PUBLIC MAN, PRIVATE POET: THE POETRY OF

ANDREW MARVELL

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the life and poetry of Andrew Marvell as these reflect a literary and social period, 1600-1660, with quite distinctive characteristics. It is argued that Marvell led a dualistic and compartmentalised life, and that he was in this a typical figure of the age. The dualism is traced in his public career as a Civil Servant and parliamentarian, and in his private career as a poet. It is further maintained that the best poetry of Andrew Marvell derived from his years as a recluse, and the influence of the Metaphysical school of poets. His entry into public life in 1658 coincided with, and probably brought about, the termination of his private activity as a lyric poet.

The thesis is divided into three chapters, which describe respectively the major events of the life, the influence on Marvell's poetry of contemporary poets, and the qualities and techniques of many of the major lyrics.

The conclusions arrived at in the first section are only of the most generalised kind, since detailed information about Marvell is scanty, but it is possible to establish correlations between phases in the life and the writing of certain kinds of lyric. In the second section a good many verbal parallels between poems by Marvell and poems by Cowley and Lovelace are pointed out, but far
the most important objective of this section is the description of the qualities of metaphysical poetry and the demonstration of the relevance of these to an understanding of Marvell's lyrics. In addition, it is maintained that it is only in the context of metaphysical poetry that Marvell's achievement can accurately be estimated. The final section yields no conclusions in the ordinary sense, but provides the detailed study of some lyrics and some of the longer poems which justifies the final judgment that, in some lyrics, Marvell demonstrates the qualities of technical skill, complexity of thought, and personal reinterpretation of the lyric tradition which are usually considered the hallmarks of a major poet, but that many poems in the canon fall far below the standard of the best lyrics.
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The critical assumption controlling the organisation of this essay is a simple one, best stated in two parts: first, it is essential, in order to reach any satisfying level of comprehension of the work of any writer, for the reader to be equipped with knowledge of the circumstances, both public and private, of that writer's life, and his situation within his own times, in particular his attitude to the important political and religious questions of the day; second, in the case of a poet, the reader must be alert to the literary situation of the writer, his relationship to the poetic tradition and to the practice of his times. The first kind of knowledge usually serves to illuminate for the reader the content of poems, the second the style, although this distinction is oversimple (poetic subjects are often traditional, and "style is the man").

Each part of this assumption involves difficulties which cannot be ignored. The first opens prospects of almost infinite ranges of relevancies, since it could certainly be maintained that every fact, however minute, which can be gathered about the life of a writer may eventually prove relevant to some insight or interpretation. No simple solution to this problem can be suggested, but for the purposes of this essay the difficulty of making any certain statements about the life of Andrew Marvell makes sharp limitations of relevance essential; the biographical and historical
sketch is limited to the attempt to trace three simple themes, important to the poetry, through the life.

The second part of the assumption presents difficulties of a different kind. It is possible, in the case of a very reclusive or independent poet, that the literary milieu will appear almost irrelevant – Milton and Blake would serve perhaps as examples. Again, in the instance of a determinedly eclectic poet, a survey of the literary scene would perhaps seem an unnecessarily extensive operation. However, as an operating hypothesis George Williamson's statement, that "his verse makes us conscious of the penetrating influence of a literary inheritance. Compared with a poet like Milton, who created his own literary medium, Marvell is the supreme example of the poet who discovers his talent in the current of a literary tradition,"\(^1\) will be accepted in part. By "a literary tradition" here Williamson means the school of Donne, and certainly the inclusion of some of Marvell's poetry within this tradition is justified. On the other hand, Marvell's canon is notably diverse; he contributes to various traditional forms, and to other schools than the school of Donne. In constructing an overview of the general poetic trends of the period, one must adhere fairly closely to two main topics, if this section of the essay is to be kept within reasonable bounds. These are the qualities of Metaphysical poetry – wit and the conceit, the importance of tone, the iconoclastic treatment of conventional themes and forms, and the use of paradox and ambiguity – and the brief tradition of verse satire.

The essay falls into three sections then: first, a biographical sketch which attempts to describe Andrew Marvell in both his private, domestic circumstances and his public involvements; second, a description of these elements of the literary situation which seem to have particularly influenced Marvell's poetry; and finally, a close analysis of the poet's best and most typical works.

The general intention of this essay is to show that there are two distinct groups of poems, "public" and "private", that each group displays strongly marked characteristics which are frequently not those which have become critical commonplaces, and that readings of the canon with these characteristics in mind differ substantially from readings offered for single poems.

First it will be necessary to break the canon into the suggested categories. Legouïs has analysed the poems into groups on the basis of themes: "Les deux grandes sources d'inspiration de l'école métaphysique sont l'amour humain et l'amour divin. Toutes deux se trouvent dans l'oeuvre de Marvell; mais, presque seul entre les disciples de Donne, celui-ci en ajoute une troisième, l'amour de la nature. Si nous laissons de côté pour le moment ses poèmes politiques dont certains, telle l'Ode horatienne affectent la forme lyrique, la division en trois d'après les themes traités s'impose...."2 In the discussion of the works in this essay, the three groups described by Legouïs together make up the private poems. The political poems, that is the three poems on Cromwell and the satires, together with the "occasional" poems, such as "To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his Poems", make up

A statement of the general conclusion about Andrew Marvell towards which this essay will move is appropriate here. When the public poems are considered, the most reasonable judgment which can be made is that he was a great public man, a founder of a major tradition in liberal democracy, who also wrote verse. On the other hand, when his private poems are considered, this must be reversed; Marvell was a major poet, who also happened to be a Member of Parliament. He lived two separate, perhaps incompatible, and highly successful lives. Douglas Bush says of the period, "Surveying the age and its representative minds, we may say that normality consists in incongruity." The particular kind of incongruity revealed in the life and poetry of Andrew Marvell is best grasped by the use of "private" and "public" as a duality implying both inconsistency and incompatibility. These qualities are illustrated by the fact that the poetic techniques of the public poems are almost completely different from those familiar to the reader of the private poems.

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Similarly, Marvell occupies at least two places in literary history. If the later satires are considered, he is a minor fore-runner of Dryden and Pope. He is a precursor of the great period of public poetry. When the private poetry is considered, Marvell marks the end of several traditions in English poetry. Since it is in this respect that he is important, considered historically and poetically, this general statement requires further comment, which will lead into a discussion of the contrasts between private poetry and public poetry, as the terms will be used here.

In English Pastoral Poetry, Frank Kermode says of the poet:

With Marvell the story really ends, for the later Pastoral lived in a quite different atmosphere, and in a quite different relationship to its readers. Marvell's lyrics, whenever they were written, were not published until the tradition in which they existed was already being forgotten.4

Since the Miscellaneous Poems were not published until 1681, it is also possible to consider Marvell as the last Cavalier poet, and also the last Puritan poet. There are better reasons than the accident of publication date, however, for asserting that the poet represents the end of the Pastoral tradition, as will be seen later. To enlarge the scope of the generalisation a good deal, it may be said that Marvell represents the end of the tradition of private poetry in England. The breakdown of this tradition in the seventeenth century is evident, for instance, in Shakespeare's sonnets. In contrasting the early and late sonnets, Patrick Cruttwell distinguishes two kinds of Elizabethan poetry and poets.

The simple, lyrical, undramatic appealed to, and wrote for,

the courtly Renaissance world and the taste which grew from it, whose attraction, as we have seen, the young Shakespeare felt; the multiple, critical, dramatic was alien to that world; its true home was the London theatre. For the former world, poetry was an elegant accomplishment, something you pleased your friends with ("among his private friends"). Publication was deprecated; the "common reader" (or common spectator) was outside the circle. "Only he may show (his writings) to a friend", advises Castiglione's Courtier, the Bible of the courtly Renaissance: "let him be circumspect in keeping them close." 5

Shakespeare felt very bitterly this distinction between private and public poetry, and the degradation involved in writing for the stage.

Oh, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,  
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,  
That did not better for my life provide  
Than public means which public manners breeds.  
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,  
And almost thence my nature is subdued  
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand,  
Pity me then, and wish I were renewed.... 6

There is no evidence that Marvell shared this feeling with the earlier poet, although his circumspection with his poems, in 'keeping them close', was in the best Renaissance tradition of the gentleman poet. Perhaps the worthiness of the 'good old cause' justified the satires to their author.

There is a further sense, the most obvious one, in which private poetry and public poetry can be contrasted. The latter, intended for publication, finds its themes and topics in the public realm. Fertile sources for dramatists were the chronicle

histories, for pamphleteers popular theology and political controversy, with the latter form usually centering on or in court scandals. The Elizabethan gentleman had written occasional poems, on public topics, which were frequently published, as for instance Marvell’s "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings" was in Lachrymae Musarum, 1649, a group of elegies on the same topic.

The third basis for the distinction between public and private poems is technical. The metaphysical poets wrote occasional poetry, but changed its category from public to private by the nature of the imagery used: "To find in the description of some particular incident an opportunity for a display of 'wit' by means of ingenious comparisons, metaphors and associations, discovering, as Johnson puts it, 'occult resemblances in things apparently unlike', is a favourite exercise of many seventeenth century poets."

This is only one aspect of a general trend in their poetry.

Renaissance writers were chiefly interested in universals and were more concerned with communicating these abstract ideas to a reader than in expressing personal feelings because of a private need. In the Seventeenth century, however, and particularly in metaphysical poetry, the experience through which these ideas were presented became increasingly complex and individual. Both in prose and in poetry there was a trend toward styles that reflected the thought processes and the personality of the author.

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The individualisation of this poetry was effected largely by an increased concern with tone. The Jacobean poet, lyric and dramatic, achieved great subtlety in the modulations and modifications of tone. As a consequence, irony becomes an important technique. Perhaps to call it a "technique" is to allow it a far more conscious status than it in fact held; it might better be called a prevailing habit of mind in such poets as Donne and Marvell.

To summarise briefly the distinction being made here: private poetry is not intended for publication, finds its topics in private life, and treats them in a highly personal way, characterised by "wit" and irony; public poetry is intended for publication, is written on topics from public affairs, and treats these without obscure allusions and associations, or complex expressions of personal feeling.

CHAPTER I

Relatively little biographical information about Andrew Marvell is available, but the distinction already suggested for the poetry, between "private" and "public", seems also to have relevance to the life.

There is an obvious incompatibility between the writer of the "poetry of rural solitude", and the diligent Member for Hull who becomes a political satirist of note. The addition of more detail to each side of this apparent cleavage reduces the extent of
the discrepancy. Marvell was, in fact, far from being a "nature-poet", and the sensual and violent qualities of some of his best poems are consistent with the personal qualities of the frequenter of coffee-houses and author of scurrilous pamphlets who was involved in a scuffle in the House of Commons for which he was in some danger of being sent to the Tower. Similarly, the Puritan Member of Parliament of whom it was said "The Parliament may sit in February, and then the good old Cause and the Work of all the Faithful in the land require his Counsel in Cabals, and his Speeches in Publick, as the most sufficient Statesman and exact Orator that their Party does afford", can easily be related to such Puritan poems as "The Coronet" and "A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure."

But there remains an inconsistency and lack of communication between the several worlds, those of the countryman, the pamphleteer, and the Puritan, in each of which Marvell was apparently equally at home. This inconsistency serves to prepare us for certain qualities of the poetry.

Within the general theme of the contrast between the private and public lives of the poet, then, there are three questions to which a useful biography must provide answers: first, was Marvell a recluse by nature, a Thoreau even in his youth, who was forced by circumstances into public life; second, what were his political and religious convictions, before these became manifest in his public activities; and third, can dates for the private poems be established on the basis of biographical information?

9 M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas, Andrew Marvell (Cambridge 1940), p.12.

10 The Diary of John Milward, quoted by Bradbrook and Thomas, p.12.
The Marvell family was originally from Meldreth, Cambridgeshire, the earliest record of the family there being a will, dated 1528. Several such wills are extant, and on the basis of their contents Legouis remarks that the Marvells were farmers, "ni miserables ni riches" (page 1). Andrew Marvell, the father of the poet, was born here, probably in 1586. There is also one fragment of evidence (see Wall) which seems to suggest that another Andrew Marvell, probably the grandfather of the poet, moved to Yorkshire in 1627 rather than pay his share of a forced loan levied by Charles I in that year. The Hull parochial records show that an "Andrew Marvell, yeoman" was buried at Holy Trinity Church April 13, 1628.

If this is a hint of early Parliamentary sympathies, it is paralleled by Puritan leanings in the same man, for his son, Andrew Marvell, the father of the poet, was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Legouis comments "Le choix fait par ses parents du College d'Emmanuel, foyer puritain fonde depuis peu, indique nettement qu'ils avaient non seulement acepté mais dépassé la Réforme royale et que l'Eglise légalement établie par Elizabeth leur paraissait insuffisamment purgée des superstitions papistes". (page 2). The poet's father gained his Master of Arts degree in 1608, and took orders the same year. He married Anne Pease in 1612, and they had five children between 1615 and 1623, of whom the poet was the fourth. In 1624 the family moved to Hull.

11 This paragraph follows the account given by L.N. Wall, "Andrew Marvell of Meldreth", N&Q, N.S.V. (1958), 399-400.

where the minister occupied the position of "Lecturer" of Holy
Trinity Church and Master of the Charterhouse, an almshouse. His
religious attitude at the time is described by his son thus: "he
was a conformist to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of
England, though I confess none of the most over-running and eager
in them."^13

Fuller also has a brief description, and an account of his death.

He afterwards became a Minister in Hull, where for
his lifetime he was well beloved; most facetious
in his discourse, yet grave in his carriage; a
most excellent preacher who like a good husband
never broached what he had new brewed, but preached
what he had pre-studied some competent time before;
isomuch that he was wont to say that he would cross
the common proverb which called "Saturday the working
day, and Monday the holiday of preachers." It happened
that, Anno Domini 1641, Jan. 23, crossing Humber in a
barrow-boat, the same was sand-warped, and he drowned
therein, by the carelessness, not to say drunkenness,
of the boatmen, to the great grief of all good men. 3

(3) With Mrs. Skinner (daughter to Sir Edward Coke) a
very religious gentlewoman. 14

Grosart says of his reading of many of Andrew Marvell senior's
sermons and miscellaneous papers,

I gather three things.
(1) That he was a man of a very brave, fearlessly out-
spoken character. Some of his practical applications
in his sermons before the magistrates are daring in
their directness of reproof, and melting in their
wistfulness of entreaty.
(2) That he was a well-read man. His sermons are as
full of classical and patristic allusions and pat
sayings from the most occult literatures as ever
Bishop Andrewes.
(3) That he was a man of tireless activity. Besides the
two offices named, he became head of one of the Great
Hospitals of the Town(Chartar House), and in an

13 The Rehearsal Transpros'd in Grosart, III, 322.

14 Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England, ed. John Freeman,
address to the Governors placed before them a prescient and statesmanlike plan for the better management of its resources, and for the foundation of a Free Public Library to be accessible to all. 15

These estimates of the father, and the fragment from the life of the grandfather, are remarkably consistent with what is known of the public life of the poet. The grandfather refusing to pay a levy not authorised by Parliament, the father a student at Emmanuel, are fit ancestors for the Member for Hull. Again, the "most excellent preacher," who was "fearlessly outspoken," seems a most suitable father for "the most sufficient Statesman and exact Orator" of the Puritans in Parliament in the Restoration period. Certainly some of the affection and respect felt for the father must have helped the son win three successive elections, as Member for Hull.

Fuller's account of Andrew Marvell senior's death mentions, in a foot-note, a "Mrs. Skinner" who was drowned in the same accident. This lady was reported by Grosart to be the daughter of the Mrs. Skinner who, a persistent legend relates, adopted the poet as a son, provided the funds for his long excursion to the Continent, and eventually left him her estate. 16 This legend is false, since ...

... it can be proved that this lady was neither Mrs. Skinner of Thornton College nor any daughter of hers...Mrs. Skinner did not die, by drowning or otherwise, in 1641, but lived to make a will on September 26, 1648, which was proved on June 18, 1653, by her youngest son Cyriack... . No lady of the Skinner family then was drowned with Marvell

15 Grosart, I, xxv.

senior. Mrs. Skinner did not leave her property to Marvell Junior. It may have been she who enabled him to travel on the continent, but there is no evidence at all that it was. 17

Andrew Marvell was born at Winestead-in-Holderness in 1621. After the family's move to Hull, he was a pupil at the Grammar School. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1633, at the age of twelve, and was apparently still in residence in 1637, for two poems by him, one in Greek, one in Latin, appear in Musa Cantabrigiensis of that year. On April 13, 1638, there is an entry in the Admission Book for Fellows, Officers and Scholars, in Marvell's handwriting, to show that he became a scholar of his college on that date, with 39 others. He took his degree in 1638/39.

At about this time it appears that he was involved with the Jesuits. The 'Jesuits', who were well represented in Cambridge at the time, are said to have persuaded him to leave Cambridge secretly, and to take refuge in one of their houses in London. Thither the elder Marvell followed in pursuit, and after search came across his son in a bookseller's shop, where he succeeded both in convincing the boy of his errors and in persuading him to return to Trinity. 18

This account follows that given in Cooke's edition of the works, and is substantiated by a letter discovered by Grosart. This was apparently addressed to Andrew Marvell senior, and was neither signed nor dated. However, Margoliouth has been able to ascertain


18 Birrell, p. 14

that the writer was John Norton, of Welton (about ten miles from Hull), and that the date of the letter was January, 1640. (p. 354).

This letter recounts a misadventure of the writer's son.

He was lately invited to a supper in towne by a gentlewoman, where was one Mr. Nichols a fellow of Peterhouse, and another or two masters of arts. I know not directly whether felowes or not: my son having noe pferment, but living meerely of my penny, they pressed him much to come to live at their house, and for chamber and extraordinary books they promised farre: and then earnestly moved him to go to Somerset House where they could do much for pferring him to some eminent place, and in conclusion to popish arguments to seduce him soe rotten and unsavory as being overheard it was brought in question before the heads of the University... I p'ceive by Mr. Breercliffe some such prank used towards yf sone: I desire to know what yu did therein... 20

If the Cooke account is substantially accurate, Marvell's absence from Cambridge cannot have been prolonged, since he is shown, in the Bursar's accounts for Michæalmas, 1640, as having received his stipend for the preceding year.

The next record at Cambridge is an entry in the Conclusion Book, September 24, 1641. Marvell had at that time been absent from the College for a considerable period, having apparently abandoned the normal progression towards the Master of Arts degree. Margoliouth speculates that Marvell left Cambridge as a result of the death of his father, dated by Fuller January 23, 1641. Certainly the two events must have occurred, at the most, within two or three months of each other. Margoliouth also comments on the existence of a legend or tradition that the poet was at some time in business in Hull.

20 Quoted in Grosart, xxvii.
There is a substantial amount of evidence for this, including four separate identifications of the same site as the one on which the building in which Marvell worked stood. One memorial, at present at the Wilberforce Museum in Hull, is a small box, inside which is printed an inscription, part of which reads:

"In memory of Adnrew Marvell, the celebrated patriot, of Kingston-upon-Hull, this box is formed from oak, out of the building wherein he served his clerkship, in the house formerly occupied by Sir John Rottenherring in High Street"... 21

If there was a period of clerkship, it cannot have been very prolonged. In 1642 Marvell was travelling on the Continent. "He spent four years abroad in Holland, France, Italy and Spain to very good purpose, as I believe, and the gaining of these four languages"... 22 The dates of departure and return are conjectural, but if the order of countries given by Milton is correct, then 1642-1646 seems the most likely period of absence, since he visited in Rome, and the latter was not in that city until 1645. If a year's stay in each country is presumed, then 1642 is the probable date of departure. This is rendered the more likely by the fact that in the summer of that year the Civil War began, and there is no record in the bitter controversies Marvell engaged in later of his part in the conflict, as there surely would have been had he been involved at all. His presumed refusal to take part in the conflict Legouis accounts for, at least in part, with a well-known comment from The Rehearsal Transpros'd.

21 See Margoliouth, p. 356.

22 Milton's letter to Bradshaw, quoted in Birrell, p. 50.
Whether it be a war of religion or of liberty it is not worth the labour to enquire. Whichever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon considering all, I think the cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God—they ought to have trusted the King with that whole matter. The arms of the Church are prayers and tears, the arms of the subject are patience and petitions. The King himself being of so accurate and piercing a judgment would soon have felt it where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving.

Marvell's political views in this troubled decade will be investigated in some detail later, but it would seem that he must have sympathised with the Parliamentarians in general. Otherwise he could scarcely have been elected Member of Parliament for Hull, a town which in both 1642 and 1643 withstood determined sieges by Royalist forces.

Marvell's trip to the Continent at this crucial time remains mysterious, however, the more so since it is not easy to account for his possessing sufficient funds for such a prolonged tour. (The legend that the trip was paid for out of funds provided by Mrs. Skinner is false). Margoliouth has produced an interesting speculation which solves all three of these difficulties: the tour at this time, the funds, and the existence of the legend. He suggests that "Marvell travelled abroad as tutor to Mrs. Skinner's eldest son Edward." This suggestion is based on an entry in the "Pilgrim's Book" of the English College at Rome, dated December 18, 1645, which records

23 Grosart, III, 175

24 Legouis, p. 22.
a visit of "Dns. (Dominus-gentleman) N. Skinner cum suo Tutore."  

It is presumed that the 'N' stands for Ned, and hence Edward. The date coincides with Marvell's visit to Flecknoe, and also with what is known of Edward Skinner. He was born in 1624, probably entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1641, and married in 1648. Margoliouth comments

If my conjecture is right, we have at last a basis in fact for the Skinner tradition. In any case the probability that Marvell travelled as a tutor is so great that one can only be surprised that it was not guessed long ago. From 1650 for several years he earned his living as a tutor in England, first to Mary Fairfax and then to Cromwell's ward William Dutton. Between his return from abroad and the Fairfax tutorship there are still some obscure years, and I would hazard the guess that they were spent in the same occupation. Marvell's external life will then fall into three clearly marked divisions:

1. Childhood and education (1621-c.1641).
2. Tutorships (c.1641-c.1657).

Marvell was a quiet, reserved man, such a man as might easily make little impression at a single meeting, but as the "tutor".

This hypothesis presents a fairly substantial reason for his absence from England at this crucial time, one which the electors of Hull in 1659 were quite likely to accept. Marvell did not have to funds to do otherwise than accept the offer of the Skinner family. In addition, the tutorship gave him an opportunity to make the Grand Tour, "complement aristocratique de l'éducation insulaire." If it is presumed that the tour commenced before the start of the Civil War, then the lack of involvement of the young man is satisfactorily explained.

26 Margoliouth, p. 356.
27 Legouis, p. 22.
About 1646, then, Marvell returned to England, and during the period 1646-1650, in which he seems to have demonstrated Cavalier sympathies in several ways, was probably employed as a tutor. He is next heard of as a poet. In 1649 Richard Lovelace published Lucasta, and in this volume was included a poem by Marvell, "To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his poems." The date of Marvell's poem is conjectural, but if

The barbed Censurers begin to looke
Like the grim consistory on they Brooke;
And on each line cast a reforming eye,
Severer than the young Presbytery,

(11. 21-24)

indicates that the book was not yet licensed, then the poem cannot have been written later than February 4, 1647/48, since on that date Lucasta was licensed. The friendship celebrated in this poem was almost certainly begun at Cambridge. Lovelace was there in 1637. It seems likely that he stayed a few months in Cambridge, at any rate long enough to make friends with a group of Cambridge men then in residence, who twelve years later contributed commendatory verses to Lucasta, Norreys Jephson, Villiers Harrington, and Andrew Marvell. The friendship must have been resumed at some time prior to the licensing of Lucasta, and since Lovelace returned to London from the Continent in 1646 or early 1647, it seems reasonable to assume that in the year 1647-1648 Marvell was himself living in or near London. This supports Legouis' speculation that the love poems

28 All references to Marvell's poems are to The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. H.M. Margoliouth, (Oxford, 1952), Vol. I.


30 Wilkinson, p. xlix.
par leur caractère mondain semblent avoir été composes à Londres, dans le temps où Marvell y fréquentait les cavaliers, c'est-a-dire entre 1646 à 1650. De ce nombre serait la piece intitulée La galerie qui renferme une allusion aux collections de tableaux de Mantoue et de Whitehall. Le texte qui nous a été conserve parle de celles-ci au passée, mais la rime far-were est si mauvaise qu'on se demande: Marvell n'aurait-il pas substitue a ce present l' imparfait seulement apres la dispersion de ces peintures en Janvier-Fevrier 1648/49? 

Legouis here refers to 11.47,48 of "The Gallery:

And a Collection chooser far
Then or White-hall's, or Mantua's were.

The suggestion gains force from the fact that every other rhyme in the poem is perfect.

This dating of "The Gallery" from evidence can be substantiated with more general evidence of the marked influence of Lucasta on the love poems of Marvell. The correspondences to be detailed here place Marvell's affiliation with the Cavaliers at this time, at least in matters of taste, beyond question. They also suggest dates for the love poems close to the date of publication of Lucasta, 1648. The Marvell poems involved are "The Unfortunate Lover," and "The Gallery."

L.N. Wall points out a very close parallel between a couplet from Lovelace's Dialogue - Lucasta, Alexix, and one from "The Unfortunate Lover."

Love neere his Standard when his Hosts he sets,
Creates alone fresh-bleeding Bannerets. (11. 15,16).

This is the only Banneret
That ever Love created yet. (11. 57,58)

The second of these sounds remarkably like a retort to the first. 

31 Legouis, p.67
32 "Some Notes on Marvell's Sources, "NQ, N.S. iv (1957), 171
The sense of an interchange between the two poets here adds an immediacy to the sign of influence which helps justify the dating of the Marvell poem around 1648, close to his first reading of *Lucasta*, which stimulated him to write "To his Noble Friend... ." Another Lovelace poem adds a good deal to an understanding of the theme of "The Unfortunate Lover." This is "Against the Love of Great Ones." The first line of this poem, "Unhappy youth betray'd by Fate," is echoed in both the title and the theme of "The Unfortunate Lover." In fact, without the information given the reader by this line from Lovelace, the sense of Marvell's poems is obscure. Again, just what part the storm plays in the Marvell poem is not easily comprehended; there seems to be little or no connection between the first stanza and the body of the poem. In fact, the poem is best seen as an elaboration of a conceit which forms one part of one stanza of the Lovelace poem:

Woulds thou with tempest lye? Then bow
To th' rougher furrows of her brow;
Or make a Thunder-bolt thy Choyce?
Then catch at her more fatal Voyce;
Or 'gender with the Lightning? trye
The subtler flashes of her eye... . (11. 15-20)

In "The Unfortunate Lover" there occur these passages:

Twas in a Shipwreck, when the Seas
Rul'd, and the Winds did what they please... (11. 9,10)

No Day he saw but that which breaks,
Through frightened Clouds in forked streaks.
While round the rattling Thunder hurl'd,
As at the Fun'ral of the World. (11. 21-24)

See how he nak'd and fierce does stand,
Cuffing the Thunder with one hand;... (11.49,50)
The changes here are typical of those which appear in Marvell's use of Lovelace's conceits; Marvell's poem is at once more 'realistic' and more outrageous in its use of the conceit. It convinces the reader with details, and shocks him with the trivial content of the poem. In some cases, as in this instance, the excesses of the conceits may be justified by their ironic intent, for it seems possible that a parody of Lovelace is intended here.


Now every Saint Cleerly divine,
Is clos'd so in her severall shrine
The Gems so rarely, richly set,
For them we love the Cabinet;
So intricately plac't withall,
As if th'imbrodered the Wall,
So that the Pictures seem'd to be
But one continued Tapestrie.  (11.45-52)

However, in Marvell's poem some changes are made; there is only one picture, it is carried in the "soul", or "mind", which becomes the gallery, and the tapestry is laid aside.

Clora, come view my Soul, and tell
Whether I have contriv'd it well.
Now all its several lodgings lye
Compos'd into one Gallery;
And the great Arras-hangings, made
Of various Faces, by are laid;
That, for all furniture, you'l find
Only your Picture in my Mind.  (11.1-8)

It is suggested here, then, that these evidences of influence are of a particular kind. There is a strong suggestion of a dialogue between the poets, which revolves around different ideas of love. In that case, these poems may certainly be dated around 1648.
One further hypothesis about the dates of the love poems concerns "To His Coy Mistress," and was suggested by E.E. Duncan-Jones.

In support of the usual view, that To His Coy Mistress belongs to the previous decade 1640-1650, when Marvell was still a Cavalier poet, I offer rather tentatively an argument drawn from 1.8. The time-reference in the sentence

I would

Love you ten years before the Flood

is usually taken, I suppose, as splendidly arbitrary. We are anyhow hazy about the date of Noah's flood, and for us it is as if Marvell had written "ten years before some happening in the indistinct past." Marvell's age, however, knew, or thought it knew, the date of the Flood precisely... 1656 anno mundi. Marvell is unlikely to have written "ten years before the Flood" without intending this to be understood as 1646 anno mundi. It looks, then, as if there was a point in his choice of year: and it can only be, I think, that if they had world enough and time he would begin to love his lady in 1646 anno mundi instead of 1646 anno Domini. His allusion to the growth of empires supports the notion that he had in mind some chronology such as Raleigh's or Broughton's, where the column of happenings in the Bible has beside it columns tabling principal events in the great pagan Empires.

Of course, even if my argument is allowed, the poem is still not dated within narrow limits. If, as Professor Legouis believes, it was addressed to a real mistress, 1646 may be the year in which he began to love her rather than the year in which he wrote the poem. We do not know for how long she had been coy.

To return to the period 1646-1650 in the life of Andrew Marvell; Legouis believes that the poet was influenced by the Cavaliers politically during this time, as well as poetically. Commenting on Marvell's poem to Lovelace, he says

"The Date of Marvell's To His Coy Mistress," TLS December 5, 1958, p.705. See also October 31,1958, p.625, and January 16, 1959, p.33 for dissenting opinions.
outre poète révèle bientôt ses préférences en attaquant les censeurs presbytériens de la presse, dont la liberté, suspendue par le parlement des 1643, n'avait pas été rétablie; il fait une allusion élogieuse aux actes qui avait attiré sur Lovelace la colère des Communes. De même si Hastings est mort tout jeune, c'est que les "étoiles démocratiques," jalouses de sa grandeur naissante, l'ont "ostracisé." Enfin Marvell a du Cavalier, non seulement le mépris de l'état populaire, mais encore la galanterie... N'ayant pa partage les souffrances des vainqueurs il ne partage non plus ni leurs haines ni leurs espoirs. Sa sympathie va plutôt aux vaincus qu'il plaint et dont il admire l'élegance.

However, it was not necessary to feel sympathetic to the political views of the Cavaliers to do any of these things. Milton attacked censorship on grounds of principle; Marvell's sympathy for Lovelace and Hastings may be said to have a personal basis rather than a political one; many people distrusted the "popular state." It is, on the other hand, true that Marvell had not identified himself with either side in the recently ended conflict; but to say that he did not share the hopes of the Puritans seems extreme, considering that within a few years he was to be elected Member of Parliament for a staunchly Puritan town. Again, the admiration of elegance was a wide-spread characteristic of the middle class at this time.

Though it was a common sneer that all tradesmen were Puritans, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that only the minority were destructive ascetics, for the rank and file of the commercial classes were not stern haters of the pleasant and the beautiful. In the three-quarters of a century preceding the Puritan Revolution, they had learned to appreciate new luxuries, new comforts, and new pleasures. And with the development of

Legouis, p. 33
their taste came the stirrings of a new interest in the fine arts, which manifested itself chiefly in the desire of burghers for houses comfortably furnished and handsomely adorned.\textsuperscript{36}

Margoliouth also takes Marvell to be a royalist at this time. Commenting on passages hostile to Cromwell in "Tom May's Death," in an attempt to establish the date of the poem, he asks how they "could proceed from Marvell in 1650, the year of the "Horatian Ode." The answer is that Marvell, although he was coming to admire and fix his hopes on Cromwell, was still a royalist in the first place, of, "To his Noble Friend" .... "An Horatian Ode"..., 11.37, 8 and 53-64, and "Elegy on Lord Francis Villiers". Of the last of these, Margoliouth later comments "If the poem is Marvell's, it is his one unequivocally royalist utterance; it throws into strong relief the transitional character of "An Horatian Ode" where royalist principles and admiration for Cromwell the Great Man exist side by side; it explains "Tom May's Death": and it throws a backward light on the history of Marvell's mind during the still obscure years since 1641". (page 334). The most revealing lines in the elegy are the concluding ones:

Such are the Obsequies to Francis' own:
He best the pompe of his own death hath shouwne,
And we hereafter to his honour will
Not write so many, but so many kill.
Till the whole Army by just vengeance come
To be at once his Trophee and his Tombe. (11.123-128)

Lord Francis Villiers died in a skirmish near Kingston-on-Thames July 7, 1648, so that this poem was probably written in that year.


\textsuperscript{37} Poems and Letters, I, 240.
The authorship is not conclusively proved (see Margoliouth pp. 332-334), but if the poem is Marvell's, it is difficult to reconcile it with everything else that is known of his political sympathies. These lines can only be explained as an impulsive outburst, by a man given to such impulses (as his brief sojourn with the Jesuits, and various encounters of his political career make obvious).

The next recorded event in Marvell's life almost certainly illuminates Marvell's political sympathies at the time, and will help establish at least a tentative conclusion. In 1650 or 1651 Marvell became the tutor in languages of Mary Fairfax, daughter of Lord Fairfax. The circumstances by which Marvell came to be offered this tutorship are not known, but it seems unlikely that he can have been publicly associated with the Royalists, and certainly the bulk of his cavalier poetry cannot have been known to Lord Fairfax. But it must be assumed that the latter knew of, if he had not read, "To his Noble Friend...." The General's appointment of the writer of that poem as his daughter's tutor requires some explanation.

Fairfax had been the Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary Army from 1645 to 1650, but he was distressed by the extremists of his party, including Cromwell, and apparently went into retirement as a result of a disagreement with the latter.39

Marvell can claim to have foreseen this break in "Elegy on Lord Francis Villiers", in which he called Fairfax 'long-deceived'.

38 See, for instances, his encounter in the street with Parker, in Bradbrook and Thomas, p.11.

39 See Legouis, p.39.
It does not require any detailed study of the "Horatian Ode", at this point, to establish the probable congruence of attitudes to Cromwell between the young tutor and the old General. Their fears, it seems likely, were neatly summed in Marvell's couplet,

The same Arts that did gain
A Pow'r must it maintain.

The attitude of Lady Fairfax must also be noted here, since she had at least some influence upon her husband.

Presbyterienne déterminée, elle détestait Cromwell et les indépendants; elle le fit bien voir le 20 janvier 1648/49, jour où s'ouvrit le procès du Roi, en apostrophant les juges du haut d'une tribune et en leur contestant le droit de parler au nom "du peuple d'Angleterre". Elle qui avait toujours encouragé son mari dans la lutte contre l'arbitraire royal, aurait voulu qu'il intervint pour sauver le Roi. Elle n'y réussit pas, mais quand Fairfax décida de quitter le service du parlement, les républicains attribuerent cette démission à l'influence de sa femme.

The Fairfax family must then be considered politically uncommitted, at least in the sense that they retained some critical sense, and the capacity to discriminate between good and bad policies. It is surely not inconsistent with any of the evidence available from the poems or The Rehearsal Transpros'd that Marvell too should be considered to fit into this category, which makes his appointment as tutor to Mary Fairfax quite reasonable.

This interpretation is, of course, in conflict with that of Margoliouth and Legouis. There is one common theme which runs through all the comments made by Marvell at this time about his contemporaries which may explain the conflict here. This theme is one of admiration for personal courage and grace. Fairfax

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Legouis, p.40
and Cromwell, Lovelace and Villiers, the King himself, to the extent that they acted honourably and, in the last two cases, died gracefully, were admired by Marvell. It is this feeling which appears in all the poems on which Margoliouth and Legouis base their interpretation, with the sole exception of the lines in the "Elegy on Lord Francis Villiers" which speak of killing "the whole Army". It is impossible to interpret these lines as in any way consistent with everything else that is known of the poet at this time; within two years he had accepted a position in the household of the man who at the time of the death of Villiers was Commander in Chief of this Army. Their significance must remain obscure, though to consider that they, unsupported by any other evidence, throw "a backward light on the history of Marvell's mind during the still obscure years since 1641" seems injudicious.

Perhaps the best conclusion is that in these years Marvell was politically undecided. He probably did feel sympathy for the beaten side; certainly in his habits of mind as revealed in his writing he was a good deal closer to the Cavaliers than to the Puritans; yet he could still feel regret for the excesses of both sides - "the cause was too good to have been fought for". Its worthy aims ought to have been secured by "prayers and petitions."

As has been shown, there was nothing unreasonable about the offer of a position as tutor by General Fairfax to Marvell. At first sight, however, it seems that the most unlikely thing that Marvell could have done at this time was move from London to a remote house in Yorkshire. There is every reason to believe that the grand tour, and the society of the Cavaliers in London, had agreed with him, and a few years later he was one of the most
energetic of public men. All that is known of him, but for this brief interlude at Nun Appleton House, and the poems which presumably stemmed from it, is consistent with the pamphleteer, wit, and orator of the 1660's. However, his reasons for going to Nun Appleton House are given in two of the three poems which without doubt, were written during his stay there, "Upon Appleton House" and "The Garden"! ("Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow" completes this group.) In the first appears this self-assurance:

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These trees have I encamped my Mind;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart.... (11.601-605)

The sense of this is paralleled by these lines in "The Garden":

When we have run our Passions heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat.
The Gods, that mortal Beauty chase,
Still in a Tree did end their race. (11.25-40)

Since the "I" of "Upon Appleton House" certainly refers to the poet himself, first as the narrator of a history, and then as observer of a rural scene, these passages can be safely read as revealing Marvell's own attitude at this time.

There is some internal evidence for dating the Mower series of poems during this period also. The image of the Mower, and the accident in "Damon the Mower" -

While thus he threw his Elbow round,
Depopulating all the Ground,
And, with his whistling Sythe, does cut Each Stroke between the Earth and Root,
The edged Stele by careless chance
Did into his own Ankle glance;
And there among the Grass fell down,
By his own Sythe, the Mower mown. (11.73-80)

obviously derive from a stanza in "Upon Appleton House".
With whistling Sithe, and Elbow strong,
These Massacre the Grass along;
While one, unknowing, carves the Rail,
Whose yet unfeather'd Quills her fail.
The Edge all bloody from its Breast
He draws, and does his stroke detest;
Fearing the Flesh untimely mow'd
To him a Fate as black forebode. (11.393-400)

The evidence for assuming that the Mower series was written after
"Upon Appleton House" depends on the context and tone of the event
in the two poems; as it occurs in "Upon Appleton House", the
passage reads as a report of an external event, and the context
supports this reading. However, as it appears in the Mower
series, it has become an important part of an imagined, internal
history, a part which gains considerable dramatic force in ways
to be discussed below.

If this dating is accurate, some doubt arises as to whether
the "retreat" was in fact "safe". For three of the four Mower
poems speak of the loss of innocence and hope which follows the
advent of Juliana. "Damon the Mower" opens

Heark how the Mower Damon Sung,
With love of Juliana stung ...
Sharpe like his Sythe his Sorrow was,
And wither'd like his Hopes the Grass.

The last stanza of "The Mower to the Glo-Worms" repeats the
theme, with some variation:

Your courteous Lights in vain you wast,
Since Juliana here is come,
For She my Mind hath so displac'd
That I shall never find my home. (11.13-16)

"The Mower's Song" links the ideas of the lost hopes and the
displaced mind:
My Mind was once the true survey
Of all these Medows fresh and gay;
And in the greeness of the Grass
Did see its Hopes as in a Glass;
When Juliana came, and she
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me (ll.1-6)

Since the conventional elements are so strong in these poems,
however (the pastoral, the complaint, and the passion ending in
death being obvious), the relevance of the events here described
to the life of the poet is not certain.

All the information available about Marvell's activities
from 1653 to 1657 must be gathered from three letters and a
comment in The Rehearsal Transpro'sd. The first of these letters
is that written by Milton to John Bradshaw as a testimonial. The
immediately relevant passages only are given here.

There will be with you tomorrow, upon some occasion
of business, a gentleman whose name is Mr. Marvile; a man whom, both by report and the converse I have
had with him, of singular desert for the State to
make use of; who also offers himself, if there be
any employment for him... He now comes lately out
of the house of the Lord Fairfax, who was Generall,
where he was intrusted to give some instructions
in the languages to the Lady his daughter.  

This letter is dated February 21, 1652/53. On this date, then,
Marvell had recently left Nun Appleton House. He was seeking
public office. Ambition and a desire for a more active life
are the most likely reasons for his removal from the Fairfax
household. Marvell did not get the position of assistant for
which Milton recommended him at this time. In due course it was
occupied by a Phillip Meadows.

41 Quoted in Grosart, i, xxxvii.
42 See Birrell, p.51.
There is some confusion as to what Marvell did in fact do after leaving the Fairfax employment. In the face of a letter which he reprints, Grosart declares that Marvell's tutorship of Cromwell's ward William Dutton began in 1657 - "in this year he was appointed 'tutor' as before to Mary Fairfax, so now to Cromwell's nephew, a Mr. Dutton" He is followed in this incomprehensible statement by Birrell, in spite of the fact that the letter, from Marvell to Oliver Cromwell, is clearly dated July 28, 1653. Its purpose is to render you an account of Mr. Dutton. I have taken care to examine him several times in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge... Therefore, Mr. Oxenbridge is the best to make your Excellency an impartial relation thereof: I shall only say that I shall strive according to my best understanding (that is, according to the rules your Lordship hath given me) to increase whatsoever talent he may have already... He hath in him two things that make youth most easy to be managed, - modesty, which is the bridle to vice; and emulation, which is the spur to virtue. And the care which your Excellence is pleased to take of him is no small encouragement and shall be so represented to him; but above all, I shall labour to make him sensible of his duty to God; for then we begin to serve faithfully, when we consider He is our master. And in this, both he and I owe infinitely to your Lordship, for having placed us in so godly a family as that of Mr. Oxenbridge, whose doctrine and example are like a book and a map, not only instructing the ear, but demonstrating to the eye, which way we ought to travel;\footnote{Margoliouth, Poems & Letters, II, 291.}

This letter is clearly an account of the commencement of the tutorship, which can be dated some time in July, 1653. Also, Marvell's acquaintance with John Oxenbridge is explained; he had been lodged in the latter's house in Eton by Cromwell, his employer. Birrell's surmise, that this acquaintance began
through "Oliver St. John, who at this time was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and had married Oxenbridge's sister, was known to Marvell, and may have introduced him to his brother-in-law" (p.51) becomes unnecessary. Marvell's residence in Eton explains his comment on John Hales, who lived there until his death in 1656; "I account it no small honour to have grown up into some small part of his acquaintance and conversed awhile with the living remains of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom." 44

There also exists a letter from Marvell to Milton, which is dated from Eton, June 2, 1654, at which time Marvell was still in residence at the Oxenbridge house. 45 In 1656 he and Dutton were at Saumur in France together. 46 There seems no reason to doubt that this tutorship lasted until 1657, as Legouis states (p.182) when Philip Meadows was sent on a mission to Denmark, on August 31, and Marvell took over the post of assistant to the Latin Secretary, on September 2.  47

This post, for which he had waited five years, occupied Marvell for little over a year. On January 10, 1658/59 he contested the election which followed the death of Cromwell, (September 3, 1658), and with John Ramsden was elected quite possibly fraudulently. 48

44 The Rehearsal Transpro'sd, Grosart, III, 126.

45 Margoliouth, Poems and Letters, II. 293.


47 Legouis, p.200.

48 Legouis, p.217.
To the period 1653-1657 can be assigned the poem *Bermudas*. John Oxenbridge had been driven from his tutorship in Oxford by Laud in 1634, and had embarked for the Bermudas in 1635. He returned in 1641 and was given a tutorship at Eton College in 1652. Shortly before Marvell's arrival at his house, Oxenbridge was named one of the commissioners for the government (from London) of the Bermudas. Marvell's poem is probably based on the account of the Puritan voyage which the poet had at first hand from Oxenbridge. There also exists a distinct possibility that Marvell's other Puritan poems were written in this period, and not at Nun Appleton House, as is generally believed. Both households were pious, scholarly, contemplative, and perhaps semi-retired. Both were staunchly Puritan. The later date has the advantage of being further separated from Marvell's Cavalier period. It has also a slight advantage in presenting an orderly and not uncommon progression in the emotional life of the poet, in which poems celebrating 'l'amour humain' 1646-1650, are followed by poems of 'l'amour de la nature', 1650-1653, and finally by poems of 'l'amour divin', 1653-1657.

Whichever dating is accepted for the Puritan poems, however, the date of Marvell's election to Parliament marks a terminal date in his life as a private poet. None of the poems which fall into this category can be dated after 1658; of the public poems in English, all but two were written prior to this date. The exceptions are "To a Gentleman...", which Margoliouth dates about 1676 (II, 227), and "On Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost" which first appeared in the second edition of that work, 1674 (p.260).
This date, 1658, and event, election, are terminal to Marvell's writing of lyric poetry of both private and public kinds then; from this date on his verse writings were satires. It is of course true that his first verses in English, *Fleckno* (if they were written about the time of the events they describe, 1645 or 1646) were satirical, modelled probably on Horace (I,235) and a simple division of the canon is not possible. But for once the critical commonplace is accurate enough; Marvell was a poet until he entered public life. His writing then became a servant of his political engagements.

Since the satires are not personal in reference, a detailed biography is of no value in examining them. It will be sufficient here, then, to note the main events of Marvell's subsequent career, with special reference only to those which help to give a clearer general picture of the range of interests and accomplishments of the poet-turned-patriot.

Marvell's first sojourn in Parliament did not last long. Richard Cromwell dissolved Parliament, with his last act of state, on April 22, 1659. The Rump Parliament was recalled, expelled by force October 13, recalled again, and eventually dissolved March 16, 1660, by a Bill which also made provision for calling a Parliament April 25, 1660. During the year of the Rump Parliament, Marvell was apparently again employed under Thurloe, the Latin Secretary. On April 2 Marvell was again, with John Ramsden, elected for Hull. This, the Convention Parliament, was also shortlived, and was dissolved on December

49 Legouis, p.244
29, 1660. On April 1, 1661, Marvell was for the third time elected a Member for Hull, although this third April proved unlucky for his friend and colleague John Ramsden, who was defeated by a Colonel Gilbey.

Marvell and Colonel Gilbey disagreed almost immediately, perhaps because the latter had fought for the King in the Civil War. In a letter dated June 1, Marvell says

The bonds of civility betwixt Colonell Gilby and my selfe being unhappily snapped in pieces, and in such manner that I can not see how it is possible ever to knit them again, the onely trouble that I have, is least by our misintelligence your business should receive any disadvantage ... the occasion of our disagreement as farre as I understand arose from some crudities and undigested matter remaining upon the stomach ever since our Election ....

There is no further record of disagreement, and a letter to the Trinity House dated February 25 was again signed by both Members.

In May, 1662, Marvell found that "by the interest of some persons too potent for me to refuse and who have a great direction and influence upon my counsells and fortune I am obliged to go beyond sea ... my journey is but into Holland ..." (II,240). There is also in this letter a reference to Lord Carlisle, and Margoliouth comments "it is clear that he had at this time found a patron in Carlisle, whom he afterwards accompanied to Russia, and it was in Carlisle's service that he went abroad on this occasion" (II,344). There is some substantiation for this idea in the fact that on his arrival at the Hague, Marvell was lodged in the house of Sir George Downing,

Carlisle's brother-in-law. It is noted by Legouis, however, that the letters to the Mayor and Corporation at this time make three separate references to private business - "mine own private affairs", "private concernments of mine", "mine own private concernments". In addition, it has been surmised that Marvell was involved with the Presbyterian exiles in Holland in political intrigues. This is probable, since in 1672-1674 Marvell was engaged in a conspiracy, originating in the policy of William of Orange, to break the alliance Charles II had formed with Louis XIV in the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670. This conspiracy made extensive use of pamphlets, waging an early kind of political warfare. It bore fruit in 1674, when the Dutch forced Charles to make the Treaty of Westminster.

Marvell returned in March, 1663, and was somewhat sardonic about an attempt to fill his seat which had been made in his absence. "I have been at the house and found my place empty; though it seems as I now heare that some persons would have been so courteous as to have filled it for me." (II,34)

Very soon, he was again in the service of Lord Carlisle, this time as Secretary to the embassy to Moscow which the latter was to undertake. This time he made sure that no plot to fill his seat could be successful. "You may be sure that I will not stirre without special leave of the House that so you may be free from any possibility of being importuned or tempted to make any other choice in my absence." (II,37)

51 Legouis, p.245
52 Bradbrook and Thomas, p.6.
The purpose of this appointment was the inception of trade between England and Russia, and it becomes possible that Marvell's previous absence was on a similar mission for Lord Carlisle. In that case he might well have combined, with his mission for Lord Carlisle, some "private concernsments". There is some evidence, in the rather odd circumstances surrounding his death and the publication of his poems in 1681, that he had for some time been involved with a firm of merchant bankers, Thompson, Nelthorpe and Company. Perhaps this earlier had involved him in business on the Continent.

There remains very little of importance to this essay. There is a very fine story, related in Grosart, of an attempt by the Lord Treasurer Danby to bribe Marvell on the King's behalf with £1,000, which Marvell treated with scorn, gracefully.

Jack, the servant-boy, was called "Jack, child, what had I for dinner yesterday?" "Don't you remember, sir? you had the little shoulder of mutton that you ordered me to bring from a woman in the market." "Very right, child. What have I for dinner today?" "Don't you know, sir, that you bid me lay by the blade-bone to broil?" "Tis so, very right, child; go away. - My Lord, do you hear that? Andrew Marvell's dinner is provided..."

This story is, of course, unverifiable. It serves perhaps better as an example of what could be believed of Marvell by his contemporaries, than as an illustration of his character.

The final illumination which biographical details can provide derives from the circumstances surrounding the death of

54 L.N.Wall, "Marvell's Friends in the City" N & Q, N.S.VI(1959),204-207.

55 Grosart, I,xlix.
the poet and the publication of *Miscellaneous Poems*. The link between Marvell and Nelthorpe, Thompson and Company, already noted, was apparently one of friendship, interest, and political manoeuvring, for these men were Nonconformists, and involved in the struggle for power in the City of London. The firm failed in 1676, and the principals were declared bankrupt. Marvell instructed Mary Palmer, his housekeeper, to take a house in Great Russell Street, and concealed them there. When Marvell died, at this house, Nelthorpe and Thompson conspired with Mary Palmer to obtain £500 which had been deposited by Marvell with a goldsmith. For this purpose Mary Palmer masqueraded as Marvell's widow; as part of this pretence the poems were published. The contrast between the greatness of the volume and the meanness of the events which led to its publication is a paradox which Marvell himself might have enjoyed. The money involved here was possibly part of the assets of the firm, being hidden from creditors by Marvell. His motives in this are not clear, but "Marvell's actions in providing a hiding-place for his insolvent friends may well have been taken under the conviction that they were the victims of a persecution provoked by their stand for the religious and civil liberties of the City ...."

Marvell died August 16, 1678, very shortly after his return from a brief visit to Hull. There was a contemporary story that he was poisoned by the Jesuits, but it is much more likely that

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56 For a complete account of this firm, see L.N. Wall, "Marvell's Friends in the City".


58 Wall, p.207
he died as a result of excessive bleeding, to which he was subjected as a treatment for a fever.  

The contradictions and inconsistencies suggested in the introduction are not, of course, resolved by this account. The contrast between the tutor of languages to Puritans, the son of a minister, who lived a retired life from 1650-1657; and the Member for Hull, who involved himself in political, commercial and social controversies with gusto, and who at the time of his death was probably committing a felony, emerges clearly in this detailed account of the life. The three questions which a useful biography must answer (Was Marvell a recluse by nature? What were his political and religious convictions before he entered public life? Can the poems be assigned dates on the basis of biographical information?) have been answered in the course of this narrative. In the early years, Marvell's choice of friends at Cambridge, his tour of the Continent, and his "Cavalier period" are all consistent enough with his activities from 1658 on; in the sense that he was by choice, a public man. The period of virtual retirement forms the exception then. The second question can be answered as readily; there is almost nothing in Marvell's early life or his writings which cannot be reconciled with his later political activities. The exceptions to this, his brief escapade with the Jesuits and some lines in the "Elegy" on Villiers, are explicable. He was throughout his life given to impulsive outbursts of speech and action, but "with his hastiness of temper Marvell combined a moderation in matters of belief as rare among his own party as among his enemies." This moderation, together with

59 Birrell, p.220
60 Bradbrook and Thomas, p.13.
a propensity to value individuals above causes, men above parties, is the basis of Marvell's political beliefs and his political poetry. Finally, the dates of the private poems can be established with some certainty, with the exception of the Puritan poems, which could have been written at any time from 1650-1658 (even possibly before 1650); the likelihood is that they followed the other private poems.

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CHAPTER II

At the time of his death, Marvell was unknown as a poet, and remained so despite the publication of Miscellaneous Poems in 1681. "When they appeared they were no longer in fashion, and the volume seems to have sold chiefly as a memorial to Marvell the patriot; in most copies the portrait is missing as though it had been taken out to frame." His reputation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, too, depended on his career as a Parliamentarian rather than on his private occupation as a poet. Coleridge, in his extensive criticism, says nothing of Marvell, and Wordsworth's reference is clearly libertarian:

1 Bradbrook & Thomas, p.4.
Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom - better none:
The later Sidney, Marvel, Harrington,
Young Vane, and others who called Milton friend.

("Great Men Have Been Among Us", ll. 1-7) ²

It was not until the twentieth century that Marvell began to be seriously regarded as a poet; he then shared in the general revival of the Metaphysical poets, and was fully represented in Professor Grierson's important anthology, *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*. ³

In constructing an overview of the literary milieu in which Marvell wrote the private poems, the most obvious starting-point is the term 'metaphysical', and the related terms, 'wit' and 'conceit'. If the term 'metaphysical' has any significance, it must refer to some characteristic in which the poets of whom it is used differ from those who preceded them. In what ways did the metaphysical poet differ from the Elizabethan lyricist?

T. S. Eliot says of Donne that he "may almost be considered the inventor of an attitude, a system of feeling or of morals...what appears at one time a curious personal point of view may at another time appear rather the precise concentration of a kind of feeling diffused in the air about him." ⁴

³ Oxford, 1921
⁴ *Metaphysical Lyrics*, p. xxvii.
Mr. Leishman, comparing Donne and Jonson, sees a similar quality as characteristic of the later poets: "Both - a notable characteristic of the seventeenth century poet as distinguished from the typical Elizabethan lyrist - stamped an image of themselves upon nearly all they wrote... .

There seems to be, in Mr. Eliot's characterisation of Donne's poetry, a paradox. It is at the same time: personal, and representative; he achieves "the precise concentration of a kind of feeling diffused in the air about him." This paradox is heightened by a comment by Leishman:

A good deal of seventeenth century poetry and prose was written by men who either in sorrow or in contempt had turned aside from the troubles and confusions around them and had found inspiration either in books or in some intensely personal experience. The main stream of the national life does not flow through this literature as it flows through that of the preceding age, true as it is that this stream itself has been rather 'shorn and parcelled'. It is an age of lonely and divided souls.

The relevance of this passage to Marvell is obvious. The passage also provides the solution to the paradox. Because it was "an age of lonely and divided souls", poetry which was the "dialectical expression of personal drama" (perhaps the best short description of metaphysical poetry) was representative. The qualities of

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metaphysical poetry appear also in the drama of the time, as will be demonstrated below, so that the most public and contemporaneous of forms speaks for the representative nature of metaphysical poetry. There is one further characteristic of the metaphysical mind which helps to account for this paradox. Professor Willey, in a chapter on Sir Thomas Browne in The Seventeenth Century Background, says that something of the peculiar quality of the "metaphysical" mind is due to this fact of not being finally committed to any one world. Instead, it could hold them all in a loose synthesis together, yielding itself, as only a mind in free poise can, to the passion of detecting analogies and correspondences between them.  

To return to the garden to the world in which

vainly men themselves amaze
To win the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes;

was not so devastating an experience for the metaphysical mind as it would appear to observers from another time.

The core of the problem presented to critics by the metaphysical poets is the matter of wit, as Dr. Johnson pointed out long ago. Mr. Eliot makes some valuable distinctions; wit "is not cynicism, though it has a kind of toughness which may be confused with cynicism by the tender-minded...because it implies a constant inspection and criticism of experience. It involves, probably, a recognition, implicit in the expression of every experience, of other kinds of experience which are possible...

8 New York, 1955, p. 50.

9 "Andrew Marvell," p. 76.
The "toughness" often appears as levity, when the subject treated is nominally serious, or traditional. Mr. Leishman, in his discussion of wit in Donne, finds that the "author's attitude to his subject" is the most fundamental and general problem in the criticism of metaphysical poetry, and that "before one can safely generalize about Donne's poetry and the nature of Donne's wit, it is very necessary to attempt some classification of his poems according to their degrees of seriousness.  

This is also extremely important in any consideration of Marvell's poetry, and in the later examination of individual poems, a good deal of attention will be paid to this matter. Wit in the sense of levity in Marvell has been almost totally ignored by the critics (although George Williamson notes the strength of "the lighter side of Donne's wit, his levity" in Marvell) and this has led to a good many misreadings.

To return to the general problem of wit; in the seventeenth century it was felt to be the power of the mind to gather experience up into wholes: "Wit is not only the luck and labour, but also the dexterity of thought rounding the world like the sun, with unimaginable motion, and bringing swiftly home to the memory universal surveys," says Davenant. To this we may compare Eliot's famous passage on the intellectual poet, who feels his thought

10 The Monarch of Wit, p.87

11 Williamson, p.152

as immediately as the odour of a rose. A thought to
Donne was an experience; it modified his sensibility.
When a poet's mind is perfectly equipped for its work,
it is constantly amalgamating disparate experience;
the ordinary man's experience is chaotic, irregular,
fragmentary. The latter falls in love, or reads Spinoza,
and these two experiences have nothing to do with each
other, or with the noise of the typewriter or the smell
of cooking; in the mind of the poet these experiences are
always forming new wholes.

To the seventeenth century, wit was also the creative operation
of the mind acting on language, as this excerpt from Carew's
elegy on Donne makes clear:

Since to the awe of thy imperious wit
Our stubborn language bends, made only fit
With her tough-thick-rib'd hoopes to gird about
Thy Giant phansie... 14

This operation of the mind on language was what Dr. Johnson had
in mind when he spoke of "the most heterogeneous ideas" being
"yoked by violence together." 15 As revealed in poetry, this
linking is accomplished by the conceit.

The general purpose of the conceit was to draw analogies.
But it is possible to be more specific about the function of the
metaphysical conceit, in its best uses; it served to make possible
"a direct sensuous apprehension of thought, or a re-creation of

14 An Elegy upon...Dr. John Donne, in Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems,
p. 178.
15 "Cowley", Lives of the Poets, ed. Mrs. A. Napier (London, 1890),
16 See Duncan, p. 13.
thought into feeling", by making the abstract concrete. To
invoke constancy, Donne uses the famous compass image. To
describe the soul, in the context of a garden, Marvell gives it
the characteristics of a bird. Death, the "grim reaper" is
presented, to the "rail", as a Mower. This linking of the abstract
and the concrete and representation of the abstract by the concrete
is certainly the central fact of metaphysical poetry. Metaphysical
poetry is born where the points of two cones coincide: one cone
represents the real world and the other the metaphysical world,
both contracted to a tiny point or circle.

There is a certain arbitrariness about these images which
was probably at least in part responsible for Dr. Johnson's
objection to them. But the fact is that the ideas which seemed
to Dr. Johnson heterogeneous had in many instances been traditionally
linked in the work of the emblematic poets of the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries. Emblem books were very popular in these
years. From the press of Christopher Plantin, of Antwerp, there
issued nearly fifty editions of Emblem-books between 1564 and
1590. Of a popular English writer of emblems, Praz says
"Quarles' Emblemes (1635,1639,1643) supplied the wider public with
a cheap substitute for that metaphysical wit which authors like
George Chapman and John Donne provided for a more refined audience."

17 George Williamson, In A Garland for John Donne,ed. T. Spender,
(Cambridge, Mass. 1931) p. 158

18 H. Green, Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers, (London, 1870), p. 85

The literary emblem depends on a relationship between the picture and the verses appearing with it. In the early forms the figures or pictures, besides denoting the natural objects to which they bear resemblances, were employed to express properties of the mind, virtues and abstract ideas, and all the operations of the soul. Bacon's rather clearer statement of this is "Embleme deduceth conceptions intellectuall to images sensible, and that which is sensible more forcibly strikes the memory, and is more easily imprinted than that which is intellectual." Linking the visual and the intellectual, emblem books depended upon the same capacity of mind as metaphysical wit, the perception of analogies, which is in turn part of a larger search for allegorical meanings. In addition, the emblem and the metaphysical conceit both serve to make abstractions concrete. An emblem is a metaphysical conceit in little.

Many critics have recognised the possibility of Marvell's use of emblems, particularly in relation to such minor poems as "The Gallery" and "The Unfortunate Lover." Miss Wallerstein maintains that emblem images "are one of the most distinctive characters of his poetry," and are "the direct fruit of his consciously held view of life." Such large generalisations seem unwarranted, although certainly a consciously held aesthetic

20 Green, p.11
21 Quoted by Green, p.1
22 See Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), p.4
23 See, for instance, Bradbrook and Thames, p.29
view about the relation between painting and poetry seems a prerequisite to the production and enjoyment of composites such as emblem books. This particular problem in seventeenth century aesthetics has been discussed by Rosamond Tuve. She shows that the tag 'ut pictura poesis' was not a demand for mere ornament. In Donne "the effect upon his imagery is the normal one (I believe): the introduction of sensuously apprehensible detail with the further function of indicating in sum an abstraction." The influence of the emblem writers on the metaphysical poets, including Marvell, may be summarised thus: the groups shared an esthetic theory, and a habit of seeking analogies, which is a general characteristic of the early seventeenth century. The metaphysicals used traditional images commonly found in emblem books. As a consequence, both the content and the functioning of some metaphysical conceits can be better understood by a reader familiar with the popular emblem books.

The emblem books which it is suggested influenced Marvell are those from about 1630-1650, which belong to the middle period of emblem production. Hugo's *Pia Disideria*, 1645, Hawkins' *Partheneia Sacra*, 1633, and Fane's *Otia Sacra*, 1648, have all been mentioned in this connection. Quarles' *Emblemes*, 1635, is

26 Wallerstein, p. 162
28 Bradbrook* Thomas, p. 25
These emblem books differ from earlier emblems in some ways.

The same emblematic characteristics - the persistently literary nature of the symbolisation and the arbitrary way in which the significance is imposed - lie behind both, but they find different forms of expression in each. There is, in the first place, a change in theme, a shift in the later emblems from what is impersonal, to more individual and subjective types of material....

As a consequence of this new interest, the later emblem writers preferred to invent their own images or to adapt familiar ones and apply them in their own way, whereas the earlier writers were content very often with the conventional symbols and personifications or with traditional episodes from history, legend, or fable.

This change obviously parallels that more general change already traced in lyric poetry of the period, and adds to the arbitrary nature of the significance invested in the symbols found in the emblem books of this middle period.

The importance of emblems, for this essay, is that they do tend to illuminate images which may otherwise seem hopelessly arbitrary and unreasonable. The reader may well be at a loss to know exactly how a connection is made, for example, between Death and the Mower in the line "For Death thou art a Mower too," in "Damon the Mower." Knowledge of a common emblem illuminates the poet's association. To express this theoretically, a concept of Henry Wells, the "Radical image," is useful, although perhaps in a way that Mr. Wells did not intend. He says "In Radical imagery the minor term is itself of little imaginative value but the metaphorical relation is powerful.... The minor term in a Radical image is significant metaphorically only at a single, narrow point of contact. Elsewhere it is incongruous."

29 Dennis Davison, "Notes on Marvell's 'To His Coy Mistress'" N&Q N.S.V. (1958),521.
30 Freeman. p.33
31 Quoted in Williamson, p.33
The "single narrow point of contact", in Mr. Wells' mind, has to do with some characteristic of the minor term, say the functioning of the compasses in Donne's image. But to Donne himself 'the point of contact' was probably an emblem, and he expected his readers to make the same connection. In many instances, the right connection can be made without knowledge of the emblem, but the process is much more difficult and more open to interpretation and debate than the simple association the poets had in mind. In some instances Marvell's connections, the movement of a poem, can hardly be understood at all without knowledge of the appropriate emblem.

The final important aspect of the technique of the metaphysical poets, not subsumed under the three terms so far discussed, is the use of ambiguity. Mr. Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity* has illustrated the possibilities of close critical attention to this device in poetry, and the categories he has established will be used here, with some caution. To Empson an ambiguity is "any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language." (page 3). Definition is not one of Mr. Empson's strengths, and this definition is far too inclusive to be of much value, except as an illustration of the scope of the method employed by the critic. The first type of ambiguity is made

32 See Freeman, p.147.
possible by metaphor, in which "one thing is said to be like another, and they have several different properties in virtue of which they are alike" (page 4).

The kind of metaphor which fits into Empson's first category is at the opposite extreme from the "Radical image", Eliot's "telescoped conceit." It is very like the extended conceit which forms the basis of "The Definition of Love," although this poem is more consciously constructed than the examples Empson gives.

The other category used by Empson which has particular relevance to metaphysical poetry is the third type, the pun, which occurs "when two ideas, both relevant in the context, can be given in one word simultaneously" (page 117). A pun justifies itself to the reader "by saying two things, both of which were relevant and expected, or by saying what is expected in two ways which, though different, are seen at once to come to the same thing" (page 119).

"The Definition of Love" will again provide an example. In the first line, "My Love is of a birth so rare," "Love" means both "the woman I love" and "emotion," and enforces a double meaning on "birth," both "origin" and "lineage." The two meanings here do "come to the same thing."

The pun has other possibilities: "it may name two very different things, two ways of judging a situation, for instance, which the reader has already been brought to see are relevant, has already been prepared to hold together in his mind; their clash in a single word will mirror the tension of the whole situation" (page 119).

34 See also Cleanth Brooks on "paradox," used "to gain a compression and precision otherwise unobtainable." The Well-Wrought Urn (New York, 1947), p.10.
35 This reading is consistent with the OED's entries for "birth."
It is worth pointing out that a pun of this type is, in fact, a typical metaphysical conceit, a "Radical image," of which the "single narrow point of contact" is the world itself, the fact that two ideas or objects share the same label. (They are, of course, sometimes linked by etymology, but the reader is frequently unaware of this fact.) Frequently these puns achieve that concretization which is also one of the functions of the conceit. Empson gives an example from Marvell of a very rich pun, one of the functions of which is certainly concretization. In "A Dialogue Between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure," the soul, on being tempted with music, says

Had I but any time to lose,
On this I would it all dispose.
Cease Tempter. None can chain a mind
Whom this sweet Chordage cannot bind. \(11.41-44\)

"Chordage" is hardly to be missed here, but there is a further pun which is not obvious, and depends on "chordage." Read quickly, "chain" can become "change," making an internal rhyme, and a second pun, which fits with the overall theme of the poem, for the soul is resolved, and pleasure is trying to change it. This is a little fanciful, perhaps, but double puns of this kind are common in Marvell; in almost every case in which a pun appears as an obvious reading, surrounding words also require double readings. In addition, "chain" can hardly be justified here in any other way, since it does not at all fit with "chordage," as "bind", does. Both these puns do make combinations of highly abstract and quite concrete meanings.

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36 As in the case of "birth", in the first line of "The Definition of Love," already noted.
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There is an extension of this third type, a generalisation which takes place; "An ambiguity of the third type, then, as a matter concerning whole states of mind, occurs when what is said is valid in, refers to, several different topics, several universes of discourse, several modes of judgment or of feeling." This ambiguity may be fully worked out by the poet, in an extended comparison, as it is in Henry King's "Exequy", in which the Bishop illustrates his impatience to see his dead wife, under the figure of a journey... For example,

At night when I betake to rest,
Next morn I rise neerer my West
Of life, almost by eight hours saile,
Then when sleep breath'd his drowsy gale. (11.97-100)

The ambiguity here is complex, but one fragment of it is carried, very neatly, by the natural pause at the end of the line, on "West". However, it is also possible for the ambiguity to be left implicit, "the different modes of feeling may simply be laid side by side so as to produce poetry by juxtaposition"... There is an excellent example of this technique in one of Marvell's pastoral dialogues, "Clorinda and Damon." The nymph extends an invitation to the Shepherd; his response is less than gracious.

C. Seest thou that unfrequented Cave?

It is not necessary to pursue Empson's categories of ambiguity further here. Their particular relevance to the poetry

37 Empson, p.128
38 Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets", p.49
39 Grierson, p.204
40 Empson, p.131
of the seventeenth century has been noted by Empson, (page 272), and Brooks has similarly noted that paradox has particular importance for the criticism of Donne, (and thus presumably for other poets of his school.) The delight of this group of poets in these particular poetic techniques can be related to a characteristic of the age already noted, "the capacity to live in divided and distinguished worlds, and to pass freely to and fro between one and the other, to be capable of many and varied responses to experience, instead of being confined to a few stereotyped ones... . The point about these different worlds was not that they were divided, but that they were simultaneously available." This simultaneous availability is perfectly expressed, in poetry, in the deliberate ambiguity and the pun.

There is one characteristic of the use of these devices which has so far not been discussed. George Williamson calls the metaphysical conceit the "shock troop which Donne used in his revolt against Petrarchanism and in his recreation of the lyric expression of personal experience" (p.30). The conceit, the Radical image, was not only the expression of the new subjectivity, it was also a device by which the uniqueness of personal experience could be insisted on. It was unconventional and ultimately anti-conventional. Carew, in the "Elegy", has caught this important quality of Donne's poetry:

41 The Well Wrought Urn, p.22

42 Willey, p.50.

43 See also Leishman, The Metaphysical Poets, p.21
The Muses' garden with Pedantique weeds
O'rspreed, was purg'd by thee; The lazie seeds
Of servile imitation throwne away;
And fresh invention planted ... . (11.25-28)

The sharp contemptuous attitude here is consistent with the tone of
Donne's satiric and iconoclastic rejection of earlier conventions.

Donne was, of course, not the only innovator. The parallel
between the style of the mature Shakespeare and that of Donne and
the metaphysicals is certainly close; in an early sonnet Shakespeare
reveals his awareness of the changes in the poetic milieu and
catches in a phrase the crucial imaginative act involved in the
'new-found methods':

Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
So far from variation or quick change?
Why with the time do I not glance aside
To new-found methods and to compounds strange?

(sonnet 76, 11.1-14)

In the later sonnets, particularly those which deal with the
'dark lady', he adopts the new methods.

Up to this point, this section has attempted to describe some
important features of early seventeenth century poetry. The readings
of many of the private poems of Andrew Marvell, which follow in the
next section, serve, I hope, to show that the matters of tone and its
modulations within the body of a poem, of the extensive use of

44 Grierson, p.177

45 Patrick Cruttwell analyses the change in Shakespeare's style
in detail, p.18
ambiguities of which one term is usually concrete and realistic, and of a satirical attitude towards Elizabethan conventions, are relevant and important to an understanding of the canon, and can prevent misreadings of individual poems.

Of the public poems, with the literary context of which the remainder of this section will deal, the "occasional" poems relate, in some ways, to the metaphysical tradition, for the metaphysical poets were "pedants but also courtiers", and specialised in eulogy and elegy. Into this tradition fit the five poems in which Marvell celebrates the Protectorate and its achievements: "An Horation Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland," 1650. "The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.," 1654; "On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, in the Bay of Santacruze, in the Island of Teneriff, 1657"; "Two Songs at the Marriage of the Lord Fauconberg and the Lady Mary Cromwell," 1657, and "A Poem upon the Death of O.C.," 1658.

There remains only the group of poems which are satirical—the three burlesques which appear in Miscellaneous Poems: "Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome;" "Tom May's Death," and "The Character of Holland;" and the political satires of the Restoration period. The genre into which these poems clearly fit is that of verse satire, and a brief description of the development of this genre in the seventeenth century will suffice to show Marvell's indebtedness, and to construct a context which will aid the detailed examination of some of the burlesques, and political satires in the next section.

Verse satire commenced, in English, with Joseph Hall's

46 Grierson, p. liii.

47 The dating here follows Margoliouth, Poems and Letters.
Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes, 1598, if Hall's own statement is to be accepted:

I First adventure, with fool-hardie might
To tread the steps of perilous despight:
I first adventure: follow me who list,
And be the second English Satyrist. (Bk.1, ll.1-4)

This claim must be regarded sceptically. Chaucer, Spenser in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, and Gascoigne in *The Steel Glass*, to name obvious examples, are satirists. Hall was, in part, a victim of false etymology here, as was Puttenham in his discussion of 'Satyre'. But it is also likely that Hall had the tradition of Juvenalian satire in mind, in which "The satirist was threatening powerful men, and making risky attacks on vice in high places." The persona he adopted, and the intent of his satires, is made clear by the title of his book; "Virgidemia means a bundle of rods, used for scourging malefactors." Donne's *Satyres* had also been written, though not printed, by 1598, the date of Hall's book. It has been suggested that "Donne remained the model for satire until the Restoration, as is shown by Marvell's early *Flecknoe* (sic) which in both spirit and technique acknowledges its debt to Donne."

51 Davenport, p. xxv.
and the suggested resemblance makes necessary a brief examination of the Satyres.

In "Satyre I" a "motley humorist", perhaps intended to be satire itself, invites the speaker of the satires, the persona, into the street, the public realm. The speaker hesitates to leave his books, amongst which are

Giddie fantastique Poets of each land.
Shall I leave all this constant company,
And follow headlong, wild uncertain thee?  

That is, will he desert old poetic modes for new ones?

This satire opens with a passage which parallels the early lines of "Flecknoe", and substantiates the suggested influence.

Away thou fondling motley humorist,
Leave mee, and in this standing wooden chest,
Confronted with these few bookes, let me lye
In prison, and here be coffin'd, when I dye;  

seems to have suggested Marvell's description of Fleckno's lodging:

I found at last a Chamber, as 'twas said,
But seem'd a Coffin set on the Stairs head.  

The persona of Donne's Satyres, does venture out into the street, and is found to be well qualified as a satirist:

I do hate
Perfectly all this towne...  

He meets some contemptible people, one a poet turned lawyer (Satyre II,) another a courtier (Satyre IIII), and records a good deal of his conversation with these people. The courtier, after boring him, tries to bring

Me to pay a fine to scape his torturing,
And saies, Sir, can you spare me; I said, willingly;
Nay, Sir, can you spare me a crowne? Thankfully I Gave it, as Ransome....  

All references to Donne's works are to The Poems of John Donne, ed. Herbert J.C. Grierson, Clarendon Press, (Oxford,1912) vol.I
The elements of Roman satire are all here then: the persona and his anger; the criticism of affairs and persons in the public realm; the recorded conversation; and the rough verse form, which in Donne's poems take the form of "the harsh and abrupt crossing of the rhythmical by the rhetorical pattern... ."

There is a further element in the growth of verse satire at this time which is suggested by the tendency of Donne's "Satyre II" and "Satyre III" to turn into "characters", of a lawyer and a courtier respectively. A parallel to this can be found in Jonson. Discussing the possibility of the influence of the Theophrastian character, Bush says "In the sketches of the dramatic personae prefixed to Every Man Out of his Humor (1600), and some full-fledged characters in Cynthia's Revels (1601), we have objective catalogues of particular habits, though without the abstract definition, and plain statement mostly gives way to satirical and figurative wit." The verse satires tended to treat social types rather than moral types, of the Theophrastian model.

The first formal "character" was produced by Hall, in his Characterisims of Virtues and Vices, 1608, which he had carefully modelled on Theophrastus' Ethical Characters. The importance of this prose form is clear; "through the periodical essay of the eighteenth century, the old formal 'character' passed into the novel and became part of it." The relevance of this form to the verse satire derives from the fact that the distinctions between the two forms rapidly broke down; satiric treatment and the preference for

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56 Grierson, Metaphysical Poems and Lyrics, p.11


58 E.C.Baldwin,"The Relation of the English 'Character' to its Greek Prototype", PMLA, xvii, (1903), 412.
social types as subjects marked many of the "characters added to Sir Thomas Overbury's A Wife in its final form (1622)." But the line, in verse satire, is fairly clear. From Donne, through Marvell's burlesques, to Hudibras and the satirical sketches in Absalem and Achitophel it runs, more or less independent of the prose form. Marvell's satires refer back to other verse satires, probably Donne's, then. The burlesques also reveal elements of the formal "character". A closer examination of the general qualities of burlesque can be illustrated by reference to Marvell's satires.

The satiric portrait is technically a burlesque, either high or low. The types are rarely found pure, however. In "The Last Instructions to a Painter," for instance, Marvell draws low burlesque portraits of members of the Court circle:

Paint her with Oyster Lip, and breath of Fame,
Wide Mouth that Sparagus may well proclaim:
With Chanc'lor's Belly, and so large a Rump.
There, noy behind her Coach, her pages jump. (ll.61-64)

He goes on to describe, in mock-heroic style, a debate in the House of Commons on the Excise Tax. The court Party is shown first:

Of early Wittals first the Troop march'd in,
For Diligence renown'd, and Discipline:
In Loya$h haste they left young Wives in Bed,
And Denham these by one consent did head.

59 Bush, p.198.
60 Worcester, pp47.
61 The passages from the satires will require glosses. In most instances Margiliouth's will be given. Exceptions will be noted.

'Oyster lip': compressed, firmly shut. (I surmise "scalloped".)
'Fame': the trumpeter with distended cheeks.
'Sparagus': street-seller of asparagus.
Of the old Courtiers next a Squadron came,
That sold their Master, led by Ashburnham,
and so on.

The central device of the burlesque is the comparison,
by simile or metaphor, of the subject with, in low burlesque, some
"low", (i.e. undignified) object or person. High burlesque
reverses this and satirises by inflation to impossible heights.
In some cases, the simile is protracted throughout the length of
the poem, as in the mock epic. More often, however, the simile
only carries the satirist for a few lines. When its comic and
satiric powers are exhausted, the writer abandons it for a new
vehicle. The burlesque is in effect a series of similes.

The satirists of the early seventeenth century, including
Marvell, used a common verse form, as well as having a common
intention and similar subjects, chosen from social types. They
all (with the exception of Butler) used the heroic or decasyllabic
couplet, which, as it occurs in Donne, is a versatile and interesting
form. However, the minor poets reveal its essential weakness,
and by contrast the skill of Donne's use. The couplet very
readily falls into a monotonous, even flow, in which the wittiest
and most pointed comments are often drowned. This perhaps accounts
for Cleveland's worst excesses, the Clevelandisms: the limitations
of the metre forced him into attention-focusing conceits, but
lacking Donne's intellect and range of knowledge, he was unable to
work these conceits into the overall structure of his poems; they

Ashburnham was supposed to have betrayed a plan for the King to
flee to the Isle of Wight.

These set a fashion in the 1650's. (See Bush, p.154). A kind of
degenerate conceit, the Clevelandism depends on incongruous
similitudes, usually burlesque ones. Frequently they are burlesque
similes contained in a single word.
remain appendages, which the reader feels do not justify close attention. One brief passage from the best-known of Donne's satires will serve to exemplify the best use of the couplet in Marvell's time, and give a standard to which Marvell's practice may be compared.

On a huge hill,
Cragged, and steep, Truth stands, and hee that will Reach her, about must, and about must goe...

(Satyre III, 11.79-81)

To comment only on the obvious technical triumphs here: the run-on line 'will/Reach' forces the reader to 'reach' for the next line; the dentals (t,d) in 1.80 are rocks in the path of the reader; and the commas force the reader to hesitate, move on, hesitate again. He lives himself the experiences of the seeker of truth.

This section has, to this point, been concerned with the metaphysical conception of poetry, and the general features of poems in the metaphysical style; and with the brief traditions of verse satire in the period. Nothing has been said about the important change in the concept of poetry which was taking place when, as far as is known, Marvell was writing his poems, since this change does not seem to have affected his poetic practice. However, because this change is closely associated with the heroic couplet, which Marvell used in his satires, it has been thought necessary to discuss it briefly in an appendix, Appendix D.

The result of Marvell's failure to react to this change is simply this: he used the couplet, in the satires, in a way which failed to achieve the immediacy and precision of Donne; it also failed

to equal the neat, balanced quality of the neoclassicists. The nature and consequences of this failure will be discussed in the next section, in the consideration of the satires of the Restoration.

The section which follows, in which many of the lyrics and satires are examined in detail, will endeavour to show that the private poems, and the elegies and eulogies amongst the public poems, exhibit the typical metaphysical characteristics of ambiguity, irony, and literary iconoclasm, appearing in puns and "radical images". The burlesques and political satires will reveal a dependence on the burlesque simile, sometimes on Clevelandisms, and a failure to exploit the couplet.

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CHAPTER III

Within the group of love poems, the first of Legouis'
three major categories of private poems, it is possible to categorise further on the basis of form. First, there are three pastoral dialogues in octosyllabic couplets: "Clorinda and Damon," "A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda", and "Ametas and Thestylis making Hay-Ropes." Next, there is a group of poems in four-line stanzas, rhyming abab or aabb: "Young Love," "The Definition of Love", "The Fair Singer", "Eyes and Tears", "Morning", "The Match", and "Daphnis and Chloe". "The Unfortunate Lover" and "The Gallery" are in octosyllabic couplets, divided into eight-line stanzas. "To his Coy Mistress" and "The Nymph Complaining for the death of her Faun" are also in octosyllabic couplets, but they are divided into verse paragraphs, rather than into stanzas. "The Fair Singer" and "The Picture of little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers" have forms unique within this group.

It is also possible to group these poems thematically on a slightly different basis. The pastoral dialogues are realistic attacks on the pastoral mode, and the remaining poems revolve around the theme of young and unhappy love, with the possible exception of "Daphnis and Chloe", which differentiates itself mainly by tone. These poems can be read autobiographically, and a necessarily highly speculative reading on this basis is given in Appendix C. Occasional possibilities of interpretation arising from this reading will be included in the treatment of the poem here, and the order of treatment will be that which seems to follow the history of the love affair.
The pastoral dialogues require the careful use of Mr. Leishman's technique for dealing with the lyrics of Donne, that of first deciding how seriously any particular poem is to be taken. It seems fairly obvious that these poems are far from serious; they are gently satirical, and the satire operates at three levels; it is directed against a poetic convention, against certain clichés of poetic language, and against the speakers.

"Clorinda and Damon" is on approximately the same theme as two famous pastoral lyrics, Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd to his Love", and Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd." If these two poems are kept in mind as foils, there will be less chance of mistaking the tone of Marvell's poem. The first thing which the reader may notice is that roles have been reversed; here it is the nymph who is trying to seduce the shepherd. As the poem proceeds, it becomes obvious that this shepherd has been reading the wrong books. Instead of The Shepherd's Calendar, he has been reading The Fowre Hymnes, or the wrong parts of The Fairy Queen. The resolution, in which the "flowry Pastures", the Cave, and the Fountain, rather than serving as the scenery of love, join in singing Pan's praises with Clorinda and Damon, is unconvincing, the more so since it is apparently on a temporary basis, "while he doth us inspire". Again, there are two puns in the last line, both of which create tautologies, which cast even more doubt on the validity of the resolution. "All the World" is the first term of the puns, and the tautologies; then "Pan" is either "Christ", or simply "the All", and "quire" either "singers" or a "place for singing". The second alternative in each case produces a tautology.
The satirical treatment of poetic diction shows up first in the use of unusual words in

I have a grassy Scutcheon spy'd,
Where Flora blazons all her pride.
The grass I aim to feast thy Sheep:
The Flow'rs I for thy Temples keep. (11.3-5)

and then, more vividly, in the interchange about the "unfrequented Cave".


This rapid juxtaposition of words from quite incompatible contexts, which may be identified with conventions of poetry, realistic/pastoral/Puritan, is certainly a "recognition, implicit in the expression of every experience, of other kinds of experience which are possible", (T.S. Eliot, quoted p.43), and the effect here is certainly humourous.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the poet's attitude toward his subject, the tone of these poems, is to be found in what emerges about Damon and Clorinda. Quite untraditionally, a good deal of information about them may be gathered from the poem without undue "reading-in". Damon answers the original invitation with a curt "No" and a rather feeble and ambiguous, excuse about the sheep, "'tis too late they went astray". But this does not deter Clorinda in the least; in fact it is not until line 10 that she realises that anything is wrong, "What is't you mean?" It is as if the convention had carried her that far before she realised that her proposals had not been getting appropriate answers. In a quite unserious way, there is here the same lack of connection found in the Jacobean drama, in which some of the characters seem to be living in different
worlds from others. It is not until line 19 that Damon is able to explain what has happened to him, and even then his great surprise falls a little flat, since apparently Clorinda knows all about Pan, and is perfectly willing to sing his praises, "while he doth us inspire." To return to the suggested comparison with the poems by Marlowe and Raleigh; like Raleigh's, Marvell's poem is critical of the proposition that love is all, but the criticism is more total, less serious, and better balanced. Raleigh opposes "realism" to the pastoral vision. So does Marvell, but in such a way as to show that both are merely possible views of the situation, Again, Marvell presents a third possibility, the Puritan, and relates all three to poetic modes by the use of cliches. Finally, the whole debate is very much reduced in seriousness by the characters of the participants.

"A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda" is similarly gently satirical. Again the pastoral tradition is mocked: Puritanism, and sometimes Neoplatonism, is contrasted with the pastoral norms; and the speakers are satirised. Dorinda asks a series of naive questions, to which Thyrsis gives conventional pastoral or Neoplatonic answers; the two are sometimes mingled with unfortunate results. Finally, he is led by his own arguments into accepting Dorinda's challenge to "Convince me now, that this is true", which is based on her logical but naive extension of his statements, and may be paraphrased as "If Elizium is so good, we should commit suicide and get there quickly." It is difficult to feel much sympathy with Thyrsis, his Puritan smugness has irritated the reader all along, and perhaps reminded him of Hudibras:
He knew the Seat of Paradise,
Could tell in what degree it lies:
And, as he was dispos'd, could prove it,
Below the Moon, or else above it... . (Book 1, Cento i, 11.174-177)

Dorinda's questions are based on pastoral assumptions.
"Is our cell Elizium?" requires the answer "Yes" within the pastoral
tradition. In answer to Thyris's statement that Elizium is in the
sky, she injects a pastoral kind of realism into the debate: "There
birds may nest, but how can I?" The third question is perhaps the
most naive of all:

But in Elizium how do they
Pass Eternity away?

The idea that some way of passing the time is necessary in the
Platonic heaven is of course ridiculous, but when the fact that
she is asking how they pass eternity away is fully realised, the
satiric intent is placed beyond reasonable doubt. There does
however, develop some doubt about the naivete of the nymph, which
her final challenge substantiates.

The answers to the nymph's questions which led Thyris's
into agreeing to a suicide pact are full of combinations of snatches
of doctrines which are inherently ridiculous. The "milky way" is
an "sure but rugged way" to Elizium. This seems to be a mixture of
the Neoplatonic route to heaven, the ascension to the outermost
sphere, with the Puritan route (as in Bunyan, or Donne's "Satyre III).
The answer to Dorinda's question about wings manages to get pastoral,
Neoplatonic, and Puritan contexts all into four lines.
Do not sigh (fair Nimph) for fire
Hath no wings, yet doth aspire
Till it hit, against the pole,
Heaven's the Center of the Soul. (11.15-18)

The particular kind of realism required by "wings", and by pastoral images in general, produces an uncritical acceptance of a generally sensuous basis for images, which clashes most horribly with the quite different kind of acceptance which can be given to the intellectualised abstractions which are the qualities of the fourth element, fire. The final line here is the exact reverse of Milton's description of Satan:

within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step no more then from himself can fly
By change of place...

(Book IV, 11.20-23)

The direction and nature of the route to be taken are by now completely confused. The nymph's final question cannot be answered, even by Thyrsis, and he evades it completely by describing Elizium in pastoral terms. He eventually completely convinces the nymph by pointing out that there "every Nimph's a Queen of May." Even her conviction is naive, at least ostensibly, and she cannot wait to become"a Queen of May."

The third pastoral dialogue, "Ametas and Thestylis making Hay-Ropes", is very much slighter. It is an extended comparison of love with a hay-rope. But the last line has a wonderfully simple solution to all pastoral problems, a solution which is at once humourous, realistic, and charming. Ametas gets tired of the debate about the similarities between love and the hay-rope, and of the task of making the rope:
Then let's both lay by our Rope,
And go kiss within the Hay.

These poems end the pastoral tradition in English poetry, a tradition which was relatively short-lived, arriving as it did via translation in the Elizabethan period. Kermode has noted the position of Marvell's poems in this respect, but fails to notice the intention of Marvell's poems, and the attitude they reveal towards the pastoral tradition. In all the poems here, Marvell treats the conventions with satire, and opposes a simple realism to the pastoral view. In two of them, Puritan and Neoplatonic views are treated similarly, with open scepticism.

Of the group of love-poems, "The Definition of Love" and "Young Love" will be considered first. It has been claimed that "The Definition of Love" is a latecomer in a long series of poems on the same topic, which form a minor genre. This genre is traced by Frank Kermode. Thomas Sebillet's Art Poetique francois, 1548, notices the existence of the genre, and cites an example which is a "sombre and hostile analysis of sexual love, (p.183)." However, Kermode does not think that Marvell's poem belongs to this genre, since it is not at all concerned with love considered in the abstract; it is the rarity, the unusual qualities, of his particular love, that the poem deals with (p. 184).

However, it has already been shown that the change in the lyrics

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2 See English Pastoral Poetry, p.42

3 R. Tuve, p.302.

4 "Definitions of Love", RES, VII (1957), 183-185.
of the seventeenth century was in just the direction in which Marvell's poem moves this genre, towards the subjective and particular. Again, it is generally true that Marvell's use of conventions is unusual, and often satiric, and frequently his version represents the final possibility of the use of a convention. In the circumstances, then, Kermode's objection is perhaps to the way in which Marvell treats the genre and it must seem likely that Marvell's intention, at least, was to write a poem in this genre.

The opening line, the pun in which has already been noted, states the difficulty: the lady is of high birth, and hence beyond the reach of the lover. This distance is insisted upon in the second stanza, but what had been social distance is now rather different, for the object of love is "so divine a thing". The pun on "love" is continued, so that the emotion is seen as divine also.

And yet I quickly might arrive
Where my extended Soul is fixt,
But Fate does Iron wedges drive,
And alwaies crouds it self betwixt.  (ll.9-12)

This stanza, the third, which is of central importance, comments further on the religious aspect of the love, and suggests the Neoplatonic and courtly love traditions.

The last suggestion may be pursued in a brief digression, which should help to explain the rapid change of subject in Marvell's poem, from a social distance to a spiritual one. In a paragraph in which the progression of ideas parallels that in the poem, de Rougemont says of the courtly love convention:
It is well known that one of the set themes of courtly rhetoric is the complaint that one 'loves in too dofty a place'. Scholars tell us that the poor troubador, of socially low extraction, as a rule, fell in love with the wife of some high and mighty baron, who disdained him. No doubt that happened in a few cases. But it does not account for the same plaint being breathed in the poems of Alfonso of Aragon, a most powerful king. For him, obviously, no woman in this world was too high. The real question is why the poet chooses to cast his love so high and chooses the unattainable.  

This critic goes on to suggest that the Lady in the courtly love convention is "the anima, or, more precisely, man's spiritual element, that which the soul imprisoned in his body desires with a nostalgic love that death alone can satisfy." (p. 85). Such a suggestion is certainly helpful to the reader of Marvell's poem; the progression of ideas in the poem seems very much less arbitrary. It is not necessary, of course, to assume that Marvell was familiar with the origins of the convention he was writing within, only that he knew it through the work of sixteenth-century poets.

If de Rougemont's description of the emotion which activates the courtly love poems is accurate, then Marvell's poem has more general reference than it is granted by Kermode. It is certainly strangely impersonal, as befits a "definition": "the Lady seems only a postulated figure, a force of Love, a point on the graph. It is the situation rather than the feelings that count, for they are past the stage of having 'feelings'. The story is given in terms of direct sensation; it is defined by imagery and rhythm alone, without any circumstantial account."  

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6 Bradbrook and Thomas, p. 44
The poem revolves around the paradox suggested in the title, in which Neoplatonic or courtly love is to be described by the methods of mathematics, or, to be more precise, astronomy; all the images in the latter half of the poem are astronomical, not geometrical. There is obviously some incongruity here between a Neoplatonic cosmology and the astronomy of Copernicus, Brahe, and Kepler, but there is no suggestion of satire in Marvell's treatment of this juxtaposition. The contrast suggested by the title is carried in a simplified form throughout the poem in oppositions between abstract and concrete. This contrast occurs in each half of each stanza. For instance, in the first stanza, "Love" is born; it is begotten by "Despair" and "Impossibility". The nouns are personalizations of abstract qualities, the verbs are in a sense concrete, that is they have a primary kind of sensuous reference. In the second stanza there is a similar division; "Despair" shows, "Hope" flaps its wing. In stanza III, already quoted, a distinction is made between the "I" and the soul, the physical being and the abstraction, and the operations of "Fate" are described; in this stanza she drives "Iron wedges", later she makes "Decrees of Steel", and "enviously debarrs" the love. (Fate here is female, and presumably "jealous" partially as a consequence of this, although traditionally grudging for other reasons.) The picture of "Fate" drawn in the poem is a consistent and concrete one, which quite possibly derives from

7 Dennis Davison, "Marvell's 'The Definition of Love'", RES, vi, h.s. (1955), 144.
an emblematic representation, but the source is not yet known.

The first half of the poem rather self-consciously deals in contrasts which depend on the personalization of abstract qualities in the Neoplatonic way. The second half is astronomical, and locates the lovers at the celestial poles. They cannot meet unless the celestial sphere becomes a planisphere, that is, is reduced to a single plane. The lovers are hence on parallels of Latitude, which are circles and consequently infinite, as opposed to other lovers and other loves which are like meridians of Longitude, which are at oblique angles to each other, and meet at the poles. In the last stanza there is an abrupt return to social reference, and a justification of the images from astronomy.

Therefore the Love which us doth bind,
But Fate so enviously debarrs,
Is the Conjunction of the Mind,
And Opposition of the Stars. (11.29-32)

There is a parallel here with a poem by Cowley, "Impossibilities", (the title probably influenced Marvell's first stanza), in which the term "conjunction" is used in the same way precisely, and again with apparently serious intention.

As stars, (not powerful else) when they conven, Change, as they please, the Worlds estate; So they Heart in Conjunction with mine, Shall our own fortunes regale; And to our Stars themselves prescribe a Fate. (11.11-15)

Cowley's The Mistress, in which this poem appeared, was available in 1647, and the influence of this volume on several of the poems written by Marvell in the period 1646-1650 is unmistakeable.

8 Abraham Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905), p. vi. All references to the poems of Cowley are to this edition.

9 See Margoliouth, Poems and Letters, I, 222.
"The Definition of Love" is a complex lyric then, with social reference, and probably biographical (for which see Appendix D), a place in the courtly love tradition, in a minor genre of definition poems and perhaps even in the history of ideas as an example of how the fragments of quite disparate cosmologies could co-exist and even be reconciled in an individual mind in the seventeenth century. It is, most importantly, the epitome of the metaphorical poem, in which the conceits reconcile concrete and abstract, the incompatible contexts are forced together, the images derive from the new learning, and a traditional genre is modified and made to serve particular and personal ends. Also noticeable is the contrast between the simplicity of the form and the complexity of the content. This is especially striking if this poem is compared to "Young Love", which has exactly the same form, but a very much simpler progression of thought.

There is a similitude in "Young Love" which is very common in Marvell. A parallel is drawn between flowers and women; within this parallel, green means innocent and immature, red and white means mature and combatant in the war of the sexes. So when Marvell says

I have through every Garden been,
Amongst the Red, the White, the Green;
And yet, from all the flow'rs I saw,
No Hony, but these Tears could draw,  ("Young Love", ll.17-20)

there is no doubt (even without the context) that the colours symbolise women, and that "Hony" is to be read with the sexual
reference common to the period. Little T.C. is a "Bud", in the poem "On a Drop of Dew" there is a reference to "the Humane flow'r" (1.21), and Mary Fairfax" seems with the Flow'rs a Flow'r to be," (Upon Appleton House", 1.302.) This habitual identification occurs also in Herrick (Hesperides was published 1648) amongst others, and in the emblem books. Quarles used it in Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man, 1638, in which there are seven emblems representing the seven Ages of Man. One "represents man at twenty. The ground is strewn with flowers to emphasis that

Youths now disclosing Bud peeps out, and showes
Her Aprill head;
And, from her grass greene bed, 11
Her virgin Primerose early blowes."

"Young Love" is concerned, as "To his Coy Mistress" is, with love and time. The emphatic word in the first line, "Come little Infant, Love me now", is repeated in the line which commences the second half of the poem, "Now then love me: time may take/Thee before thy time away:", and in the last stanza: "Now I crown thee with my Love". ("Now" is also a key word in "To his Coy Mistress".)

Herrick's Hesperides makes great use of this symbolism. See particularly "The Shower of Blossoms", "The Captive Bee", "The Kiss", and "Upon a Child that Died", ("Here she lies, a pretty bud, lately made of flesh and blood"). For the use of "honey" in a bawdy sense, compare a passage which may have influenced Marvell's stanza, in Cowley's "The Inconstant" (in The Mistress)

Thus with unwearied wings I flee
Through all Love's Garden and his Fields;
And, like the wise, industrious Bee,
No weed but Honey to me yields.
Honey still spent this diligence still supplies,
Though I return not home with laden Thighs. (11.31-36)

See also Eric Partidge, Shakespeare's Bawdy, (New York, 1690) p.128.

Freeman, p.123.
The first half of the poem attempts to persuade by contrasting youth and age; youth is free of "jealousy and fears", is capable of innocent "sportings", since it is "too green/Yet for Lust."
The second half of the poem is more sombre, with the entry of "time" as a force: "time may take/Thee before thy time away". But by loving now, the lovers will rob the future of its power. The last two stanzas seem to reveal a break in the unity of the poem, if time is indeed vital to the theme. By introducing a new simile from monarchical politics, which closes the poem, the poet strays very far from the theme indicated by the title. In this respect this poem differs markedly from "To his Coy Mistress".

"Eyes and Tears" and "Mourning" are poems which, at first glance, seem to form a pair. But in fact this is, for Miss Wallerstein (page 155), for instance, an error resulting from a failure to pay close attention to rhetorical form and to tone. "Eyes and Tears" is a Marinistic statement on a topic which was for seventeenth-century poets almost an exercise - Given: a tear, Required; show its relation to the cosmos. It is hard to think of an important poet, one represented in Metaphysical Lyrics, or one of the "sons of Ben", who did not write a poem on tears. "Mourning", on the other hand, is rhetorically one side of a conversation. The first stanza asks a question; in the last stanza the speaker passes judgment on the situation he has described. "Mourning" is primarily narrative, and is cynical in tone. In these important respects it is closer to "Daphnis and Chloe" than to "Eyes and Tears". In rhetorical form and tone it follows that strain in Donne represented by such poems as "Womans constancy".
"Eyes and Tears" seems to represent more experimentation in the stuff and techniques of poetry", which makes use of "Marini's formula for poetry as a succession of witty images". This poem certainly lacks the kind of careful structure which Marvell achieves at his best. It is tempting, in view of the popularity of the theme, to question the authorship of this poem. One stanza, at least, may very well not be Marvell's work, as Margoliouth points out (I,220), and this suggests an alternative to the abrupt dismissal of the poem from the canon. The first seven stanzas are consistent enough in their use of imagery and the progression of thought. On the hypothesis that these may be genuine, the technical skill which is revealed by the use of imagery in these stanzas will be examined first.

The title suggests the particular relationship with which this poem is concerned. Each of the first four stanzas comments on this relationship. In stanza I, the main basis of similarity is stated; "the same Eyes" "weep and see". Stanzas II, III, and IV are concerned with the various ways in which eyes function in evaluation, in terms respectively of height, weight and price, and beauty. In each stanza it is suggested that tears evaluate more truly. In each stanza there is a single image, of which the dual bases are the sense perception of similar shape, and a statement of a logical and intellectual truth, drawn from an "unpoetic" and learned source, and related by a pun to the sensuous basis.

In stanza II the image is drawn from the kind of trigonometry used in astronomy, navigation, and surveying. A navigator estimates the altitude of the sun, or a lighthouse, to calculate his position,

12 Wallerstein, p.155
by measuring the angle between the sun, or the top of the lighthouse, and the horizon with a sextant. This measurement has to be corrected for "Height of Eye", the distance above sea level of the observer's eye. There is probably a pun on "Sight" in this stanza, since in the seventeenth century the noun could mean "An appendage to a surveying or observing instrument, serving to guide the eye" (OED). The "Sight" does indeed give "a false Angle" before the correction is applied. A Line and Plummets would give a "better measure". The sensuous basis of this image is probably the simple conception of light moving in straight lines, which underlay Galileo's construction of a telescope, 1609, with navigational applications in mind.

In stanza III the sensuous basis is simply the appearance of the eyes, which are "balanced" on each side of the nose, the fulcrum, and further, the fact that tears are indeed of equal size. The image is probably drawn from the operations of the goldsmith, the banker of the seventeenth century, (it will be recalled that Marvell deposited £500 with one shortly before his death), who was concerned with estimating "true prices".

Since the sense of stanza IV is very involved, it will probably help if it is quoted here.

What in the World most fair appears,
Yea even Laughter, turns to Tears:
And all the Jewels which we prize,
Melt in these Pendants of the Eyes.

The senses of "melt" here are triple. First, the sense imposed by the first couplet in the stanza, "dissolve in or into

tears"; second, "vanish, disappear" in the sense that the eyes, when filled with tears, can no longer see things; and third, a sense which depends on the technical term "water" of a diamond. This last is the sort of purely verbal pun Marvell often used, and he might have borrowed it from Crashaw, who in "The Teare" (in *Steps to the Temple*, 1646, 1648) calls a tear a

A watry Diamond; from whence
The very Termes, I think, was found
The water of a Diamond. (11.4-6)

The change from jewel to tear effected in the last sense here is itself paradoxical, since in the phrase "Pendants of the Eyes" the first word means both "something that hangs or is suspended", that is the tear, and a kind of jewelled female adornment. A biographical reading of these stanzas is given in Appendix C, and justifies itself by the fact that the transition between stanzas IV and V is very difficult to make on any other terms. It is not until the reader reaches the "I" of stanza V that the significance of the preceding stanzas comes clear. This is not, in fact, a generalised and witty exercise, but a traditional lover's complaint. The lover was self-deluded, and his "Joyes" come to nothing more than "Two Tears". This is apparently not unusual; looking back over his past experiences, the speaker says "from all the flow'rs I saw,/ No Hony, but these Tears could draw."

In stanza VI it is pointed out that even the "all-seeing Sun" finds of the whole world "the Essence only Showers". Stanza VIII considers a consequence of this; if the world is essentially water then indeed they who "preserve their Sight more true,/ Bath still their Eyes in their own Dew", since they see only a watery haze.

14 The definitions here are from the OED, and all the suggested puns can be justified by this work, with the exception of the third sense of "melt". Empson finds seven distinct senses of the word, (page 194), most of which seem overingenious and irrelevant.
If at this point stanza XII is read as the final stanza, the poem concludes consistently and logically.

Ope then mine Eyes your double Sluice,
And practice so your noblest Use.
For others too can see, or sleep;
But only humane Eyes can weep.

Read thus, "Eyes and Tears" is very similar to "The Definition of Love" in many respects. Formally there is only a difference of rhyme scheme, from aabb to abab. Both poems fall into halves, one half consisting of relatively plain statement about love which can be read with particular rather than general reference, and the other half consisting of a witty exploitation of the theme. The images pointed out in the early stanzas of "Eyes and Tears" from technical fields and terms parallel the images from astronomy in "The Definition of Love."

Admittedly this reading is not very satisfactory, since it fails to account for six stanzas of the poem as it stands in Miscellaneous Poems. These are terrible stanzas. In what sense, for instance, do "Eyes and Tears" become "the same things" in stanza XIII? In what sense, and compared to what, are Magdalen's "Tears more wise"? Does "wise" here have any function other than to make the rhyme with "Eyes"? Such weaknesses as these are not, of course, evidence that these stanzas were not written by Marvell. He was certainly capable of writing poetry (or rather verse) which lacked overall unity and even unity within individual images, as "The Unfortunate Lover" shows. "Young Love" lacks overall unity, which must derive from the complete control of the poet over his material. This is the vital requirement for metaphysical poetry. "What is essential is intellectual control: precision of picture in the primary sense image, a clear conception in the larger
analogue, clear and usually traditional meaning in the symbol, if there be a symbol; a pivotal point in sum, at which two clearly apprehended worlds are brought together.\footnote{31.15}

In fact, none of the early poems discussed so far meets these requirements completely. The advantage of the dating of the poems suggested in section one is that these early love poems can be considered trial runs at themes and genres that Marvell was to handle with mastery later, in his poetic maturity. Such a theory compensates the reader for the slightness of the pastorals with the complexity and integration of the Mower series; the weak conclusion of "Young Love" with the powerful climax of "To his Coy Mistress"; the fragmentation of "Eyes and Tears" with the use made of some of the pieces in other poems (cf. 11.13-16 to "The Nymph Complaining...." 11.99,100; 11.17-20 to "The Garden" 11.17,18.)

Although, as has been pointed out, "Eyes and Tears" and "Mourning" should not be considered a pair, there are certain similarities, particularly in the first three stanzas of the latter are considered. As in "Eyes and Tears", the images here link the intellectual and the sensuous. The first stanza is the most complex.

You, that decipher out the Fate
Of humane off-springs from the Skies,
What mean these Infants which of late
Spring from the Starrs of Chlora's Eyes?

There is an ambiguity here which is grammatical rather than verbal. "Off-springs from the Skies" (1.2) bears one meaning read as part of the first couplet, quite another read as a separate phrase

\footnote{15 Wallerstein, p.176}
paralleling "Spring from the Starrs" (1.4). It must be read in this second way, however, to justify the pun on "springs" and the identification of tears as "Infants". (It is also necessary to the sense of 11.7,8.) The simple sensuous relation here is that the tears are like eyes, but smaller. This relation is carried over into the next stanza, in which the observer notices that Chlora's eyes are "confus'd, doubled ore", that is, are hard to distinguish because duplicated by tears. As a result, the eyes seem to be turned up to heaven (possibly as they are reflected in the tears immediately beneath them) to return the "Infants" to the skies from which they came.

In the third stanza, the tears, which have been shaped by the eyes, fall to the ground, "As if" Chlora intended to spread the jewels (the standard identification of tears with jewels is carried by "precious" here) over the ground. The "As if" here is the first sign of the cynicism which from here on is present in every stanza. In the next two stanzas, some cynics, who pretend to "Art" in such matters (cf. "Daphnis and Chloe" 1.4) question the lady's motives; in stanzas VI and VII even more cynical observers advance another possible motive. Stanza VIII is ambiguous again.

How wide they dream. The Indian Slaves
That sink for Pearl through Seas profound,
Would find her Tears yet deeper Waves
And not of one the bottom sound.

The first sentence here refers back to the cynics of the preceding stanza who are wide of the mark; and ahead to the rest of the stanza,

in which case it is a comment about the lady's eyes. In the latter reference it is important to note that the tears are not in this instance pearls, (a standard identification), but waves which would be too deep for the "Indian Slaves" to "sound", and hence they would not be able to find out if there were any pearls in these seas or not. No judgment can be made on the proposition. A reading of this kind is what Bradbrook and Thomas are seeking when they comment "Sailors sound to test the firmness as well as the depth of the ground; pearls are most likely to be found on an oozy bed" (page 32). But, after all, Marvell is not here speaking of sailors, but pearl-divers, not at all the same thing. In the final stanza, then, the narrator does not make a judgment at all; nor does he answer the cynics.

I yet my silent Judgment keep,
Disputing not what they believe
But sure as oft as Women weep,
It is to be supos'd they grieve.

But by a masterpiece of irony, this very suspension of judgment becomes in itself evidence of a cynicism far more devastating to human pretension, and far wider in scope, than the comments of the other observers, with the use of "suppos'd" in the final line of

17

"Daphnis and Chloe" is similar in tone to "Mourning" in that the narrator is again cynical, but there is an element in the later poem which is new in the love poetry; in this poem many of the images are violent and obscene, and this violence is almost always

17

The thought here roughly parallels that of Donne in this couplet from "Twickenham garden":
Nor can you more judge womans thoughts by teares,
Then by her shadow, what she weares. (11.24,25)
associated with sexuality. This association becomes a very important part of all the great poems, and occurs in quite unlikely contexts. To describe the best instance of this convincingly, it will be necessary to follow a circuitous route. In "Daphnis and Chloe" there is a "castration image" in stanza XXV.

At these worde away he broke;  
As who long has praying ly'n,  
To his Heads-man makes the Sign,  
And receives the parting stroke. (11.97-100)

There are several puns here, none unusual in the period. If "he broke" in the first line has a literal sense, then Daphnis and Chloe must have been in an embrace. Then "has praying ly'n" becomes ambiguous; it functions within the comparison of Daphnis to a condemned man at the block, but it also has literal sense. He has been "praying", or beseeching, Chloe, and "ly'n" in both senses. The "parting stroke" becomes that which parts him from her, as the condemned man is parted from life. Since this poem is full of the violence of frustrated sexuality, fittingly enough, the reading is not fanciful in the context. The ambiguities and puns meet Miss Wallerstein's test - "In the finished poem a context has been set up which determines the specific meanings of the words, often suggesting several meanings but ruling out many possible others." (page 169). To describe this stanza very simply in a sentence: an unsuccessful lover is compared to a man having his head cut off. The most famous image in "An Horatian Ode" exactly reverses this. Charles "bow'd his comely Head,/Down as upon a Bed."

The castration sense here seems excluded by the context, yet is reinforced by "comely".  

See Partridge, Shakespeare's Bawdy, p. 89
The metaphorical significance is that the King, loving his people, is rejected by them. In all the poems which follow "Daphnis and Chloe" Marvell makes habitual connections between violence and death, on the one hand, and women and sexuality on the other. Even a charming piece of semi-pastoral description like "The Picture of Little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers" does not escape this influence.

To return to the tone of "Daphnis and Chloe"; it is quite different from the sort of sophisticated tolerance displayed by the narrator in the last stanza of "Mourning". The stanza quoted above is one of the three stanzas of comment which end the poem, and it shows clearly the change which has taken place in the narrator. The penultimate stanza is similarly revelatory:

But hence Virgins all beware,
Last night he with Phlogis slept;
This night for Dorinda kept;
And but rid to take the Air. (11.101-104)

Daphnis here is presented as the pathetic Don Juan figure (this characterisation is anachronistic but useful), or a figure from Restoration comedy, seeking desperately to prove himself capable of love. The final line of the stanza is cynical in the extreme, but the cynicism is very much less appealing than that of "Mourning", since its object is not pretension but sincere feeling. This stanza is made to seem yet more cynical by the fact that in the last stanza, the narrator condemns Chloe for refusing Daphnis. He does not stand behind the warning he has just given to virgins.

The poem takes the form of a narrative in which the first eleven and last three stanzas are spoken by a narrator, and the middle section, consisting of thirteen stanzas, is direct speech.
The characters in this little drama are oddly naive, in one sense.

Nature her own Sexes foe,
Long had taught her to be coy:
But she neither knew t' en joy,
Nor yet let her Lover go. (ll.5-8)

Daphnis is "well-read", presumably in love-poems, and has "Art", but not very much "Sence". The plot is simple; Chloe, at the moment that Daphnis must leave her, ceases to be coy. As a consequence, he is "Between Joy and Sorrow rent", and stanzas XII to XXIV, his parting speech, are a series of similes which describe his feelings. (The violence of "rent" foreshadows the nature of many of these similes.) Some of the similes used depend on paradox:

Ah my Chloe how have I
Such a wretched minute found,
When thy Favours should me wound
More than all thy cruelty? (ll.49-52)

some on bawdy puns:

Absence is too much alone:
Better itis to go in peace,
Than my losses to increase
By a late Fruition. (ll.61-64)

and one, the best of them, seems to refer back nostalgically to an earlier and better view of love held by Daphnis (and Marvell):

Gentler times for love are ment
Who for parting pleasure strain
Gather Roses in the rain,
Wet themselves and spoil their Sent. (ll.85-88)

The desperation of many of these stanzas is bogus, at least to the extent that it protests love, rather than lust, as the concluding stanzas make clear. This poem is the most extreme version of decadent courtly love, a strain common in Cowley, for instance, in Marvell, although the next poem to be discussed, "The Gallery", is similar in some respects, notably the new combination of sex and violence, and the lack of sincerity.
In "The Gallery" Marvell experiments with a longer stanza, while retaining the octosyllabic couplet of "Eyes and Tears". The poem takes the form of an address to Clora: in the opening stanza she is assured that the poet's soul has become a gallery of pictures of her. If she is flattered, it is the wrong response. The first picture paints her "in the Dress/ Of an Inhumane Murtheress." In the next she is an "Aurora in the Dawn", in stanza Iv she is an "Enchantress", who uses her lover as a device for estimating the duration of her beauty, raving "Over his Entrails, in the Cave". In the next stanza she is "Venus in her pearly Boat". The violence of the contrasts here shocks the reader, and renders the whole compliment dubious in intention. The instability and refusal to stand by a perception revealed here are typically Mannerist (see Appendix B). The final stanza refers back (like the single stanza in "Daphnis and Chloe") to the kind of love, and the kind of lady,"with which I first was took",

A tender Shepherdess, whose Hair
Hangs loosely playing in the Air,
Transplanitng Flow'rs from the green Hill,
To crown her Head, and Bosome fill. (11.53-56)

Before turning to the indubitably great poems of the group of love poems, those in octosyllabic couplets arranged in verse paragraphs, "The Nymph Complaining for the death of her Faun" and "To his Coy Mistress", a general statement about Marvell's structures, the ways in which his poems develop, can be made on the basis of the poems already discussed, and this generalisation will apply to the other poems to be discussed. Whether the development is "a series of extended images controlling the main movements of
the plot, of many and shifting images, usually within the controlling image, or of a single extended image, the total structure defines and limits the images which it encloses and upon which it depends." 

This is not an exclusive description of the structure of Marvell's poems, of course, since the same is true of any good poet whose mind works in images. But it does provide a basis for distinguishing weaknesses in Marvell's poems; the failures of some of the poems already discussed are most evident in the terms specified in this passage from Miss Wallerstein's analysis of "The Structure of Poetry".

"The Nymph complaining for the death of her Faun" is without a doubt a major poem, one of those Eliot had in mind in the comment on Marvell: "To bring the poet back to life - the great, the perennial task of criticism - is in this case to squeeze the drops of the essence of two or three poems..." The amount of critical disagreement (documented in the pages which follows), which this poem has stimulated in recent years is perhaps an indication of its complexity and of its worth. Most of this disagreement has revolved around an interpretation of the poem given by Bradbrook and Thomas (pages 47-50). They find that it "opens with straight-forward and charming naturalism; it ends by drawing largely on The Song of Solomon and its identification of the fawn with Christ." The second statement is supported with appropriate passages from The Song of Solomon:

19 Wallerstein, p.178
20 "Andrew Marvell", p.63
My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies.

Until the day break, and the shadows flee away: turn my beloved and be thou like a Roe, or a young Hart, upon the mountains of Beth... ...

My beloved is gone down into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lillies.

The identification of the fawn with Christ depends on internal evidence. "The whiteness of the fawn is insisted on throughout the poem; as well as being stressed in The Song of Solomon it is of course symbolic of the Agnus Dei. It is this identification which allows the transition to martyrdom." In a note the writers point out the preparation for this identification in the lines

There is not such another in The World, to offer for their sin, (11. 23,24)

and they conclude that the poem "is a very complete example of a hierarchy of love ... the love of the girl for her fawn is taken to be a reflection of the love of the Church for Christ."

While the 'hierarchy of love' phrase is illuminating, the rest of the interpretation is not very full, and leaves a good deal of the poem unaccounted for. Le Comte says that an interpretation of the poem as an "allegory of the crucifixion" fits the first paragraph of the poem very well, the rest not at all. He does Miss Bradbrook and Miss Thomas an injustice, since no suggestion that the poem was allegorical was made. Le Comte goes on to point out that "Troopers" was first used of the soldiers of the Covenanting Army of 1640, and suggests that "the fawn stands for Merry England, mortally wounded in the Civil War."

21 E.S. LeComte, "'The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn'", MP, XLIX (1952), 97-101.
Such an interpretation is even less applicable than that of Bradbrook and Thomas, since it rests on and illuminates a very small part of the poem indeed. Another critic, Miss Williamson, supports Bradbrook and Thomas, and says of the "religious overtones", "they are not meant to supply another level of significance parallel to, or expressed through, the literal surface meaning, but to intensify that meaning." In other words, the fawn has symbolic value, not allegorical value. This statement of Marvell's purposes is quite in accord with what the study of his lyrics to this point has shown; the bases of his images are, in this poem, sensuous and religious then.

The other main stream of critical comment has concerned itself with the second basis, the sensuous, what Williamson calls the "literal surface meaning". In the view of these critics, "The poem is not about kindness to animals, or the death of Christ, or the British Church; on the contrary it is a sensitive construct about the loss of first love, a loss augmented by a virginal sense of deprivation and unfulfillment." It will be maintained here that the poem may very well be about all the various kinds of love suggested by these critics, since ambiguity becomes in it far more than a technique; it is an intellectual exercise, a habit of mind, the expression, even, of a view of the world.

There are three important kinds of ambiguity in "The Nymph complaining": puns, syntactical complexities which force

23 D.C. Allen, "Marvell's 'Nymph'", ELH, XXIII (1956), 93-111.
the reader to hesitate before committing himself to a meaning, and structural ambiguities. There are a good many puns in the poem, almost all of which fall into Empson's "third type". First, two random examples. In line 3, the troopers are called "ungentlemen". They are being disparaged here in terms of personal morality, social position, and birth and breeding. They are, of course, ungentlemen, not gentlemen, by the very fact that they are soldiers of the Covenanting Army. In line 10, the nymph says that, if her prayers might procure forgiveness for them, she will "Joyn her Tears/Rather than fail." That is, she will add, and also take pleasure in, her tears. Such puns as these serve to link the themes which occur in the poem.

Here are three examples which are particularly relevant to the "hierarchy of love" theme. The "complaint" of the title has as its primary meaning a reference to the traditional lyric topic, but the seventeenth-century reader would probably feel that since the nymph was complaining (it is traditionally of course the male lover who does so) and the complaint was at least ostensibly not about love at all, the word was to be read literally. In line 25, Sylvio, the lover, is both the pastoral lover of the convention, and perhaps, the woods, hence nature in general whose gift the fawn is. There follow two obvious puns on "Dear" and "Heart" and later, in line 69, a similar one on "Hindes". It is worth digressing from the discussion of puns which link the fawn, and deer in general, to human lovers, to suggest that there is possibly a reference to emblem books in this poem. Paradain, in Devises Heroiques, 1562, says "The device of
love incurable may be a stag wounded by an arrow ... . To represent unsatisfied young love, the use of a wounded fawn has a certain rather charming logic, especially since Marvell had said in "Young Love",

Love as much the snowy Lamb
Or the wanton Kid does prize,
As the lusty Bull or Ram,
For his morning Sacrifice. (11.13-16)

What were called syntactical complexities are not as common in this poem as in some others, but they do occur, and have a function which is consistent with the general insistence on ambiguity. These wrenchings of syntax usually have local functions (they often allow the poet to make his rhymes, for one thing), but they also aid the overall effect of suspension of response. Empson, noting a complexity of this kind in "On a Drop of Dew", says of Marvell, "I don't suppose he was very proud of the delicious weakness and prolonged hesitiation of his English syntax; but you may say it conveys the delicacy of the dew-drop, and how sickeningly likely it was to roll off the petal" (page 93). The critic has the right characteristics, but has pointed out only the local function of the device. To return to "The Nymph complaining", and give first a minor example:

Though they should wash their guilty hands
In this warm life-blood, which doth part
From thine, and wound me to the Heart,
Yet could they not be clean... . (11.18-21)

The syntax here insists on the parallelism between the wounded fawn and the wounded nymph. Realistically, the warm life-blood flowing from the heart of the fawn is quite acceptable, both to

24 Green, Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers, p.340.
the modern reader and the seventeenth-century reader. (Harvey had published his theory on the functioning of the heart and circulatory system in 1628; there is another reference to these theories in the "double heart" phrase of "A Dialogue between the Soul and Body".) But a very abrupt extension of the strictly physical associations is required in order for the reader to accept the idea that blood could serve as an instrument to wound the nymph. But if the wounded fawn is, on the symbolic level, an emblem of the nymph in love, then the parallel is explained; as so often in Marvell, the sensuous and intellectual references are being given in the same passage.

A rather better example of the technique of holding back the significance of a significance by keeping an important phrase from the reader and forcing him to suspend judgment, occurs in

Among the beds of Lillyes, I
Have sought it oft, where it should lye;
Yet could not, till it self would rise,
Find it, although before mine Eyes. (11.77-80)

The complication of the word order here has several local functions; it fairly obviously allows the poet to make his rhymes, the staccato movement reproduces, by sense transference, the rapid movement of the nymph's eyes, and the delay and eventual force of "Find it", occurring as it does at the beginning of a line, also parallel the experience of the nymph. The puns, and the syntactical complexities, have here the same function, a function also common to the structural ambiguities, that of requiring the reader to hesitate before committing himself to a particular meaning.

The structural ambiguities here mostly revolve around the significance of the fawn as a symbol. In the first couplet, the

25 See Bush, English Literature of the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p.258.
pastoral expectation set up by "nymph" and the love-lyric
expectation set up by "complaining" in the title are both abruptly
checked by the neologism "Troopers" and the violence of "shot"
(which probably means with a bullet, not an arrow, here). The
conventional responses are destroyed immediately. Similar cor­
rections of the reader's response take place at each of the
transitions between verse paragraphs. In the first of these, the
nymph says of the murderers that they can never be clean

their Stain
Is dy'd in such a Purple Grain.
There is not another in
The World, to offer for their Sin.  (11.21-24)

There is a suggestion of the regicides here, in "Purple Grain",
and the next couplet refers to Christ. But the next verse
paragraph opens with "Unconstant Sylvio", and the fawn becomes
the gift of a Caroline lover. The reverse movement takes place
later, when the fawn becomes symbolic of Christ again.

Had it liv'd long, I do not know
Whether it too might have done so
9 As Sylvio did: his Gifts might be
Perhaps as false or more than he.
3 But I am sure, for ought that I
Could in so short a time espie,
Thy Love was far more better then
The love of false and cruel men.  (11.47-54)

The first two references to the fawn use "it", the third "Thy".
The last couplet is again a reference to Christ.

The changes in the significance of the fawn are paralleled
by changes in the qualities of the nymph. She is different in each
of the verse paragraphs, and this has troubled the commentators.
The changes which take place may again be illustrated by the
expectations set up by the title; a pastoral figure is clearly
indicated, but the nymph of the first verse paragraph is, on the
contrary, a Puritan maiden, pious and simple. She has been
variously described by critics as a "little maiden", a "young virgin," "at once amusing and touching and aesthetically delightful" and a "Niobe-figure". Which of these seems the most accurate depends on which paragraph is read with most attention, but none of them describes a girl who would have been a suitable partner for Sylvio in a love-hunt, no matter how playful; similarly, the nymph who, in her "little Wilderness", the sensuous imagery of which is taken from The Song of Solomon, plays with her fawn, does not seem to have been captured in any of these descriptions.

The ambiguities described here all work towards the same end; by forcing the reader to suspend judgment, they allow very complex symbols to be built up. They do this by drawing in significances from quite disparate contexts, and the difficulties which arise are ignored. As a result, the commentators on the poem have largely found there what they sought. However, the force of the emblem of the wounded fawn is built up throughout the poem, and there can be no doubt that the central theme here is that stated by D.C. Allen; the poem is about "the loss of first love". The other significances are subordinate to this one, and contribute to it.

"To his Coy Mistress" is a terminal point in the carpe diem tradition. The sweetness of the convention is quite absent here;

26 Edgar Allan Poe, Works (New York, 1902), ix, 102.
28 Bradbrook and Thomas, p. 47.
even the cynical but not very serious reversal of roles of "Clorinda and Damon" has gone; the tone here is one of desperation. The sense of the passing of time which in the tradition is carried by the fading of flowers is here conveyed by a much more violent image, one which relates the passing of time to the loss of potency, that of Time as the devourer of all things. An emblematic figure is in the background of this image, which will be discussed in detail in connection with the Mower series. The emblem makes the sense of "devour" quite literal, and connects it with castration, an important sub-meaning in this couplet, for instance;

Rather at once our Time devour,
Then languish in his slow-chapt pow'r. (11.39,40)

The last phrase is paraphrased "the power of his slowly-devouring jaws" (by Margoliouth, page 223.) This desperation similarly affects the sexual image, which is violent and unpleasant, as it was in "Daphnis and Chloe", for instance.

Let us roll our Strength, and all
Our sweetness, up into one Ball:
And tear our Pleasures with rough strife,
Thorough the Iron gates of Life. (11.41-44)

The principal differences between this poem, and earlier poems in the tradition such as Herrick's "To the virgins, to make much of Time", are the particularisation of the lover's situation, and the qualities of tone noted above.

The twin themes here are time and love. The first verse paragraphs explores, in a leisurely way, the possibilities of having an infinite amount of time to spend on love. The transition to the next paragraph is carried by "But", and the imminence of death is now considered the combination of lover's persuasion with images of violence and death, the tone of desperation derived from a sense of the shortness of life and the malignity of Fate,
are similar to qualities common in Donne's *Songs and Sonets* (e.g. *The White Devil*). The next transition rests on "Now", and this word is vital to the paragraph, being repeated twice within it. This third and last section presumably is intended to persuade with a description of the delights of love, although it is hard to imagine a "coy mistress" who would be convinced of the desirability of love of this kind.

The extent to which the poem is derivative is remarkable.

There are three likely borrowings from *The Mistress*, 1647.

**O! a Sigh of Pity I a year can live,**  
One Tear will keep me twenty at least,  
Fifty a gentle look will give;  
An hundred years on one kind word I'll feast:  
A thousand more will added be,  
If you an inclination have for me;  
And all beyond is vast Eternity.  

"My Dyet" 11.15-21

parallels lines 13-20 and 23, 24 of "To his Coy Mistress". The couplet

**Love, like a greedy Hawk, if we give way,**  
Does over-gorge himself, with his own Prey  
"Against Fruition" 11.27,28

may have given rise to Marvell's image of the "am'rous birds of prey", and

**Yet Love, alas, and Life in Me,**  
Are not two several things, but purely one,  
At once how can there in it be  
A double different Motion?  
O yes, there may: for so the self same Sun,  
At once does slow and swiftly run.  

"Love and Life" 11.19-24

is suggestive of Marvell's last couplet, in the rhyme and the thought. A poem of Quarles seems to have inspired two of the most famous couplets in Marvell's poem.
My following eye can hardly make a shift  
To count my winged hours; they fly so swift;  
They scarce deserve the bounteous name of gift.

The secret wheels of hurrying time do give  
So short a warning, and so fast they drive,  
That I am dead before I seem to live.  

(From Emblemes, Bk III, No.XII).

turns into "Time's winged charriot", although Marvell's image is far more clearly presented in physical form. A single image in the same Quarles' poem, "shall his hollow arms/Hug they soft sides/", which refers to a skeleton which encloses a woman, seems to have produced Marvell's famous couplet about the grave.

In the poem, then, the theme is a conventional one, the ideas and images are to a large extent borrowed, yet this poem is the "very roof and crown of the metaphysical love lyric..." It does not rely, as "The Nymph complaining" does, on ambiguities; there are almost no puns, and the syntax and overall tripartite structure are made very clear. The poem differs from many metaphysical poems in that the philosophical or intellectual element is unimportant. It is not essential that the reader grasp wholly the significance of "vegetable Love," or the point of the Biblical references in "Till the Conversion of the Jews" or "we cannot make our Sun/Stand still", or even the paradox based on the qualities of the emblematic figure Father Time in the phrase "our Time devour". Miss Bradbrook and Miss Thomas have contrasted this poem and "The Definition of Love". "In theme and method they are completely contrasted: the one magnificently concrete, the other as completely

30 See Dennis Davison, "Notes on Marvell's 'To his Coy Mistress'", N&Q, N.S.V. (1958), 521.

31 Grierson, Metaphysical Poems, p.xxxviii.
transcendental; the one astonishing in its variety, the other in its consistency."

The unique quality, the *sine qua non*, of metaphysical poetry is revealed by "To His Coy Mistress". This quality is incongruity, or more precisely the contrast between expectation and actuality which is set up in the mind of the reader. Metaphysical poetry is in its essence a criticism of what has gone before, and a reconstruction. It is hence necessarily a transitional phase in a poetic tradition. But because this is true, it is also true that metaphysical poetry depends very heavily on the traditional forms of poetry. For the reader who has never read any lover's complaints "The Nymph complaining" and the Mower series lose a great deal of significance, or rather, never achieve significance for that reader. The reader who has not been saturated in prayers to the "cruel fair" which are in essence flattery probably will not grasp the bitter humor of "The Gallery". An acquaintance with the normal pastoral machinery and the roles of the nymph and the shepherd is necessary to the appreciation of Marvell's pastoral satires. It is for this reason that the analysis of tone in Marvell's poems is so important; for the contrasts between the poems and the traditions in which they ostensibly belong is most clearly indicated by tone. (The choice of imagery is also important, as the function of the Father Time image in the Mower series and "To his Coy Mistress" indicates.) The gentleness and charm of the usual treatments of the *carpe diem* theme, and the playfulness of the invocations

32 Bradbrook and Thomas, p.43.

33 As Mannerism is a transitional phase between two major styles, Renaissance and Baroque.
of the coy mistress, are the qualities which form the background to "To his Coy Mistress", and are invoked by the title.

In the first verse paragraph the endstopped couplets and the long vowels (in, for instance, "long Loves Day", or "My vegetable Love should grow / Vaster then Empires, and more slow"), echo the sense of the paragraph. In the second paragraph this leisurely movement gives way to "Time's winged Charriot", and the sense of haste is echoed in the rhythm. The passing of time in this poem is not to "Be reckon'd ... with herbs and flow'rs". The long sentence, linked by successive "and's" (ll.25-30) hurries the reader to the grave. In the final paragraph, the tone becomes that of real desperation:

Let us roll all our Strength, and all
Our sweetness, up into one Ball:
And tear our Pleasures with rough strife,
Through the Iron gates of Life.  (ll.41-44)

The poem has become completely alien to the tradition into which it ostensibly falls, and a criticism of that tradition in realistic terms. It is as if Marvell is saying "This is how frustrated love really feels," and the shock of recognition puts an end to the carpe diem theme in lyric poetry.

In the second group, those poems of which the theme is the love of nature, only the Mower series and "The Garden" will be discussed, and these poems deal with the love of nature after the advent of woman, and the changes this brings about.

Of the Mower poems, three, "Damon, the Mower", "The Mower to the Glo-Worms", and "The Mower's Song", are linked by the fact of being in the same lyrical tradition, that of the complaint. In addition, they are all about Juliana, and the effect her advent
has had on the Mower, who "is a pastoral figure, the descendant of the shepherd, and one whose function is the destruction of nature".

Only for him no Cure is found,  
Whom Juliana's Eyes do wound.  
'Tis death alone that this must do:  
For Death thou art a Mower too.  
("Damon the Mower", ll. 85-88)

Your courteous Lights in vain you wast,  
Since Juliana here is come  
For She my Mind hath so displac'd  
That I shall never find my home.  
("The Mower to the Glo-Worms", ll. 13-16)

My mind was once the true survey  
Of all these Medows fresh and gay;  
And in the greenness of the Grass  
Did see its Hopes as in a Glass;  
When Juliana came, and She  
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.  
("The Mower's Song;" ll. 1-6)

The complaint tradition is under fairly radical revision here; the violence which is characteristic of Marvell is peculiarly vivid in these poems, perhaps because of the normal associations which the reader makes with the figure of the Mower. "The Mower who cut down the living grass was a natural symbol for death. Because of the seasonal nature of his activities, he was also a symbol for time. Marvell's mower does not lead like the shepherd of traditional pastoral; he destroys ... He symbolises man's alienation from nature." This critic has the right associations. For the seventeenth-century reader this was almost certainly a traditional emblem, which concretizes the picture which arises in the Mower series. The line "For Death thou art a Mower too" is a direct reference to Father Time (by extension Death) who in the emblem carries a scythe and an hour-glass. The history of this figure is relevant here. Panofsky summarises this:

Summers, p. 123.
The images of Time are either characterised by symbols of fleeting speed and precarious balance, or by symbols of universal power and infinite fertility, but not by symbols of decay and destruction. How, then, did these most specific attributes of Father Time come to be introduced?

The answer lies in the fact that the Greek expression for time, Chronos, was very similar to the name of Kronos, the Roman Saturn, oldest and most formidable of the gods. A patron of agriculture, he generally carried a sickle.

The characteristics of these two figures were merged, and, most important for the use Marvell makes of the figure, his sickle, traditionally explained either as an agricultural implement or as the instrument of castration, came to be interpreted as a symbol of Tempora quae sicut falx in se recurrunt; and the mythical tale that he had devoured his own children was said to signify that Time, who had already been termed "sharp-toothed" by Simonides and edax rerum by Ovid, devours whatever he has created. 36

This illuminates the "slow-chapt pow'r" phrase in "To his Coy Mistress", as has already been pointed out.

What happens in the Mower series depends, very largely, on the significances which are attached to this symbol, as the events of "The Nymph complaining" depend on the significance of the fawn. Damon is a reaper in love, who "among the Grass fell down / By his own Scythe, the Mower mown"; this is not surprising, because while he is the representative of Saturn as the patron of agriculture, he is also Saturn as castrator, and in both capacities he is both doer and victim; he is identified with the grass, "And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I, and all, / Will in one common Ruine fall", and is still the Mower; he is the person who cuts

36 Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, (New York, 1939), p. 73. This emblem underlies many references to Time in the poems of the period. See, for instance, Shakespeare's Sonnet 60, 11.9-12.

Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth
And delves the parallels in beauty's brow,
Reeds on the rarities of nature's truth,
And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow.
off the source of life of the grass, "Depopulating all the
Ground", and he is himself castrated, by Juliana. "She / What
I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me."

There is also associated with the Mower a quality of
innocence, which is lost with the advent of Juliana. His mind
"in the greenness of the Grass / Did see its Hopes as in a
Glass " . Green usually bears the connotation of innocence in
Marvell's poems. Of its use in "The Garden," Kermode says "the
normative significance of green in the poem is in accord with
what is after all a common enough notion - green for innocence
... . Green is still opposed to red and white; all this is only
possible when women are absent and the sense innocently engaged."

The meaning of the quoted lines is complex, however. The grass
reflects the mind of the Mower in that both are innocent. Green
is also the colour of hope, and the grass reflects the mind of the
Mower in this respect also. The grass and the Mower share the same
fate, and this is pointed out in another parallel.

Sharp like his Sythe his Sorrow was
And wither'd like his Hopes the Grass.

As his sorrow is to his hopes, his scythe is to the grass.

The complex series of identifications made in these poems
depend very largely on the emblematic figure in the background
of the poet's consciousness, and equally available to his readers
in the seventeenth century. The vividness of the violence in the
poems, felt even by the reader unaware of the emblem, is easily
accounted for when the associations suggested by Panofsky are made.

37 "The Argument of Marvell's 'Garden'", E in C, II (1952), 239.
The misconceptions of the tone of these poems which have been made could hardly have survived knowledge of this emblem. For instance, Bradbrook and Thomas, speaking of the Mower's self-inflicted wound, say "The accident happens but by carelessness; it tempers the richness of the July scene, but the lover's conceit, very properly, makes Death no greater thing than a remedy against Juliana, "(page 42.) Miss Sackville-West, with a similar view of these poems, says "His very choice of the Mower as the central figure in no less than four poems illustrates his sense of the decorative value of rustic employments. Marvell's Mower simply takes the place of the traditional shepherd. It was Marvell who discovered the scythesman as an ornament to poetry, and who for bergerie substituted faucherie". On the contrary, the introduction of the Mower, in place of the shepherd, gives the poems a contemporaneity and realism at odds with the normal pastoral expectations, and the inclusion of all the associations with violence of various kinds, from cutting grass through castration to death itself, together with the inverted, frustrated sexuality, make it difficult to take the poems lightly. "Damon the Mower" and "The Mower's Song" are about Eden invaded by a woman, and the loss of innocence; they are resentful, confused, and violent.

The Mower and the fawn are complex symbols, with significance drawn from many different contexts. The character of the nymph is similarly complex, varying through several stages of a hierarchy of love, and experiencing many kinds of love in the course of the poem.

"The Garden" presents a symbol which is more complex than any of these. In an attempt to point out some of the meanings which are to be found in the Garden, a category will be constructed in terms of areas of significance, and the possibilities of meaning which are opened up within each area. First, "realistically", the Garden is a "little Wilderness", like the scene of the sensuous verse paragraph in "The Nymph complaining", and in the stanza in which it is thus described it is both sensuous and sensual, even perhaps specifically sexual. Also realistically, the Garden is a formal garden, the work of a "skilful Gardner", containing a flower "Dial", an "industrious Bee", and bestowing "sweet and wholesome Hours". Within one area of significance, then, there are various possibilities of interpretation. There are several other areas, and in each more than one kind of interpretation may be made.

In what may be called its social significance, the Garden is a retreat from the press of ambition, and bestows the gift of repose, quiet, and innocence. Yet at the same time, the Gardner and the Bee remind the recluse of social virtues. In a further significance, the psychological, the Garden caters for the three necessary aspects of Man's life: sense, intellect, and spirit, providing in the first case food, drink, and rest, ("Apples", "Wine," "On Grass"), in the second a place where the mind "Withdraws into its happiness", and in the third a suitable place for the contemplation of the infinite, "till prepar'd for longer flight". (This obviously connects with the mystical version of the Garden, discussed below.)

In its mythological significance, the way in which the Garden is viewed depends a good deal upon the reading of stanza V. There are three possibilities: one, it can be the Garden of Eden before the creation of Eve; two, after the creation of Eve; and three, after
after the Fall. In the first case, there is some justification in Genesis for supposing that Adam was androgynous. It then becomes extremely logical to carve the tree's own names on them, since they too are androgynous, (at least in some cases.) The metamorphic qualities of nymphs and gods fit neatly into this mythological pattern. The pattern is the vital element here. Speaking generally, a myth is a story - a symbolic fable as simple as it is striking - which sums up an infinite number of more or less analogous situations. A myth makes it possible to become aware at a glance of certain types of constant relations and to disengage these from the welter of everyday appearances.

The "constant relations" here are man, woman, hortus conclusus. At first glance, Marvell's poem lacks the middle term; if the passage in "Upon Appleton House" in which the trees serve to protect the poet from woman, or at least from "love's dart", is recalled, the asexuality of the Garden seems likely. But this is an error.

The Nectaren, and curious Peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on Melons, as I pass,
Insnar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass.

The Fall here is not as innocent as it may seem, and the "constant pattern" is maintained. The point of the references in the previous stanzas to the various myths of metamorphosis was not to show the superiority of trees to women but to show that identifications of women with trees have been made before. All three Gardens are

40 de Rougemont, Love in the Western World, p.5.
intended then; the prelapsarian is indicated in

But 'twas beyond a Mortal's share
To wander solitary there:

and the postlapsarian in the fact that this Garden represents a retreat from experience in this couplet:

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

Philosophically, this is a Neoplatonic Garden of Ideas, which stimulates the inhabitant to Neoplatonic flights, and to dwelling in

The Mind, that Ocean where each kind
Does straight its own resemblance find;

and is therefore the equivalent of the Platonic realm of ideas.

There is also here at least the prelude to a mystical experience.

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

The mysticism here is Christian, the image being drawn from an emblem. The usual picture, of a hawk sitting on the branch of a tree, in the rays of the sun, represents a legend that "in the solar rays, hawks or falcons, throwing off their old feathers, are accustomed to set right their defects, and so to renew their youth." This was put to Christian uses, in, for instance, Camerarius, *Ex Volatilibus*, 1596. The motto here goes

Sin's spoils cast off, man righteousness assumes,
As in the sun the hawk renews its plumes.

The use of the hawk to symbolize the soul is much older than this emblem-book, being Egyptian in origin. It was available in


Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, p.368.
the Elizabethan period in several editions of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphics*, particularly those of J. Mercier, 1648, 1651 (see Green, page 23).

There is also Puritan significance in the Garden, since it induces the virtues of prudence, skill, and industry, while at the same time allowing an "am'rous", "wond'rous Life". In these respects it foreshadows "Bermudas", which works out the Puritan version of the Garden of Eden in more detail.

Certainly it is possible to descry other areas of meaning, and other possibilities of interpreting significance within the areas suggested here. This sort of paraphrase is most deficient, however, in the damage it does to the intricate structure of the poem, and in the fact that the modulations of tone which make such an involved group of meanings coexist harmoniously have been ignored completely. The multiple meanings here are achieved, as in "The Nymph complaining", by the use of verbal and syntactical ambiguities. A few examples will illustrate this technique. "Shade", (1.5), is shadow, also ghost or pure form in a Platonic reading. "Upbraid" (1.6), is rebuke, but also prepares the reader for "weave" two lines later. "Retreat" (1.26), is both action and place. "Curious" (1.36), is exquisite, and requiring care.

There are several well-known syntactical difficulties in the poem, usually having two or more possible readings.

Society is all but rude
To this delicious Solitude

can be read with or without a pause after "all".

Meanwhile the Mind, from pleasure less,
Withdraws into its happiness

means either "reduced by pleasure, or that the mind retires because it experiences less pleasure than the sense, or that it
retires from the lesser pleasure to the greater."

Annihilating all that's made
To a green Thought in a green Shade
is either "reducing the whole material world to nothing material, i.e. to a green thought, or considering the whole material world as of no value compared to a green thought."

These are intentional ambiguities, vital to the poet's attempt to create an inclusive view of the human condition, or at least of human aspirations: The ambiguities represent coexistent choices; the poet presents the reader who ventures into the Garden with the gift of free will; the visitor constructs his own Paradise (as does Alice, in Wonderland, although Alice constructs a Serpent, as well). "The Garden" then becomes a Pilgrim's Progress for the sophisticated Puritan.

The most important attribute of this poem is that ambiguity has been treated here as the supreme virtue. This is not to say that there is a complete anarchy of meanings within the poem; all the contexts are carefully controlled, and the excess of ambiguity occurs within fairly rigid boundaries.

Occasionally the structure of the poem seems to tremble under the weight of significance, and there is always a good deal of strain imposed upon it. The last stanza affords the best example of this weakness; it seems uncomfortably perched on the end, and the poem can be thought complete without it. (This becomes clear in the Margoliouth edition, in which the last stanza appears overleaf from the rest of the poem, pp. 49, 50). The connection is

Kermode, "The Argument of Marvell's 'Garden'", p.236.

Margoliouth, p.226.
present but tenuous. This stanza describes the paradise found by
the poet. The "Gardner" is a Puritan image of God, the "Dial new"
is a new garden, in which time is computed by the life cycle of
the flowers, as the bees compute it. This Garden is in England,
which explains the "milder Sun"; it is an English sun, not a
middle Eastern one. Such a reading stresses the connection between
this stanza and "Bermudas".

The transition from this poem to the next group, the Puritan
poems, is not difficult, with the last stanza of "The Garden" to
serve as a bridge. In this group, "A Dialogue between the Soul and
Body", "The Coronet", and "Bermudas" will be discussed. In the
first of these, the most obvious characteristic is the play of wit;
it is difficult to take this poem very seriously. The wit here is
most evident in the series of ironic reversals. "The Coronet" is
much more serious, but the pastoral mode is intrusive, and lightens
the theme perhaps more than the poet intended. With the last of
this little series, however, the Puritan influence has become
dominant, and although the poem contains elements from the other
poems, notably "The Garden", the tone is without doubt or hesitation;
the commitment is final. The tone which has been followed through
the canon of private poems ends on a "holy and a cheerful Note".

Bradbrook and Thomas have said that "A Dialogue between the
Soul and Body" seems rather a duet than a debate. (page 68).
Certainly the questions and comments of the supposed parties to
the debate do not seem to be interchanges between them. They
consist of strings of conceits, which depend upon a particular
dualist view of man. The reversals come about in the fact that
the difficulties appropriate to one party to the debate are in
fact complained of by the other. So the soul, the immaterial side of man's dual nature, complains that it is "hung up", as 'twere, in Chains/ Of Nerves, and Arteries, and Veins", and that it is in a "dungeon". The image here is certainly from the emblem books. Wallerstein suggests Hugo's Pia Disideria, 1624, and her book contains the relevent plate (facing page 150). Marvell's source is more likely Quarles, who borrowed extensively from Hugo, and has a similar emblem. The soul, imprisoned within a skeleton, laments "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death." The body, in its turn, suffers from the "bonds" of the soul, a pun, and from being warmed and moved by the soul as fever; it is also possessed by an "ill Spirit", that is, itself. The most complex image in the poem occurs in the first complaint of the body. It says that the soul, "strech upright, impales me so,/ That mine own Precipice I go." The implications of precipice here are manifold, and this image is linked with the last couplet, the most important to the overall structure of the poem. The position of the "precipice" image in the body's speech, suggests that were it not for the operations of the soul, the body would be incapable of sin, and this suggestion is picked up later. In a sense this is true, of course, since without a soul man would presumably be an animal, and certainly not capable of sin. But as Tuve has noted, "we feel the poet's own ironic qualifications - a dry reminder, in the figure's hyperbolical inconsequence, that only the Body would think that being upright is responsible for falling".

45 Freeman, English Emblem Books, p. 119.

46 Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, p. 207.
The primary sense of the image depends upon the common association of sin with a fall, and perhaps specifically upon a sexual sin/fall idea.

The structure of the poem is quite regular, with the addition of two extra couplets to the final stanza. The first two stanzas are in the form of rhetorical questions, and the answer they expect is, fairly obviously, "God". The final, extra, lines should, within the expectations of the Puritan reader, resolve all the problems of the soul and the body by some reference to the millennium. But instead, the final lines are given to the body, and in them the soul is again charged with making sin possible.

What but a Soul could have the Wit
To build me up for Sin so fit?
So Architects do square and hew,
Green Trees that in the Forest grew.

That is, before the activities of the soul, the architect, the body was green, that is innocent. Then the tree was felled, changed colour, and was shaped by the architect. Perhaps the most important fact about this conclusion is that it seems to deny any resolution to the problem presented; the soul remains in its dungeon, the body on its precipice.

"The Coronet" is "of all Marvell's poems the most simple, sensuous, and passionate". It follows, in theme and form, George Herbert, but lacks the sense of the dramatic which was Herbert's great acquisition from Donne. Herbert "wished to bring all the resources of poetry into God's service" and had asked

47 Bradbrook and Thomas, p.67.
Doth poetry
Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?
Why are not sonnets made of thee, and lays
Upon thy altar burnt? Cannot thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
As well as any she?

The statement in Marvell's poem is plain; he intends to turn
from writing pastoral to songs which celebrate "the king of Glory".
But even in his new ambition he finds "wreaths of Fame and Interest,"
(this perhaps refers to his application for the Latin Secretary's
Assistantship). But he finds it difficult; perhaps the change is
not as easy for Marvell to make as Herbert would have expected.
Even the new Puritan poems must be stated in pastoral terms,
apparently. The poet dismantles "all the fragrant Towers / That
once adorn'd my Shepherdesses head", but "flow'rs form the new
head-dress, the "Coronet", necessarily since as the poet says "my
fruits are only flow'rs". He can worship in no other way.

But there is a snake in this new Puritan garden, hidden in
the grass. The image here is from an emblem, which appeared, for
instance, in Paradin's Devises Heroiques, 1562, with the motto
"Latet anguis in herba". The snake is inextricably entangled
in the flowers; the form here, "the complicated plaiting of
octosyllabic and decasyllabic, and the elaborate intertwining of
the rhyme scheme represent both the coronet and the serpent...
This too is a characteristic of Herbert, the representation of
the content, in the form of the poem, but this Marvell had done
before, and did not need to learn from Herbert.

"Bermudas" returns to the simple octosyllabic couplet of

49 Green, p.340
50 Bradbrook and Thomas, p.67
"The Nymph complaining". The couplets are uniformly endstopped and the sense contained within each couplet is to some degree independent of the surrounding couplets. The rhythmic regularity is very fitting here since the song follows in its rhythm the steady beat of the oars. The overall structure is as regular: four lines of introduction, 32 lines of song, and four lines which close the poem, and describe the men who inhabit the "Bermudas".

The song itself consists of a list of the benefits of life in the Bermudas. The island is a Garden, perhaps Paradise itself since it enjoys "eternal Spring". The imagery here is richer than that of "The Garden", with suggestions of luxuriance, even magnificence:

He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
Like golden Lamps in a green Night.
And does in the Pomegranates close,
Jewels more rich than Ormus shew's. (11.17-20)

But this display is natural, not man-made, and hence proceeds from God, the "He" in line 17. The greatest gift is described metaphorically in a way which associates it with the other gifts described here.

He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospels Pearl upon our Coast. (11.29,30)

In the final lines Marvell describes Puritanism at its very best.

Thus sung they, in the English boat,
An holy and a cheerful Note,
And all the way, to guide their Chime,
With falling Oars they kept the time.

The Puritans are singing but at the same time they are industrious. Yet the song is not a work-song; rather, the work is firmly subordinated to singing the praises of God.
There is nothing in this song, in which Marvell has finally succeeded in doing what he attempted in "The Coronet", turning from pastoral and "nature" lyrics to religious, to suggest the slightest doubt or hesitation in Marvell's commitment to the Puritan version of Utopia. In the images, in the syntax, in the overall structure, there is no hint of ambiguity or irony. If this song is indeed his last lyric, Marvell has apparently passed from innocence through experience to "calm of mind, all passion spent".

The public poems of Andrew Marvell have been divided into the categories of occasional, political, and satirical. Since these poems are not very good ("An Horation Ode" is an exception to all the generalisations in this opening statement) it will not be necessary to attempt detailed analyses of them; the task would be unrewarding. Representative poems from each group will be selected, and the discussion of these will centre on the changes in technique which differentiate these poems from private poems.

The general change may be stated thus: the individualisation of public poems brought about by other metaphysical poets in the imagery used, and in the variations of tone, is not attempted by Marvell in these poems. The tone in poems in all three categories in straightforward and unvarying. For example, in "The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.", the tone is that of unmixed adulation, without any glimpse of irony or flexibility. In the satires, the invective is naked and direct, revealing anger and contempt altogether too clearly to convince the reader of the truth of what is said.
Since "the content of satire is criticism", this is a major fault. Finally, these public poems are all written in heroic couplets, which Marvell did not handle well.

"Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings", an early poem, illustrates these faults clearly, although there are glimpses of the later Marvell in two of the images. Wallerstein says of it:

"In these lines the union of a deeply bred classicism with a religious and speculative spirit influenced by Donne and the larger forces of which Donne was in part a product, is already apparent..." (page 122). Miss Wallerstein considers that the poem "is classical in the development of its pests," and in "the smoothness and perspicuity of its expression, in its finality of definition, in the precise and ordered rhythms of its end-stopped couplets." But surely these are neoclassical characteristics, looking forward to Dryden, and the total effect of this poem suggests a poet struggling with a new style. Again, the suggested influence of Donne here is hard to find; there is nothing in this poem remotely reminiscent of Donne.

First, if the thesis is indeed stated in the opening and resolved in the conclusion, as Miss Wallerstein suggests, it is difficult to see what it can be, since the final lines are

For Man (alas) is but the Heavens sport;
And Art indeed is Long, but Life is short.

What relation the lines of this couplet bear to each other, to the poem as a whole, or to the opening in particular, is obscure, to say the least. There is no reference within the immediate

Worcester, The Art of Satire, p.16
preceding lines for "Art", which thus seems completely pointless in the context, except as part of a well-known Latin tag, which itself does not have any relevance.

Perhaps the simplest way to show the weaknesses of Marvell's poem is to compare a few lines from the ending of the poem to some lines from Dryden's elegy on Hastings, which was published in the same volume, *Lachrymae Musarum*, 1649. The passage quoted here from Dryden concerns roughly the same events as the lines from Marvell which it follows. In Marvell's lines, "he" is Mayern, the physician to the King, whose daughter Hastings was to have married.

But what could he, good man, although he bruised
All Herbs, and them a thousand ways infus'd?
All he had try'd, but all in vain, he saw,
And wept, as we, without Redress or Law. (11.55-58)

Dryden writes

But then, O Virgin-Widow, left alone,
Now thy belov'd, heaven-ravisht Spouse is gone,
(Whose skilful Sire in vain strove to apply
Med'cines, when thy Balm was no Remedy),
With greater then Platonick love, O wed
His Soul, though not his Body, to thy Bed. (11.93-98)

This is, of course, poor Dryden, and the straining after paradox is objectionable, (as, in a moral and aesthetic way, is the suggestion in the last line), but the most obvious contrast here is metrical, and Dryden is far superior. By careful use of run-on lines and the shifting of the caesura from line to line Dryden introduces a variety which Marvell's lines lack completely. Dryden does not have his technique quite under control here, and the couplet in parentheses almost defies the reader's attempts to read it without stumbling over "Med'cines", but the promise of better things is obvious enough. These lines also show clearly the instinctive dualism of Dryden's mind, which made the
couplet the ideal form for him. In 11.93,94 "Virgin-Widow" balances "Spouse"; in 11.95,96 father's "Med'cines" balance daughter's "Balm"; in 11.97,98 "Soul" balances "Body".

The virtues of Marvell's poem lie primarily in two images, neither of which is successful, but both of which do bear some relation to what he was afterwards to accomplish, the construction of images with a firm sensuous base which also function within an intellectual construct. The first lines of the poem refer to the title of the book in which the poem appeared; the direction to "stand betwixt the Morning and the Flowers; / And, ere they fall, arrest the early Showers" has a certain plausibility as a command to the Muses, and at least a suggestion of sensuous basis. But these prove untenable on examination. Empson says of the reference to the "brotherless Heliades" in "The Nymph complaining": "something has happened after you have looked up the Heliades; the couplet has been justified. Marvell has claimed to make a classical reference and it has turned out to be all right; this is of importance, because it was only because you had faith in Marvell's classical references that you felt as you did, that this mode of admiring nature seemed witty, sensitive, and cultured" (page 189). The same is not true of this reference; there is no classical link between the Muses and the showers; neither, for that matter, is the sensuous base quite right, "arrest" does not give any indication of how these showers are to become "early Tears". The second of

The very assumption made here, of form and content as a reasonable way to analyse a poem, is itself a dualism dating from the period of Dryden and Pope. It is, of course, a false assumption. Auden's statement is a valuable corrective - "How can I know what I think till I see what I say?" See "Squares and Oblongs".
these images, that revolving around Hymeneus, ll. 41-46, is again discussed by Empson, who says that "instead of the sharp conceit at which Marvell excelled we are given the elements which were to have been fitted together, but flowing out, and associated only loosely into an impression of sorrow ..." (page 191). This poem has very little to recommend it then; it fails as a neoclassical piece, by contrast to Dryden's elegy, and as a metaphysical poem, by contrast to Marvell's own later work.

"An Horatian Ode", as has been said, escapes the generalisations made about Marvell's public poems. It will nevertheless be considered representative of the group of poems on political and patriotic topics which Marvell wrote as the laureate of the Protectorate, since it is representative of Marvell's early feeling about Cromwell, a feeling which the later poems present in caricature. In the quality of the writing, it is far from representative, for reasons which are of importance to an understanding of what happened to Marvell's poetry in the 1650's and 1660's.

The poem presents a problem of a kind different from any other of Marvell's poems. It is a poem on a public topic which has the qualities of tone and irony characteristic of the private poems. There are here ambiguities and refusals to make commitments which seem characteristically metaphysical. The extent of the irony in the poem has been disputed by two major critics: Cleanth Brooks gives a reading which finds irony vital to the poem; Douglas Bush disagrees with many of the specific instances advanced by Brooks and warns against finding "a greater degree of complexity than the
text warrants". It becomes evident then that the central critical problem here is one of tone, which reveals Marvell's attitude towards his subject, that is, Cromwell. The poem is "not a conventional eulogy but a subtle portrait of the subject, warts and all", as Bush comments (page 363). The problem, then, is to find out where Marvell thought the warts were located. First, however, it may be pointed out that this is essentially a double portrait; in the first half, at least, before the "forced Pow'r" is "assur'd", the King and Cromwell are contrasted.

What, in Marvell's view, motivated Cromwell?

restless Cromwel could not cease
In the inglorious Arts of Peace,
But through adventurous War
Urged his active Star. (11.9-12)

The implication here is surely that Cromwell was an adventurer and an opportunist. But

'Tis Madness to resist or blame:
The force of angry Heavens flame:
And, if we would speak true,
Much to the Man is due. (11.25-28)

The last line is highly ambiguous. There are three possible readings; one, "not only Heaven, but also the man, deserves credit", two, "like it or not, credit is due to the man"; three, "although the lightning may seem to have intervened, actually the man is mostly responsible". There is yet another possibility, that "Much" refers back to "blame"; this seems unlikely, but is not excluded by the syntax. No attempt will be made to decide between these alternatives; it will be enough for the reading of this poem to be given here to show that they exist.

The portrait of Cromwell as adventurer is furthered by Marvell's version of his progress. He

Could by industrious Valour clime
To ruine the great Work of Time,
which does not seem a very worthy end to seek. The forces which oppose him are "Justice" and "antient Rights"; but these "do hold or break / As Men are strong or weak." Cromwell is not only valiant, but also subtle:

twining subtile fears with hope;
He wove a Net of such a scope,
That Charles himself might chase
To Caresbrooks narrow case.
That thence the Royal Actor born
The Tragick Scaffold might adorn ... . (11.49-54)

This is a complex passage. 11.51,52 are parallel to 11.53,54, both introduced by "That"; they are both consequences of the "Net". Charles chases himself to Carisbroock, and reveals his inability to compete with Cromwell, at least in cunning. (The history here is inaccurate, in all likelihood; there is no evidence of a plot by Cromwell to manoeuvre Charles into flight). The phrase "narrow case", in a wonderful piece of compressed commentary, shows why Charles was no equal to Cromwell. An escape from Carisbroock had been arranged through a barred window; Charles did not bother to try the window in advance to make sure he could squeeze through, and on the night of the escape could not get through. It was then too late to remove a bar. The "narrow case" was precisely the end of Charles' flight. The next couplet introduces the scaffold as stage, with the "armed" Bands as spectators; suitably enough, since tragedy dealt with the death of kings, casu virorum

The phrase "Royal Actor born" allows three readings: one, "actor, born royal"; two, "royal, born actor"; three, "born" merely as "carried" (from Carisbrook). To this "Royal Actor" Cromwell is compared in a couplet later, which, referring to Cromwell's first busy year, says

So much one Man can do
That does both act and know. (11.75,76)

It is not enough to act well, even to die well.

Two more indications of the ambivalence of the attitude to Cromwell maintained in this poem may be pointed out. In 11.88-96 Cromwell is compared to a falcon which "having kill'd, no more does search", an ambiguous comparison indeed if the consequences to the kingdom if once the falcon should fail to kill are imagined. The final example is of course the last couplet, of which the irony is noticed by all readers.

This poem is a deliberate attempt by Marvell to create an inclusive view of the events of his own time, to take into account as many possibilities of significance as he could, and to balance out, in his portraits of the opposing forces, the qualities which each possessed. He draws no judgments, moral or political, (although one might contend that the lines on the King's death by their very power as poetry reveal Marvell's emotional identification, and are themselves the moral judgment which the poet made explicitly much later in The Rehearsal Transpros'd, which has already been quoted.) In this respect it is a poem in the metaphysical manner, the only poem on a public topic of which this is true.
Amongst the satires, a distinction has been made between the burlesque portraits which were published in *Miscellaneous Poems* and the political satires of the Restoration. This distinction cannot be considered absolute, since portraits of a burlesque kind are an important part of the later satires, and the earlier portraits have some political reference. But there are important differences. The later satires seem more hastily written and inspired by a real malice: invective, direct and unmetaphorical, plays a large part; and the prosody is without finesse. As a consequence, the reader is neither amused or convinced by large sections of these later pieces. In the burlesques, on the other hand, the burlesque simile, a more sophisticated and interesting technique than invective, is the most important device, and a good deal of attention is paid to prosody. Marvell achieves a lightness of tone which, while allowing the criticism which is "the content of satire", also makes it possible for the reader to accept what is said without discomfort.

"Flecknoe" is the best of Marvell's satires, and in many respects occupies a position midway between Donne's "Satyre III" and "Hudibras". Like the latter, it is consciously a burlesque portrait; it combines direct reportage of events and conversations with burlesque similes; and it depends largely on puns. It seems to derive directly from "Satyre III" in several ways: the plot is similar, an encounter with a bore, with the recounting of the exact circumstances. The encounter ends in the same way in both poems, with the escape "from Captivity" (cf. ll. 141 ff. of "Satyre III"). But more importantly and more generally, the narrator
adopts a similar persona in each case, that of the innocent bystander who is involved in the affairs of the people satirised, and whose standards provide the measuring-rod of sanity and reason implicit in all satire. (This figure is vital to satire of the next century, and appears as Gulliver, Candide, and Parson Adams.)

In "Fleckno" there are three topics of satire which the title introduces. Fleckno's personal qualities, his Catholicism, and his impoverished situation in Rome are all mocked, frequently within the same couplet. These three topics or themes are worked into the overall narrative form.

The first verse paragraph describes Fleckno's lodging, in an extended simile which makes use of several puns. The chamber is compared to a coffin, and this comparison is carried on by "Sealing," either "wainscot" or "black wallhangings", such as were at funerals, "Sheet" is here either bed or winding*. The next paragraph describes the man himself, in his several activities, as poet, priest, and musician. There is a pun on "exercise" / "exercise" which links two of these vocations, if "exercise" is taken to refer to the reciting of poetry done by students in schools (which also makes this word a burlesque simile in itself). The pun here also allows Marvell to comment, of the "exercise" sense, "sure the Devil brought me there".

In the fourth verse paragraph, most of the anti-Catholic satire occurs. It is introduced, with the innocence which is one part of the persona, by "I ... Ask'd civilly if he had eat this Lent." Eventually, Fleckno finds several good reasons for accepting an invitation:
he, that was  
So hungry that though ready to say Mass
Would break his fast before, said he was Sick,
And the Ordinance was only Politick.
Nor was I longer to invite him Scant:
Happy at once to make him Protestant,
And Silent.  

(11.51-57)

The weight which the prosody throws on the last two words here
helps to exaggerate the contrast with "Protestant", and to
accentuate the importance of the silence over every other
consideration, undoubtedly the feeling of the narrator. The
use of the position of a word within a line, and in relation to
the caesura, to stress comic effect is common in this poem.

The satire on the person of Fleckno contains a further
comment on Catholicism:

so thin

He stands, as if he only fed had been
With consecrated Wafers: and the Host
Hath sure more flesh and blood then he can boast.  

(11.59-62)

This simile is "reducing" to both the man and the religion; it is
relevant in several ways. The "Wafers" are indeed "thin" in
physical appearance. Since they do not help give Fleckno "flesh
and blood" their value in the theological reference is dubious,
and hence to say that they have more "flesh and blood" than the
priest is to say that he has none. Further, the implication that
the priest makes his meals of the "consecrated Wafers casts a
good deal of doubt on his sincerity as a priest and on the
seriousness of the religion.

The entry of the young courtier provides another target for
the wit of the narrator. The courtier reads some of Fleckno's
poetry, and Fleckno insists that he has read it badly, at which
the courtier takes offence.
Whereat, I, now Made Mediator, in my room, said, Why? To say that you read false Sir is no Lye. (11.154-156)

There is a pun here on "Lye": the line paraphrases as either "To say that you read false is not to give you the lie (i.e. is not an occasion for a challenge)" or "To say that you read false is not a lie (i.e. is true)."

Fleckno is enraged by the poor reading of his poems, and retires to compose "his most furious Satyr"; the youth is disconsolate:

Who should commend his Mistress now? Or who Praise him? Both difficult indeed to do With truth. (11.163,165)

The last two words here are again thrown into prominence by their position, and their significance reflects back onto the previous couplet.

To the real wit, and the intricacy of structure, both thematic and prosodie, of "Fleckno", the rather mechanical progression of "The Character of Holland" may be compared. The former was written in 1646 (probably), the latter in 1633. The later poem is very largely a string of burlesque similes. These taken individually are often apt, but the technique is unrelieved and becomes tiresome very rapidly. In contrast, the interplay of character, the multiple themes, the narrative structure, and the prosodic variation are revealed as necessary concomitants of good verse satire.

Margoliouth, p.236, notes the sense of "is no lie".
"The last Instructions to a Painter" will be considered typical of Marvell's Restoration satires, in part because "Of all the satires attributed to Marvell there is none of which one can feel less doubt", (of the authorship). This is also the longest of the satires, and it is possible that the obvious weaknesses are revealed the more clearly because of the length. First, the intention seems to waver. The general nature of the poem is descriptive, and in many passages the satire seems secondary to the description of events in and around London, with particular reference to the House of Commons, from September, 1666, to August, 1667. In the description of De Ruyter's invasion of the Thames, 11.509-764, for instance there is hardly a line of satire. In being largely descriptive the poem follows its models, of course. Waller's serious panegyric on the Duke of York's naval victory, "Instructions To a Painter...",1666, had been followed by two satires on the same topic in the same year, and such poems were a minor genre for two or three years.

The loose frame provided by the "Instructions" is not of much value in unifying the poem, however; in Marvell's poem the framework is very slight, 11.1-28 and 943-948. The latter part is followed by an epilogue "To the King" beseeching him to improve his choice of minister, for

Bold and accurs'd are they, that all this while
Have strove to Isle the Monarch from his Isle.  (11.967,968)

Within the frame there are several burlesque portraits, of the Earl of St. Albans, for instance (11.29-48), and the Speaker of

Margoliouth, p.268.
the House, Sir Edward Turner (11.863-384). One large central section (11.105-334) consists of a mock-heroic description of a debate in the Commons, and another section, as has been noted, describes De Ruyter's invasion of the Thames. The last lines within the frame are a quite serious portrait of the King, and describe a vision which appears to him at night of his father and grandfather showing their wounds. The range of subjects, and the range of tones in which they are treated, has been merely suggested here, but the difficulty of unifying such a large quantity of heterogeneous material is obvious. The most cursory reading is sufficient to show Marvell's failure to do so.

The second weakness lies in the handling of the kinds of satire within the poem. Three of the common varieties of satiric comment appear: invective, low burlesque similes, and the single long passage of high burlesque, the mock heroic. Marvell frequently loses control of the first kind, less often of the others. Invective as satire is distinguished from common abuse by "detachment,  

59  

indirection, and complexity in the author's attitude." To these qualities in the author should be added to characteristics of satire which derive from them, "time-lag" and "objectivity". In the first, the reader only gradually penetrates to the full significance of the satiric comment; in the second, the author's voice is not allowed to intrude between the reader and what is being described too obviously. These qualities of the author, and of his effect on the reader, are commonly expressed in the satire

59  


60  

Worcester, p. 30
itself in metaphorical language, and in a general concern with
language which in verse satire is a concern with prosody, in
particular the possibilities of the couplet. It is by this concern
that the satirist convinces the reader of his relative detachment,
and achieves the indirection and complexity essential to invective
satire. There are, of course, more straightforward reasons for a
concern with the couplet form; by varying the rhythms the satirist
retains the interest of the reader, and by skilful use of the
caesura he stresses the phrase which contains the satiric dart.
A passage of invective from "The last Instructions" will illustrate
these general statements about invective.

Paint then St. Albans full of soup and gold,
The new Courts pattern, Stallion of the old,
Him neither Wit nor Courage did exalt,
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.
Paint him with Drayman's Shoulders, Butcher's Mien,
Member'd like Mules, with Elephantine chine.
Well he the Title of St. Albans bore,
For never Bacon study'd Nature more. (11.29-36)

To say directly that he lacked "Wit" and "Courage" is deadly
weakness in a satirist, and the metaphors used here are not a
great advance towards indirection. "Stallion" is obvious, and
involves no "time-lag" for the reader, and the personal description
is at the same level of metaphor. The final couplet quoted is the
most indirect and the most effective. It depends on a special and
limited sense of the word "Nature". The directness and simplicity
of the invective here is paralleled by the dullness of the rhythm.
Each couplet has the same punctuation and is complete in itself.

61
61 He was reputedly the lover of the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria.
The effect of line after line of this is grinding monotony, which lulls the reader into inattention.

The dividing-line between invective which uses similes and the burlesque simile is by no means clear, and the couplet of personal description quoted above could also be considered a poor example of the burlesque simile. A successful one may be quoted to mark a contrast.

Paint him in Golden Gown, with Mace's Brain:  
Bright Hair, fair Face, obscure and dull of Head;  
Like Knife with Iv'ry haft, and edge of Lead.  

This simile depends on a common metaphorical use of "keen" as does a more famous one in "An Horatian Ode". A blade is keen, as is a mind. In this case, the metaphorical link is reversed; a mind is blunt, as is a lead blade.

The particular kind of mock-heroic simile employed by Marvell is that of the battle. This is peculiarly suitable for a description of a debate in the House of Commons, and this section is perhaps the best part of the satire. The passage quoted here describes individual heroes of the Opposition side by recalling notable personal victories.

First enter'd forward Temple, Conqueror  
Of Irish-Cattel and Sollicitor.  
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.  
And surly Williams, the Accomptants bane:  
And Lovelace young, of Chimney-men the Cane.  

The main weakness here is not as apparent in other passages of the mock-heroic section, but it does weaken the whole section to some extent. Mock-heroic uses "the grand manner for trifling"  

The references here are explicated by Margoliouth, p.278. They are not clarified here since the point to be made does not require it.
themes, and the difficulty here is that neither the reader nor the poet himself can regard a debate in the House, at this crucial stage in British Parliamentary history, as a "trifling theme".

In this satire, as compared to "Fleckno", then, there is a wavering of intention, an uncertainty in the use of the satiric modes, and a general failure to take advantage of the possibilities of variation within the heroic couplet form. Unsustained by topicality, the Restoration satires can hardly be read with pleasure, since they fail in artistry.

This essay has maintained that there is in Marvell's canon a clear distinction between private and public poems. This distinction rests on three bases: the topic treated, the style of the treatment, and the intended audience. Most of the private poems, it is then argued, are clearly poems in the metaphysical style, and the dominant characteristics are verbal, syntactical, and structural; ambiguities, an ostensible use of traditional themes and genres which on closer examination turns out to be radically innovatory and iconoclastic, and frequently satiric; and a sustained attempt to link the sensual and intellectual realms. The public poems, (with the exception of "An Horatian Ode"), show none of these characteristics. The occasional poems are in essence early neoclassical pieces, and the satires belong in what the poets of the period thought was a new genre, for which the satires of Juvenal were the model. Of the satires, the burlesques are the best, since the political satires do not concern themselves sufficiently with poetics.

The essay has made use of three critical viewpoints in
attempting to establish these conclusions. First, in a biography of the poet, a division of the life into three periods was suggested. In the first of these, 1621-1650, the latter years reveal the young Marvell with Cavalier friends, and possibly Royalist political sympathies, writing love poetry, of which "To his Coy Mistress" is the outstanding example. In the second, 1650-1658, Marvell was associated closely with Puritans, in particular Fairfax and Oxenbridge, and wrote "garden" poetry, which gradually shaded off into Puritan poetry. "The Garden" and "Bermudas" are representative of this phase. In the third period, Marvell became an active Parliamentarian, and in his full commitment to his party his poetry suffered. Perhaps "An Horatian Ode" may be considered representative of this period, since the political beliefs and interests which it reveals are consistent with Marvell's activities during this last phase. No closer and more detailed associations between the life and the poetry can be substantiated, because the poetry deals so largely with conventional topics and themes. Speculative connections are made in Appendix C.

The second section undertook an historical view of metaphysical poetry and the satires in verse of the seventeenth century in an attempt to establish the important characteristics of these styles, and to describe the major influences on Marvell.

The final section attempted a detailed analysis of many of the lyrics, with the metaphysical characteristics in mind. By the critical standards appropriate to the style, a few of Marvell's poems are unquestionably major achievements, and many others are very good. The satires were glanced at, and of them the earliest,
"Fleckno", which derives from Donne's satires, is clearly the best. The later satires are failures as poetry.

The great poems of Andrew Marvell reveal metaphysical characteristics. Amongst the poets of this school, he was unique in requiring the retirement and the contemplative atmosphere of the hortus conclusus for his best work. When, of his own choice and inclination, he entered public life, his accomplishment as a poet was ended.
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Appendix A

It has been suggested that the qualities of metaphysical poetry are reflected in the drama of the Jacobean period. The change from stylised to personal verse in drama is recorded by F. P. Wilson.

To the new age, so often sceptical, tentative, and self-conscious in its exploration of hidden motives, a new style was necessary, a style that could express the mind as it was in movement, could record the thought at the moment it arose in the mind. The amplifications and formal figures of Elizabethan rhetoric were as unsuitable for their purposes as the roundness of the Ciceronian period wheeling its way to a long foreseen conclusion.

Patrick Cruttwell, in The Shakespearean Moment, traces the maturation of Shakespeare as a poet in the sonnets, and goes on to show the relevance of this change to the plays of the 1600's.

Only a poetry which is complex in itself, the expression of complex conditions, could thus be turned into drama. The simple poetry and single personality of the lyrical sonneteers denied them the dramatic quality; few of them were dramatists at all, none was a dramatist of living power. From their verse those elements are absent of which in the play Troilus and Cressida Ulysses and Thersites are the spokesmen; and this gives a wider relevance to what was noted in the sonnets, that as they move from uncritical adoration and mellifluous simplicity, from a poetry, that is, not unlike the sonneteers, so their object is dramatized, "seen in the round" (page 26).

The social context of the new drama has been described by Miss Ellis-Fermor.

The sinking of the clear exaltation of Elizabethan dramatic poetry into the sophisticated, satirical mood, deeply divided, of the Jacobean drama has many concurrent causes.... There were far-reaching political and social changes consequent upon the

death of Elizabeth, and the changing of the
dynasty, and these were felt by anticipation some
years before that death occurred. The apprehension,
regret and disillusionment inevitable to the
conscious passing of a long period of high
civilization were not in this case unfounded....
Moreover, the literature, and especially the drama,
had reached a stage in its development in which
some transition from wonder and discovery to
assessment and criticism was inevitable; this
would have happened if Elizabeth had been immortal.
As it was, the phase, within the drama itself,
of testing and questioning the findings and methods
of the earlier age coincided with a period of dis-
illusionment and apprehension in the world from
which the drama drew its themes.

The metaphysical poets and the Jacobean dramatists shared a
view of their world, and techniques for expressing that view.

Appendix B

The qualities which appear in metaphysical poetry and Jacobean drama seem to have very wide reference indeed. Art historians speak of European art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as falling into three phases, Renaissance, Mannerist, and Baroque. (Late Baroque is sometimes added as a fourth phase.) For convenience, the speculations of only one art historian will be referred to here; Wylie Sypher, in *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, speaks of Mannerism as the art of

this period when the renaissance optimism is shaken, when proportion breaks down and experiment takes the form of morbid ingenuity or scalding wit; art and thought curve away unpredictably along private tangents; approximation, equivocation, and accommodation are accepted as working principles; the sensibility of writers and painters seems overexercised; all directions are obscure and confused when we enter that "waste of shame" where the Jacobean drama is played (page 102).

The time, in England, then, is the early 1600's, and Sypher's Mannerist period is what has here been called "the Shakespearean moment".

To illustrate the ideas about their times which moved the dramatists, most obviously, but also must have affected the poets and the painters, Sypher quotes from Gracian's *The Oracle*, 1647, a collection of maxims by a Jesuit. "Know how to be evasive... all things to all men, discreet Proteus... do not tell the whole truth... Do not commit yourself entirely..." (page 116).

Of the techniques of Mannerism, Sypher says

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1 Garden City, New York, 1956. All quotations in this appendix are from this volume.
"Mannerism is practiced in using approximations and accommodations, double functions, inversions, techniques of ambiguity, and variable accents" (page 140). Again "the double meaning, the ambiguity, is the tactic of Mannerist verse" (page 138). He then describes the habits of mind of the Mannerist: "Mannerism means experimental response, tentative commitment, learned but personal research, over-cleverness in handling conventional forms and elements" (page 120). In addition, "In Mannerist painting, drama, and poetry conflicting or unrelated modes of feeling and conduct are brought together side by side and left unreconciled, as if one phase of activity had nothing whatever to do with another phase of activity in which the same persons take part" (page 146). This last characteristic is also a form of ambiguity, as Empson shows. In one of its manifestations, Mannerism is dependent on accepted conventions: "Sometimes the Mannerist painters used cliches, too, in a very studied way, just as the metaphysical poets used cliches - to gain new effects" (page 108). Eventually "Mannerism came to mean a kind of facile learning, an abused ingenuity, a witty affectation, a knowing pose, a distorting through preciosity, or a play with conventional proportions, images, and attitudes. In one sense mannerism has its roots in renaissance conceits and flourishes" (page 109).

Of these characteristics, perhaps the most important is the extensive use of ambiguities of various kinds. This use is self-conscious and moves towards goals the Mannerist felt to be important; it expresses at the same time his view of the world and of himself.
The attempt to relate concrete and abstract, in "the constantly shifted level of statement from extreme concreteness to abstraction" (page 176), and the "poetry by juxtaposition", are some expressions of this view.
Appendix C

It is difficult to avoid finding some autobiographical reference in the love-poems. It is likely that Marvell was employed as a tutor from 1646 to 1650, and a poem which opens

Come little Infant, love me now,
While thine unsuspected years
Clear thine aged Father's brow
From cold Jealousy and Fears

is an invitation to speculation. The course of the affair can be traced from the poems. "Young Love" of which the above lines form the first stanza, also contains the plea

Now then love me: time may take
Thee before they time away;
Of this Need we'll Virtue make,
And learn Love before we may. (11.17-20)

This may be considered to foreshadow "To His Coy Mistress". Carpe diem is, of course, an extremely common theme, but the treatment of Time here, the punning and the personalization, reveal in the background the emblem which is the basis of the Mower series, and which also appears in "To His Coy Mistress."

This love affair apparently began in 1646 (see the dating of "To His Coy Mistress"), in Chapter I, page 22, when the girl was fifteen:

Common Beauties stay fifteen;
Such as yours should swifter move;
Whose fair Blossoms are too green
Yet for Lust, but not for Love, (11.9-12)

in a garden.

...... of these Pictures and the rest,
That at the Entrance likes me best:
Where the same Posture, and the Look
Remains, with which I first was took.
A tender Shepherdess, whose Hair
Hangs loosely playing in the Air,
Transplanting Flow'rs from the Green Hill,
To crown her Head, and Bosome fill. (11.49-56)
But it was not only the appearance of the girl which caused him to love her.

To make a final conquest of all me
Love did compose so sweet an Enemy,
In whom both Beauties to my death agree,
Joyning themselves in fatal Harmony;
That while she with her Eyes my Heart does bind,
She with her Voice might captivate my Mind.

("The Fair Singer", ll.1-6)

The name of the girl probably began with a C, since the girls who are named in "The Match", "Mourning", and "The Gallery" are called Celia, Chlora, and Clora respectively. It is possible that the initials are contained in the title "To His Coy Mistress" since this is the kind of word-play which delighted the courtly lover.

It is unlikely that the poet ever spoke of his love, for

My Love is of a birth as rare
As 'tis for object strange and high:
It was begotten by despair
Upon impossibility.    (The Definition of Love", ll.1-4)

But the "nymph" was shortly to fall in love with "unconstant Sylvio", and the same scenes which had seen the commencement of the poet's love were the setting for this love.

Alas, how pleasant are their dayes,
With whom the Infant Love yet playes.
Sorted by pairs, they still are seen
By Fountains cool, and Shadows green.

("The Unfortunate Lover", ll.1-4)

"Infant Love" here is a pun, both "Cupid" and the "Infant" of "Young Love". She no longer plays with the poet.

Her love for Sylvio brings only sorrow, but the nymph is quite rapidly developing into a Restoration lady. She weeps at the loss of love,

Yet some affirm, pretending Art,
Her Eyes have so her Bosome drown'd,
Only to soften near her Heart
A place to fix another Wound.
And, while vain Pomp her restrain
Within her solitary Bowr,
She courts her self in am'rous Rain;
Her self both Danae and the Showr.

("Mourning", ll.13-20)

The poet is not convinced by such cynics, and reserves judgment.

I yet my silent Judgment keep,
Disputing not what they believe
But sure as oft as women weep,
It is to be suppos'd they grieve.

("Mourning", ll.33-36)

He regrets his own ability to produce only tears from the nymph.

I have through every Garden been,
Amongst the Red, the White, the Green,
And yet, from all the flow'rs I saw,
No Hony, but these Tears could draw.

("Eyes and Tears", ll.17-20)

It is impossible to relate "To His Coy Mistress" to the
reconstruction attempted above, because of the radical change
in tone. The energy and urgency of the lover, which must have resulted from some important change in the poet, distinguish this poem from everything else that Marvell wrote. There is, as has been suggested, some resemblance in theme to "Young Love", but the later poem is perhaps the culmination, the climatic result of long-drawn-out frustration and hopelessness, just as it is the very roof and crown of the metaphysical love lyric...1

There is, however, no internal evidence upon which to base such a speculation, with the possible exception of the date, 1646, of the beginning of love.

1 Grierson, Metaphysical Poems and Lyrics, p.xxxviii.
Appendix D

The change in the idea of poetry which occurred in the middle of the seventeenth century is represented by, and to a large extent resulted from, the almost universal adoption of the heroic couplet. Just as the conceit is the hall-mark of metaphysical poetry, the couplet is the hall-mark of late-baroque, or neo-classical poetry. Neither is exclusive to its period; both are essential to the poetry of their time.

Ostensibly Dryden's conception of wit is not very different from that of the metaphysicals:

wit in the poet... is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer, which, like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory, till it springs the quarry it hunted after; or, without metaphor, which searches over all the memory for the species or ideas of those things which it designs to represent. Wit written is that which is well defined, the happy result of thought, or product of imagination. ... the first happiness of the poet's imagination is properly invention, or finding of the thought; the second is fancy, or the variation, deriving, or moulding, of that thought, as the judgment represents it proper to the subject; the third is elocution, or the art of clothing and adorning that thought, so found and varied, in apt, significant, and sounding words: the quickness of the imagination is seen in the invention, the fertility in the fancy, and the accuracy in the expression.¹

However, as the reader accustomed to metaphysical descriptions of the operation of the imagination proceeds through this passage, it becomes obvious that there is a major difference; the vision of a world constructed on the basis of analogies has disappeared, and with it the justification of metaphor as having some "real"

significance. Obviously, as Dryden uses the metaphor in this passage, it is merely ornament.

The habit of mind which causes Dryden to speak of "clothing" thought, which distinguishes between thought and its expression, accounts for his inability to see the effect which the couplet had on his poetry.

The couplet, however, was eminently practical and dependable, qualities which explain its popularity. Solid and clear, it suited reasonable poetry. It was efficient: it dissipated neither the energy of the poet nor the attention of the reader. End stopped, as it could and should be, it contained the sense within itself. It encouraged reason, order, and form, and thus was the most fitting medium for expressing neoclassical nature.

Not only did the couplet express the neoclassical idea of poetry, it helped form it. Sharp states this with precision:

The neater and neater oppositions of structure in the couplet were well suited to convey a more exactly symmetrical pattern of thought, expressed as an antithesis of ideas. The mannerist wit of Donne and the metaphysical poets depended upon incongruities of image and ambiguities of meaning and tone. Dryden's wit is channeled into parallel meanings and phrases, employing a pattern of contradiction, setting over against each other mutually exclusive opinions or terms; and the meter is confined by the design of the poet's forthright argument, which proceeds by firmly stated alternatives towards majestic solutions... (page 266).

In brief, then, the dualistic couplet both expressed and encouraged dualism of thought in the neoclassical poets.

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