and moral earnestness that were to mark most of the century. This moral earnestness that reached its height in the strong protests against the frivolity and corruption of

the court of Charles II became significant in the reign of Charles I. Then the division between the court and the Opposition became so deep that it could not be resolved except by the death of Charles I. When the king was beheaded a new political world came into being. The power to rule was now in the hands of the people.

If any man could bridge the two worlds, the world of the Divine Right of Kings as Charles I interpreted it, and the world that believed that the people had the divine right to govern themselves as John Locke proposed, Marvell was that man. Two things were paramount in his life: love of God and love for England. Reared in an Anglican parsonage and trained in the tradition of public service, he was to serve God and his country all of his life with wisdom and courage. In a letter to Lord Cromwell concerning his charge William Dutton, Marvell wrote in 1653:

> But above all I shall labour to make him sensible of his Duty to God. For then we begin to serve faithfully, when we consider that he is our Master.[7]

Marvell could serve two different men as Fairfax and Cromwell; he could be friends with two dissimilar men as Milton and Lovelace. He could praise the way that Charles I died and criticise the way that Charles II lived. Grierson compares him with other writers of his day:

> If Denham, Davenant, and Waller seemed to Dryden, looking back, the poets who prepared the way for a new fashion in wit and verse, the poets who best maintained through this troubled period the Jacobean and Caroline tradition in wit and feeling are Marvell and Cowley. They

> both, with Browne, and, in a simpler way, Walton, and, among the clergy, Taylor and Fuller, represent the combination of culture and seriousness, a love of literature and a sober piety to which the Anglican "via media" conduced. Marvell is the most Puritan, but, though he rallied more wholeheartedly to Cromwell, he was throughout a Royalist and Anglican.[8]

Marvell was born at Winestead in Holderness rectory, Yorkshire, Easter eve, March 21, 1621. He described his father, who was an Anglican rector, as "a conformist to the rules and ceremonies of the Church of England, though I confess, none of the most over-running and eager in them." Fuller described the father in words which could also describe the son: "Most facetious in his discourse, yet grave in his carriage." In 1624 the elder Marvell was named rector and master of the alms-house at Hull, the great seaport city at the mouth of the Humber River. There the young Marvell played in the great garden that is still renowned for its riot of flowers and soft green moss, and there he studied Latin and Greek with his father. He attended Cambridge from 1633 to 1641, and while he was a student at Trinity he probably knew Cowley, Crashaw, John Sherman, and Whichcote. For a period the Jesuits persuaded him to become a Catholic, but this conversion was brief because his father influenced him to return to the Anglican fold. This experience left a permanent mark and throughout his life he was a foe of Romanism. When the Civil War began in 1642, Marvell was in Europe where he studied in Holland, Switzerland, France, Italy, and France, at least until 1646. Later, when Milton recommended Marvell for the post of assistant Latin secretary,

he said that Marvell was proficient in the languages of the countries that he had visited.

The years 1650-52 saw Marvell serving Lord Fairfax as tutor to his little daughter Mary at their country estate in Yorkshire. Here at Nun Appleton House Marvell spent the time happily and profitably, lovers of his lyric poetry will agree, for, presumably, much of his lyric poetry was written here. In 1653 he became the tutor of William Dutton, Cromwell's protégé and future son-in-law. The two lived at Eton in the house of John Oxenbridge, a Puritan who had lived in Bermuda, and who may have influenced Marvell's "Bermudas."

Marvell became an assistant Latin secretary to Milton, who was no longer active, in 1657. Later, Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, credited Marvell with protecting Milton during the Restoration. In 1659 Marvell was elected a member of Parliament from Hull, and he continued as a member until his death in 1678. He also served in these years on several diplomatic missions to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. It is in this period that Marvell gained his reputation as a powerful advocate for truth and justice. At his death the grateful citizens of Hull erected a monument in his memory.

Today, Marvell's literary reputation rests upon his lyric poetry. But in his own time these poems were scarcely known. Some of his poetry was probably circulated in manuscript form as was the custom, and undoubtedly Milton and some other friends read them; but with a few exceptions his poems were not known in printed form until some three years

after his death. In 1681 this first collection Miscellaneous Poems appeared with a preface by Mary Marvell assuring the reader that the poems are printed according to the exact copies of her dear husband. This woman was proved to be a legal fiction in 1938 by F. S. Tupper.

Marvell's poems were edited by T. Cooke (2 vols.,1726, 1772) and his complete works by E. Thompson (3 vols.,1776), but he did not appear in the large collections down to and including Chalmers's (1810); for the eighteenth century--and for Landor in the Imaginary Conversations--Marvell was wholly or mainly a publicist.

In the nineteenth century there were many who appreciated Marvell's poetry and patriotism. In a sonnet in 1802 Wordsworth wrote that "Marvell was one of the great men that there have been among us--"

> ... hands that penned
> And tongues that uttered wisdom--better none;

He ranked him with "those who called Milton friend," who "knew how genuine glory was put on," and "who taught us"

> What strength was, that would not bend
> But in magnanimous meekness.[9]

Six years later Charles Lamb praised Marvell's poems for their "witty delicacy."[10] Others who have written praising his lyrical verse include such literary "greats" as Hazlitt, Campbell, Emerson, Poe, Hartley Coleridge, and Tennyson. In 1938 E. M. W. Tillyard presented a contemporary view of Marvell's works as he wrote:

No poet in Marvell's day except the Milton of "Lycidas," could turn his mind so athletically from one pole of feeling to another, could be so alert in apprehending so many experiences simultaneously. Without being great, Marvell's mind was so well organized, it was so free from wastage, he made such finished use of what he possessed, that he satisfies us in a manner that many greater poets miss. To use a metaphor, his modest fire is pure anthracite....[11]

Notes on Chapter I

[1]C. V. Wedgwood, Seventeenth Century English Literature (New York, 1961), p. 2.

[2]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 1.

[3]Ibid., p. 2.

[4]Sir Herbert Grierson, Cross Currents in Seventeenth Century Literature (London, 1929), p. 20.

[5]Helen C. White, The Metaphysical Poets (New York, 1936), p. 30.

[6]Margaret Wiley, The Subtle Knot: Creative Skepticism in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1952), p. 65.

[7]H. M. Margoliouth, ed., The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, Vol. II, Letters (Oxford, 1952), p. 261.

[8]Grierson, p. 65.

[9]John Brown, D. D., "Andrew Marvell," The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, (New York, 1911), VII, 211.

[10]Ibid., 211.

[11]E. M. W. Tillyard, Poetry Direct and Oblique (London, 1948), p. 79.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN MARVELL'S SACRED POETRY

The religious controversies that dominated this century sowed a harvest of religious writing. Douglas Bush says that religion was the main and often intense concern of a greater multitude of people during this period than at any other time before or since.[1] People were insatiable in their demands for devotional and hortatory works, and English Protestantism had to create a new religious literature or revamp the old, for Roman Catholic literature was not acceptable. William Aaron Selz in his doctoral study of conventional imagery in religious verse of the English Renaissance lists the many intermediaries between the Bible and the contemporary writer: the liturgy of the Catholic church partially preserved in the English Prayer Book, the corpus of patristic writings, popular anthologies of medieval sermons, and the collections of figures published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2]

Like other writers of sacred poetry Marvell used traditional religious images in his poetry, but with such a sensitive amalgamation of imaginative beauty and sparkling wit that made his poetry fresh and original. He wrote only a few religious poems, but the fire that Tillyard sees in his

work glows with a pure light here. Grierson says that his few religious poems, "The Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure," "On a Drop of Dew," "A Dialogue Between Soul and Body," "are to my mind, after Milton's early poems...the finest Puritan poems written in the century." He says that like Milton's poetry they are concerned "with the perennial conflict of soul and sense, the assertion of spiritual and ethical values; unhampered by doctrines of eternal decrees and imputed righteousness...."[3]

This perennial conflict between soul and sense provides a dramatic framework for some of the best of Marvell's religious poetry as he tentatively probes spiritual meanings. The struggle between the soul and the senses is the theme of the first poem in his collected works "A Dialogue Between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure." The poet uses the Pauline image of the Miles Christi, the dauntless champion of the allegory in Ephesians 6:11-18, who dons spiritual armor in order to withstand the devil. Unlike many writers who had paraphrased St. Paul's image, for this is a popular religious figure, Marvell changed the concept and made the battle an inward struggle between a man's soul and the allurements of his senses. Seventeenth-century men defined the soul as the moral and spiritual part of man, and, though usually thought to have no physical or material reality, the soul was still credited with the functions of thinking and willing, and hence was the determiner of all behavior.

In the first stanza Marvell uses biblical phrases as he

urges his soul to arm for the battle against the strong army of nature (ll. 1-4):

> Courage my Soul, now learn to wield
> The weight of thine immortal Shield.
> Close on thy Head thy Helmet bright.
> Ballance thy Sword against the Fight.

Despite the brave display of weapons Marvell knew that the conflict was within because he says "shew that Nature wants an Art/ To conquer one resolved Heart." In the dialogue which makes up most of the poem, Pleasure's languid words of invitation contrast sharply with the austere phrases of Soul's refusal. The soft, lush sounds of Pleasure's words (ll. 19-22):

> On these downy Pillows Lye,
> Whose soft Plumes will thither fly:
> On these Roses strow'd so plain
> Lest one Leaf thy Side should strain.

promise easy living without any stress. Soul's answer is quiet, but it shows a strength of purpose (ll.23-24):

> My gentler Rest is on a Thought,
> Conscious of doing what I ought.

The importance of having a clear conscience in order to be able to rest is paramount in the words of Soul.

The poem proceeds with Pleasure listing all of the delights of the senses, but Soul refuses all of them because Heaven promises greater pleasures. The Chorus applauds the decision of Soul as Marvell says (ll. 45-50):

> _Earth cannot shew so brave a Sight_
> _As when a single Soul does fence_
> _The Batteries of alluring Sense,_
> _And Heaven views it with delight._
> _Then persevere: for still new Charges sound:_
> _And if thou overcom'st thou shalt be crown'd._

The last two lines recall the promise of reward for the faithful as recorded in James 1:12, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him."

The crescendo of promises that Pleasure makes to Soul in the latter part of the poem recalls the story of Satan's temptation of Christ in the desert as told in Luke 4:2-13, as Pleasure offers in turn the gratification of the senses followed by the enticements of sex, wealth, glory, and knowledge. In answer to these temptations, Soul paraphrases the words of Christ from the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5:3, "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," to say with finality (ll. 73-74):

> None thither mounts by the degree
> Of Knowledge, but Humility.

The poem concludes on a triumphant note as the Chorus praises the victorious Soul, saying that the world had no more pleasures but that "beyond the Pole," there is "an everlasting store." The word "everlasting" calls to mind the promise of John in his Gospel 3:16 "... that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

The tone of the poem is quiet and controlled as Soul retreats rather than resists and offsets each worldly temptation with a remembrance of a spiritual value. This action illustrates the words of Jesus in Matthew 5:39, "I say unto you, That ye resist not evil," or the admonition of St. Paul in Romans 12:21, "Be not overcome of evil, but

overcome evil with good."

Marvell's "On a Drop of Dew," described by Aaron Selz as one of the best devotional lyrics of the period, is notable for its delicate, shimmering beauty. Dew often symbolized grace falling from heaven to refresh the dry earth or a withered soul, and it is frequently found in the poetry of Henry Vaughan. Another use of dew symbolized the transience of life; thus, a man's life was compared to the morning dew which is quickly dried up by the heat of the noon-day sun. With his usual irony Marvell reverses the conventional figure of the life of man as transient dew, and, instead, makes the soul an immortal dew which God, the true Sun, calls back to Him. Selz believes that the central figure of this poem is found in Benlowes' "Theophila" (p.361b): "Saints mount, as dew allur'd by the beck'ning sun."[4] Marvell enlarges upon this image as he shows the drop of dew falling from heaven and then rising to heaven to complete the circle.

The spiritual tone of the poem is set in the fourth line as the poet speaks of the drop of dew on the rose as "careless of its Mansion new." The unusual choice of the word "mansion" as a metaphor for a rose recalls Christ's description of heaven in John 14:2, "In My Father's house are many mansions...." The words in the next line, "the clear Region where 'twas born," reinforce the spiritual feeling. Lines 15-18 describe the purity and fragility of the dew drop and emphasize its ephemeral quality which is like that of the Attendant Spirit in Milton's <u>Comus</u>:

> Restless it roules and unsecure
> Trembling lest it grow impure:
> Till the warm Sun pitty it's Pain,
> And to the Skies exhale it back again.

The restlessness of the dew drop and its upward pull prepare for a similar transience of the soul which Marvell describes "that Drop, that Ray / Of the clear Fountain of Eternal Day" (l.20). This line mirrors the biblical image of "the fountain of the water of life," Revelation 21:6, and "the living fountains of waters," Revelation 7:17. As a religious symbol fresh water represents life, preservation, and purification. Marvell extends the metaphysical conceit of the soul's likeness to a drop of dew by keeping the soul within the framework of a liquid globe "Remembering...its former height," and "recollecting its own Light" (ll. 25-26):

> Does, in its pure and circling thoughts, express
> The greater Heaven in an Heaven less.

Marvell continues his analysis of the soul as he sees this globe of heavenly light excluding the world (ll. 30-36):

> Yet receiving in the Day
> Dark beneath, but bright above:
> Here disdaining, there in Love,
> How loose and easie hence to go:
> How girt and ready to ascend.
> Moving but on a point below,
> It all about does upward bend.

This is a masterful description of the delicate balance of the soul, touching the world at one point only, being in the world but not of the world, and ready to ascend from the world at any moment.

Marvell changes from his use of conventional religious imagery with its biblical connotations in most of the poem to

a definite story in the Bible to make a strong conclusion (ll. 37-40):

> Such did the Manna's sacred Dew destil;
> White, and intire, though congeal'd and chill.
> Congeal'd on Earth: but does, dissolving, run
> Into the Glories of th' Almighty Sun.

The identification of the dew with manna is recorded in Exodus 16:14, 15, and 21, where God sends manna as food for the Children of Israel in the Wilderness:

> And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing; as small as the hoar frost on the ground.
> And when the children of Israel saw it, they said to one another, It is manna: for they wist not what it was.

The story continues that the manna which was not used dissolved and melted: "And they gathered it every morning, every man according to his eating; and when the sun waxed hot, it melted."

The manna metaphor adds depth to the dew-soul comparison because in it is revealed God's concern for the physical needs of man. It seems significant that when men had all of the manna that they needed the rest of the manna melted.

The sun as a symbol for God is one of the most primitive religious symbols, and seers and prophets have drawn analogies between the life-giving power of the sun and God. In Malachi 4:2 this is beautifully expressed, "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with the healing in his wings...." The dissolving of the dew-soul-manna "Into the Glories of the Almighty Sun" completes the journey that was begun by the dew drop falling on the rose. The

circular movement reinforces the perfection of the round form of the drop of dew and the soul.

Marvell uses the dialectic method again in "Dialogue Between Body and Soul" to explore the essential incongruities at the core of reality. Few poems describe so well the intricate relationship, struggle, and tension between the body and soul: the outcome of which with its moral significance makes the central theme of the Bible. Donne, Vaughan, Herbert, as well as others, have written of the antithesis of body and soul. Donne had used the words, "the subtile knot which makes us men" to define the complex threads that tie the body to the soul. Like Donne, Marvell knew that the human entity is so complex that it can be described best in terms of paradox.

Marvell uses alternating verses to voice the complaints of the soul and the body as each protests the irksome bondage which holds them together. In the first stanza the Soul cries out that the Body is holding it "with bolts of Bones," fetters its feet, manacles its hands, blinds it with an eye, and deafens it "with the drumming of an Ear." He adds wit and imagination to complete the description of the captive Soul (ll. 7-10):

> A Soul hung up, as 'twere, in Chains
> Of Nerves, and Arteries, and Veins.
> Tortur'd, besides each other part,
> In a vain Head, and double Heart.

In the second stanza the Body answers the complaints of the Soul with details of its own plight as it asks for a deliverer to free it "From the bonds of this Tyrannic Soul"

(1.12). It says that the Soul "Which stretcht upright, impales me so," that the Body goes "over mine own Precipice." This figure is a common religious image signifying the fall of man, but Marvell gives it a new interpretation by saying that it is the demands of the soul that cause the body to fall. The words "Has made me live to let me dye" (1.18) emphasize the inevitability of death for the body. Constant harassment is expressed in this couplet (ll. 19-20):

> A Body that could never rest,
> Since this ill spirit it possest.

The words dramatize the tension between body and soul that is never resolved in this life.

Marvell uses the third stanza for a further probing of the inter-relationship between the Body and the Soul as the latter asks what "Magick" places it in such a position that it must grieve for another's grief, and "feel, that cannot feel, the pain" (1.24). The Soul must also endure the diseases of the Body, and "whats worse, the Cure," and, when it is ready to gain the port, is "Shipwract into Health again." This examination of the close ties between the Body and the Soul in which health in one means sickness in the other illustrates the complexity of the "subtile knot that makes us men." F. O. Matthiessen sees great depth in this poem as he says:

> When the soul is sick, it can learn only through humility, only if it accepts the paradox which is developed both by St. John of the Cross and by Andrew Marvell in his "Dialogue Between the Soul and Body," that 'our only health is the disease.' Man may come to the end of his night of dark vacancy only if he learns that he 'must go by the way of dispossession.'[5]

In the concluding stanza the Body protests to the Soul of the "Maladies Thou me dost teach" as it is wracked by strong emotions--"the cramp of Hope," "the Palsie Shakes of Fear," "the Pestilence of Love," "hatred's hidden Ulcer," "Joy's chearful Madness,"--which knowledge teaches, and "memory will not foregoe." The tone of these lines is cryptic as the Body forlornly asks (ll. 41-42):

> What but a Soul could have the wit
> To build me up for Sin so fit?

The Body answers its own question with a statement of acceptance that shows the necessity of changing the natural state into something useful and acceptable (ll. 43-44):

> So Architects do square and hew,
> Green Trees that in the Forest grew.

The identification of trees with men is a common trope in the Bible where good men are likened to good trees which bring forth good fruit. The writer of the first Psalm says that a good man "shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season...." Marvell uses the figure here to show man in his natural state. The Body accepts with humility the discipline that will change it into something new. The tension between the Body and the Soul is resolved through the creation of a new being. The biblical basis for this concept is found in St. Paul's words in II Corinthians 5:17, "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

One of the loveliest of the religious poems and one that

is a rare expression of Marvell in the first person, "The Coronet" gives full analysis to the fear that pride is a part of a work dedicated to Christ. As Marvell explores his motives he uses figures which span the Bible from the story in Genesis of the fall of man to the king of glory in Revelation and adds a dash of imaginative fantasy to present this deep problem which often plagues man. Ruth Wallerstein, who says that this poem connects Marvell with Herbert, describes it as "distinctively Marvell's in its sensuousness, its precision of sensibility, its intellectual refinement...."[6]

In the poem Marvell examines the worship experience as he identifies himself with those who placed the crown of thorns on the head of Christ at the crucifixion told in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, as he says (ll. 1-4):

> When for the Thorns with which I long, too long,
> With many a piercing wound,
> My Saviours head have crown'd,
> I seek with Garlands to redress that Wrong:

The image of sins as thorns that pierce the Saviour's head is a common one. In hoping to weave a garland of flowers "As never yet the king of Glory wore" (l.12) to replace the crown of thorns, Marvell juxtaposes the place of Christ at his lowest earthly experience with his place as the King of Glory in heaven. This relationship between the cross and the crown is a frequent one in devotional writings.

The poet searches for flowers "(my fruits are only flow'rs)" in every garden and in every mead, and also dismantles the towers that once his shepherdess wore, to weave a

chaplet to surpass all others. But in his efforts to achieve the finest garland the poet finds "the Serpent old" twining (ll. 15-16):

> About the flow'rs disguis'd does fold,
> With wreaths of Fame and Interest.

The reference to the serpent recalls the words in Genesis 3:1 which describe it as "more subtil than any beast of the field" and identifies the poet with Adam who was deceived by the serpent, too. This picture shows Marvell's concern to discover underlying motives. Later in life he was to show this same conscientious search for motive in his poem "On Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost" as he first explores Milton's motive; and, when satisfied that the motive was right, he praises the poem in these words (ll. 31-34, p. 132):

> That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
> Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane;
> And things divine thou treatest of in such State
> As them preserves, and Thee inviolate.

The tension of the poem is relaxed in the conclusion as Marvell subjects himself to the will of Christ as he says (ll. 19-26):

> But thou who only could'st the Serpent tame,
> Either his slipp'ry knots at once untie,
> And disintangle all his winding Snare:
> Or shatter too with him my curious frame:
> And let these wither, so that he may die,
> That they, while Thou on both their Spoils dost tread,
> May crown thy Feet, that could not crown thy head.

The words "who only could'st the Serpent tame" refer to God's words to the serpent in Genesis 3:15 that the seed of woman "shall bruise thy head," or to Jesus' rebuke to Satan in Matthew 4:10, "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou

shall worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." The poet's willingness that his work be shattered "so that he may die" shows his understanding that the pride in his own work might be influenced by the devil and prevent the humility necessary for true worship. The concluding lines reveal that the vain hopes of providing the finest crown for Christ have changed to a humble wish that his work be destroyed to kill the serpent. The reversal of a position that hoped to crown Christ's head to a willingness to have his work trod upon that it might crown His feet characterizes Marvell's religious belief. The tone is light, but the feeling is deep.

Each of these four religious poems has a single theme which Marvell develops through a variety of traditional religious images with many of them having the exact words of the biblical source. He high-lights the perennial conflict between soul and sense, heaven and earth, pride and humility, body and soul with wit and imagination, but the whimsicality of his words never belies the sincerity of his faith.

Notes on Chapter II

[1]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 294.

[2]William Aaron Selz, "Conventional Imagery in Religious Verse of the English Renaissance" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1944), p. 2.

[3]Sir Herbert Grierson, Cross Currents in Seventeenth Century Literature (London, 1929), p. 303.

[4]Selz, p. 61.

[5]F. O. Matthiessen, The Achievement of T. S. Eliot (New York, 1935), p. 185.

[6]Ruth Wallerstein, Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), p. 304.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN MARVELL'S SECULAR POETRY

Where was it that Marvell wrote his earlier poems? Grierson answers that "it is clear enough--in Nature, retirement, and the innocence of childhood."[1] These simple subjects form the framework upon which he weaves patterns of order and beauty out of the spiritual, intellectual, and political complexities of the day. Almost all of the thirty-seven poems examined in this section have some religious imagery, so only a few of the significant ones will be surveyed.

In his doctoral interpretation of the poetry of Marvell William E. Lucht finds that "the most striking quality of Marvell's conceits is pictorial." He says that this is true of Donne and Herbert as well as other metaphysical poets, but that Marvell's images "have an especially pictorial vividness."[2] Most of Marvell's biblical images follow this pattern of evoking a striking picture. In addition to his ability of making lifelike pictures, Robert Lathrop Sharp thinks that Marvell triumphs in "his flashes of insight,"[3] and that his imagination is more genuinely metaphysical than Cowley's. He says that Marvell "combines in his poetry delicacy, imagination, and power."[4]

Like other writers of his time Marvell combines classical philosophy, mythology, and Christian beliefs into such an integrated whole that it is difficult to unwind any one strand. Men believed that Plato was the divine philosopher, and that ancient philosophy was not a contradiction to Christian belief but a prologue to Christian truth. Lawrence Hyman writes in his doctoral dissertation on Marvell "that it is not surprising that Platonic ideas are used as a philosphical counterpart to the Garden of Eden, for John Dewey had pointed out that the realm of ideas in Plato is but the real of things with all its imperfections removed."[5] Ruth Wallerstein continues this same line of thought as she equates "the separation of the soul from the Divine Intelligence in Neo-Platonic psychology with the Fall of Man and Original Sin in Christian History."[6]

Lucht believes that the theme of innocence or the loss of innocence is at the center of the majority of Marvell's love poems. To him, "Young Love" "The Picture of Little T. C. in a prospect of Flowers," and "The Nymph Complaining for the death of her Faun" all treat this subject exclusively. He thinks that the theme of innocence is important in the Mower poems, too, although it becomes more complex in them since Marvell shows the seduction of a man's mind by his senses, where "fragrant innocence" is spoiled by "luxurious man."[7] Not only does Marvell depict the perennial battle between the soul or mind and the senses in the religious poems, it is a recurring theme in his secular poetry, and in the Mower poems he becomes objective and uses the garden, a biblical paradise,

as his chief figure. This common religious image with Adam representing every man has its source in Genesis 2:8, "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed." To Marvell the garden remains a paradise only so long as youth and innocence are supreme; paradise is lost when age and knowledge take command.

In "Mower against Gardens" the poet sees "Luxurious man" seduce the world by cultivating natural plants and flowers into something artificial. Cultivated formal gardens are compared unfavorably with the innocent meadows. To Marvell the meadows represent the innocence of the Garden of Eden that is lost in the fall of man (ll. 19-22):

> And yet these Rarities might be allow'd,
> To Man, that sov'raign thing and proud;
> Had he not dealt between the Bark and Tree,
> Forbidden mixtures there to see.

The reference to man as "sov'raign thing and proud" is found in Genesis 1:26 where God says, "and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth...." The phrase "Forbidden mixtures" refers to God's word to Adam in Genesis 2:17, "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

In all four of the Mower poems Marvell uses natural objects as one finds them in the Bible--the garden, the grass of the field, the heat of the day, the snake, thistles, the mower--to portray human values. In the middle of the poem

"Damon the Mower" he identifies Damon with sinful Adam after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden in Genesis 3:19, as God says, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," (ll. 45-46):

> And if at Noon my toil me heat,
> The Sun himself licks off my Sweat.

Marvell sees Damon as natural man who goes forth and kills everything in his path, and at the end of the poem he wounds himself with his "Sythe" and thus becomes a victim of his own power. He says that death becomes a "cure for passion" because it is the end of natural life. Death also becomes the price that man must pay for sinning. In this subtle intertwining of human values with natural objects, Marvell holds life, love, sin, and death in suspension for a vivid portrayal of natural man.

One of the poems about whose meaning so many critics disagree is "The Nymph Complaining for the death of her Faun." The French critic and biographer of Marvell, Pierre Legouis, sees this poem as a simple expression of Marvell's sympathy for dumb animals; but Hyman and Lucht see a deeper meaning and believe that "it is not the death of the faun, but the death of innocence that causes the nymph to mourn."[8] Bush says that if this poem "have any ulterior meaning, it may be an Anglican's grief for the stricken church."[9] However critics might disagree on their interpretation of the ambiguity of the poem, all do agree that Marvell has integrated Old and New Testament concepts of sin and sacrifice to make a strong case against the cruelty of the killers. In an interesting passage he compares

the purity of the Faun killed by the "wanton Troopers riding by" with the purity of Christ who was killed for the sins of men (ll. 9-24):

> But, if my simple Pray'rs may yet
> Prevail with Heaven to forget
> Thy murder, I will Joyn my Tears
> Rather then fail. But, O my fears!
> It cannot dye so. Heavens King
> Keeps register of every thing:
> And nothing may we use in vain.
> Ev'n Beasts must be with justice slain;
> Else Men are made their <u>Deodands</u>.
> Though they should wash their guilty hands
> In this warm life-blood, which doth part
> From thine, and wound me to the Heart,
> Yet could they not be clean: their Stain
> Is dy'd in such a Purple Grain.
> There is not such another in
> The World, to offer for their Sin.

The Old Testament picture of men washing their hands in blood to expiate their guilt and the picture of Heaven's King with the Book of Judgment in Revelation recording every act not only indict the men who killed the faun, but, also, show Marvell's reverence for all life.

Perhaps it is significant that the poem takes its tone from the Song of Solomon with its strong contrast between pure love and lust and its symbolic use of roses and lilies. Marvell's words (ll. 71-74):

> I have a Garden of my own,
> But so with Roses over grown,
> And Lillies, that you would it guess
> To be a little Wilderness.

come very close to the words in Song of Solomon 5:1, "I am come into my garden." The thought in 2:9 of the same book, "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart:" seems a close identification to Marvell's Faun who feeds upon roses and

lilies until (ll. 91-92):

> Had it liv'd long it would have been
> Lillies without, Roses within.

The maid's words in Song of Solomon 6:2, "My beloved is gone down into his garden... to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies," are very close to Marvell's words.

The theme of retirement which dominated much of seventeenth-century literature before the mid-century is used by Marvell in one of his finest poems, "The Garden." This theme also inspired Cowley, Vaughan, Izaak Walton, and Charles Cotton to do their best work. Maren-Sofie Rostvig believes that the work of these men "cannot be properly understood unless it is clear to the critic that they... were writing within a well-defined tradition."[10] This poem, said to be one of the best of the garden poetry, is as Bush says, "not the mere idyllic ecstasy of a romantic primitivist or escapist; the rhythmic variations themselves suggest complexity."[11] In it can be seen the mercurial movement of Marvell's thoughts undergirded by what T. S. Eliot calls "That firm grasp of human experience which is the formidable achievement of Elizabethan and Jacobean poets."[12]

Using the garden as an integral part of the Christian tradition, Marvell balances time and eternity, sin and innocence, passion and pure love to portray the emotional problems of man beset by worldly ambition. His words (ll. 1-2):

> How vainly men themselves amaze
> To win the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes:

find their counterpoint in (ll. 7-8):

While all Flow'rs and Trees do close
To weave the Garlands of repose.

Here Marvell uses his favorite poetic figure, the garden, as a place of retirement and peace.

Joseph H. Summers believes that "The Garden" is "Marvell's momentary attempt to recapture lost innocence."[13] Joan Jenkins thinks that "his gardens are not momentary attempts to recapture lost innocence, but constant metaphors for order involving more than innocence."[14] It would seem that both could be correct, because Summers is writing about this one poem, and Miss Jenkins is speaking of gardens which have a changing value in Marvell's poems. Hyman offers another view; for he finds in "The Garden" "both the innocence which we seek, and the evil which we know."[15] According to Marvell, innocence is found only in solitude and is temporary; it is soon replaced by passion which is also temporary. He writes (ll. 25-26):

When we have run our Passions heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat.

Only in trees does the poet think that men can find permanent satisfaction for their passions. His words (l.28) "Still in a Tree did end their race" possibly refer to the crucifixion of Christ.

Marvell's descriptions of the ripe apple, luscious grapes, and melons that bountiful nature gives to man are reminiscent of the fruits that God gave to Adam. Critics find in the fifth stanza the sensual fruition which the poet equates with man's fall. They link "Ripe Apples drop about my head" (l.34) and "Insnar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass," with

Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit and his subsequent fall. Margaret Nicolson thinks that Marvell's frequent choice of circular forms has ulterior significance:

> No poet... used the circle more charmingly than did Marvell. He loved it for the beauty of form, whether he found it in the tears of a lady or a lady's pet fawn... or discovered it in a more exotic nature in his 'Garden' with the "nectaren and curious Peach,' 'the ripe Apples,' and the symbolic Melon,' a combination of Sappho's apple, and Eve's, stumbling on which men fall on grass.... The ethics and aesthetics, to both of which limitation, restraint, and proportion were basic.[16]

In the next stanza Marvell turns from the pleasures of nature to the pleasures of the mind as he puts his wit, intelligence, and imagination through their paces to display his particular mental agility. Bush says of him at this point:

> Even in the moment of apparent surrender, when the creative mind suddenly transforms the universe into Virgil's viridi umbra,
>
> > 'Annihilating all that's made
> > To a green Thought in a green Shade,'
>
> the detached intelligence is there to criticise what it creates. Marvell is aware that as a man in a world of men, that a golden holiday is not, though it may approach a mystical vision.[17]

This seems to be one of Marvell's few moments of mysticism. It had attractions for him, but the world that he knew held more attractions. He did not, like Vaughan, read into nature his own spiritual intuitions and aspirations. To him nature meant physical life. Possibly his love of the color green and the use of green in his poetry explain this. Marvell loved green for a special meaning, just as the writers of the Bible

welcomed green as a sign of life in a desert land.

In his moment of ecstasy Marvell casts "the Bodies Vest aside," and his soul glides into the boughs of the trees. He uses the conventional image of the soul flying to God like a bird with such delicate and imaginative details that the scene becomes a memorable picture (ll. 51-56):

> Casting the Bodies Vest aside,
> My soul into the boughs does glide:
> There like a bird it sits, and sings,
> Then whets, and combs its silver Wings;
> And, till prepar'd for longer flight,
> Waves in its Plumes the various Light.

This bird with its silver wings is similar to the golden bird that sat upon the golden bough to sing in Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium." It has been suggested that "various Light" could refer to Genesis 1:14, as God said, "Let there be light in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night."

In the next stanza Marvell gives a sardonic twist to the Eden story in Genesis 2:18, "And the Lord God said, It is not good the man should be alone; I will make an help meet for him," as he says (ll. 57-64):

> Such was the happy Garden-state,
> While Man there walk'd without a Mate:
> After a Place so pure, and sweet,
> What other Help could yet be meet!
> But 'twas beyond a Mortal's share
> To wander solitary there:
> Two Paradises 'twere in one
> To live in Paradise alone.

Here Marvell makes his point that woman was responsible for the trouble in Eden and shows his penchant for the solitary life.

After this imaginative reverie he returns to his real

world in the concluding lines. Conscious that innocence and escape are only the ephemeral part of his own world, he accepts the inevitability of change because he knows that it is change itself that is the pattern of life. The formal garden becomes a symbol for the order and stability that man can make out of chaos. He looks back longingly to the innocence of the Garden of Eden, but he also appreciates the work of the "skilful Gardner as he drew / Of flow'rs and herbes this Dial new;" (1.66). Marvell could always find relaxation and enjoyment in the "sweet and wholsome Hours" amid the "herbs and flow'rs" of any garden.

The involved synthesis of religious imagery, classical philosophy and mythology which Marvell uses in his secular poetry to explore the complexities of life, changes to a simpler pattern in "Upon Appleton House." In this tribute to his patron Lord Fairfax, Marvell begins his search for the man who will become the leader of a Christian society.

Notes on Chapter III

[1]Sir Herbert Grierson, Cross Currents in Seventeenth Century Literature (London, 1929), p. 303.

[2]William E. Lucht, "Andrew Marvell: An Interpretation" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1954), p. 114.

[3]Robert Lathrop Sharp, From Donne to Dryden (Durham, N. C., 1940), p. 56.

[4]Ibid., p. 57.

[5]Lawrence Hyman, "The Lyric Poetry of Andrew Marvell" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951),p. 73.

[6]Ruth Wallerstein, Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), p. 352.

[7]Lucht, p. 86.

[8]Hyman, p. 3.

[9]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 161.

[10]Maren-Sofie Rostvig, "The Theme of Retirement in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, University of California /Los Angeles/, 1950), p. 621.

[11]Bush, p. 161.

[12]T. S. Eliot, Selected Essays (New York, 1950), p. 260.

[13]Joseph H. Summers, "Marvell's Nature," ELH, XX, 123.

[14]Joan Jenkins, "The Place of Andrew Marvell in Seventeenth Century Poetry" (unpub. Master's Essay, Texas Christian University, 1956), quoted in Jim Corder, "Marvell and Nature," N & Q, CCIV, 60.

[15]Hyman, p. 28.

[16]Margaret Nicolson, The Breaking of The Circle (Evanston, 1950), p. 63.

[17]Bush, p. 161.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN "UPON APPLETON HOUSE"

Marvell was writing in an accepted genre when he wrote "Upon Appleton House," honoring his patron, Lord Fairfax. This topographical poem follows the pattern of Denham's "Cooper's Hill," a classical landmark of an earlier day. Written while Marvell was a tutor to young Mary Fairfax, the poem summarizes the history of the estate, eulogizes Lord Fairfax, and examines the present-day situation of the English people. Bush says of Marvell in this poem:

> His wit, plays with mingled lightness and seriousness, upon the ways of man, and, in a happy passage which parallels 'The Garden," upon his own secure and easy intimacy with birds and trees. Marvell's reading in 'Nature's Mystick Book' stops well this side of Vaughan and Traherne, but his capacity for sensuousness and self identification with natural things has a touch of the old symbolic and religious concept of nature as the art of God which appears in so many philosophic writers from Plato to Sir Thomas Browne.[1]

Lucht agrees with Bush because he says that underlying Marvell's view of nature is the belief that all objects have been imbued with a spirit that unites them with the divine: thus he uses the poetic method to recreate nature in a way that makes this relationship with the divine more apparent.[2]

The beginning stanzas of the poem contrast the simple

needs of animals in the natural state and the complex demands of civilized man as Marvell compares the simple nests and dens of the birds and the beasts with the elaborate dwelling-places of men. He emphasizes his point in a fanciful question that juxtaposes "Marble Crust" of the house with "Mote of Dust" that is man, to remind man that in Genesis 2:7,"...the Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground." He follows this with the story of man's failure as a builder of the Tower of Babel, Genesis 11:1-9, (ll. 21-24):

> What need of all this Marble Crust
> T'impark the wanton Mote of Dust,
> That thinks by Breadth the World t'unite
> Though the first Builders fail'd in Height?

Marvell turns from images in the Old Testament to images in the New to show that things are orderly at Appleton House because the Fairfaxes are Christian. In a tone reminiscent of Ben Jonson's praise of the Sidney family in "Penshurst" he uses a biblical metaphor of humility to show that even great men must stoop in order to reach God (ll. 25-32):

> But all things are composed here
> Like Nature, orderly and near:
> In which we the Dimensions find
> Of that more sober Age and Mind,
> When larger sized Men did stoop
> To enter at a narrow loop:
> As practising, in doors so strait,
> To strain themselves through Heavens Gate.

In the next few stanzas Marvell tells the history of this Yorkshire estate. Appleton House had once been a nunnery and had passed into the hands of the Fairfaxes at the dissolution of the monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII. One hundred years earlier a family heiress, Isabel Thwaites, was imprisoned

by her guardian, Lady Ann Langton, Prioress of Nun Appleton, to prevent the suit of William Fairfax, who soon secured her release and married her in 1518. This prioress was forced to surrender the nunnery to their sons in 1542. In this bit of history Marvell displays a strong anti-Catholic bias. He uses fourteen stanzas to show the subtle words that the Nun uses in her effort to convert Miss Thwaites, and the concluding line (200) "The Nuns smooth Tongue has suckt her in" possibly reflects his own painful experience. He puts into Fairfax's mouth the bitter innuendos that were rife in England during the rule of Henry VIII (ll. 217-224):

> 'But sure those Buildings last not long.
> 'Founded by Folly, kept by Wrong.
> 'I know what Fruit their Gardens yield,
> 'When they it think by Night conceal'd.
> 'Fly from their Vices. 'Tis thy state,
> 'Not Thee, that they would consecrate.
> 'Fly from their Ruine. How I fear
> 'Though guiltless lest thou perish there.

But these condemning words are not enough; Marvell describes the mock-heroic battle of the Nuns and the Fairfaxes in witty satire that makes a travesty of Catholic ritual (ll. 249-256):

> Some to the Breach against their Foes
> Their _Wooden Saints_ in vain oppose.
> Another bolder stands at push
> With their old _Holy-Water Brush_.
> While the disjointed _Abbess_ threads
> The gingling Chain-shot of her Beads.
> But their lowd'st Cannon were their Lungs;
> And sharpest Weapons were their Tongues.

In a few succinct words Marvell shows the weakness of Catholic ritual and the power of women's tongues. But voices were not enough, and the strong ancestors of the present Lord Fairfax took possession of Nun Appleton House.

Turning to the present, Marvell compliments Fairfax's military skill with a picture of the garden flowers laid out in an elaborate military design saluting the general and his lady with "fragrant Vollyes" as they pass. The contrast between this peaceful scene and the turbulence and strife in England is in his mind as he compares his native land with the Garden of Eden in one of his most memorable apostrophes (ll. 321-328):

> Oh Thou, that dear and happy Isle
> The Garden of the World ere while,
>   Thou Paradise of four Seas,
>   Which Heaven planted us to please,
>   But, to exclude the World, did guard
>   With watry if not flaming Sword;
>   What luckless Apple did we tast,
>   To make us Mortal, and The Wast?

The "luckless Apple" links contemporary man with Adam and his fall from grace, and is a reminder that man is mortal because he disobeyed God.

Although Marvell could appreciate that retirement to the country made contemplation of God easier, "he acquiesces only reluctantly in Fairfax's retirement, reluctant not because he trusts the zeal of the sword," as Ruth Wallerstein points out, "but because he feels that Fairfax with God's help could have brought peace to England."[3] There is gentle criticism in the lines (345-349):

> And yet their walks one on the Sod
> Who, had it pleased him and God
> Might once have made our Gardens spring
> Fresh as his own and flourishing.

In the next stanza he mitigates the censure of these lines by showing that retirement was necessary for Fairfax because he

had chosen the harder path which led to sainthood (ll. 353-360):

> For he did, with utmost Skill,
> Ambition weed, but Conscience till.
> Conscience, that Heaven-nursed Plant,
> Which most our Earthly Gardens want.
> A prickling leaf it bears, and such
> As that which shrinks at ev'ry touch;
> But Flowrs eternal, and divine,
> That in the Crowns of Saints do shine.

In this eulogy of his patron Marvell reveals his own preoccupation with conscience which was always to be his first concern. His conscience led him not to retirement but to an active life of public service. The strong bent for retirement that dominated the early years of the century waned in these mid-century years, and very little retirement poetry was written in the latter half of the century.

The poem divides at this point, and except for the concluding stanzas which compliment Mary Fairfax, Marvell examines the whole English political and religious climate against the backdrop of the placid life on the Fairfax estate. Woods, fields, grass, rivers, animals, flowers, trees, birds, and vines are all happily intertwined with biblical images, history, and classical allusions to show the rich and varied tapestry of the great English country estate. Marvell was at home in nature in a most delightful way. Ruth Wallerstein says that his "tone of conscious fantasy is unmistakable, as unmistakable as the strictly rational tone of his prose later."[4]

In a typically Marvellian passage of imagination and wit he reverses an obscure passage in the Bible to produce a fanciful conceit on the unreliability of the appearance of things (ll. 369-376):

> And now to the Abyss I pass
> Of that unfathomable Grass,
> Where Men like Grasshoppers appear,
> But Grasshoppers are Gyants there:
> They, in there squeking Laugh Contemn
> Us as we walk more low then them:
> And, from the Precipices tall
> Of the green spir's, to us do call.

The biblical source for this conceit is in Numbers 13:33, where the spies who have been sent out by the Children of Israel to investigate conditions in the Land of Canaan, return with the fearful report: "And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, ... and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight."

A few lines later Marvell sees some mowers in a meadow and draws an apt comparison between the Children of Israel crossing the Red Sea and the slow movement of the mowers through the green sea of grass (ll. 387-392):

> For when the Sun the Grass hath vext,
> The tawny Mowers enter next;
> Who seem like Israelites to be
> Walking on foot through a green Sea.
> To them the Grassy Deeps divide,
> To crowd a Lane to either side.

Many writers have drawn analogies between the waving grass of prairie lands and the restless movement of the sea, but no one that I know has drawn this parallel to the crossing of the Red Sea.

When the River Denton overflowed the meadows, Marvell escaped to the wood, and he relates this experience of sanctuary to the biblical story of God's providential care of Noah and his family in the seventh chapter of Genesis. Marvell writes (ll. 481-488):

> But I retiring from the Flood,
> Take Sanctuary in the Wood;
> And, while it lasts my self imbark
> In this yet green, yet growing Ark;
> Where the first Carpenter might best
> Fit Timber for his Keel have Prest.
> And where all Creatures might have shares,
> Although in Armies, not in Paires.

The "Sanctuary in the Wood" is more than a story of Marvell's escape from the flood; it becomes a symbol of retirement from active participation in the civil strife. This meaning is made clear by his use of the word "Armies" in the last line, which is a reminder of the civil strife, and by his mention of the names "Fairfax" and "Veres" in the next stanza. Lady Fairfax was a member of the Vere family, which was distinguished in English history. He shows the reason for the Fairfaxes' retirement as he says (ll. 493-494):

> Of whom though many fell in War,
> Yet more to Heaven shooting are;

Marvell shows that the retirement of virtuous men to contemplate God provides a necessary ark for the preservation of worthwhile things that might be lost in the political and religious flood threatening to inundate England.

Two stanzas later the wood has become a temple, and the poet loses himself in joyous worship (ll. 509-512):

> The arching Boughs unite between
> The Columnes of the Temple green;
> And underneath the winged Quires
> Echo about their tuned Fires.

In the forest-temple Marvell achieves a sense of oneness with all living things--a relationship with nature that made him whole. This love was typical of seventeenth-century men,

because despite the growth of urban activities, most Englishmen still were closely rooted in the soil. Marvell combines two conventional religious images, birds and trees, in an imaginative flight of fancy in which he makes an identification with each (ll. 561-568):

> Thus, I, _easie_ Philosopher,
> Among the _Birds_ and _Trees_ confer:
> And little now to make me, wants
> Or of the _Fowles_, or of the _Plants_,
> Give me but Wings as they, and I
> Streight floting on the Air shall fly:
> Or turn me but, and you shall see
> I was but an inverted Tree.

Even in his fancy Marvell was a realist, for his combination of the wings, symbolic image of the flight of the soul, and of the tree, symbolic image of man's earthly roots, reveals the two sides of man--the spiritual side yearning for a flight to heaven, and the physical side rooted in the earth. He could glimpse perfection in a moment of mystical worship, but he knew that these moments did not last. His knowledge of man was grounded in the Bible, and for him the book of Genesis had established the fact of man's limitations as well as his responsibility. Although meditation in nature was always to be important to him because he continues (ll. 583-584):

> Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
> Hath read in _Natures mystick Book_.

Marvell was never to be contented with retirement. As long as there was work to be done, need, as well as duty, led him to the task.

The last fifteen stanzas are a panegyric to the superlative qualities of young Mary Fairfax as the poet describes her

as giving "wondrous Beauty" to the gardens, as bestowing "streightness on the woods," giving sweetness to the meadow, and making the river "Chrystal-pure" (ll. 696-697):

> She yet more Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair,
> Then Gardens, Woods, Meads, Rivers are.

He credits her perfection to the fact that she was nursed "In a Domestick Heaven" under the severe discipline "Of Fairfax and the starry Vere" (ll. 725-728):

> Where no one object can come nigh
> But pure and spotlesss as the Eye;
> But Goodness doth it self intail
> On Females, if there want a Male.

With the typical syncretism of the period Marvell turns from the biblical images to a pagan symbol of the Druids as he compares young Mary Fairfax in Stanza LXXXXIII to a "sprig of Misleto" growing on "the Fairfacian Oak" which the priest will cut in time "for some universal good."

In the concluding stanzas Marvell contrasts the upheaval of the world with the serene order of the world of Mary Fairfax. In this comparison of the disorder of the macrocosm of the world and the peace of the microcosm of the estate, he emphasizes his belief that orderly living must be centered in God and His will for men as he says (ll. 761-768):

> 'Tis not, what once it was, the World;
> But a rude heap together hurl'd;
> All negligently overthrown,
> Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone.
> Your lesser World contains the same.
> But in more decent Order tame;
> You Heaven's Center, Nature's Lap.
> And Paradice's only Map.

The religious images that Marvell uses in "Upon Appleton

House" are more clear-cut and less involved than the ones he used in the shorter secular poems which explored the complexities of life. In this poem he is concerned with man's relationship with God and with society, and his religious images are fundamental to the development of his belief that God is at the center of an orderly society. In this poem he begins his theme of identification of the English people with the Children of Israel, and in his choice of biblical passages Marvell emphasizes that God guides and protects the people who do His will. The theme of God's guidance in the affairs of men will dominate his poems on the Protector Cromwell.

Notes on Chapter IV

[1]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 160.

[2]William E. Lucht, "Andrew Marvell: An Interpretation" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, Iowa University, 1954), p. 8.

[3]Ruth Wallerstein, Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), p. 287.

[4]Ibid., p. 229.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN THE POETRY ON CROMWELL

Presumably Marvell wrote the "Horatian Ode on Cromwel's return from Ireland" early in the summer of 1650, but it was not published until some thirty years later. At the time that it was written, Fairfax, the thirty-two-year-old commander of the Parliamentary forces, had resigned his command in protest against the Scottish campaign. His assistant, Oliver Cromwell, twenty years his senior, assumed command, entered Scotland on July 22, 1650, and was soon victorious. The tense political situation posed difficult problems for many men. It was characteristic of Marvell that he could find a reasonable solution to the complex problem. Margoliouth describes his middle-of-the-road thinking in this work (p. 236):

> The ode is the utterance of a constitutional monarchist, whose sympathies have been with the King, but who yet believes more in men than parties or principles, and whose hopes are fixed in Cromwell, seeing in him both the civic ideal of a ruler without personal ambition, and the man of destiny moved by God and yet himself (1.12) a power which is above justice (1.37).

Marvell's objectivity at this time is understandable. He had not fought in the war; he had been abroad. He had not yet served in Fairfax's household as tutor to his daughter.

His attitude toward Cromwell was controlled admiration for a man who seemed to be an instrument of God.

The ode is predominantly Roman in tone and form, and Bush says that it is one of the best of its kind. Although it has no explicit biblical allusions, the pervading feeling is essentially religious with the stress upon Cromwell as a divine instrument because Marvell insists (ll. 25-26):

> 'Tis Madness to resist or blame
> The force of angry Heavens flame:

Later in the poem he makes an even stronger case for the necessity of Cromwell's action as he points out (ll. 41-44):

> Nature that hateth emptiness,
> Allows of penetration less:
> And therefore must make room
> When greater Spirits come.

In this justification of force, in this realization that nature abhors a vacuum, in this determination that order must be created and maintained, even though force is the sole instrument to create and maintain it, Marvell was in harmony with many of his contemporaries. Having seen what civil strife and years of unreconcilable differences could do to the peace and welfare of England, most men of this century reached a practical belief in the absolute priority of order.

Yet, ironically enough, this poem which praises Cromwell's energy and virtue and sees him as an instrument of heaven to establish and maintain order, contains the most famous lines on the death of Charles I. Marvell does not eulogize his life; but he credits him with dying in a manner

fitting for a king (ll. 57-58):

> He nothing common did or mean
> Upon that memorable Scene:

The first poem on Cromwell begins the praise that later rises to singing heights in the poems on the first anniversary of his government and on his death. In these later poems Marvell sees him as one man "That Does both act and know," as "good and just," as "fit for highest Trust," as "fit to sway," one "That can so well obey." All of these qualities add up to a man worthy to be chosen by God as a leader who can establish and keep order. As Bush says of the Puritans at this time: "Whatever their particular and often conflicting aims, Puritans in general were inspired by the vision of a Christian society."[1]

In his second poem on Cromwell, commemorating his first anniversary of government, Marvell projects this vision of a Christian society with a great leader at its helm. This work differs from his other works in that it was published in 1655 to be sold at the Golden Ball. Cromwell had been made Protector in December of 1653, and Margoliouth says that as far as it was known Marvell was still at Eton as a tutor to William Dutton, protégé of Cromwell. Although Marvell's hopes for continued patronage must be considered, the sincere admiration in the poem rises above any other thing. In four hundred and two lines the poet sees Cromwell as larger than life, a national hero fit to be an instrument of national and divine order. In "The First anniversary of the Government

under O.C." Marvell uses more classical and biblical allusions than in any of his other works to document his thesis that Cromwell was chosen by God.

Early in the poem Marvell begins his identification of Cromwell with biblical heroes as he links him with Solomon in Chronicles 28:10 where David tells Solomon that "the Lord has chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary." He also links him with Amphion of Greek mythology who with his "sacred Lute" charmed the stones into place so that a wall could be built around Thebes. He continues this double image of Cromwell as a man who has the approval of God, and of one who has the ability to produce harmony through a musical instrument in order to make a pun on the instrument of Government passed in 1653 which provided the legal foundation of Cronwell's Protectorate. Complete accord with the pattern of Cromwell's authority is given as Marvell goes to the Bible for proof that Cromwell has divine sanction (ll. 105-108):

> O would they rather by his Pattern won.
> Kiss the approaching, nor yet angry Son;
> And in their numbred Footsteps humbly tread
> The path where holy Oracles lead;

These lines follow their biblical source in Psalm 2: 10-12:

> Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

These words, which align Cromwell with biblical prophecy, begin a long involved passage of forty-nine lines in which

Marvell synthesizes passages from the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation to show that "Angelique Cromwell" pursues the "Monster" to her "Roman Den impure." In words that combine the military language of St. Paul and the veiled language of the writer of Revelation, the poet substantiates his belief that Cromwell's government is the preparation for the final fulfillment of the holy oracles (ll. 144-158):

> If these the Times, then this must be the Man.
> And well he therefore does, and well has guest,
> Who in his Age has always forward prest:
> And knowing not where Heavens choice may light,
> Girds yet his Sword, and ready stands to fight;
> But Men alas, as if they nothing car'd,
> Look on, all unconcern'd, or unprepar'd;
> And Stars still fall, and still the Dragons Tail
> Swinges the Volumes of its horrid Flail.
> For the great Justice that did first suspend
> The World by Sin, does by the same extend.
> Hence that blest Day still counterpoysed wastes,
> The Ill delaying, what th'Elected hastes;
> Hence landing Nature to new Seas is tost,
> And good Designes still with their Authors lost.

Marvell continues his praises as he points out that Cromwell was made of better earth than other men. He climaxes these thoughts with a graceful compliment to Cromwell's mother who had just died. He uses the biblical idea associating piety with long life, saying that her life was so saintly that she must have smelled the blossom and not eaten the fruit, if the fall of man could be disputed. He writes (ll. 159-164):

> And thou, Great Cromwell, for whose happy birth
> A Mold was chosen out of better Earth:
> Whose Saint-like mother we did lately see
> Live out an Age, long as a Pedigree;
> That she might seem, could we the Fall dispute,
> T'have smelt the Blossome, and not eat the Fruit;

Using an experience in which Cromwell escaped without

injury from an overturned coach after the horses had run away, Marvell sees a parallel between this experience and the ascent of Elijah to heaven in the fiery chariot (ll. 215-224):

> But thee triumphant hence the firy Carr,
> And firy Steeds had born out of the Warr,
> From the low World, and thankless Men above,
> Unto the Kingdom blest of Peace and Love:
> We only mourn'd our selves, in thine Ascent,
> Whom thou hadst left beneath with Mantle rent.
> For all delight of Life thou then didst lose,
> When to Command, thou didst thy self Depose:
> Resigning up thy Privacy so dear,
> To turn the headstrong Peoples Charioteer;

Margoliouth (p. 253) suggests that l. 220 has its biblical source in II Kings 2:11-13 where Elisha "took hold of his own clothes and rent them in two pieces": and that l. 224 reflects "and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." The identification of Cromwell as the "Peoples Charioteer" with Elijah as a driver of the chariot of Israel is very strong. The last four lines are similar to Marvell's words in his first poem on Cromwell in which he describes him as leaving his private gardens where "He liv'd reserved and austere," to take charge of the affairs of state.

In one of the most interesting parallels which Marvell develops between an act of Cromwell and one in the Bible is the one described in ll. 233-238 as the poet presents a justification for the death of Charles I as an act of nature:

> Till in the Seventh time thou in the Skyes,
> As a small Cloud, like a Mans hand didst rise;
> Then did the thick Mists and Winds the air deform,
> And down at last thou pow'rdst the fertile Storm;
> Which to the thirsty Land did plenty bring,
> But though forewarn'd, o'r-took and wet the King.

It is significant that Marvell now casts Cromwell in the role

of the Prophet Elijah and Charles I in the role of wicked King Ahab as recorded in II Kings 18:44:

> And it came to pass at the seventh time, that he said, Behold, there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea like a man's hand. And he said, Go up, say unto Ahab, Prepare thy chariot, and get thee down, that the rain stop thee not.

In this dramatic combat between the two, the natural elements of storm and rain are also important, because they bring plenty to the land, but they wet the king..

A few lines later Marvell draws from the eighth and ninth chapters of Judges, which record the victories of the mighty Gideon, to link Cromwell with this Old Testament hero (ll. 249-256):

> When Gideon so did from the War retreat,
> Yet by the Conquest of two Kings grown great,
> He on the Peace extends a Warlike power.
> And Is'rel silent saw him rase the Tow'r;
> And how he Succoths Elders durst suppress,
> With Thorns and Briars of the Wilderness.
> No King might ever such a Force have done:
> Yet would not he be Lord, nor yet his Son.

Margoliouth (p. 253) notes that Gideon returned to Succoth after conquering the two Midianite kings, Zeba and Zalmunna. In Judges 8:16 Gideon punished Succoth which had refused to furnish bread for his army, and he "took the elders of the city, and the thorns of the wilderness and briers, and with them he taught the men of Succoth. And he beat down the tower of Penuel...." He was invited to rule, but he refused the headship for himself and his sons saying, "The Lord shall rule over you."

Marvell strengthens this point of Cromwell refusing to

be king as he addresses him, pays him a compliment, and then points to the parable of Jotham, Gideon's son, in Judges 9: 8-15, where the trees are shown asking for a king to rule over them. They went to the olive tree and asked it to be their ruler. But the olive tree replied, "Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?" It is typical of Marvell that he combines a play upon Cromwell's given name, Oliver, with the serious idea that Cromwell had a more important role to play than that of being a king (ll. 257-264):

> Thou with the same strength, and an Heart as plain,
> Didst (Like thine Olive) still refuse to Reign;
> Though why should others all thy Labor spoil,
> And Brambles be annointed with thine Oyl,
> Whose climbing Flame, without a timely stop,
> Had quickly Levell'd every Cedar's top.
> Therefore first growing to thy self a Law,
> Th'ambitious Shrubs thou in just time didst aw.

The last three lines refer to the Levellers, a religious and political sect, which, as noted by Margoliouth (p. 253), was very active at the time.

In a passage so vivid that it suggests a first-hand knowledge, Marvell enters the poem to describe an averted shipwreck experience of the ship of state that is similar to the averted shipwreck experience of St. Paul in the book of Acts. J. M. Wallace makes an interesting commentary on this passage in a recent article as he calls particular attention to Acts 27: 29-32, and suggests that Marvell's words "wishing for the fatal shore" perhaps echo the words "wished for the day" in Acts. Marvell writes (ll. 265-278):

> So have I seen at Sea, when whirling Winds,
> Hurry the Bark, but more the Seamens minds,
> Who with mistaken Course salute the Sand,
> While baleful Tritons to the shipwrack guide.
> And Corposants along the Tracklings slide.
> The Passengers all wearyed out before,
> Giddy and wishing for the fatal shore;
> Some lusty Mate, who with more careful eye,
> Counted the Hours, and ev'ry Star did spy,
> The Helm does from the artless Steerman strain,
> And doubles back unto the safer Main.
> What though a while they grumble discontent,
> Saving himself he does their loss prevent.

Wallace thinks that this passage, which links the ship-saving experiences of Cromwell and St. Paul, "is not justifying Cromwell's part in the execution of the king, but his dismissal of the Barebones Parliament and his assumption of power as the Protector." This would seem a reasonable assumption since Marvell had previously justified the execution in the passage that identified Cromwell with Elijah. Wallace continues:

> The 'seamen' in this portrait are the jealous members of that assembly, led by their religious enthusiasm to 'salute the Sand.' The people of England, like passengers who have developed suicidal tendencies, have now no recourse but to commit their destinies to Cromwell. He is only a mate but he holds a master's ticket.[2]

Cromwell is aligned with still another character in the Bible as Marvell draws an analogy between the eight members of his family and the eight members of the family of Noah (ll. 283-284):

> Thou, and thine House, like Noah's Eight did rest,
> Left by the Wars Flood on the Mountain crest:

That Cromwell's family and Noah's passengers found safety on the mountain crest after the Civil War in England and the Flood in the Bible strengthens Marvell's position that Cromwell was

chosen by God, because mountains were used as symbols of lofty religious experiences.

In another comparison of Cromwell with Noah, Marvell uses a story that discredits Noah and shows Cromwell's superiority as he says (285-292):

> And the large Vale lay subject to thy Will,
> Which thou but as an Husbandman wouldst Till:
> And only didst for others plant the Vine
> Of Liberty, not drunken with its Wine.
> That sober Liberty which men may have,
> That they enjoy, but more they vainly crave:
> And such as to their Parents Tent do press,
> May shew their own, not see his Nakedness.

The biblical source is Genesis 9:20-23:

> And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.... And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.

The use of the vine and the wine as symbols of religious fervor makes their symbolic use for political fervor a natural adaptation. The contrast between the proper and improper use of the wine shows the danger of misused power. Marvell sees Cromwell as one who can control others because he controls himself.

In the latter part of the poem the writer examines the religious anomalies of the middle of the seventeenth century. He aims his satire at the Quakers, whose influence overspread England in the years between 1648 and 1655, and at other new splinter groups whose religious fervor took on strange and abnormal forms (ll. 297-298):

> That their new King might make the fifth Scepter
> shake,
> And make the World, by his Example, Quake:

According to Margoliouth (p. 254) these lines may refer to the still-looked-for Fifth Monarch, or some particular leader, like James Naylor, who made a messianic entry into Bristol in 1656, and was then convicted of blasphemy. Marvell draws from Revelation 9: 2-3 to call Quakers locusts (ll. 311-320):

> Accursed Locusts, whom your King does spit
> Out of the Center of th'unbottom'd Pit;
> Wand'rers, Adult'rers, <u>Lyers</u>, <u>Munser's</u> rest,
> Sorcerers, Atheists, Jesuites, Possest;
> You who the Scriptures and the Laws deface
> With the same liberty as Points and Lace;
> Oh Race most hypocritically strict!
> Bent to reduce us to the ancient Pict;
> Well may you act the <u>Adam</u> and the <u>Eve</u>;
> Ay, and the Serpent too that did deceive.

In these lines Marvell shows two things: first, his reverence for the words of the Bible and the words of the law; and second, his ability to satirize those who were determined to destroy either the scriptures or the law of the land. His last two lines describe the Adamites of his century, who like those of the third, abandoned their clothes in their attempt to return to the natural state.

The poem closes on a pleasant note as Marvell compares Cromwell with the angel who troubled the waters of the pool at Bethesda, so that the first person stepping into the waters would be healed in John 5:4. Margoliouth (p. 255) says that the word "yearly" refers to the annual meeting of Parliament. Marvell writes (ll. 395-402):

> Pardon, great Prince, is thus their Fear of Speight
> More then our Love and Duty do thee Right.

> I yield, nor further will the Prize contend;
> So that we both alike may miss our End:
> While thou thy venerable Head dost raise
> As far above their Malice as my Praise.
> And as the Angel of our Commonweal,
> Troubling the Waters, yearly mak'st them Heal.

This final picture of Cromwell as the "Angel of our Commonweal" climaxes the steady progression of Cromwell's identification with the great figures in the Bible and leaves the reader with the feeling that the destiny of England is in the hands of a man of God.

In the last tribute, "A Poem upon the Death of O.C.", Marvell completes his circle of praise celebrating the greatness of the man whom he genuinely admired. The tone of the poem is reverent and subdued as the poet recalls the qualities of this man who with God's guidance rose to the highest place in the land. Fittingly the first two lines are a reminder of God's concern for man through the words of Christ to his disciples in Matthew 10:30, "But even the hairs of your head are all numbered" as Marvell says:

> That Providence which had so long the care
> Of Cromwell's head, and numbered ev'ry hair,

In one of the most moving passages in the poem Marvell uses the religious symbols of the vine and wine to show the depth of the sacrifice that Cromwell made for England. He enters the poem in order that he might better express his grief (ll. 89-100):

> So have I seen a Vine, whose lasting Age
> Of many a Winter hath surviv'd the rage.
> Under whose shady tent Men ev'ry year
> At its rich bloods expence their Sorrows shear,
> If some dear branch where it extends its life

Chance to be prun'd by an untimely knife,
The Parent-Tree unto the Grief succeeds,
And through the Wound its vital humour bleeds;
Trickling in watry drops, whose flowing shape
Weeps that it falls ere fix'd into a Grape.
So the dry Stock, no more that spreading Vine,
Frustrates the Autumn and the hopes of Wine.

These lines make up the core of the poem and best illustrate Marvell's purpose, which Ruth Wallerstein says is to show Cromwell "as a great man whose tragic fate is that he has been compelled to waste in war his gifts meant for peace."[3]

Later in the eulogy Marvell elevates the position of Cromwell by showing that the honor heaven bestowed upon him by having the natural elements mourn his death was greater than the privilege God showed to Moses in giving him a secret burial (ll. 157-164):

O Cromwell, Heavens Favorite! To none
Have such high honours from above been shown;
For whom the Elements we Mourners see,
And Heav'n it self would the great Herald be;
Which with more Care set forth his Obsequies
Then those of Moses hid from humane Eyes;
As jealous only here lest all be less,
That we could to his memory express.

Following these lines, the writer shows that the natural elements join in mourning the loss of the Protector. Marvell then places Cromwell in an historical framework of space and time as he describes the extent of England's outreach during his rule, and he concludes his panegyric with a comparison of Cromwell with the great men of English history (ll. 165-178):

Then let us to our course of Mourning keep:
Where Heaven leads, 'tis Piety to weep.
Stand back ye Seas, and shrunk beneath the vail
Of your Abysse, with cover'd Head bewail
Your Monarch: We demand not your supplies
To compass in our Isle; our Tears suffice;

Since him away the dismal Tempest rent,
Who once more joyn'd us to the Continent;
Who planted England on the Flandrick shoar,
And stretch'd our frontire to the Indian Ore;
Whose greater Truths obscure the Fables old,
Whether of British Saints or Worthy's told,
And in a valour less'ning Arthur's deeds,
For Holyness the Confessor exceeds.

Continuing his praise Marvell shows that Cromwell used St. Paul's picture of Miles Christi as a pattern in making his army an army of God (ll. 179-186):

He first put Armes into Religions hand,
And tim'rous Conscience unto Courage man'd:
The Souldier taught that inward Mail to wear,
And fearing God how they should nothing fear.
Those Strokes he said will pierce through all below
Where those that strike from Heaven fetch their Blow.

These words reflect not only Marvell's belief in Cromwell as a great leader but they also reflect the feeling of religious destiny that Cromwell was able to impart to his men.

Two brief references to Old Testament warrior-heroes add to the vivid melange that Marvell makes to reveal other facets of the great Cromwell. The first one (ll. 191-192):

What man was ever so in Heav'n obey'd
Since the commanded sun o're Gibeon stay'd?

finds its biblical origin in the story of Joshua who commanded the sun to stand still in Joshua 10:14, "And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord harkened unto the voice of a man."

The second one (ll. 193-194):

In all his warrs needs must he triumph, when
He conquer'd God, still ere he fought with men:

relates Cromwell to Jacob in the story of his wrestling with the angel at Peniel and of having his name changed to Israel in

Genesis 32: 24-29.

In a passage of controlled poignancy Marvell remembers that Cromwell was willing to perform the meanest task just as David had done (ll. 239-242):

> No more shall follow where he spent the dayes
> In warre, in counsell, or in pray'r, and praise;
> Whose meanest acts he would himself advance,
> As ungirt David to the arke did dance.

The biblical source for these lines is in II Samuel 6:14-22, where David danced before the ark of the Lord and was rebuked by Michal. In response David replied in verse 21, "It was before the Lord, which chose me before thy father and before all his house, to appoint me ruler over the people of the Lord, over Israel; therefore will I play before the Lord."

Immediately after these lines Marvell shows his deep grief in quiet words that reveal the finality of death (ll. 247-260):

> I saw him dead, a leaden slumber lyes,
> And mortal sleep over those wakefull eyes:
> Those gentle rays under the lids were fled,
> Which through his looks that piercing sweetness shed;
> That port which so majestique was and strong,
> Loose and depriv'd of vigour stretch'd along:
> All wither'd, all discolour'd, pale and wan,
> How much another thing, no more than man?
> Oh! humane glory, vaine, oh! death, oh! wings,
> Oh! worthlesse world! oh transitory things!
> Yet dwelt that greatness in his shape decay'd,
> That still though dead, greater than death he lay'd;
> And in his alter'd face you something faigne
> That threatens death, he yet will live again.

In the last part of this passage Marvell sharpens the contrast between the vanity and the worthlessness of this transitory world with the surety that Cromwell will receive eternal life promised to Christians.

The poet then evisions Cromwell in heaven with Moses, Joshua, and David, all of whom were earlier related to the actions of the Protector (ll. 291-298):

> There thy great soule at once a world does see,
> Spacious enough and pure enough for thee.
> How soon thou Moses hast, and Joshua found,
> And David, for the sword and harpe renown'd
> How streight canst to each happy mansion goe?
> (Farr better known above than here below;)
> And in those joyes dost spend the endless day,
> Which in expressing, we ourselves betray.

The idea that in heaven Cromwell has at last found a place worthy of him concludes Marvell's tribute to the fallen leader.

Like Milton's "Lycidas" the poem ends with the feeling that life is going on, and Marvell uses the biblical image of the rainbow as a hopeful omen for the rule of Richard, Cromwell's son (ll. 319-325):

> We find already what those omens mean,
> Earth ne'er more glad, nor Heaven more serene.
> Cease now our griefs, calm peace succeeds a war,
> Tempt not his clemency to try his pow'r,
> He threats no deluge, yet foretells a showre.

The lines refer to God's words in Genesis 9:12 as He promises that never again will a flood cover the earth: "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a token of a covenant between me and the earth."

Marvell's hopeful note was to fade like a rainbow as the restoration of Charles II to the throne of England dispelled all of his dreams of a Puritan society. With Cromwell dead, the poet had little need for the rich and varied religious images that he had used to glorify Cromwell as a leader chosen by God. He would use only a few religious images in his satires

directed against the evils of the court of Charles II.

Notes of Chapter V

[1]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 329.

[2]J. M. Wallace, "Marvell's 'lusty mate' and The Ship of the Commonwealth," Modern Language Notes LXXVI (1961), 110.

[3]Ruth Wallerstein, Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), p. 293.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN THE SATIRES ON THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

Marvell was one of the many poets who lamented the death of Cromwell in verse, but unlike Dryden and Waller he refused to celebrate the return of Charles II. From his seat in the House of Commons he watched with concern the worsening political situation, and when he could be quiet no longer, he took up his pen in protest. From 1667 until his death in 1678 he continued these attacks in barbed words that hit their mark.

Literary critics who deplore the change in style from the lovely lyrics of his early poems to the crude words of satire forget that one of his first poems was a satire lampooning Richard Fleckno, an English priest, whom he had known in Rome in 1645. This crudeness is a characteristic of seventeenth-century satire as John Dryden shows in his elegy "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham" as he says, "But Satyr needs not those, and Wit shall shine / Through the harsh cadence of a rugged line." Political satires usually lack smoothness and polish because they are supposedly written in a white heat of anger against a specific act, and except to an historian, much of their meaning is lost to a modern reader: Marvell's satires served the

purpose of exposing the hidden immorality and corruption behind the glittering facade of the court.

Although Marvell changed his style in order to reach a wider group, he never changed his basic religious beliefs which are so explicit in his lyric poetry. Ruth Wallerstein describes his position at this time:

> It was probably his strong belief in religion as the foundation of society, together with his absolute distrust in the power of reason to arrive at dogmatic theological conclusion, and the strong sense, consequently, of the wickedness of endeavoring to compel thought, which determined his political views during the Restoration period.[1]

It was Marvell's "strong belief in religion as the foundation of society" that made it his religious duty to serve his country. In this he was like Richard Baxter, ordained minister of the Church of England, who wrote in 1664, that "a weariness of converse of men, is oft conjunct with weariness of duty." Both Marvell and Baxter were agreed that men are not justified in retiring from public service as long as they are able to serve. Baxter wrote:

> No doubt, but the duties of a publick life are more in number, and greater in weight, and of more excellent consequences and tendency... than the duties of privacy or retirement. Vir est bonus commune bonum.[2]

Marvell took on many weighty duties of public life in his service in the House of Commons and on diplomatic missions, because England was in serious trouble in those years. Thus, England's national reputation reached its nadir in 1667 when the hated Dutch ships sailed up the Medway unmolested. Then it was that she needed strong men to stand up and speak the truth.

Marvell spoke even though it was a dangerous thing to do. His special talent for wit is a distinguishing mark of his satires, which scored their points because they caricatured the victims. Even the king, who was the target of some of Marvell's barbs, had to laugh at his wit and called him "that droll fellow." Marvell's popularity as a satirist led to many satires being attributed to him that scholars today question as his. Authenticity of the satires is a problem because most of them were published anonymously. All of the satires used in this study are credited to Marvell by Margoliouth.

Using the pattern of Waller's "Instruction To A Painter, For the Drawing of the Posture and Progess of His Ma'ties Forces at Sea, Under the Command of His Highness Royal" published in 1666, Marvell wrote one of his most bitter satires. In this longest of his poems, nine hundred and ninety lines, he rivals the candor of Pepys' secret "Diary" in revealing the shameful conditions in Englsnd. The poem, like many of the denunciations of the Old Testament prophets, paints the actions of the people in unforgettable vividness. This work, which he names "The last Instructions to a Painter," begins with a significant question (ll. 5-6):

> Can'st thou paint without colours? Then 'tis right:
> For so we too without a Fleet can fight.

This question points a finger at the inadequacies of the corrupt court and inept Parliament which had permitted the final disaster of letting the Dutch navy sail up the Thames while the English ships lay "Like molting Fowl, a weak and easie

Prey" (l. 575).

Unlike his other poetry Marvell uses only a few religious images in this long poem. In one of them, that is typically Marvellian because it combines a pun and a touch of irony, he compares Sir Thomas Daniel with the biblical Daniel (ll. 642-648):

> Daniel then thought he was in Lyons Den.
> But when the frightful Fire-ships he saw
> Pregnant with Sulphur, to him nearer draw
> Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, all make hast,
> E're in the Firy Furnace they be cast.
> Three Children tall, unsing'd, away they row,
> Like Shadrack, Mesheck, and Abednego.

The contrast between the cowardly actions of Captain Daniel and his officers and the noble performance of Daniel and his three friends in the book of Daniel is sharpened in the next line as Marvell says, "Not so brave Douglas" to describe the one brave man who stayed with his ship. In turning so adroitly from the criticism of the fearful Daniel to the praise of the heroism of young Douglas, Marvell heightens the admiration for the brave young Scot. Cromwell was the only other man who had called forth such admiration and respect from Marvell. In a description of the young hero's death, the poet combines words from Daniel, the vision of Christ in Revelation, and the account of Stephen's death in Acts to frame a tribute (ll. 675-696):

> That Monk looks on to see how Douglas dies.
> Like a glad Lover, the fierce Flames he meets,
> And tries his first embraces in their Sheets.
> His shape exact, which the bright flames infold,
> Like the Sun's Statue stands of burnish'd Gold.
> Round the transparent Fire about him glows,
> As the clear Amber on the Bees does close:
> And, as on Angels Heads their Glories shine,
> His burning Locks adorn his Face Divine.

> But, when in his immortal Mind he felt
> His alt'ring Form and soder'd Limbs to melt;
> Down on the Deck he laid himself, and dy'd,
> With his dear Sword reposing by his Side.
> And, on the flaming Plank, so rests his Head,
> As one that's warm'd himself and gone to Bed.
> His Ship burns down, and with his Relicks sinks,
> And the sad Stream beneath his Ashes drinks.
> Fortunate Boy! if either Pencil's Fame,
> Or if my verse can propagate thy Name;
> When Oeta and Alcides are forgot,
> Our English youth shall sing the Valiant Scot.

The above lines are repeated with only minor alterations in the poem "The Loyall Scot," which is attributed to Marvell. This poem is not only a moving elegy to the memory of the heroic Douglas, but it is also a strong plea for the unification of England and Scotland. Margoliouth does not believe that Marvell wrote all of this poem, but in a part that he credits to him, a biblical image is used to show the foolishness of fighting over such little things as differences in names and accents (ll. 246-261):

> Nation is all but name as Shibboleth,
> Where a Mistaken accent Causeth death.
> In Paradice Names only Nature Shew'd,
> At Babel names from pride and discord flow'd,
> And ever since men with female spite
> First call each other names and then they fight.
> Scotland and England cause of Just uproar!
> Does man and wife signifie Rogue and Whore?
> Say but a Scot and streight wee fall to sides:
> That syllable like a Picts wall devides.
> Rationall mens words pledges are of peace,
> Perverted serve dissentions to increase.
> For shame extirpate from each loyall brest
> That senseless Rancour against Interest.
> One King, one faith, one Language and one Ile:
> English and Scotch, 'tis all but Crosse and Pile.

The biblical allusion used here is particularly apt, because in Judges 12:6 it shows that men fight over slight differences:

> Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him and slew him at the passages of Jordan; and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand.

The other allusions in this passage, one to Adam's naming the creatures in the Garden of Eden, and the other to the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babel, emphasize that man was responsible for spoiling the innocence of Eden.

In another satire "Clarindon's House-warming" Marvell uses a biblical allusion to show the oppression of one of Charles II's chief advisers. It was Marvell's exposures of Clarendon's blunders and intrigues that finally led to his banishment to France. The Clarendon house near St. James was begun in 1664. During the war and in the plague year of 1666, Clarendon kept three hundred men working on it, thinking that it was a desirable thing to do. But the people thought otherwise, and such a protest was made that the king was forced to send Clarendon into exile. Marvell links the people with the Children of Israel and uses the Egyptian bondage period to show Clarendon's power and oppression (ll. 33-40):

> Already he had got all our Money and Cattel,
> To buy us for Slaves, and purchase our Lands;
> What Joseph by Famine, he wrought by Sea-Battel;
> Nay scarce the Priests portion could scape from his hands.
>
> And hence like Pharoah that Israel prest
> To make Mortar and Brick, yet allow'd them no straw,
> He car'd not though Egypt's Ten Plagues us distrest,
> So he could to build but make Policy Law.

The biblical source of the first verse is in Genesis 47:26, "And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day,

that Pharoah should have the fifth part; except the land of the priests only which became not Pharoah's." Marvell shows that Clarendon takes everything from the people but the priests' share. This mention of the priests' share is a reminder that they, too, take from the people. The second verse comes from Exodus 5:7, where Pharoah tells his taskmasters, who command the Children of Israel, thus, "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves."

In 1675 two reckless satires credited to Marvell were circulated freely in London. One, "Britannia and Raleigh," quite openly suggested the dethronement of the Stuart Rose and the establishment of an English republic; but Margoliouth, although including this satire among Marvell's, does not believe that it was written by him. The other one, "A Dialogue between the Two Horses," he thinks is probably authentic Marvell. The satire uses the framework of a dialogue between the brass horse of the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross and the white marble horse of the statue of Charles II at Woolchurch for a devastating criticism of the court and the Parliament. Marvell gives the biblical Balaam's Ass the lead in his list of animals who possess more wisdom than their owners, "And Balaam the Prophet was reprov'd by his Asse" (l.12). From the horses' mouths come the biting commentary on the local scene as well as a penetrating knowledge of the subtle connection between political and religious affairs (ll. 43-52):

W. To see dei Gratia writ on the Throne,
And the Kings wicked life say God there is none;
Ch. That he should be styled defender o' th faith,
Who believes not a word, the word of God saith;
W. That the Duke should turne Papist and that Church defy
For which his own Father a Martyr did dye.
Ch. Tho he chang'd his Religion I hope hee's so civill
Not to think his own father is gone to the Devill.
W. That Bondage and Begery should be brought on the Nacion
By a Curst hous of Commons and a blest Restauracion;

Marvell's bitter feelings toward Roman Catholicism are shown here as he portrays Charles II, who had Catholic leanings, as a betrayer of the beliefs of his father Charles I, a protestant, and revered as a martyr. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer contains prayers for the anniversary of his death. The "Duke" refers to the Duke of York, an open Catholic, who succeeded Charles II as James II. In writing of "a Curst house of Commons" and "a Brib'd Hous of Commons" Marvell is describing from first-hand experience, for bribe-taking was a common practice, and Marvell, who refused a bribe from Lord Darby, earned the right to speak as he did.

Later in the dialogue to emphasize the wisdom of the horses, he again refers to Balaam's Ass as a warning of the dangers that are inherent in speaking freely (ll. 97-105):

Ch. Enough, dear Brother, for tho' we have reason,
Yet truth many times being punisht for Treason,
Wee ought to be wary and Bridle our Tongue;
Bold speaking hath done both man and beast wrong.
When the Asse so boldly rebuked the Prophet,
Thou knowest what danger was like to come of it;
Tho' the beast gave his Master ne're an ill word,
Insted of a Cudgell Balam wish't for a Sword.

In the biblical source of this verse, Numbers 22:21-23, the ass sees the angel of the Lord when the Prophet Balaam could not. Three times Balaam smote the ass despite her efforts to save his life. At last the ass spoke:

> And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me three times? And Balaam said unto the ass, Because thou hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in my hand for now would I kill thee. And the ass said unto Balaam, Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay.

Then Balaam sees the angel of the Lord, who tells him that the ass has saved his life; then Balaam did as the angel said. Marvell's use of this story shows that although it is wise to bridle tongues, the greater wisdom may be in speaking the things that must be said.

The poem continues with a bold plea for political action (ll. 159-162):

> Ch. Then England, Rejoyce, thy Redemption draws nigh;
> Thy oppression together with Kingship shall dye.
> W. A Commonwealth a Common-wealth wee proclaim to the Nacion;
> The Gods have repented the Kings Restoration.

Undoubtedly, it is strong words like these that gave Marvell his reputation as a leader of republican thinking. At this time he was recognized as perhaps the most formidable pamphleteer and satirist of the Opposition; and for the next two centuries he was to be remembered for his leadership in political freedom.

In a strong conclusion Marvell turns from a ribald joke about the horses to an impassioned plea for men to rise against tyranny. He reinforces his plea with a biblical phrase that takes its force from the words of Christ to the Pharisees in Luke 19:40 where He says: "I tell you if these [disciples] should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." Marvell adds the biblical phrase "beasts of the field" so that

all nature is included in his appeal for freedom of speech and a call to action (ll. 191-196):

> Tho' Tyrants make Laws which they strictly proclaim
> To conceal their own crimes and cover their shame.
> Yet beasts of the field or stones in the wall
> Will publish their faults and prophesy their fall.
> When they take from the people the freedom of words,
> They teach them the Sooner to fall to their Swords.

This call for the people "to fall to their Swords" if "freedom of words" is taken from them seems to denote a radical change in the thinking of a man who had said earlier that the rights of a subject were "patience and petition." But the change is in the means of achieving the end and not in the end itself. With Cromwell dead, Marvell realized that the responsibility for an orderly society could not be dependent upon one man; that a stable and orderly society must depend upon the participation of the people.

Notes on Chapter VI

[1]Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), p. 182.

[2]Richard Baxter, The Divine Life (London, 1664), p. 342, quoted in Maren-Sofie Rostvig, "The Theme of Retirement in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, University of California [Los Angeles], 1950), p. 486.

CONCLUSION

In all of Marvell's poetry colorful threads of religious imagery add pictorial vividness, intellectual sharpness, emotional richness, and spiritual depth. The pattern of the imagery changes in the various kinds of poetry as his writing reflects his changing world. Marvell moves from the large, conventional images in his early poems to the many close biblical identifications in his poetry on Fairfax and Cromwell to the few sharp images in his satires on the reign of Charles II. In them all the religious imagery contributes notably to his belief that order -- order in the individual and in society -- is achieved only through obedience to the law of God written in the Bible, in nature, and in the heart and mind of man. His religious images center in his preoccupation with conscience and duty, and reveal the urgency, the gravity, and the resolute dignity that Marvell demonstrated in his poetry and in his life.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Birrell, Augustine. *Andrew Marvell*. London, The Macmillan Co., 1905.

Bible, *King James Verson.* New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1889.

Brown, John. "Andrew Marvell," *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. New York, 1911. VII, 202-211.

Bush, Douglas. *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1952.

Eliot, T. S. *Selected Essays*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950.

Empson, William. *English Pastoral Poetry*. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1935.

Dalglish, Jack. *Eight Metaphysical Poets*. London, William Heinemann, Ltd., 1961.

Grierson, Sir Herbert. *Cross Currents in Seventeenth Century Literature*. London, Chatto and Windus, 1929.

Hartmann, Cyril Hughes. *The Cavalier Spirit*. London, G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1925.

Hyman, Lawrence. "The Lyric Poetry of Andrew Marvell" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

Jenkins, Joan. "The Place of Andrew Marvell in Seventeenth Century Poetry" (unpub. Master's Essay, Texas Christian University, 1956).

Lucht, William E. "Andrew Marvell: An Interpretation" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1954).

Margoliouth, H. M., ed. The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, Vols. I and II. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952.

Matthiessen, F. O. The Achievement of T. S. Eliot. New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935.

Nicolson, Margaret. The Breaking of The Circle. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1950.

Press, John. Andrew Marvell. London and New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1958.

__________. The Chequer'd Shade. London, Oxford University Press, 1958.

Rostvig, Maren-Sofie. "The Theme of Retirement in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California /Los Angeles/ 1950).

Selz, William Aaron. "Conventional Imagery in Religious Verse of the English Renaissance" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1944).

Sharp, Robert Lathrop. From Donne to Dryden. Durham, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Summers, Joseph H. "Marvell's Nature." English Literary History, XX, (1953). 121-135.

Tillyard, E. M. W. Poetry Direct and Oblique. London, Chatto and Windus, 1948.

Wallace, J. M. "Marvell's 'lusty mate' and The Ship of the Commonwealth." Modern Language Notes, LXXVI (February, 1961). 106-110.

Wallerstein, Ruth. Seventeenth Century Poetic. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1950.

Wedgwood, C. V. Seventeenth Century English Literature. New York, Oxford University Press, 1961.

White, Helen C. The Metaphysical Poets. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936.

Wiley, Margaret. The Subtle Knot: Creative Skepticism in the Seventeenth Century. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952.

VITA

Henrietta Harsh Bucker

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN ANDREW MARVELL'S POETRY

Major Field: English

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Ponca City, Oklahoma, May 15, 1913, the daughter of Joseph Scott and Thankful Mae Boylan.

Education: Attended grade school in Ponca City, and was graduated from Ponca City High School in 1931. Attended Oklahoma A. & M. College in 1931-32. Graduated from Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa, 1957. Received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Oklahoma State University, with a major in English in May, 1960; completed requirements for the Master of Arts degree in August, 1963.

Honorary Societies: Sigma Tau Delta, Phi Alpha Theta, and Phi Kappa Phi.