

A RELIGIOUS HOUSE: MARVELL'S *UPON APPLETON HOUSE*, LAUDIANISM, AND EXODUS

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In his recent edition of the poems of Andrew Marvell, Nigel Smith writes, “despite its length and its centrality in M.’s canon, *Upon Appleton House* has not occasioned the critical debate that surrounds M.’s most famous lyrics.”¹ More and more, though, scholars are turning their attention to this complex and brilliant poem. Recent studies have focused on how *Upon Appleton House* (1651) responds to early modern politics, military theory, literary networks, and environmental issues.² Scholarship on religion and *Upon Appleton House* has illuminated the poem’s engagement with anti-Catholic polemic, the Catholic history of the Fairfax family, and Protestant views of sacrilege.³ An account of how the poem responds to the religious upheavals of the 1630s and 40s, however, remains lacking. This essay provides such an account by showing how *Upon Appleton House* pursues a subtle and yet devastating critique of Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645) and the policies of High Church Anglicanism. In the end, it is the triumph over a Laudian anti-Christ that determines how Marvell depicts the controversial resignation of his patron, Thomas Fairfax, as commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in 1650.

Why, though, would *Upon Appleton House* make such extensive allusions to Laud and his innovations some six years after the Archbishop’s execution? The same question might be asked about the poem’s narration of Catholic monasticism over a century after the monasteries’ dissolution. But in so far as *Upon Appleton House* relates the history (religious and otherwise) of the Fairfax family, Laudian Anglicanism—just like Catholic monasticism—is pertinent. New biographical evidence reveals the extent to which the Fairfaxes, and the puritan clerics they patronized, felt the pinch of Laudian supervision.

Many of the old truisms about Thomas Fairfax (1612-71)—that he was politically disengaged and religiously a moderate puritan—are now being challenged. If we read backwards from Fairfax’s 1663 labeling as a dissenting non-communicant, a consistent pattern of participating in and patronizing religious non-conformity emerges.⁴ Andrew Hopper identifies the Fairfaxes as leading supporters and defenders of West Riding puritans against the “Caroline church authorities.”⁵ In a 1633 letter to the first Lord Fairfax (Thomas’s grandfather), the puritan Robert More complains of “some malignant spirits” who “till now very lately ... have blown up some sparks of contention” into the church. More concludes by asking for Fairfax’s “gracious assistance herein, for the glory of God and the peaceable state of the Church.”⁶ The Fairfaxes’ defense of the godly led to an inevitable conflict with Richard Neile, the Archbishop of York (1632-40), and scion of the Laudian movement. Ferdinando Fairfax (Thomas’s father) took offense at Neile meddling in Otley grammar school appointments.⁷ For Laudians, controlling appointments and suppressing lectureships were primary means of combating puritanism. Some of the puritan ministers the Fairfaxes patronized in Yorkshire suffered at the hands of the Laudian authorities.⁸ For example, Richard Clarkson was called before the Chancery Court on 23 November 1638 for failure “to certify obedience to monition to Cs [chapels] Halifax to read prayers before their sermons.”⁹ Samuel Winter was brought before Chancery on 23 February 1637/8 for a panoply of offenses. He was

“ordered to read service in Rowley church on Sundays and Holy Days, their Eves. and Weds. and Fris. according to B.C.P. without addition or diminution, wearing a surplice.”¹⁰ Faced with the strictures of observing liturgical feasts, conforming to the Book of Common Prayer (B. C. P.), and doing all this while invested with a surplice, Winter chose to resign his curacy. To the Fairfaxes, the resignation must have symbolized the loss of another able and pious minister to the pettiness of Laudian policy.

When it came to the punitive strictures of Laudianism, the Marvells’ experience was quite similar to that of the Fairfaxes. Anti-Laudian sentiment in *Upon Appleton House* may also be motivated by Marvell family history. The poet’s father, Andrew Marvell Sr. (1584-1641), lecturer at Holy Trinity Church in Hull, was harried by Laudian authorities at the end of his career. On 14 August 1639, Marvell Sr. was ordered “to reade the later part of the prayers or divine service mencioned and expressed in the book of Common prayer in manner and forme as therein is prescribed, in his hood and surplize upon Wednesdays being lecture dayes and sundayes and at other tymes when he used to preach at the said Chappell.”¹¹ The surplice was often especially objectionable to puritans, due in part to its association with priestly celibacy.¹² In the 1630s, William Laud made a controversial, public declaration in favor of clerical celibacy.¹³ When *Upon Appleton House* later rejects the nuns’ vowed-virginity as corrupt, a complex web of association may intertwine that rejection with the coerced surplice-wearing of Marvell’s father. The coercive orders were repeated on 12 October and 14 December 1639, and 31 January 1640, identifying Marvell Sr. as a non-conformist.¹⁴ The Reverend Marvell’s puritan leanings are also suggested by his marriage to Lucy Harries (née Alured) in 1638 after his first wife (the poet’s mother) died. As Pauline Burdon has documented, the Alureds were long-committed Hull puritans and soon-to-be parliamentarians during the civil war.¹⁵ In *The Rehearsal Transpros’d: The Second Part* (1673), however, Marvell contends that his father was “a Conformist to the established Rites of the Church of England, though I confess none of the most over-running or eager in them.”¹⁶ But many puritans defended their opposition to Laudianism by claiming conformity to the “established Rites of the Church of England.” The question becomes to which rites one refers: those established in the Laudian/Caroline period, or the late Elizabethan/Jacobean? A rejection of Laudian ceremonial appurtenances, and neglecting the Book of Common Prayer by presumably focusing on preaching, suggest Andrew Marvell Sr.’s comfortable place within the Jacobean Church.

In addition to their love of poetry and scripture, then, Marvell and Fairfax shared an understanding of just how divisive Laudianism could be. Let us now consider how anti-Laudianism in *Upon Appleton House* reflects this commonality.

The Monastery Narrative and Laudianism

The poem delivers a trenchant rebuke of the Laudian Church during the monastery narrative. It may seem strange to use anti-Catholic polemic to levy critique against the Laudian Church.¹⁷ In so doing, though, *Upon Appleton House* subtly urges an allegation that Laudian detractors often made: the Church of England, under the metropolitan of William Laud, had become overtly popish. In the monastery narrative, the inseparability of anti-Catholicism and anti-Laudianism may provide further evidence for the poem’s anti-Laudian investment.

Similarity between the nuns’ Catholic monasticism and the Laudian view of asceticism is apparent in stanza 21, when the nun offers Isabel a chance to attain a nearer degree of perfection: “Your voice, the sweetest of the choir, / Shall draw heav’n nearer, raise us higher. / And your example, if our head, / Will soon us to perfection lead” (21.161-64).¹⁸ Since Laudians often regarded good works as soteriologically significant, they could embrace the prospect of attaining perfection.

For instance, in *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (1635), Robert Shelford claims that not only is the law able to be fulfilled in this life, but its fulfillment endues man with “our first perfection and heavens felicities.”¹⁹ In a 1633 sermon, William Strode argues that votaries of vowed-virginity (such as the nun in *Upon Appleton House*) have the potential to “appear before him [God] the more perfect.”²⁰ Perfection-via-virginity is also a recurrent theme in the many Laudian comparisons of virgins and angels.²¹

Perfection and humanity becoming angelic are both inimical to the Calvinist emphasis on total depravity. This emphasis informs the Scottish Presbyterian Robert Baillie’s discussion of supererogatory vows and perfection in *Ladensium Autokatakrisis* (1641). Baillie offers this summary of the Laudian position: “That not onely many doe fulfill the Law without all mortall sinne, but sundry also doe supererogat by doing more then is commanded, by performing the counsels of perfection, of chastity, poverty and obedience.... That our obeying the counsels of perfection doe purchase a degree of glory above the ordinary happinesse....”²² The nun’s belief in attaining perfection corresponds to Baillie’s argument that monastic practitioners of chastity believe themselves to “purchase a degree of glory above the ordinary happinesse.” More largely, Baillie’s imputation to the Laudian Church of valuing works of supererogation recurs throughout anti-Laudian discourse and illustrates how the nun’s claims of perfection can be situated within it.²³

While Baillie rejects the Laudian belief in perfection on Calvinist grounds, *Upon Appleton House* discredits the monastic practices of the nunnery—and with them, hope of achieving perfection—through charges of witchery and insinuations of sexual immorality. For instance, William Fairfax refers to the nuns as witches: “Hypocrite witches, hence avaunt, / Who though in prison yet enchant!” (26.205-6). The depiction of the nuns in this way may, on some level, be informed by (or at the very least recall) the struggle with witchcraft of Thomas’s relative, Edward. Edward Fairfax (1568-1635?) was Lord General Thomas’s uncle, and the natural son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton. Edward’s *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft* was written in 1621 and, though intended for publication, only circulated in manuscript.²⁴ The work relates the tormenting of Edward’s daughters, Elizabeth and Ellen, by witches. In the *Daemonologia*, the witches change shape to tempt Fairfax’s daughters into various maleficia. Though the nuns in *Upon Appleton House* do not change shapes, their casuistical arguments are still able to assume any form. The nun uses flattery (stanza 19), makes extravagant promises (20), and evinces startling hypocrisy (22) to tempt Isabel to join them. Changeable in the extreme, she will betray any principle she purports to value. In a telling introduction, the poem prefaces the nun’s comments with, “Whence in these words one to her weaved, / (As / ’twere by chance) thoughts long conceived” (12.95-6). Aptly expressing the woven intricacy of the nun’s verbal dissembling, the monosyllabic rhymes of the stanza culminate in the interlocking polysyllables of “weaved / conceived,” and a chiasmus forms through the slant rhyme of “whence” / “chance.” It is easy to get caught in her knotty web of verbal casuistry.

In addition to reflecting Fairfaxian family lore, William’s exclamation evinces a common association in anti-Catholic polemic between witchcraft and monasticism. John Gaule’s *Select cases of conscience touching vitches and vwitchcrafts* (1646) claims, “witches are to be found in some Religions, more than others.” He then concludes, “there has been, are, and are likely still to bee, more Witches under the Popish; then in the Protestant Religion. For not only their Popes, Priests, Fryers, Nuns, (many of them) have been notorious Witches: but their praestigious miracles, & superstitious rites little better then kindes of Witch-crafts.”²⁵ The nuns’ witchcraft is apparent in *Upon Appleton House*, for after Fairfax rescues Isabel, the nunnery vanishes like an illusion: “Thenceforth (as when th’enchantment ends, / The castle vanishes or rends)” (34.269-70). Though William’s allegations of witchery may seem

scurrilous, it is important that he voice them. Since William participated in the Pilgrimage of Grace—Yorkshire uprisings in 1536 protesting Henrician religious and economic reform—Marvell carefully advertises and affirms his anti-Catholic credentials.²⁶

Like charges of sorcery, insinuations of sexual impropriety also discredit the nuns' asceticism: "Each night among us to your side / Appoint a fresh and virgin bride; / Whom if our Lord at midnight find, / Yet neither should be left behind. / Where you may lie as chaste in bed, / As pearls together billeted" (24.185-90). Other commentators have usefully documented the same-sex eroticism that informs these lines, but little has been made of the relation between Fairfax family history and monastic sexual impropriety.²⁷ The poem uses this impropriety as a way of distancing the junior branch of the Fairfax family from a sordid event in the annals of the more senior branch's history. While the junior branch lived near Bolton Percy (and included the Lord General), the more senior Yorkshire Fairfaxes were based around Walton and Gilling Castle. The Walton Fairfaxes claimed a member who had succumbed to monastic life's unnatural temptations. Jane Fairfax, who lived at Nun Appleton Priory from 1536 until its dissolution in 1539, committed incest with Guy Fairfax.²⁸ There is a difference, of course, between Jane's incest and lesbian relations in *Upon Appleton House*. Because the nuns are sisters ("Here live beloved, and obeyed: / Each one your sister, each your maid" [20.153-4]), though, sexual acts among them would blur that difference. Jane's action would have been doubly incestuous. Not only was it committed with a near relation but, because Jane was under religious vows, it is a form of spiritual incest.²⁹ This twofold incest may also be alluded to in the temptation offered to Isabel. Since both women are under religious vows (Isabel and her billeted partner), the violation would be twice as heinous. On 10 May 1555, Jane not only confessed her incest in the Chancery court, but she also admitted that she had had a child with Guy. Adding to the ignominy of the affair, Jane was forced to do public penance for her crimes in Stonegrave parish. And yet, truly proving that *omnia vincit amor*, the couple remained obstinate, and Jane and Guy were hauled into court at least four more times for their continued offenses. The court would probably not have been so patient, as A. G. Dickens concludes, "had persons of less consequence than Fairfaxes been convicted."³⁰

The example of Jane illustrates what anti-Catholic polemic always maintained: monastic asceticism could result in sexual perversion.³¹ In *Upon Appleton House*, though she has been "sucked in" by the nun (25.200), the poem maintains (perhaps anxiously) Isabel's spotlessness (stanza 35). William denounces the nuns' sexual perversity (28.219), and his forceful dispossession of the monastery represents the strongest condemnation of its perverse practices (34.272). When these scions of the junior branch of the Fairfax family resist and/or condemn monastic lechery, the poem effectively disassociates the Bolton Percy Fairfaxes from the blot of sexual impropriety that stained their relatives at Walton.

Monasticism's sexual impropriety in *Upon Appleton House* should be partly understood as motivated by anti-Catholicism. The discourse of impropriety returns, though, and with especial force, in anti-Laudian polemic of the 1640s. William Prynne's *A Breviate* (1644) is the consummate example.³² The *Breviate* was assembled while Prynne was prosecuting Laud for high treason in Parliament, and it consists of selections from Laud's diary that Prynne adduces as indicative of the Archbishop's treasonous popery. Among Prynne's accusations, he also suggests Laud's sexual immorality. That immorality indirectly references Laudian asceticism. From Prynne's other writings, it is clear he believed that the Laudian Church valorized monastic asceticism, and he refers to Laud as a "votary" in the *Breviate*.³³ In *Histrion-mastix*, "the frequent Sodomitical wickednesses" of monasticism are "the unchast fruits of ... vowed and much-admired chastity."³⁴ Thus, the *Breviate*'s insinuations of sodomy may be the un-chaste fruits of Laudian monastic valuation.³⁵

Prynne makes the insinuation with this 1609 entry from Laud's diary: "my next unfortunateness was with E.M."³⁶ He interprets the entry as proving Laud "fell into another greivious sinne (perchance uncleannesse) with E. M."³⁷ How "my next unfortunateness was with E.M." adds up to sodomy is never explained. Nonetheless, Prynne assuredly corroborates Laud's uncleanness by repeating the charge on the next page (though this time it is with E. B), and presenting a later event as divine retribution for it. Prynne writes, "September 16, 1617. He was very likely to have been burnt by fier in St. John's Colledge in Oxford, for his sinnes."³⁸ Few readers would fail to notice that Laud's death by fire after committing sodomy corresponds to the Levitical injunction (20:13) that all engaged in same-sex partnership should be put to death.³⁹ In fact, in *Diotrephes Catechized* (1646), Prynne lists "burning" as one of the possible punishments for sodomy.⁴⁰ Prynne depicts the fire as divine vengeance for Laud's heinous sexuality, even though the fire and unfortunateness are treated as unrelated by Laud, eight years separate them, and their relation occurs in separate places in the diary. As insinuations of monastic license in the *Breviate* and tracts such as *The Arminian Nunnery* illustrate, randy monks and nuns in *Upon Appleton House*, while always a staple of Protestant polemic,⁴¹ also had a more contemporary referent in anti-Laudianism.⁴²

Finally, the nun's ascetic practice can be interpolated into the discourse of (anti-) Laudian asceticism through her valorization of non-corporal virginity. In stanza 35, during the poem's concluding reflection on the nunnery, the speaker writes, "And what both nuns and founders willed / 'Tis likely better thus fulfilled. / For if the virgin proved not their's, / The cloister yet remained her's. / Though many a nun there made her vow, / 'Twas no religious house till now" (35.273-280). The lines "For if the virgin proved not their's, / The cloister yet remained her's" depict the literal reality of the demolishing: the lands of the cloister have passed to Isabel and William and their heirs. But the cloister remaining such even after the virgin nuns have been dispossessed and, presumably, the married Isabel is no longer physically a virgin reflects the Calvinist view of virginity; namely, that it is a spiritual—not an exclusively physical—state. This version of virginity opposes the Catholic view, but it also inveighs against the Laudian valorization of spiritual *and* physical virginity. As Jeremy Taylor, Laud's former chaplain, maintains about abstinence in *The rule and exercises of holy living* (1650), "But *Virginity* is a life of Angels, the enamel of the soul, the huge advantage of religion, the great opportunity for the retirements of devotion."⁴³ It is indicative of the discrepancy between Laudian asceticism and the virginity *Upon Appleton House* endorses that only after her marriage does Isabel exhibit the piety Taylor attributes to the physically virginal. Nun Appleton does not truly become a religious house—the huge advantage of religion—until after Isabel's renunciation of her religious vows. To the Laudian mind, that would seem like a flat contradiction.

Engagement and Exodus

As the previous paragraphs argue, *Upon Appleton House* uses asceticism to offer critique of the Laudian Church. Instead of asceticism, the poem's conclusion pursues that criticism through intertextuality with a complex system of apocalyptic anti-Laudianism. Before examining that intertextuality, it is important to understand how the speaker's retreat into the wood frames it, creating a context conducive to a final anti-Laudian thrust.

During that retreat, the speaker comes to resemble the Laudian prelate which he has defined himself staunchly against: "The oak leaves me embroider all ... / And ivy, with familiar trails, / Me licks, and clasps, and curls, and haies, / Under this antic cope I move / Like some great prelate of the grove" (74.587-592). As a "great prelate," the speaker resembles that "prelate great" who inhabited "proud Cawood

Castle" (46.363). Cawood Castle could refer to Cardinal Wolsey, the archetype of proud prelaty, who also lived at the castle.⁴⁴ Interestingly, Laud was often depicted as a latter-day Wolsey. The 1641 tract, *A True description or rather a parallel betweene Cardinall Wolsey, Arch-Bishop of York, and VVilliam Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbvry*, extensively documents the prelates' similarities, including how "both were arrested of high Treason ... The Cardinall at Keywood Castle neare Yorke, Canterburie at Westminster neare London; both their falls were speedy and suddaine."⁴⁵ Reinforcing the Laudian connotation of "antic cope," complaints about the cope and depictions of Anglicans wearing it figure largely into anti-Laudian polemic. For instance, in Peter Smart's 1640 petition to the Long Parliament, he offers this criticism of Richard Neile's governance of Durham Cathedral: "And they bought ... another cope which cost about ten groats, which had been a long time used by the youth of Durham in their sports and May games, a very fool's coat."⁴⁶ Smart portrays the prebends as particularly desperate for copes in their willingness to use discarded sports jerseys and maypole streamers to assemble one. Summarizing Laudian "inventions" in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, Marvell lists "Candles, Crucifixes, Paintings, Images, Copes" among other innovations.⁴⁷ The cope, an ornamental adornment signifying clericalism and separation between clergy and laity, represents the self-indulgent pomposity of this retreat. In his own mind, and bedecked in affirming garb, the speaker truly has become "great."

Then, with the help of his technicolor dreamcope, he dissolves further into the monastic solitude of retreat before lapsing into the sexual impropriety the nuns practiced and Laud was accused of: "Hide trifling youth thy pleasures slight. / Twere shame that such judicious eyes / Should with such toys a man surprise" (82.652-654).⁴⁸ Brilliantly expressing the result of his carnal ritualism and solipsism, the speaker's retreat into the wood becomes simply masturbatory. Behind this languishing, we can discern a distinct structural rationale. The speaker's fall into Laudianism, into the easy inducements of sensual and ritualistic worship, will emphasize Maria and Fairfax's overcoming it. The poet's defeat will further magnify their victory.

Right on cue, the entrance of Maria consummately dispels any lapse into religious ceremonialism and sexual impropriety: "Maria such, and so doth hush / The world ... / No new-born comet such a train / Draws through the sky, nor star new-slain. / For straight those giddy rockets fail, / Which from the putrid earth exhale, / But by her flames, in heaven tried, / Nature is wholly vitrified" (86.681-688). In a somewhat unsettling way, Maria is such a potent figure that her existence overwhelms the processes of life. Birth and death, the recently born ("new-born") and recently dead ("new-slain"), both cease.⁴⁹ Similar to the effect the halcyon has on the air, all things are suspended in the placid viscosity of her presence. Reflecting this suspension, the final two lines of the stanza (especially "vitrified") allude to the sea of glass of Revelation 4:6 and, primarily, 15:2: "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God..." (Revelation 15:1-3).⁵⁰ Maria is placed among those victors whose association with the sea of glass indicates their victory over the beast. She is representative, though, of Thomas Fairfax, and Fairfaxian godly piety more generally. Later in the poem, Maria is described as a "sprig" on the "Fairfacian oak" (93.739-40).⁵¹ The poem invites a metonymic reading of Fairfax and his daughter. The elision at once acknowledges Maria's status as Fairfax's heir, while at the same time assuaging anxiety about that fact by imbuing her with some of the Lord General's forcefulness. It remains a testament to her fitness as heir that the two *could* be elided. During the elision, it is Fairfax's presence that is most strongly felt in the allusion to Revelation 15.

The sea of glass may allude to Fairfax's own poetry, whose influence is apparent throughout *Upon Appleton House*. As Nigel Smith maintains, "what is clear is that *Upon Appleton House* is full of echoes and reworking of some Fairfax poems."⁵² Nature's vitrifying may be another such reworking. Fairfax's manuscript poems contain renderings of the "Songs of the Old & New Testament," including "Moses Songe: Exodus 15." Typological readings of Exodus 15, in which the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites prefigures the Saints standing on the sea of glass, were common. In Henry More's *The two last dialogues treating of the kingdome of God within us and without us* (1668), Philopolis asks whether the Red Sea is present in Revelation 15:2, to which Philotheus replies confidently, "yes, manifestly." "It is said," he explains, "in that Song of Moses which the Israelites sung, The floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the midst of the Sea; that is to say, the Red Sea became as Ice, for its fixedness and transparency. And here it is called a Sea of Glass for the same reason. Are these Metaphors so different?"⁵³ Thomas Fairfax's description of the congealed depths in "Moses Songe: Exodus 15" gives a sense of this lack of difference by highlighting the deeps' glassy solidity: "Thy Nosthrills wth a blast haue layde / The liquid Seas on solid heapes / The floating waues ther wth were stay'd / As Ice Congealed in the depths."⁵⁴ Fairfax captures the fixity that connects the glass and Red seas in More by describing an abrupt cessation of movement and solidifying of the liquid seas.

While a possible intertextual dialogue between poet and patron implicates Fairfax in the sea of glass image, he is most clearly present because he has previously been likened to Moses and the forests of Appleton House to the Red Sea: "Here in the morning tie my chain, / Where the two woods have made a lane; / While, like a guard on either side, / The trees before their Lord divide" (78.617-620). Frederic H. Roth, Jr. refers to Fairfax in these lines as a "modern-day Moses."⁵⁵ As Peter Schwenger notes, the lines recall the reference to Moses and the Red Sea during the mower episode: "The tawny mowers enter next; / Who seem like Israelites to be, / Walking on foot through a green sea. / To them the grassy deeps divide, / And crowd a lane on either side" (49.388-392).⁵⁶ The trees "divide" before Fairfax as the grassy deeps divided before the mowers; the woods make the kind of "lane" that the grassy deeps crowded on each side. Through potential allusion to his manuscript poetry and the poem's likening of him to Moses, Thomas Fairfax also stands on that sea of glass in triumph over anti-Christ.

One of the beast's identities is, of course, the Roman anti-Christ. But Laud and his Church represent equally tenable possibilities. In the 1640s, polemical depictions of Laud as the beast and those successfully resistant to him as standing on the sea of glass were frequent.⁵⁷ In the 1641 anti-episcopal tract *A complaint of the false prophets mariners*, John de la Marche describes those passing through the "sea of glasse mingled with fire" as having "gotten the victorie of the beast, and of his image," which he associates with "new erected Altars," "Idols & Crucifixes," and "will worship & superstitious ceremonies."⁵⁸ Though those passing over the sea of glass have achieved victory over the beast, De la Marche's sea is not placid, but mingled with the fire of persecution. To end this persecution, the tract urges root and branch extirpation of episcopacy. An implicit juxtaposition of saints on the sea of glass with persecuting Laudianism also occurs in the millenarian John Archer's *The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth* (1642). In the tract, Archer envisions the triumph of the godly: "the Saints ... seene on a glassie Sea, with Moses song, because as then all the Aegyptians were drowned in the Red Sea; so now, all the wicked are slain, for before Christs coming the wicked shall weare out the Saints."⁵⁹ Laud's reputation as persecutor of the Saints *par excellence* makes him an implicit referent of Archer's "wicked."⁶⁰ Finally, an anonymous 1644 tract maintains, "the Parliament are fitly called a Sea of glasse." Despite their saintly status, the tract relates how "the Beast of England and his fellow-Prelats; having joynd with the Beast of Rome, have raised

war against the Parliament.” The author is nonetheless confident of the following: “we shall see that the Parliament are Them that have gotten the victory over the Beast.”⁶¹ With his role in the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and his appointment in 1645 as commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces, no one would be more central to the achievement of that victory than Thomas Fairfax. As we have seen, the Fairfaxes’ support of Yorkshire puritans and clashes with Archbishop Neile also constitute resistance to the anti-Christian forces of Laudian persecution.

In addition to anti-Laudian polemic, Marvell’s placement of Fairfax on the sea of glass has an extensive connection to the martial millenarianism Fairfax was associated with in the 1640s. As the rider on the white horse (Revelation 19:11), Fairfax was often depicted as an elect warrior combating anti-Christ.⁶² The poem directly mentions this depiction of Fairfax when William storms the nunnery. His actions anticipate a prophesied godly warrior: “Till one, as long since prophesied, / His horse through conquered Britain ride” (31.245-6). After Fairfax’s stunning victory over Goring at Wakefield in 1643, Francis Cheynell prefaces his sermon to the House of Commons with a quotation of Revelation 19:19-20: “And I saw the Beast and the Kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together, to make war against him that sate on the Horse, and against his army. And the Beast was taken, and with him the false Prophet.---These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.”⁶³ The Leveller prophet George Foster, in *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (1650), relates how a vision was revealed to him of “a white horse and one upon him with a sword in his hand ready drawn.”⁶⁴ Foster inquires, “what is this Generals name? and the Lord said, his name is Fairfax” (19). The rider of the white horse helps defeat the persecutors of God’s saints by throwing them “into the lake of fire that burneth with brimstone”: “for this lake of fire, is my wrath (saith God) into which I have judged and sentenced proud flesh (that opposes me)” (22). In the same way that Revelation 15 recalls the song of Moses in Exodus, commentators conflate the “lake of fire burning with brimstone” of Revelation 19 with Revelation 15’s “sea of glass mingled with fire.”⁶⁵ Illustrating the conflation, Nathaniel Crouch writes, “and Death and Hell was cast into the Lake of fire, and a Seal was set on the power thereof ... and all forms of Nature shined out of the Glassy Sea, (on which the redeemed of God stood Harping and Singing, and Praysing God) which was sparkling like fire.”⁶⁶

The image of the sea of glass recalls both anti-Laudian polemic and Fairfax’s association with martial millenarianism. The saints triumphing over a Laudian anti-Christ stand on a sea of glass; and Fairfax, as the rider on the white horse, consigns anti-Christ to a lake of fire/glass that denotes a concomitant saintly victory. There is an insistent bellicosity to these references. Triumph over bestial Laudianism throws the image of Fairfax-the-godly-warrior into greater relief. It reinforces it by supplying a contemporary equivalent to the impious Catholicism over which William Fairfax triumphed. Just as William’s assault on the monastery asserted true religion against superstitious popery, Fairfax’s presence among the saints is predicated on his victory over a Laudian anti-Christ. Laud is dead, true, but war against anti-Christ is never really over. As George Downname argues in *A treatise concerning Antichrist* (1603), “and therefore when we proued that Antichrist is not any one man alone, but a whole state and succession of men, we proued this by consequence, that his raigne was not to continue only three yeers and a halfe.”⁶⁷ There is a certain deathless permanence to anti-Christ. Reminding of victorious battle against him, therefore, also cautions that the Beast will only ever be permanently destroyed at the Second Coming. At Nun Appleton in 1651, invoking these struggles was of contemporary significance.⁶⁸ When Marvell likely wrote *Upon Appleton House* (late June-August 1651), calls for Fairfax’s return to the battlefield were insistent.⁶⁹ Should Fairfax choose to participate in the political crisis of the summer of 1651, then the poem stands poised to license such engagement.

Were we to stop here, we might conclude that only a martial connotation is available in the sea of glass. Though the sea of glass is rife with this meaning, it also alludes to Fairfax's pious occupation in his retirement. Earlier in the poem, Marvell praises Fairfax for cultivating the kind of conscience "that in the crowns of saints do shine" (45.360). In the fourth chapter of the Book of Revelation, the saints who sit before the sea of glass "had on their heads crowns of gold" (4:4).⁷⁰ Viewed against the backdrop of Fairfax tilling conscience, the sea of glass affirms the pious pursuits of retired life at Nun Appleton. The most innovative way the image supports Fairfax's retirement, though, is by redefining it as an exodus. The redefinition is possible because Fairfax's depiction as Moses in stanza 78 culminates in his glorious crossing of the sea of glass in stanza 86. As we have seen, Moses's parting of the Red Sea and the deliverance of the Israelites were read typologically as prefiguring the saints passing over the sea of glass. In David Pareus's formulation, the saints are "brought thorow the vast sea of this world" as the Israelites were brought out of "Egyptian servitude."⁷¹ By defining Fairfax's retired life at Nun Appleton as an exodus, the poem argues that it is not a withdrawal or surrender. A sense of triumphant victory informs exodus, as early modern representations affirm. For instance, Thomas Jackson refers to the Israelites' "victory over Pharaoh and his hoast in the red Sea," while Edward Reynolds asserts that, "by Faith, Israel passed through the Red Sea, and saw the victory of their Faith in the ruine of their proud enemies."⁷² Finally, the biblical scholar John Lightfoot concludes, "if at least in the word Exodus, there be any allusion to the Israelites going out of Egppt [sic]," then a victorious connotation is implicit: "for that was in victory and triumph."⁷³ With depictions of Fairfax as Moses and references to the Red and glass seas, that allusion is definitely—and therefore victoriously—present in *Upon Appleton House*. To sustain the Israelites after their triumph, God provides quails and manna as Exodus 16 describes. It is no coincidence, then, with his retirement presented as a victorious exodus, in Fairfax's fields "rails rain for quails, for manna, dew" (51.408).

Through recurrent allusions to the Red Sea narrative and the final allusion to Revelation 15, the poem valorizes Fairfax's retirement as an exodus; that is, a victory and not a surrender. In so doing, *Upon Appleton House* can be seen to respond to those critical of Fairfax's resignation. Many felt like Lucy Hutchinson when she bemoaned that Fairfax "threw up his commission at such a time, when it could not have been done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest."⁷⁴ The poem's redefinition of withdrawal from public life as an exodus not only answers critics of Fairfax's retirement, but it also supplies him with justification to persist in it, should he so choose.

Ingeniously, the sea of glass can accommodate and support both options Lord Fairfax was faced with in the summer of 1651: engagement or exodus. On the one hand, it reminds of godly victories (over a Laudian anti-Christ, and during the civil wars); on the other, by describing retirement as a godly victory, it rejects the very terms in which the dilemma might be proffered (fight *or* surrender). In other words, one way to answer the question of engagement or exodus is to furnish martial images that could license engaging. Another way to answer it, however, is to collapse the binary of fighting or fleeing altogether by depicting flight as a victory. While scholars have proposed various arguments about how Marvell endorses or criticizes Fairfax's retirement,⁷⁵ and some have even come to a similar conclusion as this essay regarding the poem's complex answer to the question of Fairfax's engagement,⁷⁶ the crucial role anti-Laudianism plays in articulating that answer remains unacknowledged. Throughout the poem, Fairfaxian piety is demonstrated against a backdrop of Laudian irreligion. Religion in *Upon Appleton House* is decidedly anti-Laudian.

Notes

¹ Andrew Marvell, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Nigel Smith (London: Longman, 2003; rev. 2007), 215. All quotations of Marvell's poetry are from this edition.

² For military and political, see Katherine O. Acheson, "Military Illustration, Garden Design, and Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House,'" *English Literary Renaissance* 41 (2011): 146-188; Julianne Werlin, "Marvell and the Strategic Imagination: Fortification in *Upon Appleton House*," *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 370-87; Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker, "High Summer at Nun Appleton, 1651: Andrew Marvell and Lord Fairfax's Occasions," *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 247-269; for literary networks, see Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars: Marvell and the Cause of Wit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 226-8; for environmental issues, see Robert Markley, "'Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone': Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' and the contradictions of nature," in *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850*, ed. Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 89-105; Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), 193-202; Nicholas A. Salerno, "Marvell and the Furor Hortensis," *SEL* 8 (1968): 103-120; Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 13-42.

³ See Patsy Griffin, "'Twas No Religious House till Now': Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House,'" *SEL* 28 (1988): 61-76; Anne Cotterill, "Marvell's Watery Maze: Digression and Discovery at Nun Appleton," *ELH* 69 (2002): 103-132; Gary D. Hamilton, "Marvell, Sacrilege, and Protestant Historiography: Contextualizing 'Upon Appleton House,'" in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 161-186.

⁴ Andrew Hopper, *'Black Tom': Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁶ George W. Johnson, ed., *The Fairfax Correspondence*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), 1.335-6.

⁷ Hopper, *'Black Tom'*, 154.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁹ Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longman, 1960), 239.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹¹ Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts*, 262. See also W. H. Kelliher, "Marvell, Andrew (c.1584-1641)," *ODNB*, accessed 1 November 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

¹² See Prynne, *A short sober pacific examination of some exuberances in, and ceremonial appurtenances to the Common prayer* (London, 1661), 89-91.

¹³ See Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus anglicus* (London, 1668), 224; Arthur Christopher Benson, *William Laud Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, A Study* (London: Kegan Paul, 1887), 186.

¹⁴ Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts*, 262. See also Nicholas von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 25-26; Andrew Marvell, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, 4 vols. (London: Robson and Sons, 1872), xxv.

¹⁵ Pauline Burdon, "The Second Mrs Marvell," *Notes & Queries* 227 (1982): 33-44.

¹⁶ Andrew Marvell, *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Annabel Patterson, Martin Dzelzainis, N. H. Keeble, and Nicholas von Maltzahn, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1:289. See also Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 20; von Maltzahn, *Chronology*, 92. All quotations of Marvell's prose are from the Yale edition.

¹⁷ For discussion of the passage's intertextuality with the fervently anti-Catholic writings of Nathaniel Whiting, see Ian C. Parker, "Marvell, Nathaniel Whiting, and Cowley," *Notes & Queries* 57 (2010): 59-66.

¹⁸ For a full treatment of the topic of Laudian asceticism, see Patrick J. McGrath, "Reconsidering Laud: Puritans and Anglican Asceticism," *Prose Studies* 34.1 (2012): 32-49.

¹⁹ Robert Shelford, *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (Cambridge, 1635), 124.

²⁰ William Strode, *A sermon preached at a visitation held at Lin in Norfolk, June the 24th anno 1633* (London, 1660), 7.

²¹ See Richard Braithwaite, *The English gentlewoman* (London, 1631), 146-7; William Austin, *Devotionis Augustinianae flamma* (London, 1635), 194; Jeremy Taylor, *Holy living in which are described the means and instruments of obtaining every virtue* (London, 1656), sig. E7^v. For the pre-Reformation occurrence of the comparison, see Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2000), 166.

²² Robert Baillie, *Ladensium Autokatakrisis* (London, 1641), 71. For an earlier refutation of such counsels of perfection, see Richard Field, *Of the Church five books* (London, 1628), 331.

²³ See Burton, *A full and satisfactorie ansvere to the Arch-bishop of Cantervries speech* (London, 1645), 22; Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 209-10; Zacharias Ursinus, *The summe of Christian religion* (London, 1645), 511 (the work was printed partly to contest Arminianism).

²⁴ Edward Fairfax, *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft*, ed. William Grainge (Harrogate, 1882), 41.

²⁵ John Gaule, *Select cases of conscience touching witches and witchcrafts* (London, 1646), 16-7.

²⁶ I owe this observation to Dr. Catharine Gray.

²⁷ See James Holstun, "Will you Rent our Ancient Love Asunder': Lesbian Elegy in Donne, Marvell, and Milton," *ELH* 54 (1987): 847-851 for same sex eroticism; for mention of the impropriety, see Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, 222.

²⁸ Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire* (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1995), 587.

²⁹ "incest, n.," *OED Online*, accessed 20 November 2013, <http://www.oed.com>.

³⁰ A. G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1982), 147.

³¹ See John Bale, *The apology of Iohan Bale agaynste a ranke papyst* (London, 1550), xliiii.

³² See also *The Arminian Nunnery* (London, 1641), 9.

³³ *A breviat of the life, of VWilliam Laud Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1644), 13. See also Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 212, 325.

³⁴ *Histrio-mastix* (London, 1633), 213-4. See also *An exact chronological history and full display of popes intollerable usurpations* (London, 1666), 293.

³⁵ This reasoning is quite similar to how Marvell connects sexual impropriety and ascetic practice in "The Loyal Scot," 234-5.

³⁶ William Laud, *Works*, 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860; repr., New York: AMS, 1975), 3:134.

³⁷ *Breviate*, 29.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁹ Quotations of, references to, the Bible are from *King James Study Bible*, ed. Kenneth Barker (Michigan: Zondervan, 2002).

⁴⁰ *Diotrephes catechized* (London, 1646), 4.

⁴¹ See, for instance, John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London, 1583), 1903; Joseph Hall, *The honor of the married clergie* (London, 1620), 64.

⁴² See my similar argument in "Reconsidering Laud: Puritans and Anglican Asceticism," 38.

⁴³ Jeremy Taylor, *The rule and exercises of holy living* (London, 1650), 81-3; see also Anthony Stafford, *The femall glory* (London, 1635), 148-9; Henry Hammond, *An account of Mr. Cawdry's triplex diatribe* (London, 1655), 124; William Strode, *A sermon preached at a visitation held at Lin in Norfolk* (London, 1660), 4-7.

⁴⁴ For Wolsey's pride, see John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments* (London, 1631), 104.

⁴⁵ *A True description or rather a parallel betweene Cardinall Wolsey, Arch-Bishop of York, and VWilliam Laud, Arch-Bishop of Cantervry* (London, 1641), 8.

⁴⁶ Peter Smart, *Canterburies crueltie* (London, 1643), 1-2.

⁴⁷ 1.188-9.

⁴⁸ See Hirst and Zwicker, "High Summer," 267 for the lines' "inescapably sexual" meaning; see also Cotterill, "Marvell's Watery Maze," 104.

⁴⁹ See David Evett, "'Paradice's Only Map': The 'Topos' of the 'Locus Amoenus' and the Structure of Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House,'" *PMLA* 85 (1970): 504-13, 512 for more on the stanza.

⁵⁰ See Margarita Stocker, *Apocalyptic Marvell: The Second Coming in Seventeenth Century Poetry* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 60 for her discussion of the allusion to Revelation; see Vitaliy Eyber, *Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House": An Analytic*

Commentary (Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), 228-9 for the lines' neo-Platonic connotations.

⁵¹ See Diane Purkiss, "Marvell, Boys, Girls, and Men: Should We Worry?" in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*, ed. Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 181-92, 183 for a similar point.

⁵² Smith, *Poems*, 213.

⁵³ Henry More, *The two last dialogues treating of the kingdome of God within us and without us* (London, 1668), 105.

⁵⁴ Edward Bliss Reed, "The Poems of Thomas Third Lord Fairfax," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 14 (1909): 237-90, 255.

⁵⁵ Frederic H. Roth, Jr., "Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House': A Study in Perspective," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 14 (1972): 269-81, 279. The Mosaic persona complements the speaker's earlier reference to Fairfax's interest in Hermetic philosophy. For fuller discussions of the lines and/or Hermeticism, see Charles Molesworth, "'Upon Appleton house': The Persona as Historian, Philosopher, and Priest," *SEL* 13 (1973): 149-162; Warren L. Chernaik, *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 36-37; and especially Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "'Upon Appleton House,'" in *Marvell: Modern Judgments*, ed. Michael Wilding (London: Macmillan, 1969), 215-232.

⁵⁶ Peter Schwenger, "'To Make His Saying True': Deceit in 'Appleton House,'" *Studies in Philology* 77 (1980): 84-104.

⁵⁷ For other examples, see John Bewick, *Confiding England vnder conflicts, triumphing in the midst of her terrors* (London, 1644), sig. A2^v; Stephen Marshall, *The song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lambe* (London, 1643), 5-8; Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 279; Nathanael Homes, *The nevv world, or, the nevv reformed church* (London, 1641), 43-4.

⁵⁸ John De la Marche, *A complaint of the false prophets mariners upon the drying up of their hierarchicall Euphrates* (London, 1641), 20-1.

⁵⁹ John Archer, *The personall reigne of Christ upon earth* (London, 1642), 20.

⁶⁰ See Henry Burton, *The grand imposter vnmasked* (London, 1644), 7.

⁶¹ *A prophecie of the life, reigne, and death of VVilliam Laud*, 5.

⁶² See Hopper, 'Black Tom,' 173-89. Hopper also cites these sermons, though he is using them to discuss Fairfax's biography and not Marvell's poem.

⁶³ Francis Cheynell, *Sions memento, and Gods alarum* (London, 1643), title page.

⁶⁴ George Foster, *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (London, 1650), 17. Subsequent references to this work's page numbers appear in parentheses.

⁶⁵ See also Thomas Burnet, *The theory of the earth* (London, 1697), 54.

⁶⁶ Nathaniel Crouch (R.B.), *The Revelation of God & his glory sounded forth* (London, 1665), 257-8.

⁶⁷ George Downname, *A treatise concerning Antichrist* (London, 1603), 78.

⁶⁸ The best account of the proximity remains Hirst and Zwicker's "High Summer."

⁶⁹ See Hopper, 'Black Tom,' 116.

⁷⁰ For equating of the "four and twenty elders" of Revelation 4:4 with the saints, see William Alleine, *The mystery of the temple and city described in the nine last chapters of Ezekiel* (London, 1679), 82; Thomas Wilson, *A complete Christian dictionary* (London, 1661), 188.

⁷¹ David Pareus, *A commentary upon the divine Revelation of the apostle and evangelist, Iohn* (Amsterdam, 1644), 368-9.

⁷² Thomas Jackson, *The humiliation of the Sonne of God* (London, 1635), 242; Edward Reynolds, *The comfort and crown of great actions* (London, 1658), 26.

⁷³ John Lightfoot, *The works of the Reverend and learned John Lightfoot D. D.* (London, 1684), 418.

⁷⁴ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Julius Hutchinson; rev. C.H. Firth (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1906), 278.

⁷⁵ See John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Cornell University Press, 1996), 86; Rosalie L. Colie, "My Echoing Song": *Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 225; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 289-292; Andrew Shifflett, *Stoicism, Politics, & Literature in the Age of Milton: War and Peace Reconciled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 51-52;

Marshall Grossman, *The Story of All Things: Writing the Self in English Renaissance Narrative Poetry* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 213; Diane Purkiss, "Thinking of Gender" in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 68-86, 76-77; Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 262; R. I. V. Hodge, *Foreshortened Time: Andrew Marvell and Seventeenth-Century Revolutions* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1978), 145 (among many examples).

⁷⁶ See Hirst and Zwicker, "High Summer," 263-4.