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**"Baits for Curious Tasts":
The Gothic as a Heuristic in
The Poetics of Andrew Marvell**

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**A Thesis
In
The Department
Of
English**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

April 2000

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ABSTRACT

"Baits for curious tastes": The Gothic as a Heuristic in the Poetics of Andrew Marvell

James E. Roy

This thesis proposes that in his efforts to produce iconography for the leaders of mid-seventeenth century England, Marvell foreshadows certain Gothic literary conventions usually associated with eighteenth century prose. Attention is given to similarities between the contemporary logic of casuistry - the means by which individuals adapted their personal beliefs to the demands of political necessity - and methods of forming national identity based upon gothicist historiography. Developments within the representational arts, and their influence upon political and religious perceptions are also explored in relation to Marvell's use of deformed visual imagery. Two chapters trace the ambiguous combination of praise and blame found in both Marvell's panegyrics and his satires and juxtapose the resulting ambivalence with the poet's interest in the interconnectedness of political and aesthetic issues. Special attention to Marvell's grotesque imagery, his use of emblems, and their correlation to the poet's anonymous style links the two chapters. At the end of each chapter a suggestion is made regarding the influence of Marvell's "Gothic" iconography upon his modern conception of literary history.

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Introduction

Two features of Marvell's poetry that are frequently commented upon are its novel visual imagery and its seemingly anonymous style of presentation. The former has been used by some critics to shed light on the later. Where Pierre Legouis has found fault with Marvell's "riot of heterogeneous comparisons" and the resulting "incongruity" of the poet's imagery (70-1), others have found a means to flesh out a portrait of the chameleon-like poet. Dixon Hunt suggests, for example, that Marvell's fascination with the "abstractions" of his own conceits can be used as a guide to the poet's artistic disguises (59). Annabel Patterson (1978), argues that a unique Marvellian identity emerges from the poet's obsession with the difficulties of producing public iconography. Similarly, Patsy Griffin reads Marvell's grotesque imagery as part of an allegory of the poet's political situation. It is the purpose of this paper to propose that Marvell's interest in deformity, the grotesque, and shifting perspectives prefigure Gothic literary conventions of the eighteenth century. Recognizing Gothic elements within his poetry will help, I argue, to make sense of Marvell's "detachment," his seeming anonymity.¹

Although Gothic literary conventions are most commonly associated with aesthetic and cultural concerns of the eighteenth century, earlier controversies involving a combination of aesthetic and political issues have been shown to have had significant influence. Richard Helgerson has demonstrated that England's crisis of national identity in the 1580s and 1590s contributed to the emergence of national self-awareness and a progressive conception of history. According to Helgerson, a dialectical conception of the past, involving a choice between medieval and classical culture, Gothic and Greek, formed the seed bed for national self-awareness in the early-modern nation state. The terms of the

dichotomy remained unfixed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Helgerson explains, so that the Gothic could signify either a heritage defined by imperial authority or one of resistance towards absolutism.² Central to the ambiguity of a Gothic identity is the notion of a transference of imperial authority coming to England by way of the Teutonic people, a "translatio imperii ad Teutonics". Supporters of the English reformation gave expression to this idea when they interpreted the European reformation as a Germanic victory against Roman tyranny, that yet involved a paradoxical continuation of imperial authority. Samuel Kliger explains how this myth was perpetuated in England through the work of certain historians, who identified all of England's' pre-roman ancestors with the Goths.

That Marvell was influenced by the myth of a Gothic enlightenment is demonstrated in his *letter to Dr. Ingelo*. He appeals here to the notion of a common ancestry linking England and Sweden in order to bolster the Protestant cause in Europe. The poet equates Queen Christina with the legendary persona of Queen Elizabeth - "Yet our Eliza was just such as she and as great" (24) - and he proposes that the Swedish monarch join forces with Oliver Cromwell to purge the Palatine of its Romanist authorities:

... he [Cromwell] desires to drive the Eagle from its German nest,
 And to rout the she-wolf from the Palatine.
 You two should join your broad fields in hope of booty,
 And surround the dens of iniquity with tightened nets.
 (99-102)³

That Marvel was also able to manipulate the myth of a Gothic enlightenment to support the aesthetics of his poetry is evident from his account of the "wasting cloister" in *Upon Appleton House*. Douglas Chambers has revealed both the political and aesthetic significance of the poet's preference for the natural architecture displayed in the poem (the

house and the "growing Ark"), as opposed to the artifice of the nuns' cloister. What has not been fully explored, however, is the extent to which Marvell's playful use of perspective exposes the aesthetic and political implications of the *translatio*, both inside and outside of the poet's work, the extent to which Marvell foreshadows the techniques of writers of Gothic fiction, who use perspective to correct normative ways of perceiving.⁴

For three-hundred years following his death, Marvell's writings were categorically treated according a dichotomous conception of the relationship between aesthetics and politics (Dono). This false dichotomy extends even into the criticism of the twentieth century. The poems dedicated to Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax provide a case in point. Annabel Patterson (1978 50-1) explains how these poems were forced into separate camps, despite their shared generic structure, because critics interested in political issues tended to focus on certain poems (*An Horatian Ode*), while those interested in aesthetics focused their attention on others (*Upon Appleton House*). An appreciation for the complexity with which political and aesthetic issues are interconnected in Marvell's works was finally developed as a result of extensive attention given to Marvell in 1978 in commemoration of the anniversary of his death. This watershed discovery, however, reinforced the tendency, decried by Judith Richards, to stabilize meaning by fixing Marvell's allegiances (Lawson). The Cromwell and Fairfax poems were particularly susceptible since they are dated to a period for which there is little biographical information on Marvell, and they continue to be used to explain the trajectory of Marvell's career.⁵ The value of recognizing Gothic elements in these poems, and in much of the Marvell canon, is that the ambiguity of the praise offered can be appreciated without having to conjecture about

Marvell's affiliations, or distract from his undeniable commitment to the protection of individual conscience.⁶

To address Marvell's complex balancing of political and aesthetic issues, I examine both his lyrical panegyrics to Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax, and his most famous satire. I begin by suggesting that a Gothic discourse evolves in the Cromwell and Fairfax poems from the poet's fluency in the language of casuistry. In the context of the English Revolution, casuistry was the logic that permitted individuals to take an oath of allegiance to a usurping authority (i.e. Cromwell) in spite of their private, moral objections. Conceptions of national identity were naturally affected by this engagement crisis, and the result overlapped with the Gothic model of English nationality. An important dimension to the casuist discourse was a providential version of history, which found expression in the apocalyptic fervour of various sectarian groups. In section two of my first chapter, I highlight the contrast between Marvell's reiteration of millennial prophecies regarding Cromwell and Fairfax, and his allusions to contemporary charges against the libertine and Machiavellian qualities of these leaders. The *translatio* myth provides the poet with the best means of assessing these conflicting representations. The *translatio* myth, though, also looks backwards to the classical forebears of republicanism. In the next section, I therefore, consider the ambivalence of the Roman attributes given to these men. Marvell's tribute to the balanced virtues of action and contemplation displayed by these men is complicated by the fact that he combines neo-Platonic and medieval conceptions of divinity with christianized versions of the Roman values of 'otium' and 'industria'. This stereoscopic vision, looking both backwards and forwards, resonates with the belated temporal pattern

found in Gothic fiction. In order to emphasize the fact that the praise offered in these poems is not gratuitous, that it is not yet definitive, I expose the belated patterns that they contain.

Marvell's iconography is also foreword looking in the sense that it prefigures the techniques of eighteenth century satire, exposing serious matter within seemingly burlesque deformities. Just as the visual anomalies occurring in the representations of the Cromwell and Fairfax poems can diminish the praise offered, so is the distorted imagery of the satires capable of suspending censure. In light of Marvell's playful adaptation of the 'Ut Pictura Poesis' tradition, I explore the relationship between the unusual iconography and the political proceedings described in *The Last Instructions to a Painter*. The imagery engendered by the poet/ painter's dalliance in the affairs of state is studied for its depiction of the uncanny influence of art upon politics, the inseparable nature of public and private affairs. Marvell's grotesque images are, I suggest, emblematic of the uncertainties of life within an absolutist state, but his unusual emblems provide reason to question the blame leveled in the poem, to suspend the impeachment process at the heart of the political satire. At the end of my first chapter, I show how emblems help Marvell defer interpretation of his iconography to the imagination of the individual reader. In the second chapter I explore the disturbing aspect of the potential impact of art upon the everyday world, but conclude that Marvell's technique of deferring to the reader ultimately helps him defend the sanctity of individual conscience.

A concise example of this technique is provided by *The Unfortunate Lover*. The poem describes the intrusion of political treachery into the pastoral seclusion an Edenic garden. The conventional ordering the garden - "sorted by pairs.../By Fountains cool and Shadows green" (3-4) - is displaced by the anarchy of a "Shipwrack" (9), a common symbol

for the destruction of the ship of state. Consequently, the subject of the poem is "cast away," (12) before being "brought forth" by "cesarian Section" (16). Patsy Griffin provides a convincing argument for reading the torturous existence of the lover as a political allegory for the life of Charles I and the way he represented himself. Griffin finds the cult of martyrdom perpetuated by Charles' *Eikon Basilike* echoed in the lovers realisation that "a Lover drest/ In his own Blood does relish best" (55-6).⁷ The final stanza, as Griffin notes, is usually interpreted to resonate with contemporary politics. It is here, indeed, that the efficacy of Charles' propagandistic self-representations are attributed to the mimetic power of the representational arts, and the victory of political treachery over pastoral love is suggested:

This is the only Banneret
That ever Love created yet:
Who though, by the Malignant Starrs,
Forced to live in Storms and Warrs:
Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,
And Musick within every Ear:
And he in Story only rules,
In a field Sable a Lover Gules. (st. VIII)

Marvell warns his audience of the lingering effect that *Eikon Basilike* will have after Charles' death. It is precisely because of the emotive power of poetry, defined in the broader context of the representational arts, that the pastoral order is threatened; Charles' "Story" lingers on in emblems and popular culture.

There is a particularly Gothic dimension to Marvell's emphasis upon the transitory boundary between the world of art and that of history: a realization of the potential for a collapse between the self and representations of the self, between subject and object.⁸ If the imminent collapse seems threatening, though, the process of communicating the message is enlightening. By using an emblem, the poet defers judgement to the reader, and so imparts a certain freedom of conscience.

Chapter One

"Wanton Harmless folds" vs. "The Abbyss": Casuistry and the Gothic in the Cromwell and Fairfax Poems

Recognizing elements of the Gothic within Marvell's epideictic poetry provides one means of explaining the long-standing controversy over the poet's allegiances. The sincerity of Marvell's praise of Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax has been a source of contention since the publication of the Cromwell/ Fairfax poems. Do these poems reflect the personal politics of Marvell, and/or his poetics? How can the parliamentary tone of these poems be reconciled with the Royalist elements found in other poems by Marvell? Within the last thirty years, or so, commentators have shifted away from attempts to pigeon-hole Marvell, and have turned to focus instead upon the "problem of mediation" entailed in representations of political leaders following the regicide.¹ Perhaps the most obvious example of Marvell's concern for mediation is expressed in the elegy *Upon the Death of O. C.*. Here, Marvell uses disturbing imagery, that might be classified as Gothic, in order to express his frustration over the influence that popular culture has upon his work:

The people, which, what most they fear, esteem,
Death when more horrid, so more noble deem,
And blame the last act, like spectators vain,
Unless the Prince, whom they applaud, be slain. (ll. 7-10)

The true heroism of Cromwell cannot be easily conveyed, according to the poet, because the public is unable to conceive of Cromwell in terms other than those of monarchy. The frightening consequence of the public's morbid interests is their inability to engage their consciences and participate in the political process.

With the introduction of representative government in England in the early seventeenth century, contemporary conceptions of sovereignty came under increasing

scrutiny. Parliamentarians who, for whatever reason, did not challenge the Divine Right of kingship, were forced to pursue the legal antiquarianism of Edward Coke, or classical republican theory, in order to justify their dissatisfaction. Coke argued that English law developed as a consequence of native wisdom and experience, distinct from the written law of European legal systems. He emphasised the paradoxical aspect of customary law, that it was representative of cultivated wisdom and yet had persisted unaltered since "time out of mind" (Pocock 1987 35-7). The concept of an ancient constitution was thus formed, and it quickly became a means of securing the liberties of Englishmen, placing them beyond the king's power of interference in the immemorial past. England's supposedly ancient constitution was sometimes identified with classical mixed government by means of Republican theory. Admiration for a Polybian balance of the forces of the one, the few and the many was used by some Englishmen to argue alternately for either democracy, aristocracy or monarchy. Sir Thomas More and Sir Walter Raleigh, for example, reiterated the aristocratic interpretation. In 1642, the crown attempted to co-opt a monarchist version of mixed state theory in the king's *Answer to the Nineteen Propositions*. Phillip Hutton's *Treatise of Monarchie*, published in the following year, exposed the misrepresentation inherent in the *Answer* by highlighting the impossibility of a balance where any one constituent possessed sovereignty.

At the outset of the civil wars then, it was increasingly difficult to conceive of monarchy in terms of a mixed state, and conservative minded individuals were hard pressed to account for the apparent collapse of the monarchy. Casuistry provided one means of easing the transition for those disturbed by the prospect of declaring allegiance to a usurper, such as Oliver Cromwell. This combination of theology and political thought accounted for

the relativity of individual situations and allowed individuals to appease their conscience by locating authority in sovereignty, rather than in its human representatives. The logic was Hobbesian in its insistence upon the political dimension of human nature and the prudence of incorporating oneself within a system of mutual obligation to a sovereign power.² Sovereignty could now be transferred as contingencies demanded. At various times during the century, it could be justifiably located in either: the king, the rump parliament, the New Model Army, or in the protector. Casuistry became an especially important resource during the Engagement Crisis (1649-51), when virtually all literate members of society were required to take an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth, as it then existed, “without a king or House of Lords” (in Wallace 48). By the mid-century though, republican theory had resurfaced, and it could now be combined with casuistry to either resist Cromwellian authority, or to support claims for Cromwell’s sovereignty, without necessarily endorsing his king-like authority.³

The “impartiality” or “poise” so often found in Marvell’s *Horatian Ode*, and to a lesser degree in *The First Anniversary*, has been thoroughly studied in the context of casuist thought and the shifting attitudes of the time. More recently, the significance of this context has been brought to bear on the seemingly ambivalent praise of Thomas Fairfax in *Upon Appleton House*.⁴ By situating these poems in the context of casuistry critics have exposed the diversity of the casuist discourse, its intersection with classical republicanism and Hobbesian thought, as well as, with the Machiavellian dimension of contemporary politics and apocalyptic fervour. Little attention has been given, however, to the interconnection between casuistry and Gothic historiography made by Marvell’s “friend,” James Harrington.⁵ His *Oceana* (1656) provides the most comprehensive development of classical

republicanism in contemporary England, and connects casuistry to Gothic historiography in a manner that is particularly relevant to Marvell's *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* poems.⁶ A brief survey of *Oceana* will, therefore, be useful at this point.

Harrington presents the decay of the monarchy of *Oceana* as a consequence of the decay of "ancient prudence," a principle comparable to the Polybian balance in the classical republic. "Ancient prudence" though is fundamentally based upon agrarian consideration: it is the logic that dictates the correlation of political structure to the system of land distribution, as determined by agrarian law. Land ownership is the fundamental basis of power for Harrington, since it controls the armed citizens that it feeds. The demise of "ancient prudence" was initiated, according to Harrington's history, with the advent of hereditary land grants during the later stages of the Roman Republic. The result was a shift in the preponderance of power towards a growing aristocracy and the beginnings of feudalism. To counter the growing independence of the military tenants, the emperors are said to have invited the Goths into the empire as a source of mercenary support. The Goths, however, subverted the already corrupt system of land distribution to suit their own needs, and initiated a system of military tenure that came to characterise Gothic feudalism. This marks the transition from "ancient prudence" to "modern prudence," an ideology characterised by a "Gothic balance". The story of the demise of the ideal "ancient prudence" thus links the collapse of England's monarchy with the decline of Rome: both are brought about by the corrupt system of land distribution introduced by the Goths.

The "Gothic balance" that followed is presented as a sort of deceptive attempt to maintain the appearance of the classical Polybian balance. It is said to be in fact, nothing more than a mere "wrestling match" between king and nobles (196). Paradoxically, the

possibility of restoring the ideal of "ancient prudence" and of transforming England into a sustainable, world dominant republic exists in Harrington's version of history due to the Gothic component of the English feudal system: it is the Goths' supposed resistance of the corrupt client system of Imperial Rome's militia that is the seedbed for the decay of the "Gothic Balance" in *Oceana*, and consequently, the source for the brand of imperialism that promises to restore civil liberty and spread liberty of conscience. As Pocock explains, "the Gothic balance has become, in *Oceana*, capable of re-conversion to the true balance of 'ancient prudence'" (1987 49). The opportunity to restore "ancient prudence" and to prevent a recurrence of its decay can be realised, Harrington suggests, if Lord Archon (Cromwell) establishes a republic by balancing the forces of the landed democracy with an armed aristocracy in a relationship of virtue; this formula would allow the citizenry to influence their fortune through participation in government. Such a republic could secure its survival by arming itself for expansion and spreading its "virtu" with a messianic promise: the republic can issue in the millennium because it propagates civil liberty and liberty of conscience, thereby uniting man's desire for self-government with the prophesied reign of heaven on earth. *Oceana* thus ends with proposals for an imperialist campaign that will unite the people of the world through the spread of liberty.

Harrington's creative historiography highlights the overlap between casuistry and Gothic historicism. Where casuistry can entail the supposition of a revival of classical republicanism, Gothic historiography posits the transfer of a predisposition for Teutonic liberty from ancient times to contemporary England, the 'translatio imperii ad teutonic'.⁷ For Harrington, moreover, the two are equated, the revival of "ancient prudence" is attainable because of the Gothic component of the "modern prudence". Where casuistry uses

Conquest Theory and Natural Law to distinguish legitimate rulers from usurpers, Gothicism insists upon the continuity of England's Saxon institutions. In this respect Gothic historiography is akin to the procedures of common law, in its tracing of the parliamentary prerogative to pre-conquest England.⁸ Both casuistry and Gothicism are, in general, a means of locating the self within a complex politico-religious system, and to this end both offer a form of national self-awareness. It appears natural, therefore, that Marvell should develop concepts of Gothic historicism in the direction of Gothic literary conventions, while he was attempting to recognise the contributions of individual men, Cromwell and Fairfax, to the formation of a providentially ordained nation/empire, at a time when changing ideas of sovereignty made it increasingly difficult to assert the prominence of the individual within a godly empire.

By recognising certain aspects of Marvell's iconography as Gothic I hope to draw a connection between, on the one hand, the sometimes conflicting concerns of nationalism and imperialism, and on the other hand, the dialectic balance of action and contemplation, anonymity and presence, in these poems. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the heuristic function of casuistry, especially with regard to its Gothic elements, in aiding the comprehension of these two public figures. Through the language of casuistry Marvell highlights the importance of individual conscience in determining the epideictic scope of these poems. History is thus revealed to be the sum of individual perceptions, a point that Marvell emphasises by way of ambiguous and deformed visual imagery. These poems share a thematic concern with the problems of mediation. They expose their own interest in manipulating the reader's response, pointing to the artifice of their own structures. In reading the landscape of Nunappleton, for example, the reader is informed of the potentially

distorting effect of the mirroring relationship between the art of the poem and the external world of historical reality:

See in what wanton harmless folds
 It ev'ry where the Meadow holds;
 * * * * *
 Where all things gaze themselves, and doubt
 If they be in it or without. (633-4;637-8)

Because the Art/Nature dichotomy is used to adumbrate the choice between action and contemplation facing Cromwell and Fairfax, its breakdown expands the epideictic scope of these works.⁹ Evaluation of Cromwell's active participation in the civil wars and of Fairfax's contemplative retirement to Nunappleton are shown to be mutually inclusive and equally subject to the discretion of the reader. The anonymity of the narrator in Marvell's epideictic is, therefore, a consequence of a deference to the reader's response, occasioned by the blurring of the boundaries between Art and Nature. It is, in part, I shall argue, the product of a Gothic discourse designed to express the nationalist sentiments associated with Cromwell and Fairfax.

§ I – Recasting “the Kingdome old:” Casuistry and the Common Law Mind

Marvell follows Harrington's casuistry in its Gothic form, presenting Cromwell and Fairfax as heroic figures of the ‘translatio,’ liberators who are invested with the authority of Roman imperialism. By using elements of the Gothic in his panegyric, Marvell praises the patriotic sentiments evoked by these figures, while casting their reliance upon sovereign

authority and excessive force in a troubling light. The distinction between patriotism and support for sovereignty was, according to Robert Hodge, nearly impossible to draw during the revolution. Hodge attributes the representational difficulties encountered in Marvell's *Ode* and *The First Anniversary* to the lack of an available paradigm for representing Cromwell's authority, other than through deference to Charles I.¹⁰ The anomalies of Marvell's iconography in these poems can, however, also be accounted for by considering the Gothic dimension of Marvell's casuistry. The heuristic potential of casuistry can be explored in the Cromwell and Fairfax poems in terms of the ambivalence of Gothic signifiers, which provide a means of both praising the patriotism of these figures and censuring their excessive use of force.

Marvell can be found struggling with a casuist approach to understanding Cromwell in the *Ode*, where the poet is torn between his admiration for "the forward Youth" (1) and the regretful need to "forsake his muses dear," (2) his respect for "adventrous" (11) Cromwell and his remorse over the "Tragick" (54) death of Charles.¹¹ Cromwell emerges "from his private Gardens," (29) in the manner of a classical republican, looking back to "the ancient Rights," (38) but reforming the old system by recasting it "into another Mold" (36).¹² The "ancient rights" recall England's Saxon institutions, and thus a common law interpretation of English history. By going beyond the conception of a society that is determined by the mere physical strength or weakness of its members, however, Cromwell proceeds in a Hobbesian direction. Cromwell builds a reciprocal relationship with the people of the new republic, moving him away from any association with a mixed state and towards the role of an absolute sovereign. The Hobbesian dynamic of Cromwell's rule is expressed by the conquered Irish, who can be heard engaging in a covenant with their new ruler:

They can affirm his Praises best,
 And have, though overcome, confest
 How good he is, how just,
 And fit for highest Trust:
 Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,
 But still in the Republick's hand:
 How fit he is to sway
 That can so well obey. (77-84)

Liberty for the Irish is achieved here by means of Hobbesian casuistry – through submission to a sovereign power that is in turn bound by natural law.¹³ This new republic will be sustained, moreover, according to the method proposed by Harrington in his *Oceana*, by means of imperialist expansion:¹⁴

What may not then our Isle presume
 While Victory his Crest does Plume!
 * * * * *
 A Caesar he ere long to Gaul,
 To Italy an Hannibal,
 And to all States not free
 Shall Clymacterick be. (97-8; 101-04)

Cromwell's Puritan imperialism is clearly endorsed here by means of the 'translatio' myth.

In its Gothic associations, however, Cromwell's authority is problematic for the poet. The 'translatio' myth is invoked, in part, by way of an allusion to the founding of the Roman Republic in the image of the "bleeding head" (69).¹⁵ The image, though, is part of the theatrical scenario focused on the "Tragick Scaffold," (54) which is potentially manipulated by Cromwell's "wiser art" (cf. ll. 47-52). Cromwell's stage management resolves the opposing forces of the poem into a single dichotomy, pitting the natural-political arts of "angry Heavens flame" (26) against the aesthetic arts of the "Royal actor," (53) and thereby excluding any radical opposition to the ruling elite.¹⁶ To the extent that the new "Mold" of sovereignty is shaped by Cromwell's initiative – "Much to the Man is due" (28) – it is shaped by his "wiser art," and its possible Machiavellian forms of statecraft.¹⁷

Cromwell's potentially deceptive appropriation of the 'translatio' myth is exposed in the uncertain language used to confer the Roman value of otium upon him: "As if his highest plot... could by industrious Valour clime/ To ruine the great Work of Time" (31-4, emphasis mine).¹⁸ The piety of Cromwell's possibly contrived status is scrutinized when the effect of his supposedly "greater Spirits" are described in the secular language of the physical sciences: "Nature that hateth emptiness,/ Allows of penetration less" (41-2).¹⁹ In the end the "Spirits of the shady Night" come back to haunt Cromwell, to remind him that once the transition from aesthetic arts to politico-military arts has been made in the government, the state must be sustained with the continued use of Machiavellian force: "The same Arts that did gain/ A Pow'r must it maintain" (119-20). Although the message is a Machiavellian one, its disturbing quality derives from the ambiguity of the frightful "Spirits": what exactly do they represent and how do they threaten Cromwell?

In the *Anniversary* Marvell deploys casuistry more convincingly, presenting a Cromwell who is more worthy of praise, and whose sovereign status is morally superior to that of majesty: "'Abroad a King seems, and something more,/ 'At Home a Subject on the equal Floor'" (389-90). His revered status is the product of a creative historiography, a blending of ancient and Christian allusions with contemporary millenarianism: "'Tis he the force of scatter'd Time contracts" (13). Appearing as the mythical statesman Amphion, Cromwell founds a "State by Proportions true" (248) by harmoniously restructuring time, and applying "new Stopps to various Time" (58).²⁰ He can therefore be comprehended according to a series of otherwise anachronous models: classical statesman, biblical judge, prophet, patriarch, and millennial leader. Marvell's adoption of the classical Amphion myth provides a means of identifying Cromwell's policies with the wisdom of classical

republicanism, equating Cromwell with a figure renowned for his ability to bring people of diverse habits into a harmonious pattern of civil society. Annabel Patterson has shown that Cromwell's Amphion-like harmonising of military, civil, and religious order, within an architectural structure, contrasts with the stultifying endeavour of the "heavy monarchs," by which "one Thing never was by one King don" (22). The metaphor thus appears to endorse Cromwell's "ruling Instrument" (68) as a correlative to the republican principles of "concordia discors" (Chernaik 54), but it is also suggestive of the workings of propaganda, of how myth could be used to gloss over contemporary disputes between republicans and government (Wallace 116). The image of Cromwell's precariously balanced structure is, indeed, not completely harmonious with the ideal of concordia discors (see pp. 43-44).

Adapting Cromwell's role to the series of biblical models provided – Elijah, Gideon, Noah – is part of the casuist process of accounting for Cromwell's unique constitutional status, and it does not contravene the classical allusions of the poem.²¹ Elijah, for example, provides a model suited to displaying Cromwell's humility, his reluctance to assume authority, since Elijah is known as the founder of monastic life (Wallace 129). The Roman antithesis of "otium/ indusdrustria" is retained, however, when the poet praises his reluctance to assume command:²²

For all delight of Life thou then midst lose,
 When to Command, thou didst thy self Depose;
 Resigning up thy Privacy do dear
 To turn the headstrong Peoples Charioteer,
 For to be Cromwell was a greater thing,
 Then ought below, or yet above a King:
 Therefore thou rather didst thy Self depress,
 Yielding to Rule, because it made thee Less. (221-28)

The resulting balance between classical and biblical allusions contributes to the image of a Gothic libertarian, a classical republican who is tinged with Christianized ideals of Roman imperialism, and yet resists the tyranny of imperialism:

Angelique Cromwell who outwings the wind;
 And in dark Nights, and in Cold Dayes alone
 Pursues the Monster thorough every Throne:
 Which shrinking to her Roman Den impure,
 Gnashes her Goary teeth; nor there secure. (126-30)

Cromwell's defense of nationalist interests is sometimes overzealous, though, and threatens to collapse into mere imperialism. One of the European princes thus complains of his seemingly supernatural command of the nation:

'Him, all the Day, Him, in late Nights I dread,
 'And still his Sword seems hanging o're my head.
 'The Nation had been ours, but his one Soul
 'Moves the great Bulk, and animates the whole.
 'He Secrecy with Number hath inchas'd,
 'Courage with Age, Maturity with Hast:
 'The Valiants Terror, Riddle of the Wise;
 'And still his Fauchion all our Knots unties.
 'Where did he learn those Arts that cost us dear?
 'Where below Earth, or where above the Sphere? (377-86)

Such accounts of Cromwell's Puritanism are ultimately not accurate. The highest status that can be attributed to Cromwell is, in the end, based upon a conditional clause: "If these the times, then this must be the man" (144). The poet suggests, therefore, that absolutist accounts of Cromwell's Puritanism be rescinded: "Pardon, great prince, if thus their Fear or Spight/ More than our Love and Duty do thee Right" (395-96).

It is precisely this interpretation of Cromwell, the image of a blood-thirsty warrior, that the poet attempts to correct by deploying a sentimental discourse in his elegy *Upon the Death of O. C.* To counter this popular misconception of Cromwell, the poet exploits the aesthetics of sentiment, highlighting Cromwell's capacity for magnanimity and "clemency"

(ll. 7-20). The language of sentiment is thus used for didactic purposes here, prefiguring its rhetorical function in the eighteenth century novel. Marvell foreshadows the “cult of filial obedience” in particular, where he uses a sympathetic correlation between Cromwell and his dying daughter to present Cromwell’s death as the consequence of his fatherly concern. When this relationship is extended to Cromwell’s political role – “If so indulgent to his own, how deare/ To him the children of the Highest were?” (211-12) – he is cast as a Roman leader, in the guise of a ‘Pater Patriae’.²³ Casuistry helps the poet ensure the benevolence of Cromwell’s fatherly authority by providing justification for his imperialist endeavors:

Who planted England on the Flandrick shoar,
And stretched 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.
He first put Armes into Religions hand,
An tim’rous Conscience unto Courage man’d:
The Souldier taught that inward Mail to wear,
And fearing God how they should nothing fear. (173-82)

Cromwell’s military actions are justifiable because their compliance with Christian providence exceeds that of England’s ancient heroes, and thus realizes the ‘translatio’ myth.²⁴ Once incorporated into the nationalist cause of Puritan imperialism, Cromwell’s evocation of fear is no longer problematic, and the poet returns to celebrating Cromwell’s martial might:

Thee, many ages hence in martial verse
Shall th’ English souldier, ere he charge, rehearse;
Singing of thee, inflame themselves to fight,
And with the name of Cromwell, armyes fright (277-80)

Cromwell thus emerges as the champion of a nationalist cause, more than simply the Machiavellian leader of the *Ode*, or the “Puritan warrior Saint,” of the *Anniversary*.²⁵ He

emerges as a proto-gothic hero, who promises to revive the nation from beyond the grave: “he yet will live again” (260). Despite the fact that Cromwell’s death signals a loss mediating capabilities for the English, leaving them “confin’d/ To loathsome life,” (229-30) they can ostensibly sustain the Cromwellian republic by modeling their actions upon this symbol of tempered Puritanism: “Mars... temper’d with an aire so mild” (234-5).²⁶

Fairfax’s retirement to Nunappleton provides the mirror image to Cromwell’s emergence “from his private gardens” (*Ode*, 29). Where Cromwell leaves his “privacy so dear” (*Anniversary*, 223) with noted reluctance, Fairfax brings the theatre of war into the “bastions” of his gardens (*Appleton House*, 361). Although Fairfax prefers “these five imaginary forts” to the actual “cinque ports” of England, his hobbies betray a continued interest in the arts of war, and even a continued influence upon national policies:

But he preferr’d to the Cinque Ports
These five imaginary Forts:
And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann’d
Pow’r which the Ocean might command. (349-52)

The spanning of power over these “half-dry trenches” entails a transference of authority from Fairfax’s former status as a member of council, which entailed a sharing in the duties of the Lord High Admiral (Duncan-Jones 284-85). It also provides an indication of Fairfax’s engagement.²⁷

As in the Cromwell poems, the narrator uses the language of casuistry to comprehend and ostensibly to praise his subject. Fairfax’s retirement is thus arduously adapted to his conscience:

For he did, with his 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. (353-58)

The casuist language of Thomas' "crisis of conscience," according to Mark Heumann, reiterates the caution displayed by William Fairfax. William is, of course, the heroic (Reformation) figure who rescues Isabel Thwaites from the Gothic cloister, while refraining from using force against the deceptive nuns, even though "the court him grants the lawful Forum;/ Which licens'd either Peace or Force" (cf. st. XXIX-XXX). Where William expresses a determination to respect both "Religion" and "Right," (226) Heumann finds a recognition of the complexities of justice in its socialized context and a ringing endorsement of the righteousness of Thomas Fairfax's decision to retire.²⁸

The exact correspondence between William's moral victory and Fairfax's "conscience" is, however, more complex than it initially appears.²⁹ The correspondence of William to Thomas is most explicitly made vis à vis the similar representational problems that these figures occasion the narrator, rather than by any overt appeal to a shared religious doctrine. On the one hand, William's reluctance to use force against the nuns exposes an aesthetic problem facing the narrator: "What should he do? He would respect/ Religion, but not Right neglect" (224-25).³⁰ On the other hand, the poet's attempt to praise Thomas' retirement results in an excessively long digression on the history of the wasting cloister.³¹ The story of the dissolution of the nunnery alludes, moreover, to a conspicuously fictional manuscript, and is presumably designed to appeal to Fairfax's antiquarian interests.³² As Rosalie Colie recognises, time is "pleated" in the poem, the Fairfaxian lineage is "fused" into a generic hero for the purposes of fiction, and the facts surrounding the dissolution of the nunnery are loosely treated - the convent was not instantly "dispossest" (272) as the poem suggests, but in fact, only fell to the son of William and Isabel (Colie 227;251). Evidently,

the prudence of Thomas' Fairfax's casuist concerns can only be represented vis a vis a Gothic tale.

Recently, the relevance of casuistry has been brought to bear on Fairfax's engagement in national politics, rather than his retirement from the public world. Steven Zwicker and Derek Hirst trace the composition of the poem to the resurgence of the Engagement Crisis in the summer of 1651.³³ The invasion of Scotland, which prompted Fairfax's retirement in June 1650, became a defensive action in the summer of '51. Presbyterian and Royalist causes in Scotland had now joined forces and threatened to provoke a similar alliance in England. The threat of a Scottish invasion intent upon imposing the Presbyterian system on England meant that the English cause could now raise the banner of nationalism. Indeed, a sort of populist movement did arise, as Englishmen from across the country displayed their willingness to join the new county militia. The decision, though, was not an easy one for the many who disliked the principles of the republic, and would have involved them in the casuist form of soul searching: "for they now had to decide whether to defend the republic as well as nation against a Scottish king" (Zwicker & Hirst 254). The elaborately treated comparison of the merits of contemplation and action in Appleton House, thus relates to more than Fairfax's prior decision, and is pertinent to a dilemma facing him in the present moment of the poem. The government, Zwicker and Hirst note, continued to press Fairfax for a declaration of support until he finally complied in August of 1651.

The casuist language of the poem, therefore, helps to express the nationalist aspect of Fairfax's actions at Nunappleton. Even in his garden, where he tills the conscience that spans power, Fairfax is engaged in national politics. The casuistic association between

William and Thomas Fairfax helps to tease out the patriotic aspects of Thomas' endeavours, by locating Thomas within a "great Race" (248) of liberators, within a Gothic pattern of historiography. Thomas promises to recapitulate the liberating actions of his ancestor. The Fairfax family is thus placed at the tail end of a history that traces the rise, decline and rebirth of liberty. Praise vis à vis the Gothic, however, is not unconditional praise. The narrator thus describes the potential reconciliation of English history with providence by way of an unsettling combination of pastoral and warlike imagery:

The Gardiner had the Souldiers place,
And his more gentle Forts did trace.

* * * * *

But War all this doth overgrow:
We Ord'nance Plant and Powder sow.

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.

(337-38; 343-48)

Fairfax's ostensibly benevolent gardening practices are rendered problematic as they are intertwined with those of his ancestors through the language of casuistry. The conditional verb tense here underlines the fact that Fairfax's influence upon British history is not yet determined. Before the nature of the relation between Thomas and William can be established the narrator is side-tracked into the "Abbyss" of literary and religious diversions followed at Nunappleton, emphasising once again the need to tailor concepts of "Right" and religion to their social context. The link between Thomas and William highlights the significance of Thomas' engagement in contemporary politics, but also the necessity that he avoid using excessive force.³⁴

§ II - "That blest Day still counterpoysed wastes:" Apocalyptic Fervour

Fairfax's leadership, like that of Cromwell, promises to rejuvenate the English nation, and in both cases the rebirth has strong religious overtones. Fairfax's revival of England promises to restore the Protestant ethic that his ancestor, William, used to resist papist tyranny. Cromwell's recasting of the "Kingdome old" into a republic, likewise, transcends the laws of the physical universe and enters the realm of the spiritual:

Though Justice against Fate complain,
 And plead the ancient Rights in vain:
 But those do hold or break
 As Men are strong or weak
 Nature that hateth emptiness,
 Allows of penetration less:
 And therefore must make room
 Where greater Spirits come. (37-44)

As with Fairfax's regeneration of "conscience" and Protestant ethics, Cromwell's restorative capacity is expressed through a georgic metaphor. Cromwell's husbandry of the Commonwealth is also akin to the gardening practices of Fairfax to the extent that it is accompanied by a promise of liberty:

Thou, and thine House, like Noah's eight did rest,
 Left by the Wars Flood on the Mountains crest:
 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. (*Anniversary*, 283-88)

Husbandry was a commonly used metaphor in the seventeenth century, with strong links to the values of classical republicanism (see pp. 34-9). It is, indeed, through planting that Cromwell seems to introduce a Roman form of republicanism in the *Ode*. Understanding the prophesied rebirth of English nationality under the leadership of Cromwell and Fairfax

in terms of a Gothic discourse, that combines casuistry, classical republicanism, and apocalyptic fervour (which includes Machiavellian politics), highlights the conditional aspect of the poet's praise.

The ability of both Cromwell and Fairfax to renew the former glory of England is dependent, at least partially, upon their response to the volatile religious sentiments of the time.³⁵ Along with democratic ideals, notions of millenarianism percolated during the 1640s amongst the more radical sectarian groups: the Levellers, the Quakers and especially the Fifth Monarchists. Christopher Hill has convincingly argued that the religious convictions of these sectarians were successfully co-opted by the military power, that men who incorrectly believed they were fighting for religious toleration and clearing the way for a messiah were largely responsible for the outcome of the civil wars. Those who were convinced of man's ability to know God's will argued for the Almighty's beneficence and an approaching end of time. The millenarian concept, Hill explains, was supported by nationalist propaganda that presented God's Englishmen as guardians against a papist anti-Christ (143). Parliamentarians could, therefore, justify the execution of Charles I, with his known Catholic ties, as a necessary step towards establishing the rule of a heavenly king on earth.

With Cromwell's ascendance in 1650, millenarian theories entered the laboratory of political reality, and apocalyptic fervour soon reached its height. Fairfax's religious practices at Nunappleton, his indulgence in Hermeticism, would have rendered the leader potentially unaware of the implications of the millenarian fervour. The sensual devotion practised by the poet in the woodland scene of the poem has been interpreted as an attempt to avoid the disturbing reminders of war presented in the preceding meadow scene, an admonishing tale designed to warn Fairfax of the moral bankruptcy of Hermeticism (Rostvig; Lord; Patterson,

1978, 102-08). The escapist nature of the religious practices is presented as dangerously decadent precisely because it disregards contemporary reality and provides the poet with a false sense of security:

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
 These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
 * * * * *
 ... where the World no certain Shot
 Can make, or me it toucheth not.
 But I on it securely play,
 And gaul its Horsemen all the Day. (601-02;605-08)

The poet's irreverence for the apocalyptic Horsemen and his declared "ease" (593) with his natural surroundings is itself tantamount to a form of popery: "Under this antick Cope I move/ Like some great Prelate of the Grove" (591-92). Finally, the poet is shamed out of his self-indulgence by the appearance of the Maria, who symbolises Protestant virtue. If Fairfax is to promote the renewal of English nationalism by ceding Nunappleton to Maria, as the poem suggests, he must not allow himself to become caught up in the sensual pleasures of Hermeticism, he must remain conscious of the sectarian desire to hasten the millennium.

By contrast, Cromwell is perhaps too much aware of the political scenario that might allow a charismatic leader to take advantage of religious radicalism. Some radical sectarians, who believed that they could hasten the millennium, supported Cromwell with claims that he would make way for the messiah, or even that he was the messiah. The Fifth Monarchists hailed Cromwell as "our Moses," the man who "would advance the Scepter of our Lord Jesus" (in Capp 62). Although Cromwell did not subscribe to this interpretation, he did present his victories as those of providence. When addressing the members nominated to the Barebones parliament, after he had disband the Rump Parliament, Cromwell appealed to the more radical members: "And why should we be afraid to say or think, that this may be the

door to usher in the things that God has prophesied..." (in Abbott 64). When this group of ostensibly godly men failed to introduce the democratic reforms sought by sectarians, some disenchanted radicals began to blame Cromwell. They shifted from praising Cromwell as the messiah to labelling him "the man of Sin" and the "horn of the beast" from the Book of Daniel (Firth 333; Capp 100). Their rage is satirised in the description of the "Chammish issue" who eagerly watch Cromwell's near fall:

Yet such a Chammish issue still does rage,
 The Shame and Plague both of the Land and Age,
 Who watch'd they halting, and thy Fall deride,
 Rejoycing when thy Foot had slipt aside;
 That their new King might the fifth Scepter shake,
 And make the World, by his Example Quake:
 Whose frantique Army should they want for Men
 Might muster Heresies, son one were ten.
 What thy Misfortune, they the Spirit call,
 And their Religion only is to Fall. (293-302)

Despite the invective against the millennial preaching of the sectarians, Cromwell's millennial status is asserted at various points in the *Anniversary*, through comparisons to old testament Judges, and as a millenarian leader who is fit to "precipitate the latest day" (140). Derek Hirst argues that the narrator attempts to endow Cromwell with apocalyptic status in order to counter the Fifth Monarchist interpretation of Revelation that blamed Cromwell for delaying the millennium (41). Given the satiric tone of the invective against the "chammish issue," however, it is unlikely the poet is asserting Cromwell's messianic role. The praise offered in the poem is, indeed, aimed at Cromwell's good judgement to resist the temptation to adopt the role of a religious leader:

Hence oft I think, if in some happy Hour
 High Grace should meet in one with highest Pow'r,
 * * * * *
 But a thick Cloud about that Mourning lyes
 And intercepts the Beams of Mortal eyes,

That is the most which we determine can,
 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.
 (131-32; 141-48)

Cromwell's respect for providence is the subject of praise here, and his parliamentary speeches provide evidence of his dedication to a strong belief in providence.

At a time when individuals were faced with difficult decisions regarding allegiance, and with the difficulty of accounting for the collapse of monarchy, providence was a powerful concept. It was central to the casuistry developed by Anthony Ascham, which permitted individuals to justify their choice of allegiance by appealing to evidence of an ostensible trial by battle. From this point, it required little mental effort to make a case for rule by an authoritarian, based upon an assertion of the leader's high religious status. The Fifth Monarchists had invited Cromwell to use such an argument, and James Harrington ended his *Oceana* with such an argument.³⁶ The popular theories of Machiavelli provided a possible bridge between justification by providence and justification by prophecy. In *The Prince* (pub. 1640 in English), Machiavelli argued that the only means of restoring authority following the collapse of the balance of power, was to raise up a powerful prophet-legislator, a Moses-like figure. The ambiguous status of Cromwell in the *Ode* and the *Anniversary* has been interpreted in this context.

Joseph Mazzeo correlates Cromwell's ascendance in the *Ode* to the Machiavellian concepts of 'fortuna' and 'virtu'. Cromwell's success is dependent upon the convergence of fate, fortune and his active participation in shaping his own destiny. His success is dependent upon the occasion ("Tis time to leave the Books in dust"(5)), providence (he is

"The force of angry Heavens flame" (26)), nature ("Nature...must make room/ Where greater Spirits come" (41-4)), but also upon his ability to seize the occasion (his "industrious Valour" (33)). Subjected as he is to forces and circumstances beyond his control, Mazzeo argues, it is difficult to blame Cromwell for his assumption of command. The man is admired, however, for urging "his active Star" (11), for taking control of his fate. Given this balance between providential forces and individual determination, it is as Blair Worden notes, difficult to judge whether Cromwell will remain as obedient to the republic as he pretends to be, or whether he will assume the role of "Clymacterick" (104) for personal gain. The same ambiguity exists in the *Anniversary*, where Cromwell is praised for his self-disciplined refusal of the crown, for "yielding to Rule" (228), but is subsequently admired for his Gideon-like display of force:

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'rael silent saw him rase the Tow'r,
 And how he Succoths Elders durst suppress. (249-53)

Are the militaristic actions of a biblical Judge appropriate comparisons for a leader of the commonwealth? Derek Hirst shows that such comparisons are in keeping with the way Cromwell was represented by the Protectorate Government, and he underlines the influential role of a known Machiavellian theorist, Marchamont Needham, upon the formation of government propaganda. The poem does end, as Hirst points out, with Cromwell cast as a Christ figure, "the Angel of our Commonweal," who settles the troubled waters by stirring them (401-02).

In support of Machiavellian explanations for the ambiguous representation of Cromwell in the *Ode* and the *Anniversary*, one might cite Michael Mckee's observations

about the changing concepts of 'empire' and 'sovereignty' that accompanied the demise of the monarchy. Mckeon argues that the English Revolution resulted in the secularization of these concepts and consequently, that mystical explanations provided by the 'translatio imperii' figure are no longer adequate by the 1650s. The "Angelique Cromwell" who pursues the "monster" of "Roman" tyranny in the *Ode* is, indeed, beyond the discursive capabilities of the narrator: "If gracious Heaven to my Life give length,/ Leisure to time, and to my weakness Strength...Till then my Muse shall hollow far behind/ Angellic Cromwell..." (119-25).

Cromwell's ambiguous status, however, is due in part to the eclecticism of the poet, and the conflicting representations provided. Truth about Cromwell is, in fact, presented as the product of a sort of Bakhtinian dialogism, entailing various political and aesthetic discourses. As Annabel Patterson comments, the reader is never presented with a single unified generic model for Cromwell, but is left to labour behind speedy Cromwell, who "outwings the wind" (126). The apparent inadequacy of the translatio myth does not prevent the narrator from adopting it in an attempt to clarify Cromwell's status. By demonstrating the shortcomings of the myth, moreover, the poet may be attempting to adapt its explicative ability.

Understanding the ambivalent tone of the epideictic in both the Cromwell and Fairfax poems in terms of the Gothic allows the reader to account for the intersection of apocalyptic fervor and Machiavellian theory, along with classical republicanism and common law thought. Through the perspective of the Gothic, the relationship between Cromwell's Amphion-like statesmanship (classical qualities) and his prophet-like status (religious/ Machiavellian aspects) in the *Anniversary* is highlighted, and this can be

compared to the ambivalence surrounding Fairfax's respect for ancient customs and native culture at Nunappleton. In short, a Gothic perspective helps to discern the terms of praise offered: Cromwell's required avoidance of a high religious stance and Fairfax's necessary attention to the demands of the millenarians. The difficulty of mediating the characteristics of these men is the feature that binds these poems together, and the Gothic provides a wide enough scope to consider the different issues - both theological and elocutionary - impinging upon the problem of mediation.

The Gothic provides a further means of understanding the ambiguity of the apocalyptic dimensions of the Cromwell and Fairfax poems, because the duality of the Gothic villain/hero corresponds to that of the Machiavellian prophet-legislator. When the frightened spokesperson for the foreign princes of the *Anniversary* complains of Cromwell's military conquests, he highlights the righteousness of Cromwell's actions:

That one Man still, although but nam'd, alarms
 More than all Men, all Navies, and all Arms.
 'Him, all the Day, Him in late Nights I dread,
 'And still his sword seems hanging o're my head
 The Nation had been ours, but his one soul
 Moves the great bulk, and animates the whole.

(375-80)

The ambivalent tone used to praise the endeavour of the bad but admirable imperial warrior corresponds to that used to praise Fairfax's "Acts...of Fame" (64) in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow":³⁷

For something alwaies did appear
 Of the great Masters terrour there:
 And Men could hear his Armour still
 Ratling through all the Grove and hill. (37-40)

These men haunt the minds of their subjects, but the precise source of the fear they elicit remains intangible. The effects of these men upon the nation's political, spiritual and

physical constitution is emphasised by this dichotomy between villain and hero. The Gothic, whose leading figures typically resist institutionalisation, provides one means of explaining the balance between individual will and providential force. The 'translatio,' moreover, provides a means of celebrating the imperial actions of Cromwell and Fairfax in terms of providence, describing their revival of republican values in terms of a spiritual rejuvenation of nation. Michael Mckeon has shown that the emergence of a modern conception of 'empire' alongside the new understanding of sovereignty, meant that imperial authority could no longer be described by the transfer of divine authority. The 'translatio' myth, nevertheless, provides a means of alluding to both the spiritual rejuvenation of the nation and the independent actions of Cromwell and Fairfax. Their revival of classical republican values has a definite spiritual dimension.

§ III - Blasting Caesar's head "through his Laurels:" the Ambivalence of Roman Attributes

Adopting a Gothic perspective helps to evaluate the spiritual dimension of the classical revival initiated by Cromwell and Fairfax, in their pursuit of Roman republicanism and a happy life of country retirement. Many prominent figures in the 1650s, such as John Milton, endorsed the concept of a republican England becoming the Rome of the West, spreading liberty through imperialist expansion and freeing Europe from papist domination (Worden 160). Conquest would ostensibly be welcomed where it was accompanied by an apocalyptic desire to remove the shackles of popery that were delaying the millennium. By

using the 'translatio' myth in his representations of Cromwell and Fairfax, Marvell reiterates these claims, but in a critical manner. Cromwell's ascendancy in the *Ode* is a case in point. Upon an initial reading of the poem, it appears that Cromwell's success is due to the inadequacy of the "ancient Rights" (38) to protect the prerogatives of the king. A more careful reading will reveal, however, that Cromwell's victory entails, in fact, a rejuvenation of the ancient rights of classical republicanism: "still in the Republick's hand...He to the Commons Feet presents/ A kingdome, for his first year rents" (82; 85-6). The terminology here echoes that of the king's "Answer to the Nineteen Propositions," where the myth of a republican balance between the "three estates" of government was alluded to in order to promote royal prerogative as though it were backed by a sort of republican consensus. Classical Republicanism was frequently used in the seventeenth century to express the conflicting ideologies of royalists and independents, monarchists and republicans.

As readers of the *Ode* have so often noted, Cromwell's ascendancy in Marvell's *Ode* is not opposed to Charles' fall. The continuity between Cromwell and Charles is further underlined by the Horatian element of the poem: the fact that Marvell's role as Cromwell's poet parallel's Horace's situation in his Odes to Caesar Augustus. Both poets are forced to relinquish their own political perspectives in order to praise a leader who has been buoyed up by contemporary circumstances, and both poets display concern for maintaining their integrity. John Coolidge has shown the extent to which Caesar Augustus provided Marvell with an ambivalent model for his Cromwell: the transformation from Octavian to Augustus entailed an appropriation of all the ancient ideals that Caesarean power was destroying, "the name of 'Caesar' came to epitomise both the ancient rights and the 'forced Pow'r' that was by its origin destructive of them" (116). Cromwellian authority, by Coolidge's account, is

ambivalent in the same way that Augustus' claim to have 'restored the republic' must have been regarded with scepticism by his contemporaries.

Coolidge shows that an important aspect to the parallel between Horace and Marvell is their shared concern for correlating the values of 'otium' to a pattern of decorum in the individual's life cycle: Marvell informs his "Youth" of appropriate behaviour, of the need to emerge from the "shadows" (the "umbrae" of Horace's Odes) and to give up the comforts of peace for the glory of war, while the middle-aged persona of Horace's odes prudently realises the benefits of accepting Augustan reign and of ending the civil wars. Coolidge thus helps to illuminate the relationship between the process of correlating the individual's life choices with the rhythm of otium, and the deliberative process of the casuist - the decision of whether or not to engage. The later political decision, it would seem, can be facilitated by the artistic considerations demanded by the decorum of otium. Decisions made in the private world of otium affect the public behaviour of the individual, potentially imbuing them with a spiritual dimension. Such dynamics are evident in both the Cromwell and Fairfax poems.

This mingling of private and public, as well as concern for the merits of a contemplative life as opposed to an active life, might be explained in terms of the specifications of pastoral poetry. A further Horatian association, however, is also available. Maren-Sofie Rostvig traces the theme of retirement in seventeenth century literature back to the "happy man" of Horace's "beatus ille" Epode. The popular theme could be represented by the realistic and georgic language of classical stoicism, as well as by the idyllic language of pastoral, according to Rostvig.³⁸ She argues that during the seventeenth century, "the pursuit of virtue, truth or happiness became a question, not of scholastic discipline or an active life, but of introspective meditation inside a real or imaginary hortus conclusus"

(67).³⁹ Rostvig's model offers an explanation of the unresolved relationship between the "forward Youth" and "restless Cromwell" in the Ode: the duality represented by both these figures is no longer relevant to the task of depicting virtue. Marvell does indeed appear to leave the age old question by the wayside when he represents Cromwell's ambivalent response to the changing times - his apparent concern for the "antient Rights," in contrast to his ostentatious recasting of the political order - in terms of the meditative actions of the retired Husbandman:

Much to the Man is due.
 Who, from his private Gardens, where
 He liv'd reserved and austere,
 As if his highest plot
 To plant the Bergamot,
 Could by industrious Valour climbe
 To ruin the great Work of Time,
 And cast the Kingdome old
 Into another Mold. (28-36)

Marvell thus uses the language of husbandry to scrutinise the decorum of Cromwell's militaristic actions, just as Horace uses the ambivalently charged connotations of otium - leisure and peace versus sloth and decadence - to hail Augustus.⁴⁰

Cromwell's actions are also treated in relation to the classical values of otium in the "Poem on the Death of O.C." The three aspects of the Roman god of war - warlike, rustic and protective of civil rights - are here found to be an inherent part of Cromwell's leadership:⁴¹

Where we...
 ...presse about his chamber-door,
 From which he issu'd with that awfull state,
 It seem'd Mars broke through Janus' double gate;
 Yet always temper'd with an aire so mild,
 No April sunns that e'er so gently smil'd. (231-36)

Cromwell's actions bring an end to peace (breaking open the gates of Janus, which are kept closed in times of peace), but they remain timely because they are calculated with georgic endeavour, according to the fitness of the seasons. He thus combines the qualities of the Christian warrior with the stoic features of the retired happy man;⁴² and his revival of Horatian values is thus infused with a form of spiritual righteousness:

...him away the dismal Tempest rent,
 * * * *
 Who **planted** England on the Flandrick shoar,
 * * * *
 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.
 (171;173;179-82, emphasis mine)

The same combination of features is used in the Latin "Epigram on Two mountains, Almscliff and Bilbrough" to praise Fairfaxian virtue. As Annabel Patterson notes, the contradictory features of Fairfax, his military might and his retired mildness, are depicted in the contrasting Gothic and Augustan landscapes:

That is lofty, steep, uneven, and arduous:
 This is sloping, gentle, soft, and pleasing.
 Nature joined dissimilar things under one master,
 And they quake as equals under Fairfaxian sway.
 (13-16)

The particular Fairfaxian combination of Gothic and Augustan features is apparently something to be feared. Those contrasting features are explored further within the singular landscape of the hill and grove at Bill-borow, where fear is also prevalent. Once again the military aspects of Fairfax are blended with aspects of the retired Happy Man figure. Fairfax's ghost communicates easily with the genius loci of Bill-borow through the

horticultural medium of the "the Courser Rind" (51) of the "plump of aged trees" (34), where

...something alwaies did appear
 Of the great Masters terrour...
 * * * * *
 Fear of the Master, and respect
 Of the great Nymph did it protect;
 Vera the Nymph that him inspir'd,
 To whom he often here retir'd,
 And on these Okes ingrav'd her Name;
 Such Wounds alone these Woods became:
 But ere he well the Barks could part
 'Twas writ already in their Heart. (37-8;41-8)

The horticultural discourse amongst the trees and nymphs at Bill-borow becomes the ultimate praise of Fairfaxian virtue, "all the Civic Garlands due" (69). The vague fear that Fairfax's war-faring actions instil within the landscape suggests the spiritual dimension of Fairfax's Roman attributes, which the Gothic helps denote.

The Fairfax estate, as represented in *Appleton house*, is indeed plagued by the potential threat of superstition. Patsy Griffin explains that following the large scale sale of monastic lands at the time of the civil wars, attempts were made to hinder the spoliation of religious lands by explaining unfortunate happenings vis à vis superstition. Griffin argues that Marvell repudiates such superstition when he depicts William's penetration of the cloister wall: "Young Fairfax through the Wall does rise./ Then th' unfrequented Vault appear'd,/ And superstitions vainly fear'd" (258-60). The contemporary pattern of superstition is, in fact, twisted to favour William's cause: the dissolution of the cloister follows William's prediction that "those buildings [will] last not long,/ 'founded by Folly, kept by Wrong" (217-18).

The Gothic attributes of the Fairfax estate, though, involve more than superstition and extend beyond the framework of the house. From the beginning the reader is told to "expect" a native and modest style "Within this sober Frame," (1) within both estate and poem.⁴³ The simple design of Appleton House is therefore contrasted with the ostentation displayed by those of "Forrain Architect[s]," (2) found in the "Aranjuez" and the "Bel-Retiro" (755-56). The indigenous charm of the Fairfax estate, where "all things are composed...Like Nature" (25-6), recalls the classical values of the 'beatus ille'-tradition: Fairfax's modest home is compared to Romulus' "Bee-like Cell" (40), evoking the myth of a *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*. Native charm apparently includes Roman attributes, but describing those attributes broaches certain representational difficulties. As the poet explains, the modest "Lines" of the house necessarily alter the form of the poem; hence, the octosyllabic form:

Humility alone designs
 Those short but admirable Lines,
 By which, ungirt and unconstrain'd,
 Things greater are in less contain'd.
 Let others vainly strive t'immure
 The Circle in the Quadrature!
 These holy Mathematicks can
 In ev'ry Figure equal Man. (st. VI)

The poet thus adapts his form to the task of celebrating Fairfax's humility as though he were preparing a vessel to contain holy subject matter: examining Fairfax's Roman qualities is ostensibly a means of exploring his providential role.

Maren-Sofie Rostvig has documented the extent to which Marvell combines classical and Christian thought in his adaptation of the *beatus ille*-tradition. The humility that is found in the opening "Lines" of Appleton House, for example, suggests the Horatian idea that country life fosters the self-discipline and balance of mind required to resist the

temptations of ambition; the poem and the estate offer a respite from the extravagance and corruption of worldly affairs. As Rostvig demonstrates, though, the Horatian 'Happy Man' theme that Marvell adopts has more affinities with seventeenth century revivals of the form, than with those of antiquity. Like his contemporaries, Marvell combines the austerity of the *beatus ille*-tradition with a Christian emphasis on devotion, and with the neo-Platonic notion that spiritual enlightenment can be achieved through contemplation of the divine hieroglyph found in the natural world. Marvell's Fairfax, indeed, conforms to John Evelyn's notion of an "Hortulan Saint".⁴⁴ Fairfax's rural retirement thus includes exercises for improving his senses, a necessary developmental step, according to Rostvig, for recognising the divine hieroglyph. Following the exemplary behaviour of his ancestors, Fairfax sportingly continues his "warlike studies" within the fort-like configurations of his gardens. Here, "five Bastions" provide a protective and nurturing environment for the development of the senses, "As aiming one for ev'ry Sense" (st. XXXVI).⁴⁵ By demonstrating his preference for "These five imaginary Forts," opposed to the actual battle grounds of the civil wars - "the Cinque Ports" - Fairfax aligns his retirement with providential design (cf. St. XLIV). These georgic exercises permit Fairfax to foster the growth of his "Conscience" while weeding out the evils of "Ambition" (cf. st. XLV). He is thereby provided with the good sense to avoid the extravagant forms of sensuality associated with the seclusion of the cloister and with the poet's retreat into the "Sanctuary"(482) of the woods (see § V below).

The spirituality of Fairfax's actions in retirement is, nonetheless, called into doubt, along with the 'translatio' myth used to communicate the religious theme. Fairfax's decision to cede Nunappleton to Maria foreshadows a supposed revival of reformation values that are supposedly part of an ancient heritage. The fulfilment of the prophesied revival depends, at

least partially, upon how the reader interprets the Gothic tale of the Fairfax estate (see below). Similarly, the spirituality of Cromwell's ascendance is called into question by the Gothic elements of the *Ode* and the *Anniversary*. Critics have long since noticed that the classical elements of the *Ode* draw connecting lines between Cromwell, Julius Caesar, and Augustus Caesar. Julius Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, upon returning from the campaign against Gaul, was deemed an act of treason, just as Cromwell faced an uncertain reception upon returning from the Irish campaign. That uncertainty, Blair Worden argues, is expressed in the poem's ambiguity about Cromwell's constitutional intentions (156). The resonance with Lucan's description of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon (cf. Margoliouth & Duncan-Jones 295-97), therefore, prepares the reader for a poem that will scrutinise the Cromwellian conception of the English nation.

Uncertainty is achieved in these poems by means of a Gothic pattern of historiography. The "bleeding head" of the *Ode*, for example, provides an ambivalent reference that links the Roman past with England's future, and blurs the distinction between royalist and parliamentarian perspectives:

So when they did design
The Capitols first Line,
A bleeding Head where they begun,
Did fright the Architects to run;
And yet in that the State
Foresaw it's happy Fate. (67-72)

The "bleeding Head" is a historical reference; contemporary readers would have recognised it as an allusion, via Pliny's *Natural History* and Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, to the foundation of the last of the Roman Kingdoms under the legendary figure of Tarquin the Proud (Margoliouth 300; Wallace 84). Since the city allegedly founded by Tarquin, upon the literal remains of its former inhabitants, was not named until after the collapse of Roman Kingship,

the story of its founding is ambivalently associated with both the demise of Roman kingship and the emergence of Roman Republicanism. Pliny, for example, read it as a portent of Rome's future imperial supremacy, but many Renaissance historians held it to be an omen for the decay of Tarquin's power. This may explain, as Robert Hodge argues, the conflicting responses recorded in the poem, the foresight of England's "happy fate" and the frightful retreat of the "Architects" (Hodge 126).

The "happy fate" of England is thus associated with a very specific form of republicanism, that of the early Roman Republic.⁴⁶ Marvell may be following Harrington, who identified the benevolent aspects of republicanism with the pre-imperial Roman Republic. Harrington argued that the schemes of Lucius Cornelius Sulla and Julius Caesar, designed to build up mercenary armies by redistributing the estates of citizens, corrupted the 'ancient prudence' of the republic, and introduced an element of social instability that crystallised into the 'Gothic balance'. Cromwell's role as "Clymacterick," marking the end of tyranny within "all states not free" (cf Margoliouth 302), helps to define the form of government celebrated in the poem as that belonging to the early stages of republicanism. Cromwell is praised for spreading liberty, as Julius Caesar had done by extending citizenship to Gaul during the latter days of the republic, but that praise is qualified by the further comparison of Cromwell to Hannibal: "A Caesar he ere long to Gaul,/ To Italy an Hannibal" (101-02). Hannibal, of course, is the Carthaginian leader who thwarted the spread of empire by enlisting dissatisfied Romans to resist Roman hegemony. To place Cromwell in an analogous relationship to England as Hannibal occupied in relation to Italy, suggests that Cromwell's conception of 'empire' excludes the sort of cultural imperialism practised by the Roman emperors, and that Cromwell's actions will contribute to an English empire that

supports true freedom, as Hannibal helped bring about a renewed respect for the liberties of Roman citizenship. Cromwell demonstrates the military skills of Julius Caesar, but he possesses a more advanced concept of 'empire'.

As Blair Worden notes, the final lines of the *Ode*, from the Caesar/Clymacterick comparison to the end, promote a nationalistic interpretation of Cromwell as a sort of Machiavellian legislator, who can return the nation to peace. The meaning of the "Sword erect," (116) though, is cryptic. The term has been recognised as an echo of both Hobbes' "sword of war," and of Marchamont Needham's reference to the "sword unlawfully erected" in his pamphlet, "Case of the Commonwealth of England stated".⁴⁷ E. E. Duncan-Jones illustrates the classical element of the reference: both Needham and Marvell looked to the founding of the Roman state as a precedent for Cromwell's authority. The power of the sword to frighten away the "spirits of the shady night," (117) Duncan-Jones claims, derives from precedents found in Virgil and Homer. Contemporary translations and commentaries on the *Aenied* and the *Odyssey* attributed magical powers to the swords of Aeneas and Ulysses, asserting that "the spirits of the underworld fear cold iron" (in Duncan-Jones 173). Cromwell's erect sword is necessary, as Duncan-Jones argues, to govern both the world of the living and that of the dead, to suppress the memory of the victims of the civil war. Robert Hodge elaborates upon the darker element of the sword: spirits are given corporeal form by the sword and made to fear human sources of fear; the political morality of the protectorate is thus represented as an inversion of normal morality (129). A religious transgression is indeed suggested in the final lines of the poem. The state is spiritually bankrupt and in danger of falling prey to its own absolutism: "The same Arts that did gain/
A power must it maintain" (119-20).

Similarly, the ambiguity of Cromwell's status is illuminated in the *First Anniversary* by the Gothic elements of Cromwell's ostensibly spiritual revival of the commonwealth. Marvell's adoption of the classical Amphion myth provides a means of identifying Cromwell's policies with the wisdom of classical republicanism, equating Cromwell with a figure renowned for his ability to bring people of diverse habits into a harmonious pattern of civil society. Even the Amphion metaphor though is part of the terminology of kingship, since that metaphor was a standard device of cavalier poetry. Annabel Patterson's analysis has illuminated the complexity of Marvell's "reanimation" of the cavalier metaphor (74-7). She has shown that Cromwell's Amphion-like harmonising of military, civil, and religious order, within an architectural structure, contrasts with the stultifying endeavour of the "heavy monarchs," by which "one Thing never was by one King don" (22). The metaphor thus appears to endorse Cromwell's "ruling Instrument" (68) as a correlative to the republican principles of "concordia discors" (Chernaik 54), but it is also suggestive of the workings of propaganda, of how myth could be used to gloss over contemporary disputes between republicans and government (Wallace 116). The image of Cromwell's precariously balanced structure is, indeed, not completely harmonious with the ideal of concordia discors.

On the one hand, Cromwell's "Common-wealth" appears to offer the promise of a spiritual rejuvenation of the English nation, but the edifice is also a precarious means of maintaining a status-quo form of social stratification: "But the most equal still sustain the Height/ And they as Pillars keep the Work upright" (93-4).⁴⁸ The ambivalence of the passage, the question of whether it is intended to promote the truly ideal principles of the classical commonwealth, or to expose the Orwellian "newspeak" of the protectorate,⁴⁹ is manifest in a Gothic edifice. The "upright" structure aspires towards the "Height" of heaven,

with "Pillars" that appear to be soaring upward rather than sustaining the weight of the "publique Wall," and thus appears to offer a form of social reform that is also a spiritual ascent, vis a vis an aesthetic experience. Linda Brayer-Berenbaum's contention that there is a coherent philosophy and aesthetic perspective underlying Gothic Art and Gothicism in literature helps to highlight the correlation between architectural metaphor and social commentary. The idea that she finds expressed in the flying buttress and the Gothic Cathedral, where she says, spiritual enlightenment defies the gravity of earthly materials and "weight gives way to levitation" (52), is similar to the promise of spiritual ascent offered by Cromwell's structure:

The Common-wealth does through their Centers all
 Draw the Circumfrence of the publique Wall;
 The crosset Spirits here do take their part,
 Fast'ning the Contignation which they thwart;
 And they, whose Nature leads them to divide,
 Uphold, this one, and that the other Side;
 But the most Equal still sustain the Height,
 And they as Pillars keep the Work upright;
 While the resistance of opposed Minds,
 The Fabrick as with Arches stronger binds,
 Which on the Basis of a Senate free,
 Knit by the Roofs Protecting weight agree.

(87-98)

Robert Hodge aptly describes the precariously balanced product as a "Gothic cathedral seen as a complex and dangerous feat of engineering..." (16). Designing a modern social structure on the supposed merits of classical republicanism surely requires a careful balancing act. When properly appreciated, the resulting piece of architecture, it is suggested, can help the individual realize his civic freedom, his right to participate in state affairs (see p. 64).

To ensure the impression of a properly balanced commonwealth, Marvell highlights the Christian aspects of Cromwell's model. As the Amphion-like founder of "The

'harmonious City,' (46) who "animates the whole [nation]," (380) Cromwell brings an enlightened rule to England by building the commonwealth upon the heavenly model of an 'Urbs Sacra'. Samuel Klinger traces this notion to Augustine's *City of God*, where the idealisation of Rome as a supremely ordered city received Christian support. Christian fathers, Klinger explains, accepted the principles on which imperial Rome based its authority, because they saw the benefits of using an earthly order as the basis for forming a spiritual hierarchy. The concept, as Klinger argues supports the idea of a Gothic enlightenment, the hypothesised transition of authority extending from imperial Rome to parliamentary England.

The Amphion passage displays Cromwell's statesman skills in accordance to the 'Urbs Sacra' tradition. The passage is divided into two parts, distinguishing "our Amphion" (73) from his classical forebear. Robert Hodge understands this division to be a Ramist distinction between ideal and real, but notes that Marvell abrogates the laws of Ramism.⁵⁰ Similarity between Cromwell and Amphion is underlined with the promise made "to tune this lower to that higher sphere," (48) despite the recognised lack of continuity between real and ideal. Cromwell thus adopts Amphion's Thebes as his model, the 'Urbs Sacra' for his London: "Th'harmonious City of the seven Gates" (66), according to Derek Hirst, alludes to both Thebes and London (34). The extent to which Cromwell's motivations conform to the spiritual concerns of his Roman forbear is, however, left open to debate by the Gothic structure that links the two figures.

Fairfax's conformity to the Hortulan Saint persona is, likewise, left open to the discretion of the reader (see § V). Only when Fairfax fulfils the pattern of a Gothic revival and re-institutes a reformation sensibility, by entrusting Nunappleton to Maria, is his

conformity to the Hortulan Saint figure confirmed. Fairfax's decision to cede the estate to Maria and her new husband is described by way of a georgic conceit that associates the act of marrying a daughter with good husbandry:

Hence She with Graces more divine
 Supplies beyond her Sex the Line;
 And, like a sprig of Mistleto,
 On the Fairfaxian Oak does grow;
 Whence, for some universal good,
 The Priest shall cut the sacred Bud;
 While her glad Parents most rejoice,
 And make their Destiny their Choice.

(St. LXXXXXIII)

Fairfax's Roman qualities, inherent in his Hortulan Saint characteristics, come to fruition at this moment.

§ IV - "Twas no Religious House till now." Belatedness

The Roman attributes that both Fairfax and Cromwell express in their rejuvenation of the English nation evoke a narrative pattern of belatedness, whereby the benefits of Roman genius appear to be reaching fruition only now, through the present action of these men. The efficacy of Fairfax's 'tilled conscience' upon the English nation, for example, is only fully disclosed when the Gothic history of the "wasting cloister" is recapitulated. Fairfax's adherence to the classical values of otium fosters the growth of learning and culture within the garden of Nunappleton. Since Nunappleton is a microcosm for "that dear and happy Isle/ The Garden of the World" (321-22), England stands to benefit from the

imminent harvest there - the marriage of Maria: "knowledge only could have fill'd/ And Virtue all those Furrows till'd" (735-36). The "Discipline severe" (721) that Mary Fairfax receives within the "Domestic Heaven" (722) of the estate nurtures the development of her language skills and promotes the growth of the English language into the language of empire:

She counts her Beauty to converse
In all the Languages as hers;
Nor yet in those hers self employes
But for the Wisdome, not the Noyse;
Nor yet that Wisdome would affect,
But as 'tis Heavens Dialect. (707-12)⁵¹

Hope for a providential endorsement of English cultural supremacy exists alongside anticipation for the fruits of Maria's education:

Whence for some universal good,
The Priest shall cut the sacred Bud;
While her glad parents most rejoice,
And make their Destiny their Choice.

(741-44)

As George Lord points out though, the narrator's praise of the Fairfaxs' determination to align their "Destiny" with their daughter's "Choice" is disrupted by a recollection of the family history at this crucial moment:

Mean time ye Fields, Springs, Bushes, Flow'rs,
Where yet She leads her studious Hours,
(Till Fate her worthily translates,
And find a Fairfax for our Thwaites)

(745-48)

The allusion to William Fairfax's rescue of Isabel Thwaites from the corrupt cloister, at this moment of anticipation concerning the future of both the Fairfax line and of England itself, suggests once again an equation between William and Thomas.⁵² To some extent, William's moral victory over the nuns is only fully realised in the present moment of the poem: "

'Twas no Religious House till now". As Rosalie Colie notes, time is "pleated" (254) in the dissolution of the cloister, William's present tense actions dominate, and the events of the past spill over into the present:

At the demolishing, this Seat
To Fairfax fell as by Escheat.
And what both Nuns and Founders will'd
'Tis likely better thus fulfill'd.
For if the Virgin prov'd not theirs,
The cloyster yet remained hers.
Though many a Nun there made her Vow,
'Twas no Religious House till now. (st. XXXV)

With this pattern of belatedness the fruits of Fairfaxian "conscience" and years of resisting prelacy are only fully realised in the present actions of Thomas Fairfax.

The narrative pattern parallels the methodology of such contemporary historians as Richard Verstegan, John Speed, Samuel Daniel and Henry Spelman. By representing the resistance to monarchical authority that presided in the early seventeenth century in terms of a "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos" these historians could conceive of respect for Saxon traditions as a latent quality of Teutonic liberty now expressing itself. The logic of these "gothicists" suggests that contemporary opposition to monarchical privilege was simply the belated expression of certain Teutonic traits, present within the native Englishman since "time out of mind".⁵³ The Fairfaxs' alignment of "their Destiny" with "their Choice" vis a vis the Horatian endeavours of the retired Husbandman, is simply the belated expression of the "conscience" displayed by the Fairfax ancestors, especially that of the reformation hero - William Fairfax. Likewise, Cromwell's "forced Pow'r" is presented in the Ode as the belated expression of Roman Republicanism.⁵⁴

A similar effect is produced in *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow*. Fairfax's martial ferocity remains evident there long after his retirement, and his milder side is made

equally evident within the battles of his younger days thanks to the lingering ghosts at Bilbrough. Although the genie and the ghosts of Bilbrough seem fixed within a natural setting, the "Plump of aged Trees" is in fact part of the poet's artifice:

See how the arched Earth does here
 Rise in a perfect Hemisphere!
 The stiffest Compass could not strike
 A Line more circular and like;
 Nor softest pensel draw a Brow
 So equal as this Hill does bow.
 It seems as for a Model Laid,
 And that the World by it was made. (st. I)

The precise interpretation of Fairfax's posterity is, moreover, still open to interpretation, because the poet's artfully constructed "Civick Garlands" (69) form the "Branches" (70) of a living monument:

Only sometimes a flutt'ring Breez
 Discourses with the breathing Trees;
 Which in their modest Whispers name
 Those Acts that swell'd the Cheek of Fame.
 (61-4)

The dominance of the present tense here suggests that the current discussion of Fairfax's previous actions is responsible for reforming those "Acts" into a pattern of "Civick Garlands".

Marvell indeed uses belatedness to underline the significance of the reader's response to poetry and fiction, with respect to the outcome of history. The emphasis in the execution scene of the *Ode*, for example, is on the mediation of the event. The theatrical metaphor of the "Tragick Scaffold," with its distinction between "the Royal Actor" and the spellbound "armed Bands," emphasises the dynamics between spectacle and observer. The narrator distances himself from the event and aligns his perception with that of the reader when he places it in the past and renders it subject to memory: "This was that memorable

Hour/ Which first assur'd the forced Pow'r" (65-6). The theatrical metaphor is a scene constructed from memory and it self-consciously recognises the power of its own art to affect historical reality.

The poet who eulogises Cromwell after his death also records the influence that the reader has upon the structure of the poem and so upon the legacy of its subject:

Yet dwelt that greatnesse 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. (257-60)

The culmination of England's Gothic heritage within the legacy of Cromwell is thereby presented as malleable and still open to interpretation; England's Gothic heritage only comes to full realisation in the present moment.

§ V - Into the "Abbyss:" Deferring to the Reader's Response

As a spectator of Cromwell's tragedy in the elegy, the reader is empowered with the ability to determine the legacy of the man, the extent to which Cromwell's presence will linger within British history. Before making a final judgement on Cromwell's place in history, though, the reader is asked to examine Cromwell through various artistic mediums - theatre, sentimental fiction, myth, perspective painting, etc. The extent to which Cromwell will actually "obscure the Fables old," surpass the accomplishments of King Arthur, and the holiness of Edward the Confessor (cf. ll. 175-78), will ultimately be determined by each

individual reader. The poem thus speaks to what Annabel Patterson identifies as Marvell's particular interest in the difficulties of producing public iconography.

As Donald Friedman observes, Marvell demands that his reader "see" the object of his poetry, more frequently than any of the poets with whom he is usually compared. Friedman notes that Marvell frequently turns the reader's attention away from the speaker of his poetry and towards an artistic display, thereby challenging the reader to examine his own preconceptions about how he sees the object/ subject (313). In the elegy, the reader is indeed, forced to consider the relationship between his understanding of Cromwell's historical importance and the image of Cromwell appearing before his eyes. Just as death alters the physical appearance of Cromwell, so does it affect the reader's interpretation of Cromwell's legacy. The change in perspective is highlighted by way of a comparison, previously alluded to in the *Ode*, between Cromwell and an oak tree.⁵⁵ The image now appears through the perspective afforded by Cromwell's death:

Not much unlike the sacred oak, which shoots
To Heav'n its branches, and through earth its roots;
Whose spacious boughs are hung with trophies round,
And honour'd wreaths have oft the victor crown'd.

* * * * *

The tree ere while foreshortned to our view,
When fall'n shews taller yet than as it grew:
So shall his praise to after times encrease,
When truth shall be allow'd, and faction cease,
And his own shadows with him fall....

(261-64; 269-73)

The painterly technique of perspective is represented here as both potentially deceptive and insightful. The original foreshortening is misleading with regard to Cromwell's stature, but the observer can use his knowledge of perspective to make the appropriate corrections. The eye, Marvell explains, adheres to the laws of perspective too readily, and a conscious mental

effort is required to account for the distorting effect: "the eye/ Detracts from objects than itself more high:/ But when death takes them from that env'd state,/ Seeing how little we confess, how greate" (273-77). The scientific exactness that could be achieved with perspective painting in the age of the new science was not without its paradoxes. Marvell was aware, as Donald Friedman has shown, of the discrepancy between perspective painting and contemporary discoveries in optics, which proved that the image reflected on the eye was in fact a mirror image of the object in the outside world. Given the newfound correlation between the inside of the mind and external reality, admirers of art must have wondered how it is that the same object can appear so differently from different perspectives. In the elegy, of course, Marvell is interested in praising contradictory aspects of Cromwell's character, the gentleness and magnanimity of Cromwell, alongside his military prowess: "What prudence more than humane did he need/ to keep so deare, so differing minds agreed?" (217-18). By using the metaphor of painterly perspective, Marvell provides the reader with knowledge of the differing aspects of Cromwell's character, and with a means of uniting those features within a single object/ subject.

Fairfax is also admired for combining dissimilar features: "Nature joined dissimilar things under one master" (*Epigram on Two Mountains*, 14). Like Cromwell, Fairfax possesses qualities of both the Hortulan Saint and the Roman warrior, and how well he balances these contrasting features is once again left to the reader's discretion. Fairfax ostensibly bridges the two by carrying on the "sport" (285) of husbandry initiated by his ancestors at Nunappleton, tending to the "imaginary Forts" of his garden instead of to England's actual "cinque ports" (349-50). The precise effect that Fairfax's horticultural "Bastions" have upon English history is, however, described in very ambiguous terms. As

Patsy Griffin explains, it is impossible to determine whether the "sight" that defeats the autocratic forces of prelacy in stanza XLVI belongs to Fairfax, the narrator, or to the reader:

The sight does from these Bastions ply,
Th'invisible Artillery;
And at proud Cawood Castle seems
To point the Battery of its Beams.
As if it quarrell'd in the Seat
Th'Ambition of its Prelate great.
But ore the Meads below it plays,
Or innocently seems to gaze.

In a poem where visual acuity is a crucial means of discernment and the eye a model of virtue - "where not one object can come nigh/ But pure, and spotless as the Eye" (725-26) - such an emphasis upon the subjectivity of vision is a significant deference to the reader's response.

This acquiescence of authority provides an appropriate transition to the meadow "scene," where the narrator is least in control of the narrative. Both the natural and social elements represented on the Meadow are in constant flux: Grasshoppers - a traditional symbol for Cavalier soldiers - appear as giants; the lowly mowers "dive" through the meadow and "bring up Flow'rs so to...prove they've at the Bottom been" (st. XLVII), thereby effecting a social revolution; next, the mowers take "command" of the meadow with a warlike demeanour that echoes both biblical and Roman histories, massacring the grass as though it were flesh, while simultaneously acting out pastoral rituals; this confusing scene is repainted according to the artistic principles of William Davenant, whose "Universal Heard" (456) is made the focal point of yet another 'tromp l'oeil'.⁵⁶ The chaotic intransigence of things on the meadow subverts the narrator's attempts to impose even a theatrical-like progression of order through a series of tableaux. Instead, the "Engines strange" (385) of the poet's own art create a series of images, identified by Rosalie Colie as anamorphic and

catopric images, that highlight the theme of deformation. The reader, Colie notes, is required to exert a mental effort to bring things into focus. The task is complicated by the complexity of the historical resonance that the images contains. The dispersing of the grasshoppers apparently achieved by the actions of the mowers and the Levellers provides a fairly straightforward allusion to the recent civil wars: the cavalier soldiers are overcome by the self-empowered forces of the new model army. To some extent the biblical imagery, especially the Israelite comparison, can be fitted to this interpretation, since the Independents frequently presented themselves as God's chosen people. That association though, is troubled by the outcry of Thestylis, a stock figure from pastoral poetry, who speaks out to question the poet's diction: "he call'd us Israelites" (406). The supposed identity amongst the Israelite, Roman, and Puritan figures is further troubled by the fact that the pastoral-like activities on the meadow fail to produce the appropriate fruits: "When at their Dances End they kiss,/ Their new-made Hay not sweeter is" (431-32). The fluidity of the visual imagery, and the difficulty of fitting it to historical reality is emblematic of the mental processes required to comprehend Fairfax's situation.

Unclear and distorted visual images within Marvell's iconography signify the difficulty of representing figures who portend a reintegration of classical otium with Puritan values, the military mentality of the New Model Army, and the exactness of the New Science. Attempts to communicate the spiritual revival that Cromwell and Fairfax foreshadow are hindered by the apparent contradictions of the diverse elements they combine. One means of allowing the reader to accommodate for these distortions is to use an emblematic structure. Emblems served as a focal point for the *Ut Picura Poesis* debate as it was played out in Europe during the Renaissance, and therefore, provided a context in

which to consider the cause of visual anomalies. Unlike symbols, emblems require a continuous negotiation of the relationship between the object and that which it signifies, and thus, permit the reader more influence in the act of interpretation. As Ruth Wallerstein observes, emblem poems are like "meditative exercises, useful in fixing true opinion upon the imagination" (164). The process results in a Gothic style in the Cromwell and Fairfax poems, not only because it permits the reader to combine the Roman qualities of these figures with the Puritan-warrior-saint attributes that they possess, but because it is a process that depends entirely upon the individual imagination and cannot be strictly regulated. Lord Shaftesbury thus complained that the emblems of the 17th century were "magical, mystical, monkish, and Gothic" (in Freeman 17).

Marvell was fully aware of the anomalies that emblems were prone to produce, and he draws attention to the distorting effect when he moves from surveying the gardens at Nunappleton to the meadows. The previous garden scene is completed with an emblem that neatly ties Fairfax's conscientious retirement to the religiosity of his ancestors: "Conscience, that Heaven-nursed Plant...Flowers eternal, and divine,/ That in the Crowns of Saints do shine" (355;359-60). Upon turning to events that resonate with more recent history, though, the efficacy of Fairfax's husbandry becomes less certain. The "sight" afforded by Fairfax's "bastions" must, therefore, "play" over the sea-like meadow:

And now to the Abyss I pass
Of that unfathomable Grass,
Where Men like Grashoppers appear,
But Grashoppers are Gyants there:
They, in there squeeking Laugh, contemn
Us as we walk more low then them:
And, from the Precipices tall
Of the green spir's, to us do call. (st. XLVII)

Social interaction is chaotic here, and discerning the influence of a particular group, let alone an individual, is nearly impossible. Marvell's contemporaries did use grasshoppers to signify a particular group - cavalier soldiers⁵⁷ - but the iconic representation is so distorted here that the insects are barely recognizable. An allusion to the grasshoppers appearing in Numbers (13:33) has, nonetheless, been acknowledged (Margoliouth 285). Interestingly enough, the designation of grasshopper status in the biblical text is dependent upon a shared perspective: "and we were in our own sight as grasshopper, and so we were in their sight". Yet another allusion, to which visual art theory is even more significant, has been identified in Alciati's emblem, "Nothing left" (Allen 135). Alciati builds upon a common analogy, dating back to an ancient Greek poet, by using the image of grasshoppers to illustrate the destructiveness of a military invasion (see fig. One). Marvell's "giant" grasshoppers indicate an obviously exaggerated significance attached to the efficacy of these figures. The distortion may also reflect, however, the difficulty encountered by the poet in his attempt to represent recent historical events by way of an emblem.⁵⁸

As is generally true in Marvell's poetry, so too do the aesthetic issues here have political significance. One of the more disturbing effects caused by the visual anomaly is the politically threatening image of the contemptuous grasshoppers, looming over the figures on the meadow.⁵⁹ The sense of hopelessness associated with the physical plight of Alciati's farmers is transformed, here, into a socio-political situation. The "we" vs. "them," "low" vs. "tall" polarities of stanza 48 suggests frustration over a rigid class structure that gives the grasshoppers an apparent advantage on the battlefields of the meadow. Hope is restored, when the meadow is metaphorically flooded and the social hierarchy dissolved: "Men through this Meadow Dive" to "rise alive" and empowered, bringing up "Flow'rs so to be

seen./ And prove they've at the Bottom been" (st. XLVIII). The fluidity of the landscape has spiritual meaning, as well as political and aesthetic importance.

Geoffrey Hartman has demonstrated the thematic significance of Christian Hope within Marvell's poetry, especially in its emblematic representations.⁶⁰ As Hartman notes, the reference to the "Flesh untimely mow'd" in stanza 50 alludes to the biblical idiom that "all flesh is grass" (Isa. 40.6), but the proleptic 'massacring' of the grass suggests the inversion of the biblical text, i.e. 'all grass is flesh'. The suggested union of the bodies of man and nature provides an emblem of hope. According to Hartman, this is a specific form of emblem - the rebus - which Marshall Grossman (1988) has shown to be particularly relevant to the treatment of Fairfax's retirement in *Appleton House*. The rebus, Grossman explains, invites the reader to reinterpret the text of a poem in light of a secondary spiritual text, that glosses the imagery of the poem. The process thus mimics the eschatological pattern of interpretation, deferring the meaning of a given image until it is restored to the entire narrative, with consideration for both past (history) and future (prophecy). The killing of the rail in stanza 50, for example, appears at first to provide an instance of one of the sacrificial victims of the civil wars. When the biblical saying - "all flesh is grass" - is recalled and the image is rethought, though, the reader recognizes the mowers' swinging scythe and its innocent victim to constitute an emblem of hope, which promises the redemption of man through the body of nature. This comforting synthesis of history and Christian hope is reinforced by the prior comparison of the mowers to Israelites (389).

Thestylis' outcry in the following stanza, however, creates doubt over the ostensible beneficence of the mowers' actions, doubt about the validity the emblematic hope. Rosalie Colie has noted that Thestylis' speech draws attention away from the tragedy of the rail,

away from the victims of the civil wars, and forces the narrator to return to the biblical imagery (213). Consequently, the reader is bombarded with diffracted images of the rail, as the narrator attempts "to make his saying true," and alters biblical prophecy so that "Rails rain for Quails" (408-09). The emblem of hope that the narrator had built up around the rail is quickly transformed into a nightmarish reminder of the blood shed during the civil wars. The reader is, in turn, forced to reconsider the validity of the mower-Israelite comparison, to question the religious dimension of the Independents' actions. Such considerations reflect the decisions that Fairfax was facing when asked to defend the Independent cause from a possible Presbyterian invasion (see p.22). If the civil wars cannot be so easily fitted to providence, as first appeared possible, then perhaps retirement from the political sphere is justifiable. The narrator raises this possibility when he asks where the "Unhappy Birds" of the meadow can find refuge:

Unhappy Birds! What does it boot
 To build below the Grasses Root;
 When Lowness is unsafe as Hight,
 And Chance o'retakes what scapeth spight?
 (409-12)

By seeking refuge for these "birds," whose sacrifice was previously a means of achieving redemption, the narrator exposes the extent to which he had been misled by the emblems of his own art. The distorted imagery and shifting perspectives of the meadow scene help to bridge the gap between the perspectives of narrator, reader and subject.

On the literal level of the narrative, the narrator avoids deliberating upon Fairfax's retirement by retreating into the woods of Nunappleton: "Let other tell the Paradox..." (473). His encampment in the "green ark" of the woods, however, serves as somewhat of a foil for the type of retirement that Fairfax may have been dangerously pursuing.⁶¹ In his

endeavour to find "sanctuary" (482) within the "growing ark" (484) of Nunappleton, the narrator adopts a very narrow, eschatological perception, attempting to find redemption by literally becoming one with nature. Assuming the role of "easie Philosopher," (561) he claims the mystical powers associated with Hermes Trismegistus, the ability to "confer" (562) with the "Fowles" and "Plants" (564) of the created world. Echoes of Milton's melancholy narrator from *Il Penseroso* resonate most strongly at this point:⁶²

Or let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely tower,
Where I may oft outwatch the Bear,
With thrice-great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato to unfold
What words or what vast regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshy nook. (85-92)

Where Milton's melancholy narrator finds philosophical and spiritual fulfillment, though, Marvell's narrator discovers only a poor copy of universal knowledge. The solipsism of the narrator's Hermetic practices is revealed when he haphazardly applies an eschatological framework to his emblematic conception of nature:

Out of these scatter'd Sibyls Leaves
Strange Prophecies my Phancy weaves:
And in one History consumes,
Like Mexique Paintings, all the Plumes.
What Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said
I in this light Mosaick read.
Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
Hath read in Natures mystick Book.
(St. LXXIII)

Despite the seeming freedom of the narrator's imagination, his fancy is, in fact, restricted by the eschatological tenants of Neo-Platonism. The stanza parodies Hermetic mysticism by revealing the contradictory nature of a claim to universal knowledge that is achieved by way of a "light Mosaick," and by emphasizing the possibility of misinterpreting Nature's

mystick/ mistook Book'. The poet's erroneous ways are revealed in part through his emblematic interpretation of the natural world. The nightingale, the stock-doves, the stork-like heron, the "hewel" and the inverted tree are all conceived by the narrator as emblems with specific, fixed meanings about the proper order of domestic life.⁶³ His supposed mastery of "Natures mystick Book" also parodies the methods of contemporary natural philosophers, many of whom believed that when studied in this way, the created world provided spiritual enlightenment.⁶⁴ The narrator's failure to achieve self-enlightenment in the woods exposes his emblematic reading of nature to be an inadequate means of achieving redemption. The absurdity of his methods becomes obvious when the spiritual euphoria he claims takes on masochistic and onanistic overtones: he asks to be bound, tied, chained, nailed, and staked down, so that he "may never leave this place," and although the meadow subsequently appears "fresher" and "moister," "no serpent new...Remains behind" (st. LXXVII-LXXIX).⁶⁵

The self-assured tone of the "easie philosopher" is undermined by the narrator's failure to discover a sanctuary that is anything more than an escapist fantasy. And, as in any fantasy, the danger of losing one self is prevalent. It is extremely difficult, as Rosalie Colie has noted, to distinguish in the woodland scene between the "I" of the narrator, the objective "Eye" (497) that surveys the landscape, and the "Thrustles shining Eye" (532), to distinguish between the narrator as presenter, as spectator, and as actor (267). As he descends passively into the natural world, the narrator neglects the crucial issue of how art and nature should be reconciled with universal design, how to adapt action and/ or contemplation to providence. Instead of attempting to account for the uniqueness of the perspective afforded at Nunappleton, he subjects his imagination to the prescriptions of his emblematic perception,

and allows himself to be "embroyder[ed]" by his own "mask," metamorphosed by his own emblem:

And see how Chance's better Wit
 Could with a Mask my studies hit!
 The Oak-Leaves me embroyder all,
 Between which Caterpillars crawl:
 And Ivy, with familiar trails,
 Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hales.
 Under this antick Cope I move
 Like some great Prelate of the Grove.
 (st. LXXIII)

The poet is thus subjected to his own "prelate"-like zealousness, in the same manner that the hypocritical nuns "restrain the world without"(99).⁶⁶ Both the deceptive arts of the nuns and the transparently erroneous interpretations of the encamped poet threaten to contain individuals within their own artificial constructs. Both systems of artifice prove sterile and barren in contrast to the fecundity of Fairfax's practices.⁶⁷ Like the sycophantic arts of the nuns ("And that which perisht while we pull/ 'Is thus preserved clear and full" (175-76)), the Hermetic practices of the poet lull him into a false sense of ontological security: "How safe, methinks, and strong, behind/ These Trees I have incamp'd my Mind" (601-02).

The narrator is, of course, shocked out of his moral and physical lethargy by the ghostly perambulations of Maria, and her awesome affect upon the natural world:

But now away my Hooks, my Quills,
 And Angles, idle Utensils.
 The young Maria walks to night:
 * * * * *
 See how loose Nature, in respect
 To her, it self doth recollect;
 * * * * *
 The modest Halcyon comes in sight,
 Flying betwixt the Day and Night;
 And such an horror calm and dumb,
 Admiring Nature does benum.
 (649-50;657-58;669-72)

Only Maria possesses the power to make Nature "recollect" itself to the principles of Art displayed at Nunappleton ("Nothing could make the River be/ So Chrystal-pure but only she" (693-94)), and so, only she can denote Fairfax's praiseworthy combination of contemplation and action. The clarity of vision that she brings to the "lesser World" of Nunappleton has repercussions for how the narrator sees himself: by praising the virtues (purity, straightness, fairness, etc.) that she brings to this microcosm, he situates himself within the macrocosm of worldly politics. Maria's virtues are English Protestant virtues. She is the cynosure of native culture. She "counts" (708) her beauty in terms of the intellect that enables her to speak "all the Languages as hers," (708) to subsume all languages under the banner of "Heaven's dialect" (712).⁶⁸ The destiny that is ensured by the Fairfax's provision for their daughters' education and their decision to cede the estate to their daughter, is the fulfillment of the providential plan that will ostensibly return England to its pre-lapsarian garden status (st. XLI). By adapting his role to praise the superior wisdom of Maria, the narrator is emphasizing the decisive function of his patrons in defending England from tyranny, i.e. Thomas' continuation of the providential pattern initiated by William Fairfax's rescue of Isabel Thwaites.

Marshal Grossman (1988) explains how the poet's amphibian-like mediation between diachronic experience and providential, synchronic design, pictorial description and verbal explanation, dramatizes a realization that the self is both a participant in and a product of language and history. The distinction between the poet of the poem and the poet in the poem, Grossman argues, signifies an awareness of the need to participate in the creation of a structure that forms the self but does not contain the self (205-06). One of the implications of the discovery that subject-hood can both create and be created by literary experience is

the reader's awareness that Fairfax too is an entity whose characteristics cannot be presented as objective reality. Sincere praise of Fairfax's response to the demands placed upon him during the civil wars is therefore, most effectively achieved by placing the reader in an analogous situation. Through the use of perspective, and emblems, Marvell defers his praise to the response of the reader.

The same method of praise can be found in the Cromwell poems. The ambiguity of the final lines of the *Ode* has been discussed in terms of casuistry (p.16), and in terms of Machiavellian iconography and ambivalent classical associations (p.42). What was not previously mentioned, though, is that the conflicting connotations of Cromwell's "erect Sword" (a harbinger of military dictatorship, and/or of peace enjoyed under an expansionist imperial leader) correlates with contemporary emblems of swords. Bruce Lawson has noted how one particular emblem (see fig. Two), contributed to a cultural context in which Cromwell was critiqued for the machiavellian traits reflected in his motto - "Let peace be won through war" (in Lawson 67). The emblem, indeed, presents the sword as a necessary instrument of both war and peace, a necessary "double-guard" (15) that should not be discarded despite its frightening effects: "Let not the Sword-man sleight the pow'rfull Gowne;/ Nor Gowne-men cast the sword out of their Towne,/ Because it terrifies, or draweth Blood" (17-19). The conceit echoes Marvell's reminder to Cromwell that, as the son of "Wars and Fourtunes," (113) he must keep his "sword erect" (116) because of its power to "fright/ The Spirits of the shady Night" (117-18). Whether Cromwell's sword will function merely as a symbol - invoking fear in the Presbyterians and their kindred spirits - or as an actual device of military force is undetermined by the poet. The reader is exposed to

both possibilities through the emblematic presentation. The significance of Cromwell's sword is thus left to the discretion of the reader.

Similarly, we have noted that in the *Anniversary* ambivalence about Cromwell's protectorate government is displayed in the image of a Gothic cathedral (p. 37-8). The soundness of the structure, which balances "crossest spirits" (89) into a united "Commonwealth" (87), depends upon Cromwell's keystone function: "The Fabrick as with Arches stronger binds,/ Which on the Basis of Senate free,/ Knit by the Roofs Protecting weight agree" (96-8). John Wallace recognizes an allusion here to contemporary emblems that represented monarchist versions of mixed state theory by comparing sovereignty to the role of the keystone (117).⁶⁹ The extent to which Cromwell's protectorate manifests the harmony of an ideal mixed-state is thus dependent upon the reader's understanding of such emblems.

The poet of the *Anniversary* highlights the influence of the pictorial medium upon interpretations of Cromwell when he uses his "skilful looms" to weave a tapestry depicting Cromwell's nearly fatal accident in Hyde Park. The luminosity of the tapestry affects the reader's perception of the incident, and the way that Cromwell will be remembered:

Let this one Sorrow interweave among
 The other Glories of our yearly Song.
 Like skilful Looms which through the costly thred
 Of puling Ore, a shining wave do shed:
 So shall the Tears we on past Grief employ,
 Still as they trickle, glitter in our Joy.
 So with more Modesty we may be True,
 And speak as of the Dead the Praises due.

(181-88)

Veracity is thus an important concern to the poet, and yet, as Annabel Patterson notes, the poet is himself carried away with his own fiction and mistakenly takes Cromwell for dead.⁴⁵

The delusional affects of art impinge upon the poet himself, leaving the reader uncertain of her relationship to the object.

When the coaching incident is recollected again, following the invective against those who rejoice at Cromwell's near fall - the "chammish issue" (293) - the reader is provided with yet another perspective. The populist response to Cromwell's near fall, satirised by the exaggerated trembling of the Quakers and the "falling-sickness" (304) of the Fifth Monarchists, is reduced to bathos when it is compared to the sorrow of "first Man" upon the setting of the sun. The comparison acts as a sort of corrective of the literalism of sectarian hermeneutics. Sectarian ranting as to the portent of Cromwell's fall is represented with a Gothic darkness that underlines their dubious motivations:

So when first Man did through the Morning new
see the bright Sun his shining Race pursue,
All day he follow'd with unwearied sight,
Pleas'd with that other World of moving Light;
But thought him when he miss'd his setting beams,
Sunk in Hills, or plung'd below the Streams.
While dismal blacks hung round the Universe,
And stars (like Tapers) burn'd upon his Herse:
And Owls and Ravens with their screeching noyse
Did make the Fun'ral sadder by their Joyes.
His weeping Eyes the doleful Vigils keep,
Not knowing yet the Night was made for sleep.

(325-36)

By misreading the book of nature, taking the setting of the sun to signify death, and by revelling in an inappropriate funeral ceremony, the sectarians reveal the morbid nature of their religion. From this point of view, indeed, "their Religion only is to fall" (302). The Gothic elements of the passage, "the dismal blacks hung round the Universe" and the "screeching noyse" of owls and ravens, serve as the basis for a hyperbole that reduces

sectarian sanctity to the level of the bathetic. Once again the historical incident of the equestrian mishap is reformed by a specific aesthetic perspective.

These satiric lines also echo another important historical event, and show how it too is subject to popular reception. Patsy Griffin notes an undeniable resonance between Marvell's satire and the prophecies made in the *Eikon Basilike* for the revival of Charles' reputation: "like the sun (after owls and bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times [it shall] rise and recover itself to such a degree of splendour as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold..." (in Griffin 131). The incident thus satirises the proposed revival of royalist support. His satiric images provide an alternative interpretation of history from that found in *Eikon Basilike*. By creating this alternative from a revision of his own imagery, Marvell provides a demonstration of how the imagination and literary imagery affect the recording of history.

Chapter Two

"In Quick Effigy:" Admonishing Imagery in *The Last Instructions*

Despite the thoroughness with which *The Last Instructions to a Painter* has been studied, some difficulties remain with regard to apparent conflicts between the aesthetic principles of the poem and its politics.¹ It is the purpose of this chapter to suggest that the poem is itself a heuristic, through which Marvell scrutinizes and reconfigures his politics. Marvell's use of the 'advice to a painter' genre, in satirical imitation of Edmund Waller's *Instructions to a Painter*, provides a series of grotesque, admonishing images. His playful adaptation of the 'Ut Pictura Poesis' tradition allows Marvell to suggest that corruption within the state administration is, in fact, perpetuated by the flawed artistic principles favored at court.² Marvell's grotesque portraits are disturbing, I want to suggest, because they threaten to take on a life of their own in their determination of state policy.³ In one sense, I shall argue, Marvell's poem is a satirical exaggeration of Waller's observation that "Fury and art produce effects so strange,/ They trouble nature and her visage change" (119-20). By conceiving of Marvell's grotesque imagery as part of a larger Gothic discourse, entailing the uncanny and various configurations of national identity, it is possible to outline a satirical structure that allows Marvell to render party distinctions problematic in order to clear a space for the expression of an individual conscience – his and ours.

Like the "antique Masters" (9) invoked in the poem, Marvell uses satire to address matters too delicate for other forms of commentary, namely the causal connection between the sexual perversity of court and the susceptibility of England to foreign intrigue.⁴ And like the ancient masters of satire, Marvell exposes elements of truth within a series of seemingly

preposterous accusations. He also follows the traditional view that satire is a means of alleviating social ills.⁵ The poem provides the king with a visual aid, explicitly compared to contemporary inventions within optics, and designed to put the corruption at court in perspective:

So his bold tube, Man, to the Sun apply'd,
 And Spots unknown to the bright Star descry'd;
 Show'd they obscure him, while too near they please,
 And seems his Courtiers, are but his disease. (949-52)

The optical devices of the new science can be deceiving though: the speaker of the house is reduced to the status of a "Louse" (18) at the beginning of the poem, where a microscope is required to determine his significance, but the telescope alluded to in the envoy reveals that "scratching Courtiers undermine a Realm" (978). Annabel Patterson shows, moreover, that Marvell's use of the 'Ut Pictura Poesis' tradition demonstrates an awareness of the precarious relationship between art and reality, iconography and its historical figure, and of the need to sometimes distort imagery in order to get at some truth.⁶

What I propose to be the Gothic element within Marvell's poetics will, therefore, be examined in relation to the poet's apparent interest in perspective. Specifically, I shall examine Marvell's poetics as a corrective discourse, a means of adjusting normative ways of perceiving.⁷ Within this theoretical framework, the literary Gothic can be conceived as an indeterminate mixture of varying genres and styles, in which attention is drawn to the mediated quality of a fiction, by including elements of the fantastic, or the marvelous. Such elements provide cause for hesitation with regard to the cohesiveness of the fiction: are the laws governing the fiction cohesive, or are they interrupted by aspects of folklore, legend, myth, superstition, the supernatural, etc.?

Marvell's sophisticated use of the 'Ut Pictura Poesis' tradition, of course, speaks to his interest in alternative methods of perception. His visual records of the scandalous events surrounding the Second Dutch War are, moreover, full of examples of the marvelous, where historical events disrupt the decorum associated with Restoration court portraiture.⁸ The narration of the *Third Advice*, for example, is commandeered by an enchanted "Presbyterian Sibyl" (200), the Duchess of Albermarle, who uses an embroidered image – "worthy to be had it momento mori," (194) to level accusations against the British naval commissioners. In the *Last Instructions*, parliamentary debate is disrupted by the unnatural birth of the monstrous Excise, who threatens to 'waste' the entire nation. When the court members have subsequently relaxed to "new Sports," (374) they are disturbed by the innocuous (because seemingly amorous) invasion of Du Ruyter. Archibald Douglas' heroic death is, likewise, at odds with the surrounding imagery of war and rape. Perhaps the most obviously marvelous imagery, though, is the "ghastly" (921) imagery of the king's nighttime musing upon "th' uneasie Throne" (898). These last three examples are particularly relevant to my argument about the poet's use of the Gothic as an heuristic, because they immediately precede depictions of the impeachment proceedings against Peter Pett and Edward Hyde, and provide reason – by way of disturbing imagery - to hesitate over attributing blame for all political ills to these two individuals. They provide an opportunity to question the relationship between the aesthetic principles of the poet's painter, i.e. those guiding court conduct, and the political principles guiding state policy, as well as how these two sets of principles mutually affect individuals.

The relationship between the pictorial and the political was especially relevant to the climate of the Anglo-Dutch wars. Political cartoons and pictures played a significant role in

the nationalist propaganda of both factions. Marvell's own *Character of Holland*, probably published in 1653 during the First Dutch War, (Margoliouth 309) relies heavily upon stereotypical imagery of the Dutch. The circulation of satirical Dutch "pictures" was later cited in Henry Stubbes' *Justification of the Present War Against the United Netherlands* (1672) as a major source of English discontent, and Marvell commented mockingly on this pattern of events in *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (Patterson 1978 124). In *The Last Instructions* Marvell examines the absurdities that result when the influence of visual imagery upon politics is taken to the extreme. The satirical mode helps Marvell, to some extent, fulfill his own civic duties. In October 1665, and again in February 1667/8 Marvell was assigned to committees created to investigate the apparent "miscarriages of war" (*JHC*, VIII,621 & IX,4). It is in this context of suspicion, where demands for inquiries into "miscarriages of war," "abuse in paying seamen by tickets," the abuse of a monopoly on Irish cattle, and various other scandals were forced by growing party factionalism and the need to lay blame on scapegoats, that Marvell had to balance his interest in ensuring public accountability with his desire to protect individual conscience.⁹ By presenting the actions of corrupt court members as the product of a demonic art form, Marvell leaves some space for question with regard to their accountability. As he would later argue in *An Account*, individuals turn "tenants for their souls," when they are forced to act according to "Pictures, Images, and Reliques, Incredible miracles and palpable Fables" (252).

The reader of *The Last Instructions* is prepared to scrutinize the relationship between aesthetic principles and political policies with an introductory set of general instructions to the poet's painter. "Our Lady State" (1) is apparently best depicted by way of the 'B-grade'

art forms humorously delineated and deconstructed in these opening lines. With the ostensible goal of finding an art form that is low enough to detail the transgressions of court members – “But if to match our Crimes thy skill presumes,...” (13) – the poet goes so far as to suggest that no art at all is required.¹⁰ The introductory advice concludes with an allusion to Pliny’s story of the artistic difficulties encountered by Protogenes, who lashed out at his canvass in a fit of rage, coincidentally completing the portrait of his dog that had been causing him grief. The poet suggests that his painter may likewise “perfect” his portrait of state with “a lucky blow” (cf. ll. 21-28).

The idea that verisimilitude is sometimes attained through deviant art forms is suggested again with another Plinian allusion, at the end of the first triptych of portraits. Lady Castlemaine, the sometimes mistress to the king, is identified with Campaspe, the slave girl who modeled for Apelles, and who was eventually given to the artist as a gift from the Emperor, Alexander. According to Pliny, though, Apelles had first become enamoured with Campaspe, and marred his own works out of fear that his model would be taken away from him.¹¹ By casting Castlemaine as Campaspe, with his painter as Apelles, and presumably Charles as Alexander, the poet implies that his painter will have to mar his own work in order to represent Castlemaine’s character: “Ah Painter, now could Alexander live./ And this Campaspe thee Apelles give!” (103-04). Yet, it is precisely because of the painter’s already grotesque image of Castlemaine that the allusion comes to light. With the shameful spectacle of Castlemaine’s recent love affair with Henry Jermyn in the foreground (ll. 81-102), the allusion to Pliny’s story provides a warning to the painter of the further deleterious effects upon his work, should he become enamoured with his model. Shades of Pygmalion loom in the background. The allusion shows how the artist is susceptible to court politics

and how those politics are shaped by court artists, the interconnection between the aesthetics and politics, and thus provides an appropriate segue into the parliamentary debate over the excise.

Echoes of the Pygmalion story are sounded again, though with more of a demonic twist, in the account of origins concerning the “E”xcise (ll. 131-46). The love of the mythical artist for his creation is taken to shamefully excessive proportions when John Birch is accused of incestuously fathering a proposal for the increase of the sales tax that he helped to administer:

Black Birch, of all the Earth-born race most hot,
And most rapacious, like himself begot.
And, of his Brat enamour'd, as't increast,
Bugger'd in Incest with the mungrel Beast. (143-46)

The incident provides a well known allusion to Satan's incestuous encounter with Sin and the begetting of Death in book II (cf. ll. 648-814) of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Margoliouth 354). Linda Gregerson finds a Pygmalion-type lust within Satan's “spectacle of shameful inbreeding,” (205) which she interprets as the uncanny embodiment of imperialist rhetoric. Gregerson's analysis is insightful with respect to Marvell's poem, given Marvell's allusion to Milton and because Gregerson explains the uncanny aspects of the Satan, Sin and Death episode in terms of the larger Renaissance notion of the ‘unkind’.

The monstrous Excise provides members of the Court Party with an unpleasant reminder of their limited power, in much the same way that Milton's allegorical figures constitute an uncanny reminder of Satan's limitations. As Gregerson says of Milton's Death, so can the Excise be described as “a symbol run amuk”(208). According to Gregerson, Sin and Death are examples of the Freudian double, imaginative offspring of “unbounded subjectivity” (202). The uncanny quality of the Satan, Sin and Death episode, Gregerson

argues, derives from a misreading of the natural order, which produces ‘unkind’ progeny and family rivalry. This form of miss-reading entails a “phobic gendering” (207) of the female body, where the malady of self-alienation is linked to the female genitals, and their ‘unkind’ progeny.¹² Although Marvell does not foreshadow the Freudian version of the uncanny in the same way that Milton does, he does use the monstrous Excise to link together various ‘unkind’ figures, who threaten state power by virtue of their relation to abnormal births.¹³

Even before its birth, the Excise takes on a life of its own and grows beyond the apparent intentions of its parents, thereby making the moment of parturition violent: “Excise, a Monster worse than e’re before/ Frighted the Midwife, and the Mother tore” (131-32). The violent birth resonates with the unnatural birthing imagery surrounding Anne Hyde, the Duchess of York. Her ‘poisonous’ concoctions are blamed for deflowering nature and inducing abortive births: “Ye neighb’ring Elms, that your green leaves did shed,/ And Fawns, that from the womb abortive fled” (71-72). Her own children, at least according to one possible emendation for “her glassen D—s,” are presented as fragile, sickly figures whose untimely deaths were caused by the Duchess’ mutilation of her own body:¹⁴

She perfected that Engine, oft assay’d,
 How after Childbirth to renew a Maid.
 And found how Royal Heirs might be matur’d,
 In fewer months than Mothers once endur’d.
 * * * *
 Happy’st of Women, if she were but able
 To make her glassen D—s once malleable! (53-6;59-60)

Unable to transform her fragile, “glassen Dukes” into sustainable flesh, the Duchess’ political ambitions are frustrated. The incident also supports the series of attacks in the poem on Edward Hyde, who was widely disliked for his close (overly ‘kind’) association with the

king and accused of scheming to assume the throne by marrying his daughter to the Duke of York. The attack, of course, is made through the body of Anne Hyde, which becomes an uncanny sign for the sterility of power that is self-perpetuated. The destructive aspects of self-proliferation extend beyond the sexual and the political spheres and into the natural world where time itself is “redoubled”. Unnatural birthing imagery appears again when the other “monster” of the poem, the day marking the English defeat at Chatham, ‘devours’ itself and is replaced by an incestuously begot temporal sequence: “And constant Time, to keep his course yet right,/ Fill up thy space with a redoubled Night” (741-42).

In this universe where ‘unkind’ relations forewarn the incestuous multiplication of absolute power, the Excise is a sign of court absolutism replicating beyond control. The likelihood that a general tax would grow uncontrollably and would not be easily brought down again was, according to Samuel Pepys, the main reason for the Country Party’s opposition (Margoliouth 361). Its monstrous growth is matched by an insatiable appetite to fill its supposed multiple stomachs:

A thousand Hands she has and thousand Eyes,
Breaks into Shops, and into Cellars prys.
With hundred rows of Teeth the Shark exceeds,
And on all Trade like Casawar she feeds:
Chops off the piece where e’re she close the Jaw,
Else swallows all down her indented maw.
* * * *
She wastes the Country and on Cities preys. (133-38;141)

In its monstrous form the Excise expresses the fear of the Country Party regarding the potential limitless growth of court power.

Its monstrosity, though, is also an indication of the flawed logic of the court constituency, the delusory nature of court supremacy. The Excise is a reflection of the court’s own “Avarice” and “Luxury,” and it exposes the erroneous assumption that “such a

court” will be able to even “defray” its cost (cf. ll. 128-130). Although its ‘increase’ is sparked by court initiative, the uncanny associations entailed – the enervating effects of self-proliferation – serve to further “Country’s cause” (290). The battle over the excise, of course, has important implications for the entire nation, and a series of unequal dichotomies built around the court/ country divide, suggest that a successful, country-led resistance of the excise would constitute a nationalist victory. The uncanny associations of the excise reinforce this system, but the admonishing imagery of poem, of which the monstrous Excise is also a part, serves to undermine such a configuration of national identity.

The monstrous growth of the Excise is a product of Court Party activities and it reflects the hierarchical authority structure of the party. Authority is rendered here as an absolute entity, with individual party members possessing dominion over one area of government, by way of political office: “Denham” first leads the party “by one consent,” until “Ashburnham” executes a coup, and is in turn routed by “Steward;” “Wood” “commands” the “daming Cowards;” “Fox” “commands” because he “pays”; and the list goes on. There is no provision for sharing power: “Sir Frederick and Sir Salomon draw Lotts/ For the command of Politicks or Sotts” (199-200). Nor is there much room for discussion or negotiation in this model: “They feign a party” (232). By contrast, the Country Party lacks any centralized authority: “th’other side all in loose Quarters lay, / Without Intelligence, Command or Pay” (239-40). Despite the apparent imbalance, the Country Party is successful in routing the Excise, and the poet equates the Country victory with providence (cf. ll. 37-38).

Aside from the overt political implications of the country victory and the poet’s declared allegiance, the episode has significant aesthetic connotations. Although the Country

Party lacks the institutional organization found in the Court Party, its members act in a graceful, harmonious, and honourable manner that suggests a shared value system:

A Gross of English Gentry, nobly born,
Of Clear Estates, and to no Faction sworn;
Dear Lovers of their King, and Death to meet,
For Country's cause, that Glorious think and sweet:
To speak not forward, but in Action brave;
In giving Gen'rous, but in Counsel Grave;
Candidly credulous for once, nay twice
But sure the Devil cannot cheat them thrice. (287-94)

Aristocratic birth seems to provide an almost innate bond amongst these party members, expressed through their adherence to a chivalric code of conduct. They act according to a principle of unity in diversity that distinguishes them from the singular nature of the Court members.¹⁵ Members from both groups fight for a communal cause, but the gentry use private initiative while restricting their personal interests, whereas the Court members fill positions of public office with their personality. While the Court members act on behalf of sovereign authority, some of them serving as "Plenipotentiary Ambassadors," (452) the gentry act with the honour derived from their "free born" status (i.e. owners of estates). In short, the dichotomy between court and country corresponds to the political distinction between autocracy and aristocracy, and to an aesthetic dichotomy between epic and romance. The autocracy of court implies an identity between sovereign authority and a sanctioned poetics – the values of epic, whereas the aristocracy of country is coloured with chivalric honour and the values of romance.¹⁶ Court members fulfill the role of braggadocio epic heroes, acting on behalf of God and king, while the English gentry serve the chivalric code of honour and private initiative, "not forward, but in Action brave".¹⁷

The cross-fertilization of political and aesthetic signification, whereby the country gentry receive favourable representation, is supported by a system of sexual metaphors that

Barbara Riebling has outlined. Riebling shows how in the battle over the excise, the Country Party is presented as the superior force by virtue of the potency of its members, in contrast to the debauched court members. When party conflict first arises the court members are caught with their pants down and forced to “In Loyal haste” leave “young Wives in Bed” (153). By contrast, the English gentry direct all their sexual energies towards their chivalric attack on tyranny and defense of English maidens, vis à vis knightly combat. Topical allusions to Edward Seymour’s resistance of illegal patents and Brome Whorwood’s battle with John Mordaunt (the constable of Windsor Castle who abused his power to sexually harass young girls), are marked by phallic spears and castration symbolism:

Then daring Seymour, that with Spear and Shield,
Had strecht the monster Patent on the Field.
Keen Whorwood next, in aid of Damsel frail,
That pierc’ t the Gyant Mordant through his mail. (257-60)

The chivalric actions of these heroes are compared to “Orlando, famous in Romance/ [who] Broach’d whole Brigades like Larks upon his Lance” (275-76). Such blatant symbols of masculinity have strong political overtones, not only with regard to the outcome of the mock-battle, but with regard to the meaning the poem’s warring factions. The Court Party, Riebling explains, is emasculated by the “French” influences introduced by two of its members (cf. ll. 168;214), which serve as a euphemism for “venereal infection, the ‘French disease’” (142). The allusion, naturally, serves to enhance preference for country over court, romance over epic.¹⁸

The choice, according to Richard Helgerson, was one that entailed significant consequences with regard to how the contemporary reader conceived of his national identity. In the literary debate played out in the late sixteenth century, over the relative merits of epic and romance, each genre stood for a whole system of values. Building a series

of unequal dichotomies in which romance was superior to epic, Helgerson argues, constituted a means of resisting absolutism vis a vis “Gothic chivalry”. A preference for romance over epic signaled a belief in the superiority of multiplicity over unity (a “Gross of English gentry” over a series of singular rulers), feudalism over modern absolutism (aristocracy over autocracy), private initiative over public initiative (the “not forward” gentry over the personality of individual court ‘commanders’), and most relevant to my purposes, the marvelous over historical verisimilitude (Helgerson 50-9). The most obvious example of the marvelous within the on-going battle between court and country is, of course, the monstrous growth of the Excise. As a symbol for the dangers of unrestrained debauchery, and of the self-proliferation of absolutism, the monstrous Excise serves the interests of the Country Party, providing an argument to resist all that the court entails. Readers are forced to reconsider the apparent victory of “Countrys cause” (290) over the Excise, though, when the poet admonishes court members for their interest in a similarly “homely” (393) image with his “effigy” (391) of the “Skimmington Ride”.

The distinction between court and country begins to break down immediately following the routing of the excise, when it becomes apparent that the virility of the English gentry is an insufficient defense against the diseases emanating from the corrupt court.¹⁹ Corruption indeed proves more of a historically decisive factor in the poem, than does gentry virtue. The routing of the Excise is only a temporary victory and court power “rebounds” (337) when the two factions agree to a land tax in lieu of a general excise. Political pressure created by the Court Party’s delay “stratagem” (309) is “Bought off with Eighteen hundred thousand pound[s],” (332) and although the gentry are not explicitly implicated in this act their failure to defend England from the subsequent rapacious actions

of court members seems suspect.²⁰ Initially, victory for the Country Party appears to be ensured by the superior sexual potency of its members. Following the venal act that “Bought off” the Court Party, however, England emerges sapped of chivalric honour and the gentry appear unable or unwilling to stop the tyrannical deflowering of the nation:

So the sad Tree shrinks from the Mornings Eye;
 But blooms all Night, and shoots its branches high.
 * * * *
 Now Mordant may, within his Castle Tow'r,
 Imprison Parents, and the Child deflowre. (345-46;349-50)

Attending the weakening of romance values is an inversion of natural and political order: plants flower at night and child molesters are permitted to rule over parents. The lack of restraint associated with the Excise has returned; perhaps the Excise itself has been reborn.

With the final victory of the debauched Court Party (and the possible indictment of the Country gentry), the chivalric battles of romance are replaced by a voyeuristic fascination for deviant sexuality and its “homely” (393) representations. In his account of the “Skimmington Ride,” Marvell creates an “effigy” to chastise court members for their lack of dedication to their nation, their distraction with a spectacular domestic dispute.²¹ Instead of building an intelligence post at the strategic sight of Greenwich, these men are charged with allowing themselves to be become enthralled with a “Pastime, Martial and old:/ A Punishment invented first to awe/ Masculine Wives, transgressing Natures Law” (376-78). Political corruption and the corruption of aesthetic values are inseparable at this point, where Marvell illustrates the court’s “new Sports” (374) in a series of admonishing images that ironically turn the court’s own aesthetic principles against itself.

At first, the public “ride” is metaphorically identified with the emblematic practices of “Prudent Antiquity, that knew by Shame,/ Better than Law, Domestick Crimes to tame/

And taught Youth by Spectacle Innocent!" (387-89). Next, the incident is absorbed into the poet's own painterly "effigy": "So thou and I, dear Painter, represent/ In quick Effigy, others Faults, and feign/ By making them ridiculous to restrain" (390-92). The Court members, however, are blind to the poet's conceit and they "relax" with the "homely sight" (393). The image is comforting because familiar. The "homely" becomes unhomely ('unheimlich') though, when the poet distances his reader from the domestic aspect of the "ride" and uses his effigy to link it to England's position in foreign affairs. From this final perspective, all of English society is haunted by the Court members' reaction to the poet's effigy: "So Holland with us had the Mast'ry tryd,/ And our next neighbors France and Flanders ride" (395-96). The courtiers' resignation to the "homely sight" places the nation in the role of the beaten husband, according to the poet's imagery, with Holland as the masterful wife and France and Flanders as the 'riders' (Margoliouth 363). The disturbing comfort and familiarity displayed by the Court members towards the poet's admonishing imagery is thus used to provoke scrutiny of the relationship between domestic politics and the politics of state, between affairs at court and affairs of state. With the image of court members relaxing "the Joys of State, for the new Peace and Tax," (394) Marvell makes a direct attack on the political impotency of these men, who prefer the voyeuristic pleasures of a publicized domestic dispute to the pleasures of engaging in actual defense of national interests. Since their (in)action allows for the return of the excise, "the new Peace and Tax," the reader is forced to reconsider the efficacy of Country virtue, the seeming superiority of the forces of aristocratic virility over those of a debauched court. The reader is thus returned to the poet's question regarding the Excise: "Who, in an English Senate, fierce debate,/ Could raise so long for this new Whore of State[?]" (149-50). In retrospect, the implied criticism of court

debauchery, its members near inability to “raise” themselves long enough to sustain a bill for the ‘increase’ of the excise, exposes the shameful inadequacy of Country virility as well. In the end, it is hard not to read Marvell’s “quick Effigy” as an indictment of all Englishmen, who have ostensibly been hoodwinked by corruption at Court.²²

If we conceive of Marvell’s interest in public iconography and its potential distortion, in tandem with his use of the grotesque, the uncanny, and his configurations of national identity, where the values of court and country are balanced against each other, it is possible to outline a Gothic discourse that blurs the boundaries of contemporary political parties. Recognizing Marvell’s participation in such a discourse as an heuristic in his poetry, should help to make sense of his shifting political and aesthetic stances. Within Marvell’s illustrations of court venality and sexual misconduct, even where these qualities are contrasted with country virtue and virility, there is sufficient pictorial evidence to undermine country stalwartness. This may help to explain why the one element of true panegyric within Marvell’s satire, the heroic death of Archibald Douglas, has appeared to critics to be incredible, “out of focus,” “deeply disturbing,” and even “eerie”.²³

The elegy to Douglas reveals how, within the circumstances of 1667, even the most heroic of national figures is susceptible to the corrupting influences of the English government. Set against the shameful spectacle of Du Ruyter’s broad day-light invasion, the eulogy to Douglas presents a singular gallant, who uses martial skill and self-discipline in an honourable attempt to resist the Dutch forces. His character prefigures the reconciliation of court and country prophesied at the end of the poem, by combining the qualities of epic and romance heroism.²⁴ This image of national heroism is solidified in an emblem of martyrdom, in spite of a series of attributes that undermine Douglas’ revered status: his

feminine, or at least androgynous, physical appearance, his lack of virility, his naïve dedication to a system of outdated values, and his Scottish heritage. To what extent this artistic manipulation is designed to service a corrupt court, badly in need of improved public relations, is called into question by the apparent disparity between the pastoral innocence of the scene and the historical reality – the “Black Day” (737) – it glosses.²⁵

In a poem where, as Steven Zwicker says, “passion is explicitly a civic duty” (1990, 101), Douglas is the only figure to successfully assume the role of “glad Lover” (677) for nationalist purposes. He is the only figure able to resist the temptations of dalliance and to successfully redirect his energies towards civic duties, and he therefore emerges as a true hero of romance. His suppression of sexuality is, however, disturbing. The amorous nymphs that populate the pastoral invasion scene thus bemoan his steadfast qualities: “They sigh’d and said, Fond Boy, why so untame,/ that fly’st Love Fires, reserv’d for other Flame?” (659-60). Douglas, indeed, appears to be saving himself for the “Flames” (677) of officialdom. His single-minded devotion to God, King and country, suggests his comparability with epic heroes of antiquity:

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. (693-696)

A. B. Chambers has explained that “Fortunate Boy!” provides allusions to both classical and biblical sources of heroism: “Fortunate” referring to Virgil’s use of “fortunatus” as a commendation in the Aeneid, and “boy” referring to the three young men in Daniel (named earlier at l. 648) who chose a fiery death over the prospect of committing idolatry (159-61). The mention of mount Oeta also recalls the voluntary fiery death of Hercules (Margoliouth 69). The classical and biblical analogies do not quite fit the circumstances, however, since

the roles of Daniel and “three children” (647) are already filled and such forms of heroism are inappropriate to the times (Chambers 164). From his initial introduction, Douglas appears to be a poor match for the “wanton” (542) Dutch sailors. He is a young and effeminate figure, a “modest Beauty” with “early Down” upon his chin (649-50), and is contrasted with the “Martial look” (637) of the hulking Thomas Daniel, a “Man of might” (631). His blind dedication to the heroic ideal, moreover, appears naïve: “Fixt on his Ship, he fac’d that horrid Day, And wondred much at those that run away:/ Nor other fear himself could comprehend” (661-63).²⁶ He appears, therefore, to be an easy conquest for the rapacious Dutch fleet. His resistance is, indeed, only successful to the extent that it is a sacrifice, and the status of martyr is conferred upon him by the painter’s “Pencil” and the poet’s “Verse”.

The artful manipulation of Douglas’ death is disturbing, most of all, because it suggests that heroism has nothing to do with individual will, and has everything to do with politics.²⁷ Although the status conferred on Douglas is beneficial to his memory – it will “propagate” (695) his name – it is completely beyond his control. In this aspect, his situation is comparable to that of the government’s scapegoats, Peter Pett and Edward Hyde. The extent to which the iconography of Douglas’ career is determined by the poet’s painter is evident in the emblematic image that solidifies his martyrdom:

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 in the Bee does close:
And, as on Angels Heads their Glories shine,
His burning Locks adorn his Face Divine. (679-85)

Douglas is the entrapped bee, a relic from the ancient past, whose beauty is enhanced by the poet’s art.²⁸ The image recalls that of Marvell’s *Nymph Complaining for the death of her*

Faun,” where the nymph’s tears are crystallized into a representation of her beloved faun, and the ‘ignoble otium’ of poetry – its ability to mediate between pastoral appearances and historical reality - is stressed. Such an allusion has political overtones within the context of a poem that attempts to advise the king on affairs of state vis à vis a “country peasant”(959-60). Ultimately, the poet implies that his art has the potential to transform Douglas, from “the Valiant Scot,” into an emblem of national heroism, of whom “our English youth shall sing”. Almost any individual, regardless of nationality, could apparently be fitted to the poet’s needs, and Marvell did, in fact, later use the Douglas episode to serve quite a different argument regarding nationalism.²⁹

The complete subjection of Douglas’ fate to political factors – the government’s need for a symbol of integrity and the poet’s interest in presenting the king with a restorative satire - is disturbing because it takes advantage of Douglas’ naïveté and sexual innocence. In a poem where grotesque representations are closely aligned with forms of sexual misconduct, it is easy to misread innocence for an inversion of the norm, and to gloss over absence of desire with personal desire. Although Douglas is unaffected by the amorous playfulness of the nymphs, the poet’s sexual interests are sparked and transferred onto Douglas, where the virgin figure is inappropriately described as a “glad Lover,” who embraces the “fierce Flames he meets...in their sheets” (677-78).³⁰ The lusty eyes of the administration also help to transform Douglas’ personal desires into political action, by taking advantage of his willingness for self-sacrifice: “And secret Joy, in his calm Soul does rise,/ That Monk looks on to see how Douglas dies” (675-76). Barbara Riebling draws attention to the voyeurism of General Monk’s gaze, and its power to transform shame into honour (148). Riebling notes a certain affinity here with 17th century allegories that use

eroticism as a metaphor for divine ecstasy. By calling attention to his ability to mold public perception, the poet indeed, provides an unwholesome example of how the king might use art to mitigate the affects of corruption at court.

The rather disturbing suggestion that history can be manipulated by the machinations of the poem's "antique masters" (9) appears most effectively in the portrait of the King (ll. 885-926). The royal prerogative that Marvell has taken such care to avoid infringing upon is presented here as a fleeting privilege, threatened by the King's personal escapades. As Charles reaches out to "press" himself upon an image that he assumes to be that of his mistress, he is shocked to discover a recoiling vision of "England or the Peace". By confusing the symbolism of national politics for an arousing image of the king's mistress, the portrait of Charles exposes the degree to which state politics are controlled by personal politics at court. It is a moment of revelation, during which the king's attempt at absolutism comes back to haunt him in the uncanny image of a femme fatale. Steven Zwicker (1990) explains that the incident provides an allegory of Charles' unsuccessful pursuit of Frances Stuart, the model chosen by the King to represent Britannia on the Peace of Breda medal. The term "peace", Zwicker notes, puns upon the possible meaning of "whore". Whether or not England is to establish peace with the Dutch is thus presented as a decision that Charles forfeits because of his obsession with his own personal affairs.

The moment is a fortuitous one, and the fate of both England and Charles hangs in the balance:

Paint last the King, and a dead shade of Night,
 Only dispers'd by a weak Tapers light;
 And those bright gleams that dart along and glare
 From his clear Eyes, yet these too dark with Care.
 There, as in the calm horror all alone,
 He wakes and Muses of th' uneasie Throne. (885 – 890)

It is a moment that Linda Gregerson might describe as “liminal”, since it marks a boundary between the narrator’s satire of the court and his impending foray into the traditional sphere of royal prerogative, the advice “To the King”.³¹ The moment might provide either, a painterly contrast, distinguishing corruption at court from the affairs of the crown, or a continuous spectrum, linking the two. Only a dim light guides the artist’s hand, while the “bright gleams” from Charles’ eyes are insufficient to stave off the approaching darkness. In the “calm horror” of his musings, the king’s faculties are impaired and he fails to recognize that the iconography of England appears in distorted form: “ill agree her Posture, Hour, or Place” (892).³² Peril looms in the king’s erroneous reading of “England or the Peace,” that immediately follows.

Uncertainty regarding the future of the crown and Charles’ inability to see clearly the relationship between his personal endeavors and state politics signify England’s susceptibility to external influences. The impairment of the king’s faculties is brought on by his self-induced “calm horror” and the effect is to cast doubt upon any understanding of historical events by making them appear arbitrary: is the virgin figure in the king’s vision an image of England, a representation of the peace, or is it the king’s own “piece” (whore)?³³ To the extent that it is the latter, the confused image indicates the influence of external forces. Frances Stewart, the king’s mistress, “rules the four seas” in the poem, though she is herself in the ‘command’ of the Duke of Richmond (cf. ll. 761-64). Charles’ adulterous relations, thus expose England to political agendas beyond those of the crown. The unknown relationship between the visions of the king’s “wondrous Night” (925) and his resolution to “disgrace” (926) Clarendon is likewise tainted with a foreign influence, that of

a former French king – Charles’ “Grandsire Harry” (918). Events in the international theatre of war appear equally arbitrary when viewed from Charles’ perspective:

Express him startling next with listning ear,
As one that some unusual noise does hear.
With Canon, Trumpets, Drums, his door surround,
But let some other Painter draw the sound:
Thrice did he rise, thrice the vain Tumult fled,
But again thunders when he lyes in Bed. (907-12)

Does the “unusual noise” (908) sound four times or is its final occurrence only imagined by the King?

The seemingly arbitrary pattern of events is partially explained by the king’s own assumption regarding the “unusual noise”. Charles puts his troubled mind to rest by attributing the repetitious battle sounds to the dictates of French foreign policy under Louis XIV: “His mind secure does the known stroke repeat/ And find the Drums Lewis’s March did beat” (911-14). With the attribution of the sounds to “Lewis’s March,” the “unusual noise” becomes the “known stroke” and Charles demonstrates his familiarity and complicity with Louis’ foreign policy. As John Wallace points out though, Charles’ security is ill founded, given the unfavorable representation of French influence throughout the poem.³⁴ Wallace notes, for example, how St. Albans, the English ambassador to France, is mistreated by “Lewis” (cf. ll. 427-48), and how Louis’ negotiations for peace between England and the Netherlands are undermined by France’s “riding” of England (cf. ll. 373-96). In many ways, the impaired faculties of the king reflect England’s susceptibility to the threat of French absolutism.

From the end of the 16th century, the French crown was engaged in attempts to increase France’s international clout by (mis)representing itself as the champion of religious toleration. At home, Henry IV granted the Protestant minority of France the right to practice

their religion only when served his political agenda. Abroad, Henry acted as the negotiator between the Catholics of the Spanish empire and the Calvinists of the United Provinces, under the pretense of defending the Protestant cause. His interests, Roland Mousnier argues, were not in achieving peace, but rather, he hoped to gain recognition as the sovereign of the Netherlands, and check the power of Spanish-led House of the Habsburgs (116). With Spain's decline in the 1660's, French power experienced a resurgence. Over the next twenty years, as the cause of European Protestantism waned, Louis XIV gradually revoked the religious privileges granted by the Edict of Nantes (Patterson 1998 213). As early as 1663, fears spread in England that Charles was leaning towards the absolutist policies of his French cousin (Jones 141).³⁵ Those fears must have been exacerbated, when in 1666 France entered the Second Dutch War on the side of the Dutch. France provided little military support, however, since Louis was more interested in watching the English and the Dutch fleets destroy each other (Gardiner). Despite the apparent insincerity of Louis' arbitration attempts, French might required England to seek peace through France (Wallace 167).

In this context of suspicion regarding French influence, Marvell links the seeming arbitrariness of events in the English court to Charles's French lineage, alluding even to the possibility of a genealogical infection:

And with blue streaks infect the Taper clear:
While the pale Ghosts, his Eye does Fixt admire
Of Grandsire Harry, and of Charles his Sire. (915-18)

The infection affects not only the body of the king, but the entire body politic, since the visions of the "wondrous Night" produce the resolve to "Disgrace" Clarendon.³⁶

Although Marvell has been blamed for mismatching Henry IV with Charles I, (Duncan-Jones 373) the two are in fact, comparable absolutists, whose actions introduced

arguments for the legality of regicide in both England and France. Their murders were accompanied by an underground literature in both their countries, declaring the regicides to be justified on account of their tyrannical reigns.³⁷ Just as Charles' much hated system of forced loans had led to serious grievances (Petition of Right – 1628), so did Henry's oppressive means of raising revenue (taking advantage of royal creditors, farming out taxes, and selling offices) create widespread discontentment. Henry vacillated between the dueling religions of France, remaining purposefully ambiguous about his personal convictions in order to ensure his authority, going so far as to boast that his religion was one of the great mysteries of Europe (Greengrass 81). Although he presented himself as a champion of the Protestant cause he converted to Catholicism, the dominant religion, twice at times of apparent necessity. When war with Spain made Protestant support desirable, though, Henry conceded to recognize limited Protestant rights through the Edict of Nantes. The parliaments of France resisted, but Henry used his royal prerogatives to demand registration of the edict. Many Catholics, therefore, came to see Henry as a tyrannical usurper, given his doubtful conversions, his forceful method of legislating Protestant rights, and his seeming disregard for the average Catholic citizen (Mousiner 158). A series of pamphlets endorsing the more radical tactics of the Jesuits were published in France around 1610, and the legality of killing an unjust king became an issue of public discussion. Such debates later appeared under the guise of casuistry and common law thought in England, when the arrogance of Charles I was deemed intolerable.

Particularly relevant to the portrait of Charles II in Marvell's poem, is the fact that Henry IV was widely critiqued for his amorous escapades (Greengrass 69). At least in one instance, moreover, he allowed his personal affairs to influence his foreign policy. The

incident known as the Cleves-Jülich Affair was the major political concern occupying Henry's attention when he was assassinated. Cleves and Jülich were two strategically located duchies bordering on the United Provinces and on the Spanish Netherlands, where succession was a disputed issue after the recent death of their leader. Henry had prepared for this event years in advance, working in order to ensure that the duchies fell to Protestants, and not to the Habsburg family. When the Habsburgs nevertheless threatened to "usurp" the territories, Henry prepared to annex the duchies. Henry, though, was motivated to act sooner than anticipated in order to distract attention away from his own personal affairs, that were coming to light at home. The Prince of Condé, the closest in line to the throne through blood relations, had sought to remove his young wife from the amorous attentions of Henry by taking refuge under the protection of the archdukes of the Netherlands. Condé, it seems, may have been preparing a rebellion from abroad, against a tyrannical, and therefore, legitimate target (Mousiner 135). In any case, Henry's motivations to act were twofold, although the public was probably denied such a complex perspective. Henry's intervention was, in fact, critiqued for transforming "a private quarrel into a public war of religion" (in Mousiner 137). Marvell's allusion to Henry IV may be intended to suggest the literal sense of this critique.

The arbitrariness of political decisions brought on by the Machiavellian practices of Henry IV and Charles I provides the background for the admonishing imagery of the king's night-time council. The "grizly Wound" of which Henry died, and the "purple thread" around Charles' neck are "ghastly reminders," *momento mori*, of the potential for justifiable regicide:

Harry sits down, and in his open side
The grizly Wound reveals, of which he dy'd.

And ghastly Charles, turning his Collar low,
 The purple thread about his Neck does show:
 Then, whisp'ring to his Son in Words unheard,
 Through the lock'd door both of them disappear'd. (919-22)

Just as the impression of arbitrary government brought about the regicides of Henry IV and Charles I, so could it endanger the reign of Charles II. The fact that the reader is not admitted into the council signals the king's absolutist tendencies (Riebling 152).

This association of arbitrary government with a distinctly French influence foreshadows the position that Marvell was to espouse nearly a decade later in his *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*.³⁸ In both the *Last Instructions* and the political pamphlet, Marvell's critiques are aimed more at the demonic affects of arbitrariness in government, than at those of "popery" or Catholicism.³⁹ In his *Account* Marvell blames France's involvement in the Second Dutch War for England's sorry performance, and he accuses French authorities of scheming with certain public figures in England to return papacy to England. To substantiate these accusations Marvell outlines a plausible conspiracy theory linking England's growing favoritism of France's foreign policy with signs of absolutism within recent English legislation and signs of Anglican persecution. By comparing the resultant situation in England to the divisions of 1641, he establishes a sense of justifiable discontent (Miller 150). Especially consistent with his allusion to Henry IV and Charles I in the *Last Instructions*, and equally applicable to the reign of Charles II, is Marvell's complaint that it is impossible to "find out the due temper of government in divine matters" (*An Account* 280). At the top of Marvell's list of the horrors of "popery" is, moreover, the sort of arbitrariness that is depicted in the *Last Instructions*, where the king's "resolve" is determined by his nightmarish visions. "Popery" is denounced in the *Account* for its debasement of epistemology to the "worshipping [of] Pictures, Images and Reliques,

Incredible miracles and palpable Fables” (252). This form of idolatry, Marvell complains, restricts the will of the individual: “Thus by a new and antiscryptural Belief, compiled of **Terrours to the phansy, Contradictions to Sense and Impositions on the Understanding,** their laity have turned Tenants for their Souls....”(252, emphasis mine). The automaton-like action that Marvell attributes to the followers of “Terrorours to the phansy” is applicable to Charles’ decision to “disgrace” Clarendon. The same arbitrariness that Marvell decies in his attack on “popery” pervades his version of Clarendon’s impeachment. The proceedings must have appeared as arbitrary charges from Clarendon’s perspective.

Historians have studied the impeachment of Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, as one of the quintessential examples of the political use of scapegoats. Despite Hyde’s years of civil service to both king and country, which included loyalty to Charles during the interregnum, designing the highly successful Restoration Settlement, attempting to protect dissenters from harsh laws, offering astute advice to the king to avoid another war with the Dutch, using resourceful means to support that war once the king had persisted, and marrying his daughter to James, the Duke of York, Hyde was accused of high treason. When the government sought a scapegoat following the humiliating capture of a significant portion of the English navy at Chatham, Hyde stood out as a prime target for various reasons. Particularly detrimental to Hyde’s career was his failure to build up a network of clients in court or parliament (Smith 216). Lacking the support of any faction within an increasingly partisan system, Hyde was susceptible to the ambitions of aspiring politicians. To members of the Cabal, Hyde’s privileged position within the crown represented a barrier, preventing their advancement. Proposals for his impeachment indicate, according to Robert Clayton, an important development in the history of party politics: impeachment from this

point foreword became a tool for negotiating patronage, and was therefore, no longer a means of ensuring that ministers remain responsible to parliament. In the reign of Charles I, tyrannical ministers could at least be checked through the threat of impeachment.

The new dynamics of the impeachment process signal the growth of absolutism in England, and Hyde's indefensible position in Marvell's poem reveals the arbitrary nature of politics in 1667. Hyde's victimization must have produced the type of paranoia that Marvell uses to describe Hyde's emergence from his interview with the king:

At his first step, he Castlemain does find,
 Bennet and Coventry, as't were designed.
 And they, not knowing, the same thing propose,
 Which his hid mind did in its depths inclose.
 Through their feign'd speech their secret hearts he knew;
 To her own Husband, Castlemain, untrue.
 False to his Master Bristol, Arlington,
 And Coventry, falser than any one,
 Who to the Brother, Brother would betray;
 Nor therefore trust himself to such as they. (927-36)

Party politics invade even the most sacred of relationships, those between husband and wife, and those between brothers. Once initiated, moreover, there is no way of controlling the divisive nature of party politics. Instead they rage on like the monstrous excise to attack their own authors. Many of those who supported the dismissal of Clarendon, such as Coventry, Arlington and the king himself, did not endorse the impeachment proceedings against him, but were in fact compelled to do so in the end, out of fear for their own political future (Clayton). Nor does Hyde appear completely blameless (see below), but when he resists an unjust punishment he is only further implicated in the role of fall-guy: "While Hyde provok'd his foaming tusk does whet/ To prove them Traytors, and himself the Pett" (941-42). Peter Pett is, of course, the other fall-guy figure in the poem, and his impeachment is made to appear even more ridiculously disproportionate to the possible blunders of a single

person: "His name alone seems fit to answer all" (768). A. B. Chambers shows how the visual distortion of Pett's name, as it is manipulated into awkward rhymes (cf. "beat" and "Pett" in ll. 771-71), is used to signify the misrepresentation of his character (156-58). Such an erasure of character is precisely the fate of Hyde when his attempt to reveal the treachery done to him functions only to confirm his sacrificial status, and he becomes "the Pett".

Literary historians have noted that the emergence of party politics in the late 17th century was accompanied by a growing gap between religion and politics, and that Marvell's *Last Instructions* should be read in this context (Zwicker 1987). To the reputed defender of toleration and individual conscience, the trend must have been disconcerting. As argued above, the dynamics of the impeachment process in the *Last Instructions* threaten to steal the very souls of the civil servants represented, and that threat is signified vis a vis a painterly metaphor of distortion and grotesquerie, as well as through the appearance of ghosts. Marvell did speak out against the impeachment of Peter Pett in parliament (JHC, ix,4), and argue against "a sudden impeachment" for Clarendon (Grey 14). He also supported Charles' *Declaration of Indulgence* for 1662 (Legouis 119), and when it was repeated in 1672 (cf. *Account of Growth of Poppery* 292). How did he react though, upon the discovery that the king's *Declaration* was in fact part of a political strategy, in the vein of party politics, designed to make ministers dependent upon the crown?⁴⁰ Does Marvell's discourse of grotesquerie and ghosts provide him with a means of negotiating such an awkward situation?

With respect to the changing nature of the impeachment process and the emergence of party politics, it appears that Marvell's political stance did shift, and that his discourse of grotesquerie and ghosts facilitated that shift. For if Marvell wrote the Second and Third

Advices, as well as the *Last Instructions*, there is a discernible pattern indicating a constant repudiation of the practices of Edward Hyde, but an increasing distrust for the uses of impeachment.⁴¹ In the *Second Advice* Marvell imagines the image posed by contemporary political corruption from the perspective of one of the abused English naval officers.⁴² The apparently representative speaker, a so-called “gallant” (129) of the English navy, blames the entire war on Clarendon’s own domestic politics:

But damn’d and treble damn’d be Clarendine,
Our seventh Edward, and his house and line!
Who, to divert the danger of the war
With Bristol, hounds us on the Hollander. (145-48)

The war is nothing more than a diversion, the speaker claims, designed to disrupt the impeachment proceedings against Clarendon. In the envoy of the same poem, the poet suggests that the king proceed with Clarendon’s impeachment. Hyde is identified here as “that state-Daedalus,” and thus equated with the mythical artist who endangered the reign of Minos by introducing grotesque offspring into the royal lineage. Hyde should be, according to the poet, subject to his own machinery and allowed to “fall”:

Why wilt thou that state-Daedalus allow,
Who builds thee but a lab’rinth and a cow?
If thou art Minos, be a judge severe
And in’s own maze confine the engineer;
Or if our sun, since he so near presumes,
Melt the soft wax with which he imp’s his plumes
And let him, falling, leave his hated name
Unto those seas his war that set on flame. (353-60)

By suggesting that the king entrap Clarendon within his own statecraft, the poet is endorsing his impeachment.

There is little mention of Clarendon in the *Third Advice*, but there is a suggestion, contained within the Duchess Albermale’s prophetic “*memento mori*,” that he should be

discarded. The proposal arises within the Duchess' description of the encounter between the English and Dutch fleets on June 1, 1666, at the moment when the Dutch move to retreat: "They fly, they fly! Their fleet does now divide!// But they discard their Trump; our Trump is Hyde" (379-80).

In the *Last Instructions*, even more so than in the *Second* and *Third Advices*, Hyde and his policies are satirized by means of grotesque representations. Unlike the previous *Advices*, though, the *Last Instructions* lacks any commitment to impeachment. Hyde's tyranny extends seemingly from his own bodily functions, to affect the personal relationships of the king and the foreign relations of England:

Hyde's flippant Stile there pleasantly curvets;
Still his sharp Wit on States and Princes whets.
(So Spain could not escape his laughters Spleen:
None but himself must chuse the King a Queen.) (466-69)

Hyde's management of the king's finances is coloured with particularly grotesque imagery, where Hyde is presented as a master horse-leech with a retinue of "minion Imps," upon whom he feeds at will. (cf. ll. 493-502). Given these unflattering representations of Hyde, and the blame placed on him for corrupting the body politic, it would be easy for the poet to justify his impeachment. In spite of the apparent logic of Hyde's demise, as he becomes subject to the tyrannical court culture that his policies have helped to establish, his "Disgrace" (i.e. impeachment) defies all logic. The complete transformation of Hyde into "the Pett" exposes the generic nature his character: Hyde is merely a fall-guy like any other.⁴³

The depersonalization that Hyde and Pett endure is, in fact, similar to that encountered by Archibald Douglas. A. B. Chambers describes the similarity amongst these three figure in terms of an evident concern for either their heroic or scapegoat functions,

rather than their personal identity (158). Douglas' sexual ambiguity, as Zwicker notes, allows him to function as both hero and victim (see note 25). In some ways Douglas' sacrificial death, as it is captured by the painter/poet, serves as an objective correlative for the roles of Hyde and Pett. The fatal metamorphosis of the eunuch figure into a national symbol of martial strength demonstrates the potential for distortion of individual conscience when people are subjected to national iconography.

If Hyde (like Pett and Douglas) is subjected to the personal desires and ambitions of court members, who are in turn empowered by Hyde's own tyrannical authority, Charles is likewise subjected to his own absolutist policies. The symmetry is evident in the similar uncanny experiences evoked by the court's incestuous engendering of the monstrous Excise, and by the king's attempt to govern England through a series of overly "kind" relationships. The judgement of the king, as we have seen, is affected by the grotesquerie of his own statecraft: the visions encountered during the king's "wondrous Night" apparently bring about the king's "resolve" to "Disgrace" Clarendon. In passing from this indictment of the king to the more positively rendered image of the court in the envoy, though, the poet seems to relinquish his authority by discarding the *Ut Pictura Poesis* trope:

Painter adieu, how will our Arts agree;
 Poetick Picture, Painted Poetry.
 And henceforth Charles only to Charles shall sit,
 His Master-hand the Ancients shall out-do
 Himself the Poet and the Painter too. (943-48)

No one shall interfere with the royal prerogative involving the choosing and dismissing of the king's ministers, Marvell suggests. From this point forward Charles will determine for himself which courtiers "are but his disease" (952) and be the master of his own portrait. As A. B. Chambers explains, however, the metaphorical relationship between painting and

poetry is maintained in these lines through the parody they provide of Waller's *Instructions*: in his envoy, Waller invites Charles to stand-up inside the poet's picture, and that invitation is parodied here with the offer to make Charles master of his own portrait. Marvell's parody, Chambers argues, implicates Charles as the artist of his own bad work (167). An element of the fantastic, where life seems to imitate art, therefore, allows the poet to remain loyal to his conscience by critiquing the arbitrary aspects of Charles' administration while refraining from making specific suggestions regarding the assignment of offices. He thus situates himself somewhere between critiquing absolutist policies and advocating respect for royal prerogative, between his criticism of the excessive harshness of the impeachment process and his disgust at the overly 'kind' politics of court, between the "black and White" (108) of party politics.

His satiric vision provides a means of resisting the ideological interpretation of the poem's imagery that party affiliation would demand. Like the poet of *Appleton House*, who contravenes the distorting effects of "engines strange" (385) to produce a progressive series of tableaux, so does this poet resist the artifice of a Gothic "cloyster" by offering a way of seeing "which might Deformity make fair" (*Appleton House*, 92). The poet thus says of his muse: "Would she the unattended Throne reduce,/ Banishing Love, Trust, Ornament and Use;/ Better it were to live in Cloysters Lock" (961-63). Charles' renowned pleasure and bounty, which Waller had celebrated, need not be denied, according to the vision prescribed in the envoy. Within the combination of style and polemic suggested here, "Ornament and Use," in fact, go hand in hand.⁴⁴ Determining the appropriate proportions does, however, require a more critical eye than has been used by the king. Marvell points to the inextricable nature of the king's iconography and the manifestations of the crown in lines that echo

Waller's envoy: "But Ceres corn, and Flora is the Spring/ Bacchus is Wine, the Country is the King" (973-74). The inverted order of the final clause here underlines the undeniable relationship between the status of the nation and that of the king, the fact that the king's behaviour has adversely affected the health of entire body politic.⁴⁵ Those that threaten to separate the "Kingdom from the Crown" (971) should, therefore, be dismissed. The poet's final advice to "rule without a guard," (990) is also troublesome from a royalist perspective though, since it recalls the ambiguous advice offered to Cromwell in the final lines of *An Horatian Ode*.⁴⁶

Not only does Marvell's Gothic discourse undermine absolutist politics, but it also exposes the shortcomings of the absolutist aesthetics of court culture. Royal authority cannot be simply represented vis a vis a painterly metaphor, as Waller had claimed. Marvell, thus continuously unbraids Waller's self-assurance: "Old Waller, Trumpet-gen'ral swore he'd write/ This combat truer than the Naval fight" (263-64). The power of the state and crown is, in part, the product of its representations, as the emblematic portrait of Archibald Douglas demonstrates. The poem remains disturbing because of its Machiavellian implication that the king can mitigate the effects of corruption at court by manipulating the public perception through iconography: he can transform eroticism at court into an allegory for religious piety. Such a transformation, however, entails an uncanny reminder (the ghosts of Henry IV and Charles I) that attempts to assume omnipotence and rewrite providential history through the manipulation of sexual politics will finally entrap the agent within a series of "unkind" relationships; hence, the king's inability to distinguish between "England or the peace". The fantastic elements of the poem thus draw attention to the questionable validity of governmental policy, especially the impeachment of Hyde and Pett. Ultimately, the poem

suggests, readers interested in the politics of 1667 will, like Charles himself, have to draw their own pictures. If those pictures are to produce “honi pensy honestly,” they will, moreover, have to include “momento mori” (*Third Advice* 180;194).

Notes

Introduction

¹ H. M. Margoliouth admires the "detachment of Marvell's judgement" in *An Horatian Ode* (295). Nicholas Jose traces the tendency to comment on Marvell's "detachment" as far back as 1901 (48). Elizabeth Dono notes that when Marvell's poetry was initially published it was critiqued for, interestingly enough, its lack of partisanship.

² For a brief survey of how the meaning of Gothic and Greek function as "floating signifiers" during the Renaissance, see Richard Helgerson, pp. 21-24. Samuel Klinger also disguises the shifting meaning of Gothic, but in the more confined context Parliamentary values, as opposed to Royalist values. See chaps. One & Two.

³ McQueen and Rockwell elucidate the political metaphor of the "she-wolf", p. 63. It is interesting to note that Marvell places Cromwell in the role of Godfrey, a character from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, who like Cromwell invoked sovereign power in the pursuit of moral righteousness. Tasso's poem was at the heart of literary debates over the relative merits of Epic and Romance, in which the former was characterized as classical and the later as Gothic (Helgerson 45).

⁴ This understanding of the Gothic is drawn from Jacqueline Howard, chap. One.

⁵ The divided nature of the criticism is, of course, a response to the problematic conflict between the "cavalier" sentiments of Marvell's elegy to Francis Villiers (1648) and his poem to Lovelace (1649), the ambiguity of *An Horatian Ode* (1650), and the apparent Parliamentary attitude of the *Anniversary* (1654) and his later prose works. See Robert Wilcher, pp. 112-14. The interest in a "turn" in Marvell's poetics extends from Eliot's notion a "dissociation of sensibility". Muriel Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas equate Marvell's conversion to Parliamentaryism with a shift from Metaphysical poetry to a more sophisticated and ironic style. Pierre Legouis uses Marvell's Cromwell poems to assess "the curve of his feelings for Cromwell between 1650 and 1658" (114). Robert Hodge, claims that Marvell's shift in allegiances is denoted by an alteration of paradigms, which is said to hinder Marvell's expressiveness. More recently, Warren Chernaik has distinguished the "qualities of 'negative capability'" that he finds to characterise the *Ode* and *Appleton House*, from the "persuasive" intent of Marvell's *Anniversary* and his later satires (13). Chernaik claims that Marvell could not write "detached" poetry after 1654. As recently as 1992, M. L. Donnelly has located a shift in Marvell's use of typology in the Cromwell poems that is said to correspond to his altering political affiliations. Even, Patsy Griffin's 1995 study of Marvell's "Modest Ambition," which does outline a consistent poetics in these poems, assumes that the image of Marvell's "obscurity" can be overcome by attention to his "penchant for the 'dark conceit'" (14).

⁶ Marvell's defense of the rights of individuals is made most emphatically in *An Account of the Growth of Popery*. In the opening pages he asserts the unique character of the English constitution that protects the individual from state authority: "No man is for Life, Limb, Goods, or Liberty at the Sovereign's discretion" (in Downie 19).

⁷ Griffin also draws a parallel between the "unfortunate lover", who feigns love and so cannot know the joy of reciprocal love, and the situation of Charles I in 1643: Charles' self-representations as the lover of England were exposed to be mere propaganda when his amorous letters to his French, Catholic queen were discovered his (56).

⁸ Marshall Grossman (1989) and Nicholas Jose, explore the changing conceptions of time and history during this period, in order to trace the development of modern conceptions of the self, expressed in part through Marvell's poetry. Grossman reads the indeterminate position of the narrator of "The Garden," as a sign of the poet's awareness of himself as "the supplement of his own signifier," existing at the intersection of medieval and modern conceptions of time. Both Grossman and Jose relate the new forms of self-awareness to that expressed by Hamlet. Grossman points out a particularly interesting parallel with Hamlet's apparent knowledge of his

theatrical role. When Gertrude chastises Hamlet's seemingly excessive sorrow, Hamlet is quick to point out the delusional affects of his acting:

Seems, madam! Nay, it is...
 * * *
 ...These indeed seem,
 For they are actions that a man might play;
 But I have that within which passes show;
 These but the trappings and suits of woe.

(I.ii.76:83-6)

Chapter One

¹ Elizabeth Story Dono (1977) was one of the first to argue that Marvell's quintessential quality is his "unhoopable" nature. Annabel Patterson (1978) initiated exploration into Marvell's interest in mediation by outlining the socio-political dimension of public conduct in the Cromwell/ Fairfax poems. She addresses Marvell's necessary adaptation of contemporary rhetoric and icons in light of Cromwell's unique constitutional status. Michael Mckeon (1983) identifies the "problem of mediation" as the unifying feature of Marvell's poetry. The problem, Mckeon explains, arose from the secularization of society and the failure of the "translatio" myth to account for the resultant changes, i.e. the transfer of authority to a secular leader.

² "The experience of the English Revolution," as Michael Mckeon explains, "contributed to the modern discovery that the public interest was not so much a sempiternal and transcendent mystery, administered by a succession of monarchical interpreters, as the pragmatic sum and interaction of all private interests within a given political and geographical area" (53).

³ Cromwell was offered the crown twice during his career, once in 1652 and again in 1657. The first incident was followed by much debate over whether Cromwell should accept an hereditary position, and by Cromwell's acceptance of the position of protector on the grounds that it restricted his authority (cf. Abbott, 455-56). It is in this context, with its invitation to adopt various forms of casuistry, that J. Pocock suggests the *Anniversary* should be read (38).

⁴ John Wallace provides the seminal account of the influence of casuistry and engagement theory on the poetics and politics of Marvell. He addresses the "impartiality" of the *Ode* on p.74. Robert Hodge also addresses the "poise" of Marvell's *Ode* according to these terms (see Chap. 4). For *Appleton House* see Mark Heuman and Zwicker and Hirst (1993).

⁵ Legouis, following Aubrey, identifies Harrington as one of Marvell's "literary friends" (123).

⁶ J. Pocock, to whom I am indebted for much of my thinking in this chapter, does place Marvell's *Ode* and *The First Anniversary* in the context of Harrington's casuistry (cf. 1977, 31-2; 38), although he does not recognize any Gothic elements in Marvell's poetry.

⁷ Marchamont Needham's *The Case of the Commonwealth* and Harrington's *Oceana* are the prime examples of texts that combine casuistry with republican theory.

⁸ Wallace shows how, within the casuistical debates of the civil war years, Conquest Theory could be used to support either the claims of monarchy or those of parliament. Natural Law is particularly relevant to the casuist's claim to the right of self-preservation, according to Wallace. Pocock argues, on the other hand, that common law thought is the diametrical opposite of Gothicism: where the former asserts the uniqueness of England's legal system for all recorded time, the later proposes a common history of liberty in the Western world (1987, 57-8). Yet, the two differing historical accounts reflect national self-awareness in a similar manner. As Richard Helgerson argues, the insular nature of common law thought "is the product of a constant sense of legal and national difference, a persistent awareness of a rival system of law against which English law

had to defend and define itself" (71) Harrington, in any case, combined common law though with Gothicism, and Marvell might have been influenced to do the same.

⁹ Dixon Hunt notes that the blending of the poet's artful skills with the potential of the natural world at Nunappleton becomes an analogy for the fusion of action and contemplation in *Appleton House* (96). The same analogy, I argue, holds true for all of the Cromwell and Fairfax poems.

¹⁰ Hodge explains that the (political) revolution was followed by a change of paradigms in contemporary thought, a shift from Scholasticism to Ramism. Because the prevailing Scholastic paradigm was based upon an organic model of society, it subverted the individual to the state, civil law to natural law, and could not therefore, account for the collapse of the monarchy. Marvell adapts the Ramist casuistry of Anthony Ascham, Hodge argues, because it allows for a Hobbesian distinction between civil law and natural law, and thus provided guidance during the crisis of allegiance. But Marvell could not, Hodge argues, adopt the dichotomous logic of Hobbes without exposing the contradiction of Royalist thought – the inseparability of patriotism from support for sovereignty. Hodge thus reads the "poise" of the *Ode* and the animation of matter in the Amphion passage of the *Anniversary* as manifestations of the lack of a means of representing Cromwellian authority other than through deference to the king. I hope to propose, by contrast, a way of accounting for these anomalies that does not require the supposition of Marvell's political affiliations.

¹¹ Christopher Wortham uncovers the Hobbesian dimension of this dichotomy, comparing the active virtues attributed to "the forward Youth" and "restless Cromwell" (9) with Hobbes' emphasis on motion as the natural state of human beings, and noting the contrast with Charles' resignation.

¹² Michael Mckeeon explains that the *Ode* marks a turning point between old and modern concepts of sovereignty.

¹³ As the "Falcon" of the republic, Cromwell is presented as the military instrument of the "Falckner," responsive to the Republic (ll. 91-6). Michael Wilding, however, points out the deceptiveness of this imagery (see note 10).

¹⁴ Blair Worden notes the similarity between the imperialist campaign proposed at the end of *Oceana* and the patriotic sentiment of Cromwell's spread of empire, p. 166.

¹⁵ Blair Worden reads the "bleeding head" scenario as an allusion to the idea, expressed by Milton among others, that England would become a Rome of the West (p. 160). For the complexities of the allusion see pp. above.

¹⁶ Michael Wilding makes this argument in an insightful article on Cromwell's "wiser art," where he emphasizes the conspicuous absence of Leveller language (especially the pejorative terms of "arts" and "craftsmen" used to denote politics and politicians) and of opposition to the Irish and Scottish campaigns. Cromwell's "wiser art" is, Wilding argues, to misrepresent himself as a natural force, responsive towards parliament, when he is in fact responsive towards the monarchy. By allowing Charles to hang himself, he takes advantage of the sympathy generated towards the ruling elite, and uses it to suppress the radical forces. Where Wilding sees an endorsement of Cromwell's politics in the denotation of his "wiser art," I read the implied deceptiveness as an indication of difficulties facing the poet, as he tries to present Cromwell in the guise of a 'translatio' hero.

¹⁷ Joseph Mazzeo and Blair Worden provide Machiavellian readings of the *Ode*.

¹⁸ The qualities of industriousness and valour may well reflect the Machiavellian terms for "industria" and "virtu" as Worden and Mazzeo claim. In terms of the perceived ambivalent tone of the *Ode* though, it makes more sense to turn to the Gothic aspects of its casuistry: Machiavellian theory provides a means for asserting the legitimacy of authoritarian rulers based on a radical disjoining of politics from theology, where as the Gothic offers a means of scrutinizing the legitimacy of such unconventional claims. Renaissance scholars, moreover, were generally less skeptical of Machiavelli's theories than later scholars. Only in the 19th century

did Machiavelli gain the reputation as villainous schemer and promoter of ambition (see Victor Rudowski's introduction to *The Prince: A Historical Critique*).

¹⁹ Hodge reads this mixing of physical laws with spiritual laws as a witty criticism of Cromwell's austere Puritanism, his lack of spirituality (p.124).

²⁰ M. L. Donnelly highlights the significance of Marvell's emphasis upon time and history as the medium through which Cromwell acts. He suggests that the poet imitates Cromwell's harmonizing principles in order to balance the protector's highly religious nature with his skills as a classical statesman (see pp. 160-63).

²¹ The issue of whether classical or biblical imagery predominates in the poem has been affected by attempts to ground it within Marvell's political affiliations. Wallace claims that the millenarian passage (ll. 117-58) doesn't quite fit because the poet is concerned with persuading Cromwell to accept the crown. Chernaik claims that the religious imagery of the poem is synonymous with its "persuasive end" (43). A. J. N. Wilson, however, argues for the mutuality of classical and biblical imagery in the poem, and reads the "higher force" (240) that pushes Cromwell into action as a reflection of the values of stoicism and Roman society, as much as it reflects those of Christianity (p. 264). Derek Hirst demonstrates, likewise, that the poem can be equally divided in terms of the number of lines devoted to classical and scriptural allusions.

²² A. J. N. Wilson makes this point, p. 264.

²³ A. J. N. Wilson applies this term the Cromwell of the *Anniversary* (p.267). Here, Marvell foreshadows the dialectical relationship between the Sentimental and the Gothic found in 18th century novels. In her study of "Gender and the Gothic/ Sentimental Myth in *Frankenstein*," Mary Thornburg describes the Gothic as "the distorted mirror image of the sentimental," (2) "the reversal or dark completion of overt sentimentality" (39). Applying this definition backwards on Marvell, it is possible to see the potential inversion of Cromwell's sentimental qualities where his authoritarian leadership overlaps with his role as 'Pater Patriae'. J. Tompkins describes the "cult of filial obedience" as an important sub-genre of the Sentimental tradition (p.86). According to Tompkins, submission to parental authority is one of the most commonly used, emotionally charged gestures of sentimental fiction, and "the complement of generous submission is the liberality that accepts and rewards it, the magnanimous autocrat" (91). Cromwell's display of compassion towards his children does, at least potentially, undermine his authority. His sympathetic engagement in the suffering of his daughter elicits signs of filial obedience and subjection to authority that reinforce his role as autocrat. As he "slaken[s]" his "tender burthen" upon Elizabeth, he cultivates a "Virtue" in her, so that she can respond with compliant "smiles serene and Words discreet," meeting his "hidden soul at ev'ry turn" (32-42). Marvell is arguably calling the rationale of the Pater Patriae's authority into question, where he expresses filial obedience in terms of suffering and death.

²⁴ Common law thought is particularly evident here. By casting Cromwell as a sort of contemporary version of St. Edward, the Confessor, Marvell reiterates the Cokean version of English history, the conception of history that denied the Norman Conquest. Coke argues that William the Conqueror solidified the ancient laws of St. Edward in a Magna Cart.

²⁵ Patterson claims the Cromwell of the *Anniversary* does not quite fit the role of "Puritan warrior Saint" (p.74?).

²⁶ See Michael Mckean, p. 58, for the collapse of the poet's powers of mediation attending Cromwell's death.

²⁷ Hodge notes that Fairfax's gardening endeavours demonstrate a noble exertion of energy (p.147?).

²⁸ Heumann draws an interesting parallel here with the conflict between Justice and Fate in the *Ode*, where justice is similarly affected by the contemplation of one man in his attempt to align his conscience with his actions (p. 35-8).

²⁹ For one thing, William's apparent moral victory is not as complete as Heumann makes it out to be. In a brilliant article, Daniel Jaeckle exposes a dialogic component to the confrontation between William and the

Prioress. The logic behind William's hesitation, his respect for both "Religion" and "Right," indicates that the supposedly deceptive speech of the Prioress must, according to Jaekle, contain some element of truth. Truth, Jaekle concludes, cannot be given a privileged position within the dialogic structure of the poem, but must be determined by the individual reader from the "heteroglossia of sixteenth century religious discourses" (269).

³⁰ The question might be paraphrased as follows: "What should I, as narrator, have William do, since it is consistent with his character that he would respect both religion and law?". The narrator is only able to overcome this problem by resorting to the use of mock heroic, thereby demonstrating how "Things greater are in less contain'd" (42-4). As Rosalie Colie explains, the use of a mock battle highlights the difficulty of living religiously in an age when authority is losing its religious sanction (p.266).

³¹ Colie complains that the episode is disproportionately long (p.265).

³² Douglas Chambers explains that at the time of Marvell's employment, Fairfax was also employing the services of Roger Dodsworth, an antiquarian who was working on an extensive history of English monasteries. As Chambers suggests, Marvell probably drew his knowledge of the convent at Nunappleton from Dodsworth (pp. 143-45). Marvell's history may, therefore, be conceived as a playful imitation upon an ancient manuscript, designed to account for the situation of the master of Nunappleton.

³³ Zwicker and Hirst provide a relatively convincing argument for this dating: the poem had to have been written between June 1650 and autumn 1652, within the period of Marvell's stay at Nunappleton; it is unlikely that the poem was written during Marvell's first summer there since he only started tutoring Mary Fairfax in the autumn of 1650; nor, was it likely written during the last summer of Marvell's stay since that was a summer marked by drought and an eclipse – neither of which appear in the poem. By process of elimination, it must belong the summer of 1651. The assumption that the poem was written during the summer months is supported by the emphasis on fecundity at Nunappleton, the fact that the fields appear to be ripe for harvest.

³⁴ Mark Heumann provides a concise history of the criticism on the nunnery episode, outlining a shift of interpretation, from reading the passage to be a critique of Fairfax's retirement to more ambivalent interpretations. Heumann himself, suggests that the episode fits neatly with the epideictic function of the poem. The Gothic aspects of the praise, however, provide reason, I believe, to justify the range of interpretations given. I do not, though, conceive of the ambivalence of Fairfax's Gothic attributes to provide a means of criticism, so much as a means of warning.

³⁵ I follow Annabel Patterson, who insists that the praise found in these poems is offered conditionally, although I do not subscribe to the idea that it is conditional upon Fairfax and Cromwell heeding the advice of the poet.

³⁶ Harrington suggests, at the end of his *Oceana*, that the new Republic can be sustained through an imperialist program of expansion, which will allow England to spread civil liberties by colonizing other peoples.

³⁷ Blair Worden explains that the Royalist perception of Cromwell recorded in the contemporary newspapers was of a "bad but admirable man".

³⁸ As Rostvig notes, Marvel juxtaposes the two modes.

³⁹ In his biography of Marvell, Leigh Hunt traces the development of a "gardenist perspective" within the "Yorkshire Poems" (pp. 80-96). Hunt argues that the poet's blending of his art with the natural world in the gardens at Nunappleton forms an analogy for the fusion of action and contemplation (96). The same perspective is, I believe, relevant to the *Ode*.

⁴⁰ Coolidge draws out the parallels between Marvell and Horace's similar use of otium in terms of the characteristic "poise" of their odes: the subject of both poets is said to appear as the product of the contrasting qualities of otium. Rostvig demonstrates more fully, though, how Horace's "beatius ille" theme was developed into a science of husbandry that could be used to induce meditation and critical thought. It is interesting to note that Marvell's reference to the "Bergamot," a new kind of pear that was produced by the new scientific methods of the early 17th century, (Margoliouth 299) resonates with the "grafted" pears of Horace's epode: "with what

delight he plucks the pears he grafted" (Epode II, 19). Where Horace's grafted pear is a symbol of the happy husbandman's devotional practices, though, Marvell's Bergamot is associated with potential deception. That Marvell was interested in the new horticultural methods as a metaphor for man's perverse engagement in forbidden knowledge is evident in "The Mower against Gardens:"

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.
No Plant now knew the Stock from which it came;
He grafts upon the Wild the Tame. (19-24)

⁴¹ While the Romans honoured Mars as the god of war, they also held him to be the father of Romulus. As the father of all Romans he was identified as the protector of the most honourable pursuit, agriculture. Under the name of Silvanus he was worshipped as the guardian of cattle. As well, he was identified with the deity who watches over Roman citizens. (Rhys, Ernest ed. *A Smaller Classical Dictionary*. Everyman's Library, 1928)

⁴² Rostvig associates the happiness of retired country life with the stoic withdrawal of the Royalists, which she presents as nearly completely inimical to war facing Christian values of the Puritans. Marvell's use of the "translatio" myth, however, demonstrates how the two camps could be brought together.

⁴³ Marshall Grossman details the slippage that occurs between references to the Fairfax estate and to Marvell's poem.

⁴⁴ Rostvig explains that John Evelyn, following the Horatian belief in the benign influence of gardens, proposed the formation of "a society of the paradisi cultores, persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan saints" (Evelyn in Rostvig, 180).

⁴⁵ James Turner reads the fort-like construction of the gardens as an allusion to an emblem typically used for the purposes of educating young princes in the arts of war. The emblem suggests the need to make learning enjoyable, illustrating a garden transformed into a site for martial exercises. Turner claims that the invocation of the emblem emphasises the importance of Maria's education, and the need to adapt traditional forms of education to the situation at Nunappleton - the lack of a male heir. To this end, Turner claims, Marvell alters the emblem and undermines its normal association between military exercises and horticultural pleasures.

⁴⁶ The foresight of England's "happy fate" is a response to the "bleeding head" and not the running of the Architects, since "that" in line 71 is in apposition to the head (Summers in Margoliouth 300).

⁴⁷ John Wallace reads the lines on Cromwell's erect sword as an endorsement of his leadership of the Scottish campaign as an just war. He claims they invoke the Hobbesian notion that a magistrate's power derives from the acquiescence of the people, thereby entrusting the magistrate with the power of the sword of war (97-8). cf also Wortham. E. E. Duncan-Jones' note on the erect sword provides a comparison with Needham's pamphlet.

⁴⁸ The apparent attempt to conserve a classical architectural order reflects the conservatism of the protectorate policies: the Instrument of Government not only failed to produce the electoral reforms that radicals had been demanding since the beginning of the civil wars, but it actually further restricted the franchise according to the value of land owned; and although Cromwell succeeded in loosening the structure of the national church, the Instrument maintained the system of tithes.

⁴⁹ Christopher Wortham astutely comments on the Orwellian quality of the iconography, p.40.

⁵⁰ Hodge explains that in the act of building the commonwealth, Cromwell, as Amphion, combines elements that Ramism previously kept separate: mind and matter (16). "All other Matter Yields, and may be rul'd;/ But who the Minds of stubborn Men can build?" (77-8).

⁵¹ As Leigh Hunt points out, Maria Fairfax is admired for the same qualities displayed by Caelia in Marvell's poem "To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty upon his Translation of the Popular Errors". Both women are admired for maintaining Marvell's apparent tenet of literary criticism, that a proper translation requires

anonymity on the behalf of the translator. In their personal anonymity, though, both figures maintain a national identity that betrays an imperialist conception of language. Maria indulges "In all the Languages as hers," while Caelia does likewise:

Caelia whose English doth more richly flow
Then Tagus, pureer then dissolved snow,
And sweet as are her lips that speak it, she
Now learns the tongues of France and Italy;
But she is Caelia still' no other grace
But her own smiles commend that lovely face;
Her native beauty's not Italianated,
Nor her chast mind into the French translated:
Her thoughts are English, though her sparkling wit
With other Language doth them fitly fit. (17-26)

English thoughts and an English wit are apparently the best tools for adapting foreign languages to an individual mind.

⁵² Lord claims that the incident disrupts the epideictic because it presents William's active virtue in a favourable light, compared to Thomas' retired nature (65). I read the rather general allusion to "a Fairfax" as an indication of a virtuous ancestry, any member of which would serve equally well to the task of resisting oppression. To this extent my reading is closer to Mark Heuman's equation between Thomas' "conscience" and William's "respect" for "Religion," although the relationship is not so simple.

⁵³ I use the term "gothicists" as Samuel Kliger does, to refer those who defended the parliamentary prerogative by insisting upon the continuity of England's Saxon cultural institutions, ie. equating the old Saxon "Witenagemot" with the post-Norman parliament.

⁵⁴ John Wallace argues that Charles' apparent acquiescence in the execution scene of the *Ode* may be interpreted in terms of an abdication, vis a vis the concept of "dux bellorum". This was a title applied to the tribal leaders of the Goths who had, during times of political turmoil, been elevated to the status of King through parliamentary like election. As elected representatives, Kings thus conceived, were subject to possible dissolution (pp. 80-90). Samuel Kliger traces the 17th century revival of the "dux bellorum" theory to Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, published 1628 and reprinted in 1634,'53 and '73.

⁵⁵ Annabel Patterson points out the allusion, noting as Margoliouth had, that the lighting imagery in the *Ode* recalls both Horace and Lucan's translation.

⁵⁶ Rosalie Colie astutely describes the events of the Meadow scene in terms of a series of "tromp l'oeil," that are used to establish a theme of disproportion, deformation, and irregularity, and to emphasize the relativity of human perception. It is important to note that Davenant's "Universal Heard" are manipulated by the politically motivated Levelers and can be interpreted as either insignificant "Fleas" or alternatively as heavenly "Constellations", depending upon the perspective of the reader - whether the reader looks through the microscope or opts for the telescope.

⁵⁷ Don Cameron Allen, chap. V.

⁵⁸ Robert Hodge explains that emblems became notorious for their absurd distortions during the 17th century when poets began to subject them to the demands of realism.

⁵⁹ Robert Hodge correctly points out that the looming grasshoppers signify a social inversion of the values of the levellers, who play a defining role on the meadow (42).

⁶⁰ Hartman explains why a poet who was seriously interested with nature, and with a synthesis of Platonic-Christian thought, might have adopted a Pauline conception of hope. St. Paul equated man's post-lapsarian state with that of Nature: "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together" (8:22). The natural world, according to St. Paul awaits in expectation, along with man, for the redemption of the body. The idea, Hartman shows, was expanded upon by Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, who developed the concept of the "light of

Nature". Through the light of the natural world the invisible aspects of God are made visible. An eschatological interpretation of the natural world provides, therefore, a means of redemption. Hartman correctly identifies the mower's "massacring" of the grass as a means of equating man's body with the natural world, thereby establishing hope for redemption.

⁶¹ Steven Zwicker and Derek Hirst describe the excessively sensual elements of Hermeticism, and argue that Fairfax's naïveté towards such aspects of the religion would have left him susceptible to unfair accusations. Even if he had not been as consumed with fascination for Hermeticism as Zwicker and Hirst claim, his antiquarian interests might have left him equally unaware of events in the political arena.

⁶² Various critics have identified similarities between Marvell's self-divided narrator and the contrasting attitudes of Milton's companion poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* (Colie 281; Wilcher 157; Wheeler 47). All citations from Milton's poems are from the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Ed. M. H. Abrams et al. 6th ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, 1993. 1:1446-50.

⁶³ Robert Wilcher comments on the successive stages represented by the sight and sounds of the various birds (p. 158). The nightingale is supposedly used to signify Fairfax's wisdom, reflected in Maria's education; the stock-doves, with their "nuptial rings," (524) refer to Maria's imminent marriage; the heron's "tribute to its Lord" (536) imbues Maria's marriage with a sense of providence; the "hewel" warns the reader that "our flesh [is] corrupt within" (555). On the standard emblematic interpretations of these birds see also Rosalie Colie, pp. 196-7. Robert Cummings argues (189-93), convincingly I think, that the woods form a temple and not a domestic refuge. The narrator's insistence upon domestic interpretations of the "fowles" (564) emphasizes his misunderstanding, the error inherent in his supposedly "easie" communion with the creatures of the "growing Ark".

⁶⁴ Wilcher identifies Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle, among others, as scientists who supported this theory, p. 157.

⁶⁵ See Derek Hirst for an explanation of the combining of spiritual questing and eroticism within the confines of neo-Platonism (pp. 258-59).

⁶⁶ Critics of the poem have identified a thematic link between the two episodes. Annabel Patterson finds a similar disquisition upon spiritual libertinism in these two episodes, which she says draws attention to the lack of an exemplar of Protestant virtue in the poem (pp. 102-108). Steven Zwicker and Derek Hirst assert that the link extends beyond spiritual matters to reflect the difficulties of attenuating praise from Marvell's position as client (pp. 259-69).

⁶⁷ Zwicker and Hirst very perceptively note that the poet's self-stimulation in the wood scene provides a parallel to the lesbian practices of the nuns (p. 268).

⁶⁸ The belief that the English language is the original language of God was a key tenet to contemporary theories about England's Gothic heritage. Samuel Daniel's *Defense of Rime* (1603), for example, was based on the argument that rhyme was a feature of English speech extending back to the immemorial (Gothic) past. See Richard Helgerson, chap. One.

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate these sources.

Chapter Two

¹ Annabel Patterson (1978) laid the groundwork that most recent scholarship follows, recognizing the interdependence between aesthetics and politics in both Marvell's lyrics and satires. The apparent contradiction within the *Last Instructions*, between the satire of the kingdom in the body of the text and the praise of the king

in the envoy, however, remains a debated issue. Michael Mckeon recapitulates Wallace, when he reads the envoy as a defense of “that last vestige of *arcana imperii*, the doctrine that the king cannot err” (64). Steven Zwicker (1990) attempts to smooth over the contradiction by finding criticism of the king in the envoy, but he maintains that there is a “failure of resolution in the envoy” (105). A. B. Chambers addresses the issue most thoroughly, but his argument is so complexly interwoven with his comparisons between Waller and Persius, Marvell and Lucan, and between Charles and Nero, that I am unable to draw any definitive conclusions (see his Chapters 4 & 5). I have, nonetheless, gleaned much insight from Chambers, as my citations indicate.

² While Marvell’s satire is usually read in terms of his use of the ‘advice to a painter’ genre (see Zwicker, 1987 242), I follow more closely Annabel Patterson, who puts Marvell’s adoption of the genre in the larger context of the ‘Ut Pictura Poesis’ tradition. Patterson shows how Marvell distinguishes himself from Waller by adhering to the principle that painting and poetry are mutually dependent. In his *Instructions*, Waller insists on the superiority of poetry over painting in an apparent bid for Royal patronage. He suggests that while painters can represent Royal prerogative, vis à vis emblems, only poets can express the providential aspect of a monarch’s reign:

Great Sir, disdain not in this piece to stand,
Supreme commander both of sea and land!
Those which inhabit the celestial bower
Painters express with emblems of their power:
His club Alcides, Phoebus has his bow,
Jove has his thunder, and your navy you.
But your great providence no colours here
Can represent, nor pencil draw that care
Which keeps you waking to secure our peace. (311-19)

By contrast, Marvell insists upon the mutuality of the representational arts, and emphasizes the important role that painting plays in politics, with allusions to Rubeens (Patterson, 163). Marvell thus upbraids Waller’s self-assurance with comments like, “Old Waller, Trumpet-general swore he’d write/ This Combat truer tan the Naval Fight” (263-64).

³ For this line of thinking I am much indebted to A. B. Chamber’s suggestive commentary regarding Marvell’s portrait of the king: “here the suggestion is that he might as well be his own bad artist” (167).

⁴ Riebling explains that Marvell puns upon the shared meanings “antic” (usually glossed as “grotesque”) and “antique,” to provide his grotesque representations with ancient associations: “there was no necessary separation between the meanings of *antique* and *antic* this period – ancient and grotesque styles were deemed synonymous...” (154). For supporting evidence regarding the shared etymology of these words see the editorial commentary on Milton’s *Il Penseroso*, M. H. Abrams (ed.) *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Vol 1. 6th edition, p.1450.

⁵ Michael Mckeon outlines Marvell’s skepticism of the new science and his (humanist?) faith in ability of satire to counteract “moral and social ills,” noting that Marvell “embraces the power of human art to reform art” (63).

⁶ In the *Third Advice*, for example, the court portraitist Peter Lely is rejected out of fear that his “Pencils may intelligence impart” (4). His naturalism may be too revealing, Patterson explains, and his work needs paradoxically to be veiled in order uncover the corruption in the admiralty.

⁷ Jacqueline Howard highlights the advantages of such an approach to the Gothic vis à vis Bakhtinian theory.

⁸ Annabel Patterson explains the significance of Renaissance notions of decorum within the ‘Ut Pictura Poesis’ tradition, and with respect to Cavalier idealism in the Restoration court. The later was based, to a large degree, on the principles put forward in Ludovico Dolce’s *L’Aretino* (1557), a dialogue on the art of painting, where it was insisted that: subject matter should never include the grotesque, artistic license be limited and the imagination of the artist restricted, and that where the subject failed to assist the artist produce a work of beauty, the artist should look beyond nature (cf. pp. 128-34). Marvell, of course, breaches each of these principles in a highly conspicuous manner.

⁹ In a letter to the Mayor of Hull, Marvell expresses his desire to be “of very good service to the publick,” while describing a parliamentary inquiry into the militia money (in Patterson, 1978, 126). Marvell’s defense of individual conscience is usually associated with his pamphlets, but more relevant here is his desire to protect Edward Hyde from an unjust impeachment. During parliamentary debates over the appropriate measures to be taken against Hyde, Marvell spoke against changing the criminal laws simply to allow for “a sudden impeachment by reason of the greatness of the person” (Grey, 14).

¹⁰ I follow A. B. Chamber’s reading here of the allusion to Pliny’s story of Protogenes, p.131.

¹¹ Patterson discusses the allusion briefly, p.162. Chambers mentions the apparently Pygmalion dimension of the story, p.131.

¹² Sin, Gregerson explains, is based upon Ovid’s Scylla, who experienced self-alienation when part of her body, her “alvus” (a term referring indifferently to “stomach” or “womb”), was poisoned with jealousy and transformed into a pack of ravenous dogs (208).

¹³ The ‘unkind’ hellhounds that “kenne!” in Sin’s “womb” (*Paradise Lost*, II. 658; 798-800) are revised in Marvell’s poem where he describes the Excise as a “Mungrel Beast” (146) and locates her birth in “Dog Days” (143). There is no evidence, however, that the Excise experiences self-alienation in the way that sin does. Male sex organs are, moreover, as susceptible to deformation and uncanny associations in the *Last Instructions*, as are female sex organs.

¹⁴ Barbara Riebling argues for this reading when “glassen D—s” is assumed to be “glassen Dukes, p.140. Margoliouth explains that “glassen Dukes” would “refer to the short-lived children of this marriage, Charles, Duke of Cambridge (1660-1), James, Duke of Cambridge (1663-7), and Charles, Duke of Kendal (1666-7)” (353).

¹⁵ Steven Zwicker, 1987, highlights the dichotomy between the “nearly anonymous gentry” and the “battery of name and personality” that constitutes the description of the Court (242-43).

¹⁶ Hence, the evident caution of the poet when he assumes the role of a ‘country peasant’ (959-60) in order to advise the king that “Courtiers, are but his disease” (952).

¹⁷ The dichotomy between Epic and Romance does not quite mesh with that between court and country, since not all country members are members of the “Gross of English gentry,” and some enter battle with private initiative and the self-centredness of epic heroes (cf. II. 268-72). Their diversity, nevertheless, is a tribute to the more liberal principles of the Country Party, which does remain united in its defense the absolutist Excise.

¹⁸ The threatening “French” influence helps to solidify the combination of political, aesthetic, and social dichotomies in the poem. Richard Helgerson explains that the equation of court with a sanctioned poetics and sovereign power was most emphatically made in France, under the guise of neoclassicism. And the threat of French neoclassicism was, at least within the war over theatre, typically characterized as female and culturally enervating influence (cf. Braverman, pp. 870-71).

¹⁹ Even during the battle the court/ country distinction begins to erode. Daniel Jaeckle points out that the upright, heroic members of the gentry are somewhat reduced in stature by means of their engagement with the corrupt court members (378). Interestingly, the contagious quality of court corruption is expressed by means of a painterly metaphor, whereby the country victory is belittled: “To Paint or Write,/ Is longer Work, and harder than to fight”

²⁰ The gentry are not implicated in the poem by means of any indication that they consented to the land tax, used to buy-off the Court Party, but Margoliouth’s notes explain that they did do so, and that their intentions were less than altruistic (see p. 361).

²¹ The incident provides an allusion to an actual public spectacle, in which the constable of Greenwich was publicly humiliated for having allowed himself to be beaten by his wife (Margoliouth, 363).

- ²² John Wallace explains the political implications of the “Skimmington Ride” in its international context, noting how the marital relations assigned to England and Holland imply that they are in fact ancient partners, “not natural enemies, and that they had allowed their neighbors to make fools of them” (p.168).
- ²³ A. B. Chambers comments on “why this whole picture seems partly out of focus,” (164) attributing the inappropriateness with which Douglas is eulogized to the corruption of the times, and suggesting that Marvell’s use of classical allusions constitutes an attempt to bring credibility to the otherwise incredible hero (165). Riebling notes that the “lascivious tone” of the scene is “deeply disturbing to the conventional comforts of elegiac verse,” and to “the poem’s nostalgia for an age of heroism and purity” (148). Daniel Jaecle finds in Marvell’s panegyric, “a passage that seems eerily unreal in a world comprised of ‘Drunkards, Pimps, and Fools’” (379).
- ²⁴ Steven Zwicker, 1987, suggests that the envoy provides an ideal reconciliation of court and country.
- ²⁵ Steven Zwicker (1990) aptly describes Douglas as, both “hero and victim: the true embodiment of loyalty and honour, the innocent sacrificed to the flames created from the court’s lust and dishonour” (101). A.B. Chambers likewise suggests that Douglas (like Hercules) is forced to kill himself when his spouse (England) acts treacherously, by marrying Charles (164).
- ²⁶ Joseph Messina aptly describes Douglas’ antique qualities as “childishly though charmingly out of touch with the compelling realities of his circumstances” (303).
- ²⁷ Messina argues that Marvell chooses an inappropriately young, passive, and naïve figure in Archibald Douglas to indicate the changing conception of heroism. His argument that Marvell’s redefinition of heroism here looks forward to the “antiheroic age which English literature was entering,” (300) suggests that Marvell may prefigure the Gothic literary convention of the anti-hero.
- ²⁸ A. B. Chambers finds in these lines an allusion to Herrick’s reworking of Martial’s lines about the beauty of a bee encased in amber, where Herrick marvels at the ability of art to transform aesthetically displeasing objects (162).
- ²⁹ In *The Loyall Scot*, Marvell uses the Douglas episode (ll. 649–496 of the *Last Instructions*) to support an argument for the union of England and Scotland, and he attacks the “Shibboleth” (246) of national identity. Annabell Patterson argues that these factors indicate a pattern of growing suspicion towards the methods of forming national identity (1996, 226). National identity does, indeed, appear as a divisive force in the *Last Instructions*, where the English gentry are resistors of the foreign intrigue threatened by court influences. And that conception of national identity is undermined by the malleability of the poems main nationalist figure.
- ³⁰ I am partially indebted to A. B. Chambers for recognizing this transference of desire. Chambers attributes the “colouration and tone” of the scene to the desire of the nymphs (162).
- ³¹ For Gregerson the term has a sophisticated lexical significance, referring to the “realm that separates two parts of likeness, the difference or defect that distinguishes likeness from identity” and which serves as a foundation for meaning making by a process of “relation” (170). In the context of Marvell’s poem, the liminal moment arises when the king and the reader are forced to contemplate the relation between the iconography of state and the visions of the king, between national and personal desire.
- ³² The psychological setting of the “calm horror” echoes the liminal moment at Nunappleton, where the future of the Fairfaxian lineage and of English Protestantism are dependent upon Maria’s marriage. She prolongs the crucial moment of “choice” (744) by extending the poet’s daylight hours, suspending twilight:
- The modest Halcyon comes in sight,
Flying betwixt Day and Night;
And such an horror calm and dumb,
Admiring Nature does benum. (669-72)

“Nature is wholly vitrifi’d” (688) in the moment, providing a clarity of vision that allows the narrator to structure his seemingly random perambulations on the Fairfax estate into an ordered tableaux (cf. st. LXXXVII). Maria provides the landscape with structure, because it is here that she has spent “studious Hours,” (747) contemplating how best to amalgamate her personal choice of a husband with the political role of the Fairfax family. Personal and political histories are successfully molded with national and providential concerns through a marriage that recapitulates the Protestant Reformation (see pp. 46-8). By contrast, Charles fails to combine his personal interest with the concerns of his public; he is incapable of enhancing vision in the way that Maria could. Foreign invasion has soiled the genii and nymphs (the equivalent of the Halcyon) that would facilitate such a relation.

³³ Based on a Lockean epistemology, any impairment of the five senses would, of course, affect the understanding.

³⁴ I am indebted to Wallace, here and elsewhere, for recognition of the anti-French elements of the poem. He finds in it “a document of some importance in the history of the development of anti-French sentiment in England” (172).

³⁵ These fears were later substantiated when the Treaty of Dover (1672) came to light, exposing Charles’ secret agreements with Louis XIV.

³⁶ Although it is the light that is ‘infected,’ it is easy to see how based on 17th century epistemology, the infection could enter the “bright beams that dart along and glare/ From his clear Eyes” (887-88). The king’s eyes can be described as anything but “clear” in the immediately following series of visions.

³⁷ I have not encountered any review of Marvell’s poem that explores this connection.

³⁸ Many critics have observed this or a similar relationship. See Wallace, 163.

³⁹ John Miller, highlights the extent to which Marvell confuses the terms “popery” and “arbitrary government,” and notes that the tendency to identify the two “had its roots in the anti-Catholic tradition and was greatly strengthened by the example of Louis XIV’s regime in France” (149).

⁴⁰ J.R. Jones, explains the political motivations behind Charles’ supposed support for religious toleration (151).

⁴¹ I have not examined all facets to the debate over the authorship of these poems, but I adhere to the general trend to accept the Second and Third Advices as Marvell’s and to reject the Fourth and Fifth. See note 4 above.

⁴² In a shortsighted attempt to save money the government devised a system of payment for the navy involving tickets rather than money. Grievances over lack of proper payment caused the desertion of some English officers to the Dutch.

⁴³ The gender specific term for a scapegoat is used intentionally here to highlight even its inappropriateness. The ultimate fall-guy in the poem is arguably the seemingly non-gendered Douglas.

⁴⁴ Zwicker (1987) discusses the combination of style and polemic in the *Advice* poems.

⁴⁵ The point is made by Chambers, p.171. It is also significant, as Chambers notes, that these lines echo the syntax of Waller’s envoy, where he celebrates the king’s authority vis à vis its emblems: “His Club Alcides, Phoebus has his bow,/ Jove has his thunder, and your navy you” (315-16). Marvell thus undermines the direction of Waller’s connection between the royal iconography and the king’s power.

⁴⁶ Zwicker (1990) draws the parallel, p.105.

Appendix

- I. "Nihil reliqui" (emblem 128). Alciati, Andrea. *Emblemata Cum Commentaris*. (Padua, 1621) New York: Garland Publishing, 1976, p. 548.



SCILICET hoc decrat post tot mala, denique nostris
Locusta ut raperent quicquid inesse agris.
Vidimus innumeras Euro duce tendere turmas,
Qualia non Atyle, castravè Xerxis erant.
Haec fenum, milium, farras omnia consumpserunt:
Spes & in angusto est, stant nisi vota super.

COMMENTARI.

PINGIT segete castis aut depastis spicis, quam turmatim circumvolitent locustae, insecti illud genus, in perniciem frugum natum; quas tamen ventus versus mare spirans gregarim in illud propellere videtur. Locustam sic describit Claudianus in Epigram.

Horret apex capitis, medio fera lumina sursum

Vertice, cognatus dorso durefcit amictus.
Armauit natura cutem, dumiq; rubentes
Cuspidibus parvis multis acuere rubores.
 Singularium locustarum descriptiones & picturam mox trademus; Vbi aliquid ad illustrationem huius epigraphes pertinens praemisimus.

NIHIL RELIQUI] Haec epigraphae pro-
 verbium o'ce, ei simile, quod usurpavit

- II. "The Sword Hath place, till War doth Cease; And, Useful is, in time of Peace,"
Wither, George. *A collection of emblems ancient and modern*. (London, 1635) Columbia: University of South Carolina, Book 4, illustration 30.



ILLVSTR. XXX.

Book. 4

SD The *Sword*, to bee an *Emblem*, here, we draw,
 Of that *Authoritie*, which keeps in awe
 Our *Countries Enemies*; and, those that are
 The *Foes of Peace*, as well as those of *Warre*;
 That, *Peace* may give the *Law of Armes* her due,
 And, *Warre*, to, *Civill-pow'rs*, respect may shew.
 For, *Kingdoms*, nor in *Warre* nor *Peace*, can stand,
 Except the *Sovereign* have alway some command:
 Yea, that, for which our *forraine Spoyle*rs come,
Domestick Foes, will else devoure at home;
 And, *stranger-Princes* the *peacefull Bees* will harme,
 Unlessse with *warlike stings*, themselves they arme.

Considering this, let none bee so unwise,
 The *Sword* as well-us'd protection to despise:
 Or, thinke the practice of this *double-guard*,
 In any place, or age, may well bee spar'd.
 Let not the *Sword-man* sleight the *pow'rfull Gowne*;
 Nor *Gowne-men* cast the *Sword* out of their *Towne*,
 Because it terrifies, or draweth *Blood*;
 For, otherwhile *Phlebotomy* is good:
 And, thought to kill a *Lowse*, the *Banians* scarce,
 (Though *Anabaptists* love no *Sword* to weare)
 Yet, being drawne, to fright, or cut off *Sinne*,
 It may bee brandish'd by a *Cherubin*.

Howev'rs, from the *Sword* divide not you
 (In any case) the *peacefull Olive-bough*:
 That is, let *Peace*, at all times, be that *End*,
 For which, to draw the *Sword* you doe intend;
 And, for *well-doing*, bee as ready, still,
 To give *rewards*, as *blowes*, for *using-ill*.

2 For-

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