THE INFLUENCE OF GEORGE HERBERT ON GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS
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A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University
September, 1983
MASTER OF ARTS (1983)  
(English)  

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Hamilton, Ontario  

TITLE: The Influence of George Herbert on Gerard Manley Hopkins  

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 198
ABSTRACT

This study considers the extent of George Herbert's influence on Gerard Manley Hopkins' poetry; some attention is also given to the spiritual importance of the former poet to the latter. Herbert is often called Hopkins' favourite poet, and various echoes of his poetry are identified by critics in Hopkins' poetry. Some of these do not necessarily originate with Herbert. Other possible sources, for instance their common commitment as Christians to the Bible, are therefore considered in order to underscore the complexities involved in establishing this influence. The true nature of originality in poetry is discussed in this context. The abundance of Herbertian elements which this study finds in Hopkins' early poems removes any doubts about the influence of Herbert on Hopkins. It is then shown that, after becoming a Roman Catholic, Hopkins continues to be influenced significantly by the Anglican poet.

It is suggested that Hopkins first encountered Herbert's poetry at Oxford, under the influence of the Tractarians. Their limited view of Herbert, together with the related views of Herbert held by the Romantics and the Pre-Raphaelites, are therefore considered at some length. In his mature poems Hopkins seems to have come to a fuller appreciation of Herbert's poetry than that afforded by his contemporaries; the ways in which he incorporates some of Herbert's stylistic
features in later poems, while developing a style that is peculiarly different to Herbert's, are touched upon in this light. Herbert's influence on Hopkins is, thus, an important one which remains extensive throughout Hopkins' poetic life.
To the King of kings,
and Lord of lords,
Jesus Christ.
Praise Him!
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks especially to Dr. John Ferns, my supervisor, for his time, help and patience with this project; and to Marijke, my wife, whose time, help, patience and typing have made the completion of this thesis possible; and also to the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Committee for their financial assistance.
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INTRODUCTION

Critics and scholars of Gerard Manley Hopkins' poetry rarely omit to mention that George Herbert was "Hopkins' favourite poet."¹ This is derived from G.F. Lahey's biography Gerard Manley Hopkins,² in which he quotes a letter from William Addis (Oxford, 5 July, 1909), a friend of Hopkins particularly in his Oxford days. In the letter, Addis makes a few remarks concerning things he remembered about Hopkins, and one of these is that "George Herbert was his strongest tie to the English Church."

Hopkins himself never mentions Herbert in this light. The only 'strongest tie' he indicates is, perhaps, that in his Notebooks for October 1865: "Note that if ever I should leave the English Church the fact of Provost Fortescue (October 16 and 18, 1865) is to be got over."³ Humphrey House tells us that Fortescue was "a noted High Churchman and ritualist" who "despite ... his known 'Romanising' tendencies, ... had remained within the Church of England", and then adds that "Fortescue became a Roman Catholic in 1871."⁴ A related irony is captured by Eleanor Ruggles: "For a moment Hopkins could find respite in the mood of quiet trustfulness that was Herbert's testimonial to the adequacy of the Anglican creed."

Then, after quoting Addis' remark, she adds pointedly: "But by Autumn, 1865, even the strongest tie was a tenuous one."⁵
The credibility of this reminiscence should also be qualified by the gap of time between Addis' acquaintance with Hopkins when the latter was yet an Anglican, and the moment the detail was recorded, forty-four years later. This is especially necessary because by 1909 Addis was, as Lahey puts it, "beginning to see the harbour lights of eternity" and, with all due respects to Addis, memory in the elderly (one might add 'and in the academic') is frequently refractory.

There is a further difficulty to be kept in mind. Addis' remark indicates Herbert's religious influence on Hopkins; but does that also mean that Hopkins was profoundly influenced by him in his artistic endeavours? Jean-Georges Ritz, in his ambitiously comprehensive book Le Poète Gerard Manley Hopkins, s.j. (1844-1889), Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre, mentions Herbert at the end of a list of poets whom he says Hopkins drew from, adding that "ce dernier surtout qu'il aime sans doute autant pour son art que pour sa foi religieuse." Ritz appears to contradict Addis. However, they are, happily, both correct. Hopkins' Tractarian heritage would ensure that religion and art remain inseparable to the poet; although, for Tractarians, religion was the pre-eminent part, they were both to be viewed as "allies in the joint task of salvation." If Hopkins was impressed by George Herbert's piety and argu-
ments for remaining in the English Church, he was also fond of the latter's poetry. In a letter to his lifelong friend Robert Bridges (14 August, 1879), writing of his admiration for the Dorset poet William Barnes whom he had read as an undergraduate, he says:

His poems used to charm me also by their Westcountry 'instress', a most peculiar product of England, which I associate with airs like Weeping Winefred, Polly Oliver or Poor Mary Anne, with Herrick and Herbert, with the Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Welsh landscape, and above all with the smell of oxeyes and applelofts: this instress is helped by particular rhythms and these Barnes employs.9

These rhythms are very probably the precursors of his own 'sprung rhythm' which he tells Patmore had "ceased to be used since the Elizabethan age." J.C.A. Rathmell assumes, in the context of this comment, that Herbert was not an Elizabethan: "The debt that Hopkins admits to, is not a debt to the Metaphysical poets with whom he is sometimes compared, Donne, and Herbert, but to a previous generation of poets ... ."10

But the evidence suggests that for Hopkins he was to be counted as such; when trying to characterize various artistic schools in a letter to Dixon he speaks of the tradition each draws from:

Keats' school chooses medieval keepings, not pure nor drawn from the middle ages direct but as brought down through that Elizabethan tradition of Shakespere and his contemporaries which died out in such men as Herbert and Herrick.11
Herbert, in this passage, is clearly a member of the "Elizabethan tradition".

There are only two other references that Hopkins makes to Herbert in his various writings. One occurs in the same letter to Dixon when he characterizes the work of a Polish Jesuit, who had written emblem poetry on the life of St. Stanislaus "much in the style of Herbert and his school and about that date." Similarly, the other instance is in an attempt to characterize "Thomas" Vaughan's poetry: "He has more glow and freedom than Herbert but less fragrant sweetness." After giving examples of the quality in Vaughan that he is referring to, he adds, "Still I do not think him Herbert's equal."

Critics frequently mention this last comment as evidence of Herbert's importance to Hopkins (and quite rightly so) but seldom note that in the context Hopkins is discussing Vaughan, not Herbert. Though he does judge Herbert to be the better poet overall, he still indicates that he admires the extent of Vaughan's "glow and freedom" beyond that of Herbert. This points us to one vast difference between Hopkins and Herbert. Herbert's poems, however illusory the effect may be, give an impression of a poet who has strictly confined himself to the use of unsensational imagery and a simple, controlled language. Hopkins' poems, which are in
fact highly-wrought poems resulting from the poet's imposing an extraordinary degree of poetical stricture, give, however, an impression of unleashed emotion, exuberance or anguish that has broken onto the page beyond the poet's control, an effect that Hopkins enjoys in Vaughan.

The direct evidence of Hopkins' knowledge of, and admiration for, Herbert consists solely of these few comments in his letters and the reminiscence of the elderly Addis. But are there numerous echoes and borrowings from Herbert's works that critics have identified in Hopkins' writings. When added together, these argue a substantial influence of the Anglican divine on Hopkins. Some of these instances are reasonably and convincingly attributable to Herbert. Many, though, may not be so easily linked to him. Of these latter there are those that are not at all 'Herbertian' in the final analysis, and there are those that, although plausibly originating from Herbert, might equally well be derived from other sources. And, of course, there are those, too, that appear conclusively to be drawn from Herbert which, in reality, are merely 'coincidental' -- themes, metaphors, and stylistic concerns generated in both poets from their common religious commitments to Christian Scriptures, doctrines, and traditions. The purpose of this thesis is to consider the extent of influence that Herbert's poetry has had on Hopkins' work, and
to underline the complexities involved, which I have just touched upon. And it is additionally hoped that thereby this work may undermine the tendency among Hopkins critics to simplistically 'jam' various elements in Hopkins' poetry into the 'favourite' pigeon-hole labelled 'influence of Herbert here'. 
CHAPTER ONE

PART I: AN ORIGINAL HOPKINS?

Before discussing the influence of Herbert on Hopkins, we should first clear away an old misconception about Hopkins' work, the vestiges of which still linger in the minds of many readers of his poetry -- the extraordinary reputation that he has for originality. I do not doubt that Hopkins is original; every major poet throughout the history of English literature has this quality, and Hopkins, to my view, is certainly a major poet. But until the work of scholars like Wendell Johnson and Alison Sulloway, which focused on Hopkins as an integral part of the Victorian era, Hopkins was viewed generally as a prodigy in his time, more properly a 'modern' poet, and, as I have already said, he is still seen in this way to some extent. This kind of emphasis tends to eclipse and treat as irrelevant the significance of poetic influences that have provided many of the ingredients for the making of his poetry.

There are a number of factors that have contributed to this. It begins with the Romantics' idea of characterizing artistic genius with the criteria of spontaneity in composition and uniqueness of creation; each poetic work should manifest the personality of its maker. This is based on the false premise that man's imagination is in some way godlike and able to create ex nihilo. No doubt, if pressed on the point,
no Romantic poet would admit to this kind of narcissism, but, nevertheless, this presupposition implicitly underlies the image of originality that these poets have somehow cultivated. Wordsworth is especially known for his extemporary compositions; yet, a remarkable number of his poems can be traced to his sister's journal descriptions, which were often put on paper some months before the poems. We find the same with Hopkins' journal notes which eventually make their way into his poems, sometimes years later. Jared Curtis argues in his article entitled "William Wordsworth and English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" that Wordsworth immersed himself in 'Elizabethan' poetry "during the winter and spring of 1802. This concentrated reading, after he had settled at Grasmere in 1800, bore fruit in his own lyric verse written between January and July 1802, a great spurt of poetic composition matched only by those in 1798–99 and 1804–05." This period saw the production of some of his most famous poems, including his "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood", the poem for which Hopkins had so much praise: "For my part I shd. think St. George and St. Thomas of Canterbury wore roses in heaven for England's sake on the day that ode, not without their intercession, was penned." The actual poetry may have been composed spontaneously but it was nevertheless, to
considerable degree, a result of the fusion within Wordsworth's memory of the various pieces of sixteenth and seventeenth century poetry with which he had saturated his mind. One thinks, too, of S.T. Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" which he tells us was written on awakening from an opium ("anodyne")-induced dream. That its completion was rendered impossible by the disturbance of a visitor at the door demonstrates the spontaneity involved. But it is very clear that the primary source for the fragment was "Purchas's Pilgrimage", which Coleridge says he was reading immediately before falling asleep. Thus, my point is that spontaneity, or the appearance of spontaneity, is generally intimately dependent on the reading of others' poetry. The personality of the poet makes the poem original but there is always a large debt to the past. And this is as true for Hopkins as for anyone else.

Part of the difficulty with the misconception of originality is due to the modern era's literary assumptions, which remain Romantic, although less naively so than was the case in the early nineteenth century. Because Hopkins was discovered in the twentieth century and because his poetry has had an important impact on modern writers, he has a visible place in this century. And it, thus, at first seemed inappropriate to fit him into the Victorian era. His poems
make such a contrast with the works of many of his contemporaries, which were often anaemic in sentiment and vision. As a religious poet he has the ability to evoke strong feeling while also satisfying the intellect of his readers, and in this respect might seem better placed among the seventeenth-century Metaphysical poets than among Victorian religious poets like Keble. G.B. Tennyson, commenting on the difference between the Metaphysical poets and Keble, puts the case well:

Keble's poetry by comparison seems plain, flaccid, and sedate. One is reminded of the remark about the difference between a biblical angel and a Victorian one. The former strikes terror and appropriately says to the beholder, "Fear not"; the latter seems to say to the observer, "There, there".

But it is wrong to say that Hopkins has no place among his contemporaries; he was different because he was the one poet who strikingly succeeded in producing what Keble and others had aimed for. In an age when most intellectuals allowed scientistic and sophistic attitudes to emasculate their God; when a spiritual perspective was treated as a mythical one, thereby being separated from the 'real' physical world and replaced by a psychological perspective, Hopkins was among the few who could yet produce an effective synthesis of all three, the spiritual, physical, and psychological aspects. His was a poetry that depended on the
uniqueness of perception that belonged to his psyche alone.
But that peculiar vision led him to the spiritual reality
of God's incarnational presence that underlay and transcended the physical world of His creation.

The separation indicated, in Victorian writers, has now grown to an almost unbridgeable gap in our century;
Hopkins to those in the next century will seem more a part of his own time than ours. But, as I have already noted,
the two ages are one. They have both experienced revivals of interest in Metaphysical poetry. They both have the tendency to look back nostalgically to earlier times when everything was seen both as ordered and as tending toward an eternal reconciliation, preferring that horizon to the present one of chance and uncertainty which extends to more and more meaninglessness. For a poet, meaninglessness is sterile.
Hopkins, like Eliot later, reconstructs, or conserves, a world of order and thereby recovers ample significance.
There are, perhaps, times when he 'shouts' too loudly, when he overstrains his efforts to convince his readers that all things and events have ultimate significant relations with each other through God. But one becomes immune to his excesses. His efforts to vivify experiences with individual gasps of beauty are, by and large, effective; they are his way of solidifying the Real Presence of God amidst the
violating 'dark waters' of scepticism and he is therefore, in an unconscious sense, a deist, finding proofs of God in nature. While Alfred Tennyson and others look at the "tooth and claw" element in nature and despair over its impersonal relation to man (or like Keble, ignore it), Hopkins finds in precisely this aspect of nature evidence of his faith, the secret workings of Providence. But he, like Tennyson, has had to come to terms with this 'terror of apparent chaos'; they are of the same era.

One of the striking differences between Hopkins and his contemporaries is the extreme complexity that he achieved in his poetry. Most nineteenth-century poets (the major Romantics, the Tractarians, and the Pre-Raphaelites) wrote poetry that aimed at various kinds of simplicity. Hopkins has his own condensed variety of wit, a kind of nineteenth-century brand of Metaphysical poetry, and in this respect he appears to be a little out of his time. But even here the oddity of Hopkins is illusory; there was a revival of interest in Metaphysical poetry that was in its crescendo when Hopkins had his prolific writing period at St. Beuno's. And this was the time also when Browning's dramatic monologues were attracting attention, poems that owe much to Browning's interests in Donne. Thus, even Hopkins' 'intellectuality' is proper to his era.
He saw himself as an incurably eccentric poet, evidently playing out his Romantic role of 'original genius' while believing that role to be true. Another of his comments favoured endlessly by critics is: "The effect of studying masterpieces is to make me admire and do otherwise. So it must be on every original artist to some degree, on me to a marked degree." This is a misleading comment. How true a judge of himself is a poet usually? Critics tend to accept what Hopkins says of himself; it is an easy route to take and especially tempting in his case because he has left us with so much of his 'incidental' writing. My caution is, I believe, justified. The claim to idiosyncrasy is not an original one. Cardinal Newman, someone whom Hopkins revered from his undergraduate days until his death, had written in his "Essay on Literature":

"Literature is the personal use or exercise of language... Language itself in its very origin would seem to be traceable to individuals. Their peculiarities have given it its character... And while the many use language as they find it, the man of genius uses it indeed, but subjects it withal to his own peculiarities."

And H.B. Forman, in 1869, called for poets "to throw off conventionality and assert originality in form and style", a comment which perhaps Hopkins took to heart. Whether he read this particular exhortation or not is, however,
immaterial; these two examples indicate that the thought was common in Hopkins' time -- and, of course, it reached its climax with the 'outbreak' of free-verse in our century. J.L. Olney, discussing the affinities between Duns Scotus' thinking and Hopkins', provides evidence that Scotus' ideas on individuality (the famous *haecceitas*) must have at least reinforced Hopkins' views on his own eccentricity. "Man's greatest happiness comes in knowing the divine and in conforming his own will to the divine will."\(^{11}\) The fulfillment of the latter involves reaching the potential that God has designed one to attain and "man fully realizes his potential as he most lives out his individuality, his singularity."\(^{12}\) It seems possible that Hopkins had this Scotist doctrine in mind when he made his comment, in which case he would be more verbalizing his intention to give glory to God, by setting his face to reaching his potential, than making an astute observation about his own personality.

When comparisons are made between the performances of Herbert and Hopkins, the old literary chestnut of Eliot's "tradition and the individual talent" is usually invoked. Herbert wrote in a time when there was a solid body of traditions, which he could treat as 'givens' within his poetry. By Hopkins' time according to the same dictum, the traditions had become ephemeral, so that the artist was
responsible for the invention of every aspect of his artifact. But Hopkins relies heavily on the Jesuit tradition, the Pre-Raphaelites' and Ruskin's penchant for detailed description, the imagery and doctrines of the Bible, and the various faces of Romanticism. The Romantics and those who succeeded them felt that they were constrained to invent their own forms, and since we are still in some respects Romantics we believe that that is what they did. Yet, none of the Romantics were particularly innovative with poetic form, unless we were to include their preoccupation with 'normal speech rhythms heightened' -- another interest that Hopkins inherited from his predecessors. Hopkins favoured the sonnet, the most conventional and difficult of forms, although he did modify it experimentally as we see in his curtail sonnets, his outriding feet, and his 'sonnet' of all sonnets "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire and of the Comfort of the Resurrection"(No. 72). The argument that writers of the seventeenth century "display a strong individual handling of what are common themes, so that there is a blending of 'tradition and the individual talent'" is as easily applied to the writings of Gerard Manley Hopkins and his fellow poets in the nineteenth century. And equally the argument that "in the nineteenth century the poet is expected to create not only his poems but also his subject-matter", that "the conceptions as well
as the treatment have to bear the motto 'All my own work' might be used to describe some of John Donne's contortionate amatory conceits or George Herbert's varied stanzaic and rhythmic forms. Like all initially helpful distinguishing features this concept of the pendulum-like relation between tradition and individuality espoused by Eliot, W.H. Gardner, Helen Gardner and countless others as a way of distinguishing between seventeenth-century and nineteenth-century writers, has become blinkers for many.

For all my complaints, Hopkins nevertheless is very inventive and very much the individual writing personal poetry, which is difficult poetry partly because some of his contorted, abbreviated syntax and invented words had meaning only for him. He was also a victim of the alienation that prevailed in his time, which continues to blight our own day. Herbert still lived within a 'community' and his poetry, despite its personal meditative settings, has this sense of belonging underlying it. But Hopkins, however hard he tries to include people, can only focus on specific admirable individuals or, alternatively, takes one peek at mankind as a whole and turns away in disgust to the wildness of nature, as for example in "God's Grandeur"(No.31) where "The world ... charged with the grandeur of God ... wears man's smudge and shares man's smell" but yet Hopkins can sigh with relief,
"And for all this, nature is never spent."\(^{15}\) This inability to write "public" poetry, as Helen Gardner puts it, makes "the poet ... an explorer and discoverer rather than a maker."\(^{16}\) Part of this discovery involves exploring the present, visible world of nature and this inevitably provides original materials for poems. But another part of discovery involves turning to the past, unearthing old techniques and forms and forgotten literature. Hopkins was an enthusiastic participant in this latter as much as in the former, with his interests in the 'Elizabethan' writers, Old English, Duns Scotus, and the Classics. Yet he criticises Swinburne on a similar ground:

his poetry seems a powerful effort at establishing a new standard of poetic diction, of the rhetoric of poetry, but to waive every other objection it is essentially archaic, biblical a good deal, and so on: now that is a thing that can never last; a perfect style must be of its age.\(^{17}\)

When considering his borrowings from George Herbert we must remember that Hopkins always sought, in his mature poetry, to write in a style that belonged to his age. Though he might well admit to, and be unconcerned about, his use of other poets' materials, he would stenuously avoid conscious imitation of a particular poet, unlike Vaughan and Crashaw who made it plain that they owed much to Herbert.

As a religious poet in an age that valued unique and spontaneous creativity, Hopkins had a problem. His spontaneity
was limited to those sentiments that fell within Christian moral constraints and even those must be tempered with sacrifice. And to be a committed Christian implies adopting a way of looking at life that has thousands of years of tradition behind it, in which the same symbols have been used to convey the same meanings through the centuries; because these symbols are used for expressing God's Word they become largely unalterable, a quality that St. John stands upon with rigour in Revelation 22:18,19:

I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book; if any one adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book, and if any one takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book.

As Helen Gardner says, "the poet who writes as a religious man ... write[s] in fetters." The influence of earlier religious poets on Hopkins is, therefore, likely to be greater than would be the case with a secular poet's secular influences. Needless to say, his concentration upon nature as a realm of analogies and correspondences allowed him to maintain a considerable level of autonomy in relation to the religious traditions that he subscribed to.

John Keble, on the other hand, also treats nature analogically, though in a way that makes nature merely of symbolic value, to teach by 'parables' about spiritual
realities; while Hopkins gives equal significance to the natural world as a reality and the spiritual world to which it leads the mind's eye. Keble takes the fettering of Christian poetry to an extreme by avoiding originality when writing *The Christian Year* (1827); "'Don't be original", was a Keble watchword often quoted by the young Tractarians with something like approving awe. Once the Oxford Movement had become prominent, Keble's tenet became a 'counter' vogue. But Hopkins, for all that he was caught up in the Oxford Movement, seems to have been largely free from this; it probably contributed to the editors of *The Month* being unable to print his major poem "The Wreck of the Deutschland". With Christina Rossetti, the two vogues seem to have both contributed to her style. She was evidently strongly influenced by Herbert's poetry. David Kent says that

Rossetti was caught between betraying marks of her poetic apprenticeship (in which Herbert figures centrally) and her desire to succeed with an audience that valued singularity and with critics, such as H.B. Forman who encouraged poets "To throw off conventionality and assert originality in form and style."

Kent suggests that she avoided overt references to her debt to Herbert towards this end of approval. I am not convinced that she was the sort of person who would practice this form of guile, although it is credible if it were assumed that she did so unconsciously. And in this way the same might
apply to Hopkins, but to a lesser extent because his apprenticeship involved a greater diversity of writers. But I think her predicament was complicated by this counter vogue of avoiding originality. She was in many ways 'a child of the Oxford Movement' from which she would have won approval rather than opprobrium by modelling her work overtly on Herbert's. And her plain style could as easily be attributed to Keble's poetic as to Herbert's. But the demand for originality would have been strongly present in her readership too, and in this way she would have been torn.

Having discussed the issue of originality in poetry it is only proper to finish with a caveat. While Hopkins, and Christina Rossetti are clearly under the influence of Herbert they are never obsequiously derivative. Curtis, after his observations concerning how Wordsworth's extensive readings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave rise to the 1802 poems, qualifies his argument in a way that applies equally well to Hopkins' poems and his influences:

Not that these poems owe their charm or fineness to Wordsworth's reading alone. But, as the contrast between the Lyricall Ballads of 1798 and the Poems in Two Volumes of 1807 suggests, Wordsworth learned to sing from the older poets, if in his own fashion and to his own tune. 21

In all my ensuing discussions of Herbert's influence on Hopkins, I do not intend to suggest that Hopkins, in
learning to sing from Herbert, failed to produce tunes that were peculiarly his own.
Hopkins' enthusiasm for George Herbert was by no means unusual in the nineteenth century. While interest in the other Metaphysical poets was limited and sporadic until the 1870's, Herbert had enjoyed renown steadily since the time of the publication of his works, shortly after his death. Despite Johnson's edict that prayer and poetry should never be mixed (on the grounds that prayer tends towards silence while poetry depends on language strongly coloured by the imagination) he was read in the eighteenth century and especially favoured by the Wesleys and their followers. However, his poetry was always treated devotionally; his literary qualities were largely by-passed.

With the Romantics a more literary focus on Herbert's writings arose. Curtis, while examining the evidence for Wordsworth's readings of sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, says that "the case for Wordsworth's reading of George Herbert is a difficult one." He notes that Wordsworth owned a copy of Herbert's Remains (1652), which contained 'A Country Parson' and his epigrams, adding that "he refers to 'A Country Parson' in the sonnet, 'Sacred religion', ... written sometime between 1806 and 1820." But he remains unwilling to concede the poet's knowledge of The Temple. And Emerson's journal comment, "Herbert's piece called 'Constancy'
seems to have suggested Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior'. "It seems to me that the resemblances are striking. Both poems begin with rhetorical questions: Who is the honest man? in 'Constancy' and 'Who is the happy Warrior?' in 'Happy Warrior', and both return to this kind of question frequently. The themes are not so different. Herbert writes of the identifying qualities of an "honest man" and Wordsworth does the same for a courageous man; both are possessed of the merits of fidelity and constancy. Both respond to difficulties with calm resoluteness; Herbert's honest man is he

Who, when great trials come,
Nor seeks nor shuns them, but doth calmly stay,
Till he the thing and the example weigh:
All being brought into a sum,
What place or person calls for, he doth pay, 

and Wordsworth's hero is he

... who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a lover; and attired
With sudden brightness, like a Man inspired;
And through the heat of conflict keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need ...

Herbert speaks of the man's perseverance in pursuing his will despite the "wide world[s] run[ning] bias", and Wordsworth's man, though he willingly fights the battles that duty demands, has a "masterbias ... / To homely pleasures and to gentle success"; I confess that this sharing of the word "bias"
is not, on its own, of any consequence because it is used very differently in the two poems, but in the context of other similarities it does add some weight. F. Haverfield finds another echo in Wordsworth's "Ode", "I have sometimes thought that the opening of George Herbert's poem, 'Man's Medley', may have suggested some lines near the beginning of Wordsworth's 'Ode on Immortality'." There is also the widely held conjecture that "Wordsworth's notion of his great work as a cathedral with appropriate antechapel and recesses may have been derived from a familiar acquaintance with The Temple with its 'Church Porch' and complements of small poems", and I am quoting Curtis' only concession to the positive side of the argument (p. 32). Doubtless, a thorough search would discover numerous echoes of Herbert in Wordsworth.

Wordsworth's friendship with Coleridge makes his acquaintance with Herbert's poetry even more probable. It is Coleridge who is often credited with initiating the 'revival' of literary interest in Herbert that, by the time of Hopkins' undergraduate days, had established Herbert's reputation as the most important devotional poet in English literature. His notes to The Temple were published in the Pickering edition of Herbert's Works (in the 1840's) that became a Victorian bestseller. If Hopkins did ever own a copy of Herbert it would in all probability have been this
edition. Coleridge's comments typify the attitudes towards Herbert in the nineteenth century. To him Herbert was "another exquisite master of ... [the] ... species of style ... where the scholar and the poet supplies the material, but the perfect well-bred gentleman, the expressions and the arrangement." (The Temple, p. 348). He recommends Herbert to readers who have been uneasy about his Metaphysical traits:

Having mentioned the name of Herbert, that model of a man, a gentleman, a clergyman, let me add, that the quaintness of some of his thoughts, not of his diction, than which nothing can be more pure, manly, and unaffected, has blinded modern readers to the great general merit of his poems, which are for the most part exquisite in their kind. (p. 350).

Paddy Kitchen points out that his approval of Herbert's diction seems to be echoed negatively in a comment Hopkins made about Keats, a writer who had been a profound influence on the developing undergraduate poet:

In the year before he died, Hopkins was to accuse Keats's poetry -- which had once so intoxicated him -- of "abandoning itself to an unmanly and ennervating luxury", while George Herbert, whose "fragrant sweetness" was to remain dear to him, was once claimed by Coleridge to use diction that was "pure manly, and unaffected." 28

Coleridge was, with justification, a major figure in the literary world and has remained so to today; it is therefore not surprising to find aspects of his poetics in Hopkins'. At one point in these notes, he draws the reader's attention
to Herbert's poem "The Flower": "A delicious poem." (p. 346). Interestingly, this poem is one of the possible precursors to "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28), stanza three in particular:

These are thy wonders, Lord of power,
Killing and quickening, bringing down to hell
And up to heaven in an hour;
Making a chiming of a passing bell.

We say amiss,
This or that is:
... Thy word is all, if we could spell.

which resembles stanza 3 in "The Wreck of the Deutschland":

The frown of his face
Before me, the hurtle of hell
Behind, where, where was a, where was a place?
I whirled out wings that spell
And fled with a fling of the heart to the heart of the Host.
My heart, but you were dovewinged, I can tell,
Carrier-witted, I am bold to boast,
To flash from the flame to the flame then, tower from the grace
to the grace. 29

In the fifth stanza of "The Flower", Herbert speaks of God's frown:

... what pole is not the zone
Where all things burn,
When thou dost turn,
And the least frown of thine is shown?

The Deutschland's nun is a specific example of God's "making a chiming of a passing bell" when she calls out "0 Christ, Christ, come quickly",

Wording it how but by him that present and past,
Heaven and earth are word of, worded by ...
... lovely-felicitous Providence
Finger of a tender of, 0 of a feathery delicacy, the breast
of the
Maiden could obey so, be a bell to, ring of it, and
Startle the poor sheep back!...
Herbert refers to his experience of the outwardly devastating aspect of Providence as God's "tempests that fell at night." And the Providentially arranged spiritual vicissitudes of Herbert described in "The Flower" are also reflected in "The Wreck of the Deutschland":

Thou hast bound bones and veins in me, fastened me flesh,
And after it almost unmade, what with dread,
Thy doing: and dost thou touch me afresh?
Over again I feel thy finger and find thee.

Hopkins employed many aspects of Coleridge's poetics; whether he borrowed them from Coleridge or whether he found affirmation for his own poetics in the Romantics is not discoverable, but the similarities between the two suggest that Hopkins would have admired Coleridge and thus valued his brief commentary on The Temple. The surface of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" appears chaotic, adequately evoking a sense of the storm within the words not unlike Turner's turbulent and fierce seascapes. The poem is remarkably complex. Most of the words used have two or three meanings and each one is employed in the poem's semantic structure so that there are a number of 'levels' of meaning. In stanza four, for example, the usual reading involves two juxtaposed metaphors that, in true Metaphysical fashion, are shown to be two sides of the same coin. As the poet physically falls into dust his spiritual life is being buoyed up towards eternity, the former is likened to an hourglass and the latter
to a well whose surface is at "a poise". However, it is also possible to read the well image as a subsidiary simile within the hourglass metaphor, where the "soft sift" in the top flask is always at equilibrium like the surface of water in a well while it is undermined with a motion, "roped with ... a vein / Of the gospel proffer, a pressure ... ." The trickle of the disintegrating poet is a continuation of Christ's sufferings on the cross, the Christ or "World's strand" who, in stanza 33, from the gash in his side ("all the way down from the tall fells or flanks ... ") provides "A vein for the visiting of the past-prayer, pent in prison, / The-last-breath penitent spirits." The word "poise" can also be read as a reference to the weight on the end of a pendulum, which steadies (or makes regular) the clock but also ensures its movement and measurement of time. The example in the Oxford English Dictionary for such a use of the word confirms that Hopkins intended this additional meaning: "1613 Overbury, A Wife etc. 'it keeps his mind in a continual motion, as the poise the clock.'" 30 He appears to have either drawn some inspiration from the developing dictionary of his time, or from the seventeenth-century writer Overbury directly, for in stanza 4 we meet the expression "mined with a motion" and in stanza 32, where Christ is the great hourglass that contains the universe for all time, we meet a similar expression,
"ocean of a motionable mind." The poet and the nun are both examples of Christ dying in order that mankind should be saved. The storm that the nun experiences and the 'storm' in the Herbertian sense that Hopkins has previously experienced (stanzas 1 and 2) are caused by Christ's providential finger. As one critic has noted the poem begins and ends with a reference to Christ: "Thou ... Lord", the alpha and omega. Hopkins is holding together the diversity of existence in a dynamic relation to its unity. The chaos is only one side of the coin, that which mankind sees; the other side is the order seen from God's perspective which is, in a mystical way, Christ. W.H. Gardner tells us that in his "essay 'On the Origin of Moral Ideas' ... [Hopkins] ... says that in art we strive to realize not only unity but also difference, variety contrast." This concept of unity in diversity, so central to Hopkins' poetics, seems to have come from Coleridge, who asks rhetorically, "What is beauty? It is, in abstract, the unity of the manifold, the coalescence of the diverse ... . This concept of unity in diversity, so central to Hopkins' poetics, seems to have come from Coleridge, who asks rhetorically, "What is beauty? It is, in abstract, the unity of the manifold, the coalescence of the diverse ... . This concept of unity in diversity, so central to Hopkins' poetics, seems to have come from Coleridge, who asks rhetorically, "What is beauty? It is, in abstract, the unity of the manifold, the coalescence of the diverse ... .

In the same essay, shortly before, he defines art:

Art ... is the figured language of thought, and is distinguished from nature by the unity of all the parts in one thought or idea. Hence nature itself would give us the impression of a work of art, if we could see the thought which is present at once in the whole and in every part; and a work of art will be just in proportion as it adequately conveys the thought, and rich in proportion to the variety of parts which it holds in unity.
According to G.B. Tennyson, Coleridge also championed Owen Barfield's concept of "polarity", which in Coleridge's thinking expresses the dynamic character of all life as a unity of contending forces, each working against, but also with and by virtue of the other through a unifying power inherent in the relationship of the poles. Such a view ... Prickett notes, perceives "no break between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural'. Though they stand in a dialectical relationship to one another, they are, nevertheless, the two ends of an unbroken continuum" (p. 56).

This is precisely the doctrine of Heraclitus which Hopkins found so paradoxically similar to the Christian picture of existence. And one wonders if his adoption of Heraclitus, initially in his undergraduate days, was due to his readings and admirations for the ideas of Coleridge in which Barfield's concept was espoused. His poetry often consists of two elements, the sensuous and immediate response to his environment and the spiritual interpretation that follows, which are seldom separately treated, as in stanza 4 of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" which we have discussed.

Coleridge perceives the unity-in-diversity element in Herbert when looking at "The Holy Scriptures", part II --

Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And all the configurations of their glory!
Seeing not only how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the story.

This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christian's destiny... --
and makes the following observation:

'This verse marks that', etc. The spiritual unity of the Bible = the order and connexion of organic forms, in which the unity of life is shown, though as widely dispersed in the world of the mere sight as the text. (The Temple, p. 346, Pickering Edition).

This is a reference to the idea of correspondences in nature, which when pieced together amounts to, to use Herbert's expression, "Thy Word is all, if we could spell", and lies at the heart of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" too as we have already seen. Though it may be tempting, therefore, to claim that Hopkins has adopted Herbert's approach, it seems more probable that he has been influenced by Coleridge; it is even plausible to suggest that Hopkins developed this independently, for it is merely an extension of the doctrine of the triune God. Here, then, is an instance of how complicated consideration of a poet's influence can become.

In his apology for Herbert's poetry, Coleridge admits to the "quaintness of some of his thoughts", noting that this is why people tend to be blind to his merits. The Augustan attitudes towards literature were still prevalent in his time and there was always an uneasy response towards wit in poetry, particularly when it was mixed with religion; Matthew Arnold was soon to speak of the need for "high seriousness" in literature. Coleridge, unlike many predecessors, was aware of Herbert's wit and of its ultimately serious purpose. He
cites a poem from The Temple

as a striking example and illustration of an assertion hazarded in a former page of these sketches: namely, that the characteristic fault of our elder poets is the reverse of that, which distinguishes too many of our recent versifiers; the one conveying the most fantastic thoughts in the most correct and natural language; the other in the most fantastic language conveying the most trivial thoughts (pp. 348, 349).

He is himself, though perhaps unconsciously, borrowing from Dryden here. His readings of other writers were extensive and clearly included other Metaphysical poets. He had written a, now famous, playful ditty on John Donne's style of poetry:

With Donne, whose muse on dromedary trots,
Wreathe iron pokers into true-love knots;
Rhyme's sturdy cripple, fancy's maze and clue,
Wit's forge and fire-blast, meaning's press and screw.

What is intriguing about this verse is that, in style, it imitates not Donne, but Herbert, who was fond of listing epithets, as for example in "Prayer" [I] (No. xx):

Prayer, the Church's banquet, Angel's age,
God's breath in man returning to his birth,
The soul in paraphrase, heart in pilgrimage,
The Christian plummet, sounding heaven and earth;

Engine against the Almighty, sinner's tower,
Reversed thunder, Christ-side-piercing spear ..., a technique also common in Hopkins' poetry. And it also shares Herbert's sense of metrical effortlessness, contrasting with Donne's metrical 'strugglings' that come close to vio-
lence in the emotional intensity they evoke.

Unlike his Augustan forebears, Coleridge saw no difficulty in using art for religious expression. He, like the Tractarians, took them to be "kindred fields." Yet, later in his life, Kent tells us that "he came to read The Temple for the 'substantial comfort' it contained." So he came to give precedence of a devotional reading over the 'purely' literary reading, a priority again characteristic of the Tractarians. In his notes to the Pickering edition he warns that only a special kind of reader can properly enjoy Herbert:

G. Herbert is a true poet, but a poet sui generis, the merits of whose poems will never be felt without a sympathy with the mind and character of the man. To appreciate this volume, it is not enough that the reader possess a cultivated judgement, classical taste or even a poetic sensibility, unless he be likewise a Christian, and both a zealous and an unorthodox, both a devout and a devotional, Christian. But even this will not quite suffice. He must be an affectionate and dutiful child of the Church, and from habit, conviction, and a constitutional predisposition to ceremoniousness, in piety as in manners, find her forms and ordinances aids of religion, not sources of formality; for religion is the element in which he lives, and the region in which he moves. (p. 345).

The Tractarians fitted this category perfectly. Indeed, Herbert became the "'Divine Poet' of their church." Olney, assessing the list of works appended to Tracts for the Times, says,
we find the names of Andrewes, Hooker, Taylor joined freely with those of Newman, Pusey, Keble, and in every list we find "Herbert's poems and Country Pastor." 41

The Tractarian movement is generally considered to have begun with Keble's Assize Sermon in 1833 and to have ended with Newman's going over to Rome in 1845 and the ending of the Tracts in the same year. It is during this period that Coleridge's notes appeared in print; so the similarities between Coleridge and the Tractarians are probably the result of mutual influences on each other. The Tractarians may have officially ended in 1845 but their following continued as The Oxford Movement, which gave rise to an increasing general interest in Anglo-Catholicism in the Anglican church at large. By the time Hopkins was an undergraduate in Oxford the movement had reached a new peak. Hopkins' view of George Herbert as a religious poet must have been initiated by the attitudes towards him of Coleridge and the Tractarians. It is, therefore, useful to examine this movement, particularly with respect to its interest in Herbert.

Coleridge did not share the same religious tendency of leaning towards Catholicism. He was a Unitarian and, therefore, regarded by the Tractarians at a wary distance, even though they, by and large, approved of his poetics. Herbert's poetry, he notes, is enriched with "the Patristic leaven"
rather than the "Romish and Papistic" one (The Temple, p. 345). But he remains nervous; in reading Herbert's "Judgment" he picks out the phrase "That they in merit shall excel" and comments: "I should not have expected from Herbert so open an avowal of Romanism in the article of merit" (p. 347). Coleridge has failed to understand the point of this poem. By contrasting this 'Roman' sentiment with his own, Herbert is showing the 'correct' one while not wholly discarding the enigmatic importance of good works. For, though a Christian is saved by God's grace, he has been destined to abound in good works. But Coleridge's suspicions that Herbert is here displaying Romish tendencies illustrates the way in which Herbert was viewed in this period. He was an Anglican who had "a constitutional predisposition to ceremoniousness" and found in the Church's "forms and ordinances aids of religion." In other words, with the acceptance of this assumption, he was very much of the High Church variety, and this was why the High Church Tractarians so enthusiastically adopted him. No doubt, when compared to the extremely bare-boned styles of worship commonly practiced in the Church of England at the time preceding the Tractarians, Herbert seemed particularly "ceremonious." My edition of The Temple, printed some time before 1887 (still within the era of the Oxford Movement, and within Hopkins' lifetime) has editorial interpretative notes
and the previous owners' marginalia that indicate how Herbert's nineteenth-century readers were reading him in an Anglo-Catholic way. For example, Herbert in his *A Priest to the Temple*, when speaking of ways in which the parson should comfort his parishioners, says,

...in visiting the sick or otherwise afflicted, he followeth the Church's counsel, namely, in persuading them to particular confession; labouring to make them understand the great good use of this ancient and pious ordinance....

A footnote is appended to this by the editor, directing the reader from Herbert's perfectly Biblical expression of a passage in the letter of James concerning the sick, that they should confess their sins and be prayed for, *to the Roman Catholic practice of confession to a human spiritual superior* (which Hopkins records having done before his conversion):

So Bishop Ken: "Though confession of our sins to God is only matter of duty, and absolutely necessary, yet confession to our spiritual guide also is by many devout souls found to be very advantageous to true repentance." 44

Both Herbert's comment and the footnote have been underlined in pencil by the owner of the book. But Herbert was not at all High Church as an Anglican, at least not in the Victorians' sense of the word. He was strongly Calvinistic in theology, emphasizing predestination consciously at the expense of free will, an attitude only emphasized today in the Non-conformist and 'Reformed' churches. His rigorous standards for a country parson to follow were carefully drawn from the Bible and
indicate a degree of Fundamentalism to be found not in the Tractarians but in their opposites, the Evangelicals. And besides these Low Church traits, he also wrote at times in his poetry against 'Roman' practices as, for example, in "The British Church" and "The Church Militant".

One of the factors underlying this Victorian 'version' of Herbert is the question of religious authority. Herbert derived his authority primarily from the scriptures. In the nineteenth century the history of the world presented in the Bible was being seriously questioned. Many found it wanting. But the responses varied. Some, like Alfred Tennyson and Robert Browning teetered on the brink of atheistic despair. Others turned, unperturbed, to an emphasis on the morals expressed in the Bible. Matthew Arnold and George Eliot belonged in this group. The Gospels became conveyors of truth and repositories of standards of righteousness and, thus, the same could be said for all literature of quality. It is easy to see how this group of people came to view religion as subsidiary to, and often of less value than, literature. Arthur Clough, of an Evangelical upbringing, on reading George Eliot's translation of D.F. Strauss' Life of Jesus (1846) that shocked so many Victorians with its arguments for the predominance of myth over history in the Gospels, was strangely optimistic. He wrote a poem, "Epi-
Strauss-ium", wherein he says Strauss has cleared away the "Eastern pictured panes" of the four evangelists in the Church and replaced them with "windows plainly glassed", through which God's light is, "if less richly, more sincerely bright." There is in this optimism a naive trust that man's handling of truth, if left unchecked, will coincide (providentially, no doubt) with the Truth known by God. Clough had evidently read Herbert's poetry because this poem is, as R.A. Forsyth points out, "curiously similar to George Herbert's 'metaphysical 'The Windows'." But Forsyth adds that

The connection between the poems is not, however, a simple literary echo in material or style. Rather, "Epi-Strauss-Ium" may validly be regarded as Clough's post-Straussian statement in an ancient debate on what constitutes the essence of Christianity. "The Windows" springs from the continuing tradition that defined man's religious aspirations and duties as being Christ-like. This tradition is denied to Clough, the Christ of the Gospels having become merely legendary.

Thus, Clough's choice of Herbert's poem was deliberate. He has produced the opposite of a sacred parody, relying on the previous poem by Herbert to give 'colour' and context to his argument. He can say with Hopkins, "the effect of studying masterpieces is to make me admire and do otherwise", though he is forced to do so by his acceptance of Strauss' beliefs.

There were also those whose response to this attack on the Bible's authority was simply to ignore it. Among these
would be the Revivalists but also, I think, Christina Rossetti and her Pre-Raphaelite contemporaries who turned back to a medieval past. Hopkins never felt threatened by the Strausses and Darwins of his time; he always equated evolution with the folly of man, as for example in "The Sea and the Skylark"(No.35) wherein he reverses the idea of evolution and thereby associates the evolutionary beginnings of man with his Fall:

We, life's pride and cared-for crown,

Have lost that cheer and charm of earth's past prime:
Our make and making break, are breaking down
To man's last dust, drain fast towards man's first slime.

For Hopkins, the so-called new Darwinian theory was a case of there being 'nothing new under the sun'. He had noted in his studies of Parmenides: "Men, he thought, had sprung from the slime."48 However, his mature poems are rarely founded on Biblical passages, tending rather to rest on the natural world. It is in the Book of Nature that Hopkins meets God. Though his emphasis is mostly inspired by the Romantics, it does also, perhaps, imply the lack of authority he found in the Bible.

The Tractarians, and Hopkins, were among those who responded to the modern loss of Biblical authority by turning their backs on it, looking instead to the authority of the Church itself, to the Early Church Fathers, to Origen's
analogue treatment of Scripture (which they used for reading the Book of Nature), to the Augustinian emphasis on One Catholic Church, and to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, which embodied the founding traditions of the Anglican Church and which had been widely used in Herbert's time. Hopkins' particular need for Church authority led him to Rome and then still further to the Jesuits. It may well be that the reason Hopkins had been encouraged to remain in the English Church by Herbert's example (recall William Addis' remark) was that Herbert was also a minister who recommended his flock to the authority of the Church. His ideal parson "useth and prefereth the ordinary Church Catechism, partly for obedience to authority ... ."

George Herbert, though anti-Papist, was a supporter of the institutional British Church, and in his poem "The British Church" he delights in her via media:

The mean thy praise and glory is,  
And long may be.  
Blessed by God, whose love it was  
To double-moat thee with his grace,  
And none but thee.

The Roman church he calls:

She on the hills, which wantonly  
Allureth in all hope to be  
By her preferr'd,  
Hath kiss'd so long her painted shrines,  
That e'en her face by kissing shines,  
For her reward.

And conversely, he views the Non-conformists as those who
walk in the valleys, shy and naked. The Tractarians were a reaction to the extremely Low Church Evangelicals, whose taste they viewed as Philistine. The via media of Herbert,

A fine aspect in fit array,
Neither too mean nor yet too gay,
Shows who is best,

was assumed by the Tractarians to be precisely the same as theirs. Their emphasis on liturgy and confession to a spiritual advisor, and reverence for saints and holy places, though, in actual fact made them decidedly more Roman than Herbert ever was. The number of disciples within the Oxford Movement who went over to Rome indicates their affinities to Rome. Herbert's true religious convictions in this respect were largely ignored.

For all their Roman leanings, the Tractarians in their poetry never exhibited the exaggerated, baroque styles of Crashaw and Southwell nor of Thompson and, in some instances, of Hopkins which was frequently characteristic of Roman Catholic poetry. In this respect they were very much Anglicans, continuing the Greeks' tradition of moderation in all things. This meant that the matter of decorum was emphasized. Because their literature was religious, in that it was to lead the reader to a state of tranquil worship of God, wit was to be employed only minimally and usefully. An emphasis on techniques and original treatments of form was considered inappro-
priate because it involved ostentation. Keble's poems in *The Christian Year* are clear examples of this unassuming poetic.

Many of Herbert's poems contain a secondary theme of his struggles as a Christian who must put away the wiles and artifice of the world and yet write poetry in service to God. Herbert begins *The Temple* with his way of uniting the demands of poetry and religion: "A verse may find him, who a sermon flies, / And turn delight into a sacrifice" (*The Church Porch*). And the same would be used as justification by Keble and the other Tractarians. Poetical pleasure for Tractarians, according to G.B. Tennyson, is not merely a momentary sensation, a self-gratifying feeling in the reader, "it is the awakening of some moral or religious feeling" that either reinforces moral rectitude or leads the reader to contemplation of the Christian's future hope. They move beyond Herbert's idea of sweetening the pill to a peculiar version of Aristotle's catharsis. Exercising the imagination or "phantasy" as Keble calls it, brings the mind to a spiritual condition:

Now what (excepting in a mind thoroughly diseased and depraved, wherein imagination and reason too are slaves of the body) what can tend more strongly to make man feel his own dignity; to disencumber him of earthly affections, and lift him nearer what he once was, and what he may be again, than the exercise and invigoration of a power so totally
independent of material things, so much at variance with the sense as this is.51

As I mentioned earlier, the Tractarians saw religion and art as "joint allies", and though for them "religion itself is the truest poetry" art, of the unostentatious variety, is very important, especially in an age "weak in faith"52, an age that could not accept pure doctrines alone. It is a religious duty to be poetic. Thus Newman says:

> With Christians, a poetical view of things is a duty -- we are bid to colour all things with hues of faith, to see a Divine meaning in every event and a superhuman tendency;53

and Keble says as much:

> The Church and its historical teachings that we should "make every part of life, every scene in nature" an occasion of devotion, justify occupying our thoughts and talents in religious pursuits, including the writing of poetry.54

Herbert's view of the role of art in religion is more tenuous. His efforts to keep a hold on the gift of poetry during the sanctification process he passes through in The Temple, increasingly less possible, provide one of the conflicts on which his poems are built. In "The Forerunners" he is coming to the point in his life when he realizes he has to let go of his poetry -- no longer can he stand on his opening argument of a sweetened pill -- and he confesses sadly: "let Winter have its fee." His sanctification might be likened
to God turning the poet into a poem; by confessing "Thou art still my God" Herbert is 'speaking' the only 'poem' required of him. Thus, he recognises that his versifying talent is empty: "For 'Thou art still my God' is all that ye / Perhaps with more embellishment can say." Then in his final poem, his efforts at eloquent argument are dissipated completely in the presence of God's love. All he can do is "sit and eat." Herbert and the Tractarians have a common view of the end of poetry, that of bringing the reader into a contemplation of God, but for Herbert poetry is a vehicle that ultimately becomes redundant once the reader has been transported, while for the Tractarians it is more intimately a part of worship and in that sense remains. The latter never tackle the question of art becoming redundant. In an ironic way their poetry becomes redundant because its end is religion. Whereas Herbert's witty treatment of the art and religion dilemma has produced poems of an enduring quality.

Though Herbert is careful that his poems wear the proper clothes they remain witty. Keble's poetry lacks wit. J.C. Sharp, in his introduction to The Christian Year, expresses a common view of that time, "In outward form, and not a little in inward spirit, the religious poets to whom ... Keble ... bears the strongest likeness, are Henry Vaughan and George Herbert, both of the seventeenth century." He later elucidates
the nature of their resemblance according to his opinion:

And as in the inward tone of feeling, so is its [Keble's poetry] outward expression, chastened and subdued. There is no gorgeousness of colouring, no stunning sound, no highly spiced phrase or metaphor.55

People easily noticed Herbert's plain style but seldom saw the subtleties that lay beguilingly concealed beneath it. The Christian Year is guileless in its simplicity. Keble aimed for a tone of sincerity. This involved what he called "reserve", avoiding the use of overtly religious material and also avoiding playing with poetic devices to please the world. The sincerity of tone was there to discourage a reader from "treating ... [the poems] ... merely as literary efforts."56 As mentioned earlier he was careful to be unoriginal. His collection of poems is structured on the plan of the Book of Common Prayer. There is a poem for each event in the church calendar, and those using the Book of Common Prayer for daily devotional reading can simply continue in the same context by reading the appropriate correspondent poem in Keble's volume.57 That it is a structured collection of poems, a poem of poems, suggests that he might have derived the idea from The Temple. But, unlike Keble's poems, Herbert's are not easily accounted for in terms of a single structure, despite their suggestive title. A number of critics have identified groups of related poems and common themes but the conclusion is inevitably that he has avoided a visible order. The real order lies hidden in
the sanctifying purpose God is working out in his Church and in each saint, making a temple 'fit for his own dwelling place'.

Whether *The Temple* or some other structured collection of poems gave Keble the idea of arranging his poems according to the Book of Common Prayer or not is unimportant. But Keble's admiration for Herbert certainly gave rise to influence. Mr. Shairp's sense that Keble and Herbert have much in common is correct not merely with regard to their controlled, plain language! Joseph Duncan produces a similarity that in our day would be plagiarism, but of course Keble was not anxious about originality. His "Sixth Sunday After Trinity" has the following in it:

These are thy wonders, hourly wrought,
Thou Lord of time and thought,
Lifting and lowering souls at will,
Crowding a world of good or ill
Into a moment's vision.

Its great-grandfather is in Herbert's "The Flower" (No. CXXXIV):

These are thy wonders, Lord of power,
Killing and quickning, bringing down to hell
And up to heaven in an hour;
Making a chiming of a passing bell. 58

Recall that "The Flower" was the poem Coleridge especially recommended. Perhaps this borrowing, that speaks for itself, was inspired by Keble's readings of Coleridge's notes. The difference in style is nevertheless noticeable. Keble's is very regular and devoid of ornament; it is almost an abstract version of Herbert's stanza, which says a great deal more in
the same number of lines by using a more concrete language and some multiplicity of meanings as in the pun on "passing" in the last line. There is also a sense of the poet's feeling in the latter that is not evident in the former due, no doubt, to the application of 'reserve'.

Hopkins, as mentioned in the Introduction, prefers the freedom of Vaughan, and his own poetry seeks to convey an intensity of feeling that goes far beyond Herbert. Helen Gardner, when comparing Herbert's poem "Denial" to Hopkins' poem "I wake and feel the fell of dark ...", says that

Herbert carefully distances his pain from us by speaking of it in the past tense; whereas Hopkins is attempting to render overwhelming personal experience and feeling at the moment when it overwhelms him.

She prefers Herbert's approach because

Intense spiritual experience like intense physical experience, cannot be rendered directly, and Herbert by describing it as it was, rather than by trying to render it as it is, can keep that tone of 'humble sobriety' that convinces us of the truth of what he tells us.59

Evidently her preference is due to a bias towards the Anglicanism of Keble. Hopkins, a Catholic, will naturally produce a different kind of poetry. It is surely a mistake to treat these two poets to a comparative quality judgement; each should be judged on what he attempted, not on what he did not attempt.

Keble and his fellow Tractarians, because of their
belief that they should not be overtly religious, choose to write about nature, using it symbolically. This appears to be a crucial area in which Hopkins was largely influenced by the Tractarians. It is an important matter deserving detailed consideration, and for this reason I shall return to it in a later chapter. When employing nature in poetry, Keble is seeking spiritual lessons from God's Creation. The literary contemplation is, for him, synonymous with prayer. Without the prayer it becomes second rate verse. Thus "the primary poets are those who write poetry to relieve a powerful (religious) emotion; the secondary poets are those who merely imitate the former." We see here the other aspect of the Tractarians' view of catharsis. We earlier mentioned the exercise of the imagination and how that leads the reader to a spiritual rather than a carnal contemplation. This other aspect involves the writer, and he must be a Christian one, releasing his feelings. This, at first, appears to conflict with the idea of reserve but, for Keble, the employment of reserve ensures that the true feeling that the poet brings to his poem is conveyed to the reader. To simply express in full, as Helen Gardner accuses Hopkins of doing, is to reduce the tone of sincerity so that the reader will tend to say it is exaggerated. True religious feeling is naturally expressed in a restrained manner, a fact the reader intuitively knows, according to this theory. Tennyson notes that Newman departs
from this somewhat. For Newman, as for Keble, poetry provides a "natural vent to ardent and strong feelings" but, in his Apostolica (1833), the tone "is at once urgent, intense, confident, and purposeful; it is a tone of passion that strikes a new note in Tractarian verse." Hopkins' apparent lack of reserve perhaps has, to some extent, been derived from Newman's tone; it is generally asserted that Newman was a profound influence on Hopkins.

Keble's mention of secondary poets who merely imitate those in the primary category, I think, resembles Hopkins' views of Parnassian and inspired poets expressed when discussing his doubts of Tennyson's greatness. Inspired poetry, in Hopkins' view, is true poetry written by a poet but it offers no "new thought" and "it does not touch you." He defines inspiration as

a mood of great, abnormal in fact, mental acuteness, either energetic or receptive, according as the thoughts which arise in it seem generated by a stress and action of the brain, or to strike into it unasked...
The poetry of inspiration can only be written in this mood of mind, even if it only last a minute, by poets themselves.

Here, I think, is Keble's idea of moral or religious feeling without which true poetry cannot be made. It is also a thoroughly Coleridgean and Wordsworthian idea, of course. Hopkins' term 'Parnassian' I believe is derived from the books which were compiled for the use of poets, with lists
of rhymes and other items to aid in the construction of poetry. The materials in these Books of Parnassus could be used by a true poet to produce poems that only lacked the inspiration. Hopkins relegated Swinburne to this secondary category it seems. He enjoyed Swinburne's language but observes that without the proper feeling in poetry, "words only are only words." Newman had made a similar comment in his essay "Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics" to the effect that mere eloquence does not equal poetry. Hopkins was not keen on Swinburne because of his amorality, and in this sense he shared Newman's (and the other Tractarians') view that

a right moral feeling places the mind in the very centre of that circle from which all the rays have their origin and range; whereas minds otherwise placed command but a portion of the whole circuit of poetry.

It would be interesting to know Hopkins' classification for Herbert's poetry. Would he be aligned with Wordsworth, who "writes such an 'intolerable deal of' Parnassian", which is perhaps kinder treatment than he would have given Keble? Or would he be more like Shakespeare who "uses ... so little Parnassus"? If he enjoyed Herbert, presumably he would have placed him closer to Shakespeare, but he says nothing about this.

There is one possible influence of Keble on Hopkins
I would still like to mention and that is his idea that "architecture especially resembles poetry because it finds expression in religious buildings." Keble uses architecture as he does nature, for spiritual analogies, as for example in his poem "Trinity Sunday":

...From each carv'd nook and fretted bend
Cornice and gallery seem to send
Tones that with seraph hymns might blend

Three solemn parts together twine
In harmony's mysterious line;
Three solemn aisles approach the shrine:

Yet all are One -- together all,
In thoughts that awe but not appal;
Teach the adoring heart to fall ...

This poem bears a superficial resemblance to Herbert's poem of the same name, both have verses with three lines each. But Keble's is blatantly versified doctrine, using the analogy of the church's structures to comment on the Trinity -- seraph hymns, gallery and cornice produce a fitting triple but united worship for the occasion. Herbert's only reflects the occasion in its form, and rather more thoroughly than Keble's in that. Hopkins frequently jots down remarks about church architecture in his notebooks and journals, and one or two architectural terms appear in his poetry. He seems to have enjoyed the curves and lines almost religiously. One wonders if he was caught up in the Oxford Movement's ideas and was merely practicing the recommended contemplations.
Isaac Williams, another Tractarian, responsible for two important tracts on reserve, was the major proponent of architectural analogy. He is generally credited with a major part in initiating the Gothic revival that appeared in the nineteenth century. He wrote a number of volumes of poems, one of which was entitled The Cathedral (1838). In this collection he uses the various parts of a cathedral, nave, aisle, rood, and so forth, as topics for his poems. It is, like Keble's Christian Year, a poem of poems. The poems teach the reader how to spiritually 'read' a cathedral. The title does suggest that he was inspired by the title for Herbert's collection of poems, The Temple. He also wrote two volumes of poetry entitled The Baptistry (1847) and The Altar (1847). In his "Advertisement" to The Cathedral Williams, G.B. Tennyson tells us,

explains ... that the idea is perfectly in accordance with the spirit and principle of ancient Church and that there were "hints of the kind" in Herbert's Temple where Herbert attaches moral and sacred lessons to the "Church Windows" and "Church Floor".68

He was clearly indebted to Herbert. In another volume of poetry, Thoughts in Past Years (1838), he divides the poems into sections. The first section is mostly devoted to sonnets on nature that function not unlike Keble's poems. The second section, again sonnets, is entitled "The Country Parson", undoubtedly derived from the title of Herbert's prose
'treatise', "A Country Parson". Williams also dedicates one of his poems in The Cathedral to "Meek Herbert".

Unable to obtain copies of William's poems, I have had to rely on G.B. Tennyson's helpful book on the Tractarians and Joseph Duncan's work on Metaphysical Revival. It seems to me, though, that Hopkins has been influenced by Williams. The fifth section in Thoughts in Past Years opens with a poem called "The Sacred City" which "reminds us of how deeply the Tractarians felt about Oxford: 'Be ours to hold to thy parental hand, / And venerate and love thine ancient ways'." Hopkins had this love for Oxford in common with the Tractarians, as is indicated by the four poems that he wrote on the subject. Whether he wrote from sincere feeling or merely from fashion is an unanswerable question, however. I suggest it was a little of both; it was in Oxford that his poetic and religious directions had their beginnings. G.B. Tennyson also tells us that, "Williams shares and continues the Tractarian revival of interest in holy places, sacred wells, and veneration of saints, though the Tractarians preferred to speak of the latter as simply the Communion of Saints," (and Keble's Lyra Innocentium (1846), which is according to Tennyson "both the last volume of Tractarian verse and the first of the post-Tractarian wave of mid-century", the wave that Hopkins was riding, shows a preoccupation with "Holy Places
and Things" Keble's subtitle for "the largest section in the book" ). This interest is one also shared by Hopkins; consider his poetry related to St. Winefred's Well and his various attempts on the story of St. Dorothea. Williams also, like Keble, wrote poems on the Church calendar covering "the events from Holy Week to Whitsunday as reflected in the Mass", a period in the year that Herbert focuses on with a degree of consistency in an early part of The Temple. This perhaps contributed to Hopkins' writing of two early 'liturgical' poems, "Easter"(No.24) and "Easter Communion"(No.11).

Williams and Keble were keen to convert the writings of the ancients, the classics, into material useful for Christians, plundering gold from the Egyptians, to borrow from the early Church Fathers. Keble's Praelectiones (1844) and Williams' The Christian Scholar (1849) deal extensively with this matter. No doubt their symbolical treatment of nature and architecture was one of the interests they gleaned from looking back at the early heritage of the Church, the forgotten use of allegory so prevalent in the Middle Ages. Hopkins once wrote that treating myth allegorically "gives rise to the most beautiful results. No wonder: the moral evil is got rid of and the pure art, morally neutral and artistically so rich, remains and can be even turned to moral uses." W.H. Gardner suggests that he "may have had in mind the method of his own sonnet "Andromeda", in which "the operation of
the salvific Will through Christ and His Church is embodied in a symbolic interpretation of a classical myth."77 And, of course, "Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves"(No.61) and "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire and of the Comfort of the Resurrection"(No. 72), particularly the latter, play with the truths embodied in the writings of the ancients.

Finally, one of Williams' poems, "A November Scene", quoted by G.B. Tennyson, seems to resemble some elements in Hopkins:

... such thoughts that tempt the soul
To dizzy crags that look on vacancy,
And tamper with the infinite, Controul
Dropping the reign of her blest mastery.78

The same concerns in "No worst, there is none ..."(No.65) -- "O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall / Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed" -- are surely derived from this passage. Perhaps the Chevalier and hawking theme in "The Windhover"(No.36) has some relation to it as well: " ... how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing ... the achieve of, the mastery of the thing! ... AND the fire that breaks from thee then, a billion / Times told lovelier, more dangerous, 0 my chevalier!"

It appears that Hopkins was influenced to some extent by Williams, and it would thus be probable that Hopkins' interest in Herbert's poetry had been, at the least, reinforced by this man's interest in the same. Williams' poetry is
likely to have been of more appeal than Keble's to Hopkins because he, like Hopkins, had a tendency towards Roman Catholic practices especially indicated in his last volume of poems The Altar, "which really stretched the analogies towards the Roman end of things" -- some material was not kindly received and had to be expurgated. 79

The 'reactionary' Tractarian emphasis on liturgy and aesthetics in the Church included, necessarily, a special interest in songs of worship. There were many hymns written in this period. The famous one by Newman, "Lead Kindly Light", is an example. Frederic Faber, a Tractarian who became a Roman Catholic in the same year as Newman, turned to hymn writing once he had converted. His hymns were, surprisingly, modelled on the Olney Hymns and the Wesleys' writings, the heritage of the Protestant Evangelicals, resulting in songs that Protestants found appropriate. G.B. Tennyson observes that

It is as though in converting to Rome, Faber succeeded in converting also to Evangelicalism. The ultimate and ironic proof of this assertion is that Faber's "Faith of our Fathers", written for Irish Catholics, has been appropriated by the most zealously nonconformist sects as a Protestant hymn! 80

The evangelical element is also present at times in Hopkins' poems, as in, for example, the last stanza of "The Wreck of the Deutschland". Hopkins' concern that English poetry be
founded more solidly on its Saxon roots, and his attempts to put this into practice by the compounding of words and careful use of alliteration is drawn, perhaps, from Faber's similar concern expressed in the preface to his first book of hymns:

As to translation he is speaking of the recent translation of St. Philip Neri's collection of hymns Garden of the Soul they do not express Saxon thoughts and feelings, and consequently the poor do not seem to take to them. 81

Though they are not among his better-known poems -- most have been relegated to the fragments section in Poems -- Hopkins produced a number of hymns himself. He translated four Latin hymns into English verse (nos. 167, 168, 169 and 170) and one of these he further translated into Welsh verse. It is an indication of his ability to control his style that these poems maintain their original simplicity. Among those he wrote himself, one has a smoothness and 'ordinariness' that is so uncharacteristic of Hopkins that his first editor, Robert Bridges, could not accept it as his:

This is ..., in direct and competent imitation of Swinburne: no autograph has been found; and, unless Fr. Hopkins's view of poetic form had been provisionally deranged or suspended, the verses can hardly be attributed to him without some impeachment of his sincerity; and that being altogether above suspicion, I would not yield to the rather strong presumption which their technical skill supplies in favour of his authorship. 82
He concedes that it resembles "Rosa Mystica", but implies that that too is not certainly Hopkins'. Gardner and MacKenzie remain, however, convinced that the two poems are his.

There was one other hymn-writing Tractarian whom we should mention briefly, Edward Caswall. He became a Roman Catholic in 1850. A year before his conversion he published a collection of Latin hymns done into English verse by himself, entitled Lyra Catholica (1849). Once a Roman Catholic he produced three volumes of poetry that carried, in G.B. Tennyson's words, "the Tractarian style into Roman Catholic poetry." The first of these appeared in 1858, the other two in 1865, the latter appearing, therefore, during Hopkins' undergraduate period. One of his pieces was entitled "England's Future Conversion" sharing the concern that Hopkins later expresses in "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No.28). G.B. Tennyson, to quote him yet again, suggests that it would not be surprising to find that he also forms a link between Tractarian devotional poetry and the poetry of Hopkins."83

We find no mention of him in Hopkins' prose, however.

I have touched on Newman sporadically throughout this chapter but with respect to his interest in Herbert I have said virtually nothing. This is because he himself has left no comments concerning his views on that poet. He does have a developed concept of the via media, the presence of which
I have already drawn attention to in Herbert, but there were many writers of the seventeenth century who spoke in these terms. Recall that the tone of his poetry was of a more passionate variety than Keble's: his "practice shows that the Bible and the Prayer Book have thunder in them as well as balm", G.B. Tennyson tells us, adding that he is "not another Herbert, but more than Keble, he recalls some of the seventeenth-century intensity of religious feeling in verse. This is surely true for Hopkins, too. Many call him a Metaphysical poet, but he is certainly a very different kind of poet to Herbert (as Olney so amply demonstrates) however much he enjoyed the latter.

Like Keble, Newman saw literature and religion as inseparable. He equated the religious changes reflected in the Tractarian movement with Sir Walter Scott, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth as much as with Laud, Taylor and other seventeenth-century divines. The significant influence on Newman is Coleridge, and it is quite possible that much that is Coleridgean in Hopkins came to him at "a third rem via Newman. The very idea of religion and poetry being one had been emphasized by Coleridge. The way in which Hopkins captures the phenomenon of unity in diversity in "The Wreck of the Deutschland"—making a chaos of words resolve into only when they spell one Word, the Logos of God—very m
part of Coleridge's poetics as has already been mentioned, is to be found also in Newman. In one essay, speaking of the poetical quality of *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, he observes that "throughout we find but the growing in volume and intensity of one and the same note -- it is a working up of one musical ground, by figure and imitation, into the richness of combined harmony." Later in the same he speaks of poetry as "generalizing from the phenomenon of nature and life", though he is here stressing that the generality presented is not "after an existing pattern, but after a creation of the mind."87 In this latter point he is quite different from Hopkins, who seeks to represent a perception he has had of "an existing pattern" in nature or life.

Newman's poems are not solely devotional in nature. They also frequently have a political or public intent, not unlike the poet-prophets in the Old Testament. It is difficult to find an instance in Herbert apart from his *apologia* for "The British Church" and one small reference to the frivolous expense of King Charles' masques, the "winding stair" of Inigo Jones in "Jordan" [1][XXVII]. But it was a trait in Hopkins, as for example, in the last stanza of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28) where he expresses his longing for the conversion of England: "Our King back, Oh, upon English souls ...," or in "Andromeda" (No. 50) where he tells of "a wilder beast from West than all were, more / Rife in
her wrongs, more lawless, and more lewd" that is now attacking the true Apostolic Church, presumably referring to Protestantism.

The influence of the various Tractarians is evident in Hopkins. W.H. Gardner says that "he, like Patmore and Francis Thompson, was virtually a 'child' of the Oxford Movement." George Herbert was the "Divine Poet" of that movement. It is most probable, therefore, that in following this Anglo-Catholic movement Hopkins would have derived much of his interest in Herbert from the same. This, in turn, would mean that he initially saw Herbert through their eyes, with all their misconceptions of him. A possible indication of this is his association of Herbert with a "Westcountry 'in-stress'", a passage mentioned in the Introduction. Herbert's final parish was at Bemerton, situated in the Western county of Wiltshire near the Salisbury Plain. Unless it is sheer coincidence, the Westcountry seems to have been the Tractarians' Mecca; they were, recall, especially conscious of holy places. Keble's nature poetry in "The Christian Year is gentle and initially unremarkable" "like the landscape of Gloucester and the west country which is the source for most of the nature description." It was to Gloucester that Keble retired at the end of his days in Oxford. Williams, too, retired to Gloucester after failing to succeed Keble as the Oxford Professor of Poetry, and it was there that he wrote
much of his architectural poetry. Could it be that part of the special attraction that the Westcountry offered to the Tractarians was that it had once been Herbert's home? This would then help to explain Hopkins' peculiar feelings for that area.

Among others influential on Hopkins whom we should consider is Ruskin. Hopkins' enthusiasm for architecture owes something to him, as is implied in a note on the emerging styles of his day:

There is now going on what has no parallel that I know of in history of art. Byzantine or Romanesque Architecture started from ruins of Roman, became itself beautiful style, and died, as Ruskin says, only in giving birth to another more beautiful than itself, Gothic ...

Ruskin's Modern Painters (1856) appears on a list of books to read. Elizabeth Schneider, speaking of Hopkins' "employment of imagery for structural purposes" observes that

No doubt Herbert, whose work he knew and loved, influenced him, though his use of imagery for formal design must be mainly owing to his care for "inscape" in painting and nature and to the precepts of Modern Painters.

Hopkins himself mentions 'instress' and 'scape' when referring to a remark by Ruskin, in that same book, about Turner's "Pass of Faido". The unity-in-diversity issue is also to be found in Ruskin in a similar context. J.C.A. Rathmell captures this in her paper on "Hopkins, Ruskin and the Sidney Psalter":

When ... [Hopkins] ... writes that "it is the virtue of design, pattern, or inscape to be
distinctive and it is the vice of distinctiveness to become queer. This vice I cannot have escaped, he is not so much apologising for the oddity of his style, as making a stand against the traditional quantitative verse of such classicists as Arnold and Bridges. Ruskin's formula for the imaginative artist, and it differs profoundly from the "imaginative reason" of Arnold, is that he should see "the essential lines of life, growth and structure beneath all the diversities of natural appearance, and without sacrificing any of those delightful accidents on the way". This is a precise description of Hopkins' process and obviously provided him with a more congenial prescription than Arnold's relatively austere formulation.94

Clearly Hopkins' ideas on 'instress' and 'inscape' are partly an amalgam of contemporary influences -- we have already mentioned Coleridge and Newman in this light -- of which he has made his own unique variety.

It is quite probable, too, that Ruskin has a part to play in Hopkins' use of allegorical readings in his poems. Many of his mature pieces have what he calls 'overthought' and 'underthought', which he saw also in many poems written by others:

in any lyric passage of the tragic poets ... there are -- usually ... -- two strains of thought running together and like counterpointed; the overthought that which everybody, editors, see ...; the other, the underthought, conveyed chiefly in the choice of metaphors etc. used and often only half realised by the poet himself, not necessarily having any connection with the subject in hand but usually having a connection and suggested by some circumstance of the scene or of the story.95

Rathmell quotes from Ruskin's letter to Charles Eliot Norton
(1870) on Hebrew matters: "My long training in the Hebrew myths had at least the advantage of giving this habit of always looking for the underthought." 

Having noted relations between Ruskin and Hopkins we may assume that the former's admiration for Herbert further reinforced the latter's belief in Herbert's qualities. Kent, drawing from John Idol and George Landow, says that "John Ruskin ... found much 'solace' and 'wisdom' in Herbert and ranked him as one of his favourite poets"97, a remark that resembles the numerous ones asserting that Herbert was 'Hopkins' favourite poet.' But Rathmell provides us with the first hand confirmation for Ruskin's attachment to Herbert's poetry that we lack for Hopkins':

In Praeterita Ruskin indicates that as a young man, he had learnt "most of Herbert" by heart and that he was useful to him "above every other teacher".98

Before closing this discussion of Hopkins' literary context and the interest in Herbert prevalent in the nineteenth-century, we should examine one other artistic movement in this mid-century period, that of the Pre-Raphaelites. Ruskin was not one of their number, but his interest in their work did much for their being recognised by critics as significant, and the two had much in common. They make up a large group of artists and writers who were often very different from one another. But there are some common features. As the name
suggests, they looked back to the painters before Raphael, such as Holbein, Giotto, and Fra Angelico, and rediscovered old painting techniques "which enabled them to achieve sharper detail and brighter color." They were a peculiar mix, seeking truth of detail in their portrayal of nature but frequently at the same time giving the same an allegorical or mythical treatment, an artistic duality that they drew from the medieval masters they admired. Hopkins' comment on "medieval keepings" which were indirectly transmitted through the Elizabethans, among whom was included Herbert, seems to owe something to this Pre-Raphaelite interest. The dual function of art is also part of the Tractarians' poetic, as in Williams' architectural poetry and Keble's nature poetry, and, as Alan Heuser points out, part of the Jesuit emblem tradition too -- Hopkins had enjoyed the obscure Jesuit emblem work on St. Stanislaus which he had likened in style to Herbert. Of course, this technique is no different from Ruskin's concept of 'under-thought' that Hopkins shared.

The movement officially began with Dante Gabriel Rossetti forming a group of painters which sought to change the direction of art in the ways above-mentioned. However, Lionel Stevenson identifies one source of inspiration from which an element of their origin was, no doubt, derived:

In Rome [Ford Madox Brown] encountered a peculiar group of German painters who for thirty years
had been trying in a true Romantic spirit to revive the medieval identification of art and Christianity by living under monastic conditions and imitating the religious paintings of the Italian primitives.  

We can see immediately an affinity Hopkins had with these German painters, his liking, as an artist, for Christian asceticism. The Pre-Raphaelites were, Stevenson continues, "devout Christians" with the exception of Dante Rossetti, and it is misleading to see them as an entirely separate group from the Tractarians. Both contributed to the period's ethos from which they both also drank.

The Pre-Raphaelites published their first volumes of poetry in the ten years between 1856-66, and are identified by W.H. Gardner as a crucial part in Hopkins' development:

The best Pre-Raphaelite paintings of Millais, Holman Hunt, and Rossetti are close in spirit, in their feeling for colour and in the exquisite finish of their workmanship, to the finest early lyrics of Tennyson; and all these artists, verbal and graphic, together with the Pre-Raphaelite poetry of the Rossettis, early Morris, early Swinburne, Thomas Woolner, and R.W. Dixon constituted the major contemporary influence in the artistic development of Hopkins during his formative years from 1855 to 1865.

R.W. Dixon and Coventry Patmore corresponded with him through a large part of his adult life and his particular delight in Dixon's poetry is well attested to in his letters to that poet. Earlier in his second volume, Gardner finds evidence of Pre-Raphaelite inspiration in Hopkins:
... from a letter of 1864 we learn that his literary and artistic ambitions had been stimulated by an introduction, "at the Gurneys", to Christina Rossetti, Holman Hunt and George Macdonald; for on the same page he says: "I have now a more rational hope than before of doing something -- in poetry and painting."

And Stevenson remarks upon how the poet's early poems derive much from the Pre-Raphaelites in style, especially "A Vision of Mermaids" (No. 2) which is wholly Pre-Raphaelite in its sensuous detail and lavish use of color.

This group were also admirers of George Herbert. William Dyce painted the well-known "George Herbert at Bemerton", while George Macdonald sounds like Coleridge in his book *England's Antiphon*; I quote from David Kent:

> The "motions" of Herbert's muse may be as "grotesque" as Donne's, in Macdonald's view, but Herbert "is always a gentleman": "We could not bear to part with his most fantastic oddities, they are so interpenetrated with his genius as well as his art".

He was evidently not disturbed by Herbert's wit and praised him for his ability to communicate "feeling", an emphasis that Hopkins would have favoured: "George Herbert goes beyond all that have preceded him, in the expression of feeling as it flows from individual conditions, in the analysis of his own moods."

Of those Pre-Raphaelites whom Hopkins met 'at the Gurneys', the most influential on Hopkins was Christina Rossetti. Her interest in George Herbert contributes a large
and significant part to her own poetry, as Kent so amply
demonstrates in his paper "By thought, word and deed ...". He tells us that she owned a copy of Pickering's edition of
Herbert's works, and that she read it both in a literary way
and "as an act of Christian devotion." Though he suggests
that she was reluctant to be known as an imitator of Herbert,
he mentions that she admitted her poem "Charity" was in imita-
tion of Herbert's "Virtue" (No. LXIII). 109 Herbert's poem
begins:

Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky,
The dew shall weep thy fall to-night;
    For thou must die.

Sweet rose, whose hue angry and brave
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye,
Thy root is ever in its grave
    And thou must die.

And Christina Rossetti's first two stanzas employ the same themes:

I praised the myrtle and the rose,
    At sunrise in their beauty lying:
I passed them at the short-day's close,
    And both were dying.

The summer sun his rays was throwing
    Brightly: yet ere I sought my rest
His last cold ray, more deeply glowing,
    Died in the west. 110

He also points to a resemblance between Herbert's "Easter-
wings" (No. XIII) and her "Ash Wednesday". Herbert's lines
decrease in size as the contemplation of man's original "wealth
and store" turns on his fall to when he eventually "became /
Most poor", and then increases again as the poet considers
Christ's available "victory":

Rossetti borrows part of this [emblematic] technique in her brilliant brief lyric "Ash Wednesday" (W.M.R. 163). The final line in both stanzas in this confessional poem suddenly contracts itself in imitation of the poet's felt impotence to articulate first her guilt and then her gratitude.111

Thus, Christina Rossetti was influenced by Herbert in style as well as in theme; "she learned matters of poetic technique from Herbert, what Forman described as the 'sense of workmanship' he found in her poetry: how to exploit every resource of language -- sound, sense, form -- and to offer these back to God."112 She uses epithets with multiple elements, "Bloom-down-cheeked-peaches" (l. 9 in "Goblin Market") like Herbert, "Christ-side-piercing spear" (in "Prayer" (No. XXI) -- an aspect widely used by Hopkins. Kent notes, too, that the structural arrangement of her poems in Verses (1893) may have been suggested to her by Herbert's Temple113 although, as we have already seen, Keble and Williams had also employed structuring for their anthologies. She exhibits the 'plain style' of Herbert, as Stevenson indicates: "In Christina's poetry one is seldom startled by any conspicuous novelty of form or phrase, rather one is gratified by the effect of effortless rightness."114 But might this be the result of Keble's influence on her? Recall his careful exclusion of signs of artifice. The latter seems more probable, or at least if she
derived this from Herbert she must have read him as a writer who shared Keble's attitude, because her views on the use of wit are typically contemporary. I quote from Kent who begins by conceding Herbert's possible part in her views:

Herbert's distrust of artifice (as exemplified in "Jordan" (No, LXXVII), or at least its abuse, may be behind remarks by Rossetti in The Face of the Deep where she advises the reader to beware "enchantments", "the rapture of poetry", and the "glamour of eloquence" (p. 399). Elsewhere, she seems to go beyond Herbert in berating mere "cleverness in matters poetic" and outlawing puns as "a frivolous crew likely to misbehave unless kept within strict bounds."115

Herbert did keep his 'clevernesses' 'within strict bounds', whereas Christina Rossetti tends to have, like Keble, banished them, although there are instances, as with "Ash Wednesday", when this is not the case.

There is a problem facing those discussing Herbert's influence on Rossetti, a problem which applies as well to Hopkins. Her owning a copy of Herbert's works and her use of it devotionally implies Herbert's direct influence on her. But she was also "a 'child' of the Oxford Movement."116 Some of her ostensibly Herbertian borrowings have been imbibed indirectly through her contemporaries of the Oxford Movement (and also her Pre-Raphaelite relations). G.B. Tennyson says as much:

When one comes upon Christina Rossetti without awareness of the intervention of the Tractarians, one is inclined to think she has sprung full-grown from the brow of George Herbert; yet, when
one comes upon her poetry from an encounter with the Tractarians, one can see that her genesis is of a more conventional kind. He calls her "the true inheritor of the Tractarian devotional mode in poetry." But he agrees that she is "a far finer poet than her Tractarian predecessors, and certainly the seventeenth-century example was more profitably studied by her than by Keble." She was fond of Isaac Williams' poetry, and wrote a commemorative poem in Newman's honour.

Helen Gardner, not on the whole favourable towards the religious poets of the Victorian period, approves reservedly of Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins. Of the former she says that she was deeply pious and found a satisfaction, untroubled by doubts, in High Anglicanism. Yet her poetry is never in danger of oversweetness, because her faith, like..., was a stern one, making high demands and calling for sacrifice; and, along with her sense of the beauty of the world, there went a deep sense of the pathos of its transience and of the unsatisfactoriness of this life. Stern with herself, and disillusioned with the world, Christina Rossetti combines grace and sweetness with an underlying strength. It is here that she touches Hopkins.

She also touches Hopkins in the sense of influence. Stevenson draws attention to Hopkins' recommendation concerning her poem "Mirrors of Life and Death" in a letter to Dixon: "you should see this lovely poem"; and later asserts that "Hopkins' notebooks show that he paid close attention to her technical
idiosyncrasies such as assonance and eye-rhymes."¹²⁰ I think that Stevenson is exaggerating in this latter instance. There are some references to her in his Journals, but the "close attention" Stevenson refers to is a very brief mention of Christina Rossetti together with Mrs. Browning, merely citing them as examples of particular "idiosyncrasies" without evidence of Hopkins' approval¹²¹; indeed there are instances in his letters where he expresses his distaste for eye-rhymes. A second reference to her is about a painting that illustrates her "My heart is like a singing bird", again not indicating interest in her work. There is also a copy of the frontispiece in Goblin Market which does suggest familiarity with that volume of poems; and in a further note in his Journal he records that he took out her Prince's Progress on June 13th, 1866. So he certainly read her work but, and as I hope to show later in the case of Herbert, critics tend to make bold assertions as to the matter of influence that are not well founded. Nevertheless, having qualified the degree involved, some influence must have taken place. His unfinished "A Voice from the World" (No. 81), written as "An answer to Miss Rossetti's 'Convent Threshold'" , was a large project -- he completed some 175 lines. As Stevenson says, the three sonnets entitled ""The Beginning of the End" (No. 14) are in the Rossettian manner" (Christina Rossetti often wrote sonnets in groups),
and her "Repining" does share some elements with "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28): both are based on Christ's paradoxical way of redeeming by destroying; "Repining" includes a tempest scene at sea in which people are helpless; in a later scene of a burning city the women "were mighty as strong men" and they were the ones to pray. The ending of this poem, incidentally, is typically Herbertian. Until this ending the persona has wanted to be with her Lord and out in the world, which she imagines to be "joy perpetual". Now, in a final colloquy, she changes her mind, wanting to go back to the thankless solitary task allotted to her. She has been led patiently by Christ to her proper state of obedience, rather as Herbert's 'weighty' complaint in "The Collar" collapses when God calls him.

The various poets that we have examined contributed to Hopkins' poetical (and religious) development and most read Herbert's poetry in a particularly devotional way, finding in him an unostentatious simplicity, a High Church sensibility, the conduct of a true gentleman, and a quaintness that should be bypassed in order to see his qualities. It would be difficult indeed for Hopkins to have not imbibed this version of how to read Herbert from his contemporaries. He surely read Herbert as a devotional aid initially. But his kindred poetic sensibility, his conceits, the under-and overthought levels
in his poems, his acute sense of the various meanings of words, and his very rigorous, conscious use of metrical variations, make it probable that he grew to a familiarity and understanding of Herbert that extended beyond these other readers we have discussed into a much fuller appreciation of this "divine poet's" serious wit.
CHAPTER TWO

HOPKINS' EARLY POETRY AND HIS 'FAVOURITE' POET

It is generally in Hopkins' early poetry that critics have noticed the influence of Herbert. This chapter will be devoted to this period. His early poetry spans the period from "The Escorial" (No. 1), written when he was sixteen at Highgate School (1860) and for which he won the school prize, to a fragment that is assumed to be a response to Digby Mackworth Dolben's death written in the last quarter of 1867. There then followed what is often called his 'years of silence', after which he began to write what are generally regarded as his mature poems. The period of silence divides poetry that is evidently derivative of a number of poets, from his later work that is consistent in its complexity, intensity of feeling, and compactness, and that is clearly in his own style.

During this early period Hopkins became increasingly more Catholic in his religious practices until he finally, in 1866, went over to Rome. Such a development is also reflected in his poetry. Some of his early poems are secular in subject matter, as for example his competent attempt at a ballad, "The Nightingale" (No. 21), but the majority are, from the start, religious. His first poem, "The Escorial", describes the making of a monastic institution by Philip II of Spain in commemoration of St. Lawrence's martyrdom; and,
though MacKenzie tells us that it reflects a Protestant critique of Spanish Catholicism\(^1\), Hopkins' attention to the ascetic practice of such a faith and its relation to a saint foreshadows his later resolute decision to join the Jesuits.

Hopkins' family was Protestant, but of the High Church, Anglo-Catholic kind. Manley Hopkins, his father, was Consul General for Hawaii from 1856 to 1896, and was "active in London in promoting the Anglican Mission in Hawaii" or rather the "Reformed Catholic Church" as it was more properly called.\(^2\) Manley Hopkins was openly critical of Protestant missionary enterprises in the Hawaiian islands and favourably disposed to the Roman Catholic ones. Alfred Thomas notes that Manley's opinions must have been aired at home and that Gerard could hardly have avoided such influence.\(^3\) The critiques appeared publically in Manley's book, *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and the Future of its Island-Kingdom* (1862) which was published when Gerard was at the impressionable age of 18. Unwittingly, he surely contributed to his son's later conversion. Thus, on his arrival at Oxford, it is not surprising that Hopkins was caught up in the Oxford Movement.

The three poems that can be with certainty dated before his coming to Oxford reveal no signs of George Herbert's influence. The latter two, "A Vision of the Mermaids" (No. 2) and "Winter with the Gulf Stream" (No. 3), are among his sec-
ular poems, both conspicuously Pre-Raphaelite in style and theme. "Spring and Death" (No. 4), though undated, is in handwriting that "suggests 1863." As MacKenzie points out, "it seems a companion piece to No. 3, being exactly the same length, but presenting as a dream a fall-like spring instead of the realities of a mild winter." There is a small possibility that there are in this poem the first glimmerings of Herbert's influence on Hopkins, though the resemblance is admittedly very tenuous. The poem involves a 'visionary' stroll on a spring evening, in which the persona happens upon Death and subsequently converses with him as to why he is at work even in Spring. Death answers, "I mark the flowers ere the prime / Which I may tell at Autumn-time." At this point he disappears: "Ere I had further question made / Death was vanished from the glade." This conversation in a parable-like setting, with the disappearance of an enigmatic character after a very brief answer to the persona's question, resembles that in Herbert's "Redemption" (No. X), though the theme is entirely different. The persona in Herbert's poem sets out to find his landlord to arrange for a new leasehold in exchange for his old unprofitable one. Having found him, his question remains only implied, but his Lord "straight, 'Your suit is granted,' said, and died," again giving a brief, yet complete, answer and "disappearing." Besides this structural similarity there is nothing to suggest Herbert's influence. The theme
of Hopkins' poem is more gothic than anything else. There are hints of Tennyson and Keats, and there is perhaps "a little touch of Harry in the night" (Henry V, Act IV, Cho. 1. 47) in the line "a little sickness in the air." That it has numerous literary echoes suggests that it belongs to the part of 1863 spent at Oxford, a time when his assigned readings would have been varied and more extensive than those encouraged by a school curriculum. It is, thus, my contention that he did not start reading Herbert until he arrived at Oxford, which, in turn, would suggest that he did, indeed, come to know Herbert through the Oxford Movement.

Besides the above-mentioned possible echo, his writings in 1863 -- minimal in any case -- offer no further evidence of Herbert. But the next group of poems recorded in his notebooks in June and July 1864, a short but fruitful time for Hopkins, are noticeably Herbertian. One of these is "Barnfloor and Winepress" (No. 6).

This poem was printed in The Union Review in 1865, produced by an Anglo-Catholic society that Hopkins was involved with, a society that W.H. Gardner tells us aimed "to bring about some form of workable union between a disestablished Church of England and the Church of Rome." But a rough draft of it was first entered in his notebooks in July 1864. It is, as MacKenzie calls it, "a metaphysical religious poem," full of the conceits so common to the Metaphysical poets of the
seventeenth century; for example, "the upper mill-stone", the stone that covered the entrance to Christ's tomb, is a roof for Him that also converts Him into a "heavenly Bread", and later he is a dead vine casually cast aside that develops into a tree eventually linking heaven to earth with its height and covering the entire world with its breadth. Duncan observes that "'Barnfloor and Winepress' resemble Herbert's 'The Bunch of Grapes'"7, and Wendell Johnson says that it is "obviously inspired by George Herbert, probably, as Gardner's note hints, by Herbert's 'The Bunch of Grapes'" 8 Care has been taken in these two comments to avoid asserting that there is a direct borrowing involved.

How clear is the relation between "Barnfloor and Winepress" and "The Bunch of Grapes" (No. C)? They both speak of joy. Hopkins looks to a future joy, the kind that comes with the harvest, and Herbert laments the loss of joy that he has had, and is discouraged by an apparent return to his original condition. Yet both find an intermediary joy, or consolation, in the Eucharist, which is paradoxically a participation in Christ's death and a celebration of the future banquet prepared for all those who follow Christ. Herbert's poem is set in the Old Testament but implies, via typology, the New Testament; Hopkins' poem, despite its introductory Old Testament verse, clearly concerns, and is set in, the New Testament world. They both mention a vine,
but Herbert's is that grown by the first 'post-flood' vintner while Hopkins' is Christ Himself. The Eucharist is merely implied in "The Bunch of Grapes" by the juxtaposition of the two things the poet finds he should bless God for: "Noah's vine" and "Him ... / Who of the law's sour juice sweet wine did make" by this sacrifice. In "Barnfloor and Winepress" it is explicit: "on a thousand altars laid, / Christ our Sacrifice is made!" We should note the distinction between Herbert and Hopkins in their concept of the Eucharist. The former presents it in the context of Christ's crucifixion, an event that occurred only once, of which the Eucharist is a sacramental memorial. The latter views each celebration of the Eucharist as a reenactment of that sacrifice, a view belonging to the Roman Catholic church alone, and possibly espoused by the Anglo-Catholic Tractarians but not by Herbert. It is interesting that Hopkins even by 1864 believed that the Real Presence was the true position with regard to the Eucharist. He had written to E.H. Coleridge in June of the same year that,

> The great aid to belief and object of belief is the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Religion without that is sombre, dangerous, illogical, with that it is -- not to speak of its grand consistency and certainty -- loveable.⁹

If Herbert's poem is a source for Hopkins' poem, which seems likely, Hopkins has deliberately approached the subject
in a very different way and has, by no means, slavishly imitated his forbear. Herbert while appearing to focus on an Old Testament topic, that of the Exodus and the subsequent Israelite wanderings in the wilderness, by using such types as metaphors, is implying the sanctification process that God is working out in him through Christ. He is using what Keble would call "indirection", though his subtle treatment far exceeds the poetic ability of Keble. An example of this subtlety is "the Red Sea" which he has been "brought back to" that is by implication both his own "sea of shame", or sin, and Christ's blood which shames mankind. Furthermore, the line, God's "ancient justice overflows our crimes", refers both to God's final judgement over our deeds and to the awful fact that our sins made God's sacrifice of His Son essential if He is to pardon those sins while still maintaining justice. Thus, Christ's blood, normally seen as a means of mercy, is presented as synonymous with God's justice. The last stanza of "The Bunch of Grapes" pursues the theme in terms of grapes being converted into wine, beginning with Noah's fruit which is fermented, made sour by the law of Moses, and sweetened by Christ's death; thus the drink is finally suitable for consumption at the Eucharist:

But much more Him I must adore
Who of the law's sour juice sweet wine did make,
Even God himself, being pressèd for my sake.
Hopkins is, as we have seen, more direct. The very same image appears in "Barnfloor and Winepress" but is, this time, clearly interpreted for the reader in terms of the Eucharist:

For us by Calvary's distress
The wine was racked from the press;
Now in our altar-vessels stored
Is the sweet Vintage of our Lord.

We ought, however, to concede that, though this latter passage seems to have come from Herbert, the image is one that is frequently found in the Bible. Christ calls Himself the Vine in John 15, and it was He who instituted the drinking of wine as a memorial of His sacrifice. One particular passage, Proverbs 3:9,10, seems to have had a part in the same image:

Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first fruits of all thine increase:
So shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine.
(King James Version).

Even "the first fruits" appear in Hopkins' poem. And Psalm 92:11-13 in the Coverdale Version of the Book of Common Prayer, devotionally read by those of the Oxford Movement, has some echoes:

The righteous shall flourish like a palm-tree:
and shall spread abroad like a cedar in Libanus.
Such as are planted in the house of the Lord:
shall flourish in the court of the house of our God.
They also shall bring forth fruit in their age:
and shall be fat and well-liking.

S.W. Dawson notes that the use of "Libanus" in place of
"Lebanon" is peculiar to the Coverdale Version. The cedar that "spreads abroad" is very like the Tree that Christ becomes on "Easter morn", and as in the psalm the "righteous ... are planted in the house of the Lord" Hopkins speaks of "The field where He has planted us". It is, therefore, possible that Hopkins did not adapt Herbert's poem for his own poem, rather that the two poets were familiar with the Bible, from which both drew their inspiration. It is the failure to take this common source into account that has led James Olney to suggest that there are echoes of Herbert's "The Invitation" (No. CLII) in "Barnfloor and Winepress": the only 'echo' besides the common topic of the Eucharist is the invitation to partake in the feast, a meagre echo indeed. Herbert's invitation, "Come ye hither, all whose taste / Is your waste ...", is drawn from Isaiah 55:1,2:

Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread?

Hopkins', "Ye weary, come into the shade", sounds remotely like Jesus' call to the crowds: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matthew 11: 28). The most striking characteristic of Hopkins' poem is, in fact, its synthesis of Biblical material. Nevertheless, the poem does resemble "The Bunch of Grapes" to a certain
extent, and its style is also similar to Herbert's.

Of all the poems written in June and July 1864, "A Soliloquy of One of the Spies left in the Wilderness" (No. 5), is generally left out of the list of poems showing Herbert's influence. Yet even here there are some plausible echoes from "The Bunch of Grapes". The poem is set in the wilderness. The persona longs to return to Egypt rather than suffer in the arid lands. Herbert's persona is also weary of the suffering but longs for the proper goal, the promised land. Both complain of their present condition of "sands" and "tents", and both seek "the cluster" or, in Hopkins' case, "the full-sapp'd vine-shoot", though the location of each vine is different; the one seeks a worldly vine, the other seeks that promised by God. Again, if Hopkins has indeed been drawing from Herbert's poem for his own, he has chosen a very different approach to the theme. Herbert's persona, though initially complaining, leads himself through his argument to eventual contentment and thereby to the retention of his faith. While Hopkins' persona argues himself further and further into unbelief and thereby into death: "I sicken, I know not why, / And faint as though to die." However, we can easily find the poem's origin in the Book of Exodus in the Bible. The soliloquy-style could well be derived from Shakespeare's plays, in which Hopkins delighted, or alternatively from Browning's
monologues. But because the other poems of this period show the influence of Herbert, the above-mentioned Herbertian elements are probably genuine echoes. And that would not need to exclude the significance of Shakespeare and Browning.

Just after the draft of "Barnfloor and Winepress" there is another poem that deals with the same kind of theme, in again a Metaphysical style, called "New Readings" (No. 7). The theme is that of Christ's sacrifice. MacKenzie says it is "closely related to No. 6 in theme and imagery"\(^{13}\), while Paul Mariani goes so far as to say that it "is, in fact, a reworking of the previous poem."\(^{14}\) The two poems are, really very different. "Barnfloor and Winepress" is both an invitation, or reminder to Christians to partake with joy in the Eucharist, for it is through death that eternal life comes, and also an evangelistic poem calling all those who "on sin's wages starvest" to come under the righteous shade of Christ's Tree. "New Readings" is presented as a personal, interpretative reversal of Christ's parable of the sower, which observes how Christ paradoxically refuted the parable with his actions. Apart from the recurrence of "grapes", "wine" and "thorns" -- and we would expect such recurrences to be almost inevitable in two poems written so close to each other with respect to time and by Christian poets who must present Christ's sacrifice and its paradoxical 'good news' as centrally significant --
there is little to suggest that the latter poem is a "reworking" of the former.

Nevertheless, stylistically they have much in common. Rightly, many attribute the similarities to Herbert's influence. It is in this poem's context that Gardner and MacKenzie mention Addis' comment, and Gardner, in his two volume Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889), A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition, calls "New Readings" the most patently Herbertian of all his verse. He goes on to compare it to "The Bunch of Grapes" and to stanza forty-one of "The Sacrifice" (No. IV). If we were to accept Mariani's view that this poem is a reworking of "Barnfloor and Winepress", we should expect to find echoes of "The Bunch of Grapes" in it! There is little indication of such echoes. Both poems do employ the idea of grapes becoming wine in Christ's Passion, but we have already noted that this is a theme from the Bible, an important source common to the two poets. Perhaps the presentation, in both poems of paradox (again something inherent in Christian theology) might be construed as indicative of a Herbertian echo. In "The Bunch of Grapes" the persona discovers that his loss of joy is actually the gaining of a greater joy disguised by Christ's sufferings and his own sins. In "New Readings" the normally obvious fact that grapes do not grow on thistles is reversed by Christ on the cross, whose drops of blood hanging from his crown of thorns are grapes and wine.
Once again the influence of Herbert's account for the poem's style but not for the choice of images.

Stanza forty-one of "The Sacrifice", on the other hand, does seem to have been the major source for Hopkins' conceits that play with the wine-making process:

Then on my head a crown of thorns I wear;  
For these are all the grapes Sion doth bear,  
Though I my vine planted and watered there:  
Was ever grief like mine?

Every stanza of this poem turns on a paradox and often ties together an Old Testament 'type' with its New Testament realization. In other words, Herbert is, through the persona of Christ, re-reading old parts of the Bible in the new light of Christ's sacrifice. Thus, the relationship between "New Readings" and "The Sacrifice" is a strong one.

"New Readings" is certainly Herbertian but a little ingenuous in comparison, which is to be expected from such a young poet. Herbert usually includes in his poems a second level of meaning which acts as a reinforcing metaphor to the primary argument, as in "Obedience" (No. LXXIX) where he employs legal terminology throughout to reinforce the theme of public, 'written commitment' to his God. Hopkins later manages to do this successfully with the 'underthought' and 'overthought' so characteristic of his mature poems. In "New Readings" though, the analogies drawn are overt and overly
pedantic. Nevertheless, the poem bears the mark of poetic genius, even if it is dwarfed by his later work.

In his notebooks, immediately after the draft of "New Readings", there is another poem, "He hath abolished the old drouth" (No. 8). Gardner and MacKenzie suggest that it is a further part of the former poem. Certainly it shows similar interests. The line "the words are old, the purport new" hearkens back to number seven's title and the substance of that entire poem. The harvest theme occurs in both. In some ways "He hath abolished the old drouth" bears more resemblance to "Barnfloor and Winepress", with its concern with harvesting and garnering, treating saints as sheaves of corn, and the theme of sorrow turned to joy. But the form of this poem is in no way similar to its two predecessors. If it were intended as part of "New Readings", it shows no sign of Herbert's influence, unless the reference to those who "meet the rest on Sion's hill" in "The Size"(No. CIX) underlies the second stanza, "We meet together, you and I ...", but that would be stretching the point. Metrically, it resembles Christina's Rossetti's "The Convent Threshold", using the same irregularity of rhyme. As both S.W. Dawson and N.H. MacKenzie point out, this was the period when Hopkins had begun to write his reply to Rossetti's poem called "A Voice from the World." Dawson notes that Rossetti's poem ends with
the same personal hope of a reunion in heaven,

Look up, rise up: for far above
Our palms are grown, our place is set;
There we shall meet as once we met
And love with old familiar love,

a more probable source than the single line from "The Size" that I offered earlier.

Paul Mariani feels that Hopkins' poem "was probably inspired by a passage from Revelations describing the chosen hundred and forty-four thousand in heavenly bliss, singing a "new song" of praise (Rev. 14:1-4)" but there is not sufficient similarity between the poem and this passage to suggest anything but the faintest influence. However, Biblical borrowings are present in the poem, as we have found to be true in his other poems of this period. In this instance he has 'lifted' two passages verbatim and only adjusted the word order slightly for metrical and rhyming purposes. Line four, "He hath put a new song in my mouth", comes from Psalm 40:3 with no changes. And the final couplet, "When heavenly vales so thick shall stand / With corn that they shall laugh and sing", is taken directly from the Coverdale Version of Psalm 65:14 in the Book of Common Prayer: "... the valleys also shall stand so thick with corn, that they shall laugh and sing." Dawson notes that although the passage in line four is exactly like that in the King James Version, it is also exactly like the Coverdale.
Thus, it is very probable that Hopkins was drawing on his daily readings of the Prayer Book.

The influence of such readings is present in the next poem written in July, "Heaven-Haven" (No. 9), a brief but exquisite piece:

I have desired to go
Where springs not fail,
To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail
And a few lilies blow.

And I have asked to be
Where no storms come,
Where the green swell is in the havens dumb,
And out of the swing of the sea.

In the Prayer Book version of the well-known "they that go down to the sea in ships" psalm (107), we find two verses that Hopkins is perhaps echoing:

For he maketh the storm to cease: so that the waves thereof are still.
Then are they glad, because they are at rest: and so he bringeth them unto the haven where they would be. 24

The King James Version is very similar but replaces the word "rest" with "peace", and since Hopkins' original title for this gem was "Rest", the Coverdale is the more probable source.

This poem has a sub-title too, "A nun takes the veil", which suggests a possible influence of Christina Rossetti's "The Convent Threshold"; her poem was, as we have seen, of interest to Hopkins at the time of his first draft of "Heaven-Haven". Boyd Litzinger is of the opinion that, in its early
draft under the title "Rest", the poem had no intended relation to a nun's vocation. This conclusion is based on the existence of a second poem (No. 88) which expresses the opposite desire (to "Heaven-Haven") for a life of hardship, danger and adventure, "totally inappropriate, even symbolically, for the life of a nun":

I must hunt down the prize
Where my heart lists.
Must see the eagle's bulk, render'd in mists,
    Hang of a treble size.

Must see the waters roll
Where the seas set
Towards wastes where round the ice-blocks tilt and fret
    Not so far from the pole.

This latter piece was originally recorded immediately after "Rest" but when Hopkins had settled on the title "Heaven-Haven" with its sub-title it was not included, and while he revised "Heaven-Haven" he seems to have deserted its counterpart.

Christina Rossetti's influence in this poem may be debatable, but Herbert's seem clear and fairly extensive. The main exhortation in "The Size" (No. CIX) is that the heart be content with little, in anticipation of insurpassable blessings in heaven. "Heaven-haven" expresses a person's positive response to that exhortation, desiring a place where "a few lilies blow." The desire "to go / Where springs not fail" echoes Herbert's advice to "Let the upper springs into the low / Descend and fall, and thou dost flow." The
companion poem (No. 88) presents the opposite desire, to go to sea, face fearful weather, battle one's way to the discovery of the Pole, and, though implied only, enjoy the glory derived from such achievements. The second stanza of "The Size" employs a nautical image too, contrasting the worldly ship laden with luxurious spices to the Christian ship with meagre supplies and with griefs for prevailing winds. This is where we must begin to qualify the degree of influence involved. "Heaven's-Haven"'s nun seeks a peaceful spot "where no storms come", while in Herbert's poem the Christian is warned not to complain of his storms, or rather "grievs". Seen as a contrasting pair, both of Hopkins' poems offer valid goals. The contrasts in "The Size" are between worldly greed and Christian gratitude, with only the latter as a valid goal. There are "frosts and snows" to be endured without complaint, whereas Hopkins offers us the alternatives of conquering the frozen wastes or of retiring "To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail." It is possible that Litzinger's view, that Hopkins did not have a nun in mind when he first wrote his poem as "Rest", is correct; that therefore the first two stanzas presented the equivalent of "the Size"'s worldly temptations and the last two stanzas, now No. 88, were meant to present the true Christian's response of accepting the hardships and challenges of life.
But for Hopkins to have taken a part originally designed to function antithetically in this way and then to have converted it into an expression of a nun's noble aspirations seems too great a jump for him to have made.

What appears to be a simple instance of Herbert's influence on Hopkins quickly becomes unclear. Even the most 'popular' piece of evidence is suspect. Olney, Duncan, and Howarth comment that the title of Hopkins' poem (No. 9) probably derives from the last line of "The Size": "These seas are tears, and heaven the haven." Indeed, Mariani is adamant that this is so. Yet there are other plausible sources for "Heaven-Haven". Howarth also cites Thomas More's "short address to Fortune" written before his execution:

   Trust shall I God, to enter in a while,  
   His haven of heaven sure and uniforme.  
   Ever after thy calm, looke I for a storme.

This is a very probable origin for Hopkins' poem. The title of the poem is there, and both calm and storm are presented as Providential which might have inspired Hopkins' two directions, towards shelter and towards danger. Hopkins had written to Baillie previously about More's execution, as Howarth mentions, "you remember that after More's execution, one of his contemporaries doubted whether to call him a foolish wise man or a wise fool ...". This letter was written a year before Hopkins inserted "Rest" into his notebooks, a time
period between observation and the making of such into a poem that would not, as I have suggested in the first chapter, be an unusual one.

The quest for a source becomes further complicated. Psalm 107:29 and 30, Gardner notes, could well be the precursor for both More's and Hopkins' verses, and, I would add, also for that last line in Herbert's "The Size":

For he maketh the storm to cease: so that the waves thereof are still.
Then are they glad, because they are at rest:
and so he bringeth them unto the haven where they would be. (Coverdale Version).

Furthermore, Hopkins could have invented the title himself. His philological interests are indicated by numerous lists of words which he took to be cognates. The lists later seem to have contributed to the complexities of his mature poems. He must have noticed that "heaven" and "haven" are cognates. This is not to discount the previously discussed influences, but certainly this philological 'source' would have made Herbert's, and More's if he read him, juxtaposition of the two words more alluring to Hopkins.

Again, the companion poem, No. 88, contains the word "size" which an overzealous seeker after Herbert's influence might claim to be an echo of "The Size". But the origin of Hopkins' use evidently is in one of his father's poems, "Clouds". In fact, the two lines, "Must see the eagle's bulk,
render'd in mists, / Hang of a treble size" are closely related to these lines from that poem:

Then chancedly have raised mine eyes
And caught a glimpse of westward skies,
Where hangs mid air and waves the sun,
His chariot-course for this day done.
Like a crowned hero as he dies
He sinks, but gathers treble size ...

Though Manley Hopkins' poems are very mediocre, the simile here is effective, and it is easy to see how Gerard would have been inclined to adopt it.

Hopkins' two poems differ from Herbert's "The Size" in that, as has been discussed, the former each present approved goals while the latter sets good and bad goals in contrasts. Litzinger thinks that "Rest" was never conceived by Hopkins as a part of No. 88, rather No. 88's "stanzas are merely further exercises in the meter of 'Rest' and by no means a part of the 'same emotional idea' or poem." Later, in the same article, Litzinger wonders if "Hopkins was engaging in a typically Tennysonian occupation: surveying and contrasting ways of life open to a man." This was indeed the period when he was an avid reader of Tennyson, and, as Litzinger and MacKenzie both point out, some of "Heaven-Haven" is curiously akin to lines 240-264 of Tennyson's "Morte D'Arthur". I quote from Litzinger:

In these lines the wounded king, waiting to be taken to Avalon, speaks to Bedevere on the efficacy of prayer and concludes with this description of
his intended destination:

"I am going a long way
With these thou seest -- if indeed I go --
(For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)
To the island-valley of Avilion;
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea
Where I will heal me of my grievous wound."

... The verbal and phrasal parallels between these stanzas of "Rest" and the lines quoted from "Morte D'Arthur" are close. The most obvious one is that between "To the island-valley ... / Where falls not hail", and "To fields where flies not the unbridled hail", in which even the word order is almost identical. "Unbridled hail" condenses the fury of the elements described in lines 260-261 of Tennyson's poem, and Hopkins' lily-blown field recalls the deep-meadowed island-valley, with its orchard-lawns and bowery hollows. Further, the step from a crown of summer sea (grass) to the "green water-heads" is not a long one. Again, "dumb havens" and "where gales not cornett" are close to "Nor ever wind blows loudly", the last two even employing negative constructions.34

I have laboured the influence issue in this discussion of one of Hopkins' smallest poems to show how complicated it can become. What initially seems to be a clear case of a contribution from Herbert's poetry, is in the final analysis confusingly attributable to a number of sources. This also illustrates how derivative Hopkins is, at least in his early poems; yet the poem "Heaven-Haven" is exquisite because it has Hopkins' original touch of creative genius -- to have borrowed from others does not mean a poet is unoriginal. It is what he makes of his borrowings that counts.

Hopkins' unfinished reply to Christina Rossetti's
"The Convent Threshold", (see Poems, p. 346) a mammoth undertaking with 175 lines extant, "A Voice from the World" (No. 81), was also begun in the middle of 1864. There are two instances in this 'fragment' where similar lines to those in "Heaven-Haven" appear: when the aspiring nun's lover imagines her words on his behalf pleading that he be given the gift of heaven, since she is already forgiven and her "prize is won" (l. 109); and also that in her lover's complaint:

I storm and shock you. So I fail.
And like a self-outwitted blast
Fling to the convent wicket fast.
Who would not shelter from the hail? (ll. 73-76).

It is tempting to suggest that the presence of these two passages in "A Voice from the World" would mean that Hopkins had always associated "Heaven-Haven" with a nun's desire for the cloister, even when it was called "Rest". But only the first twenty-five lines were recorded in June 1864. The other lines were written between that date and January 1865, so that the above passages would have appeared later while he was revising "Rest" and giving it its new title and sub-title.

There are signs of Herbert's influence in this unfinished poem though they are not echoes but stylistic similarities. Hopkins adopts Herbert's use of gnomic sayings,

Who can but barter slender sums
By slender losses are undone;
They breathe not who are late to run (ll. 146-148),

which might be compared to a number of examples in Herbert's
"The Church Porch" (No. I), for instance that in stanza fifty-six: "who aimeth at the sky / Shoots higher much than he that means a tree"; and for common idioms, such as "Let charity thus begin at home" in line 124, Herbert produces one in "The Size" when treating the "treasures in heaven" theme: "Wouldst thou both eat thy cake, and have it?" The persona of this latter poem counsels his readers to be content with modest portions of joy now, since "hereafter" they "have title to more", and not to complain of present discomforts. The same is expressed by the nun's lover:

O hideous vice to haggle yet
For more with Him who gives thee all,
Freely forgives the monstrous debt!
Having the infinitely great
Therewith to hanker for the small! (ll. 149-153).

That these Herbertian elements are present in the lines written after June 1864 indicates Hopkins' continued interest in Herbert's poetry. Besides a number of fragments, Hopkins only produced one finished poem during the remaining months of this year, "For a Picture of St. Dorothea" (No. 10), and even this he must have felt was unfinished for there exist two other later versions, one of which, (No. 25), is much improved, incorporating early signs of sprung rhythm. The juxtaposition of "sweets for bitter" in its opening stanza recalls perhaps the title of Herbert's poem "Bitter-sweet" (No. CXLII), or even the conceit in the last lines of "The
Bunch of Grapes" (No. C):

But much more Him I must adore
Who of the law's sour juice sweet wine did make,
Even God Himself, being pressed for my sake,
a juxtaposition Hopkins returned to in "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28, stanza 8). A less trivial resemblance to Herbert's poetry is the use of repetition in the second stanza:

Lilies I shew you, lilies none,
None in Caesar's gardens blow, --
And a quince in hand, -- not one
Is set upon your boughs below;
Not set, because their buds not spring;
Spring not, 'cause world is wintering.

The way in which line one is tied to line two by repetition of the word "none", and the same in the last two lines with "not spring" and "spring not" resembles "A Wreath" (No. CLVII), though lacking in the latter's symmetrical consistency:

A wreathed garland of deserved praise,
Of praise deserved, unto thee I give,
I give to thee, who knowest all my ways,
My crooked winding ways . . . .

There are other repetitions in Hopkins' stanza. The rhymes, ababcc, are variations of the same meaning: "none" of line one becomes "not one" in line three and "not spring" in line five becomes "wintering" in line six. The same can be said for the initial words of line five "Not set" which repeat the "not one / Is set" that runs between lines three and four. Hopkins' experiment is not very effective, partly because the technique is wrought at the expense of the content and partly
because it is employed only in the second stanza. In his mature poems, however, he returns to this, using it rather as a composer might orchestrate a single instrument's melody. While one word will reinforce its predecessor with a shared meaning, it will bring also an additional meaning, so that with each new word the complexity builds, as for example in "Spelt form Sibyl's Leaves" (No. 61), in which the evening's "earliest stars, earlstars, stars principal, overbend us".

The inspiration for this technique may well have come from Herbert's witty but otherwise not very successful echo poem, "Heaven" (No. CLXI), a 'dialogue of one':

... Then tell me what is that supreme delight?
   Echo: -- Light.
Light to the mind: what shall the will enjoy?
   Echo: -- Joy.
But are there cares and business with the pleasure?
   Echo: -- Leisure.
Light, joy, and leisure; but shall they persever?
   Echo: -- Ever.

Certainly Hopkins was interested in echoes as a subject for poetry; he wrote his long double poem, "The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo" (No. 59), on the same theme.

In a fragment written between December 1864 and January 1865 (96, vii), the same technique appears: "Boughs being pruned, birds preened, show more fair ... who pare, repair ... ."

These lines which I have quoted sound akin to those in Herbert's "Paradise" (No. CIV), in which the persona accepts God's sharpness because it "shows the sweetest FRIEND: / Such cuttings rather heal than REND", and says
When thou dost greater judgments SPARE,
And with thy knife but prune and PARE,
E'en fruitful trees more fruitful ARE.

But both poems can also be traced to a common Biblical source, that of John 15:1,2 in which Jesus tells his disciples:

I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.
Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. (King James Version).

Once again, the question of Herbert's influence is complicated by the two poets' familiarity with the Bible.

Hopkins' next poem, "Easter Communion" (No. 11), was written in March 1865. Again, it derives some of its material from the Bible. The lines "God shall o'er-brim the measures you have spent / With oil of gladness; for sackcloth and frieze ..." draw upon Psalm 30:11, "Thou hast turned my heaviness into joy: thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness" (Coverdale Version); or perhaps Isaiah 35:10, "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away", for the last lines of the poem, "Lo, God shall strengthen all the feeble knees", has certainly been borrowed from verse three of the same chapter: "Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees" (King James Version). However, he is using these echoes for his own purposes rather than merely
versifying Scripture. The knees that need strengthening are those that have knelt for hours in prayer during Lent, whereas in the Isaiah passage they belonged to God's people who, through the apparent lack of answers to their prayers, are losing faith and thereby strength.

The conceit that Hopkins employs to colour his description of Lenten rigours is of the Metaphysical variety and probably is the fruit of his readings of Herbert's poetry:

You striped in secret with breath-taking whips,
Those crooked rough-scored cheques may be pierced
To crosses meant for Jesus . . . .

It resembles the last lines of "The Cross" (No. CXXXIII):

Ah, my dear Father, ease my smart!
These contrarieties crush me: these cross actions
Do wind a rope about, and cut my heart:
And yet since these thy contradictions
Are properly a cross felt by thy Son,
With but four words, my words, Thy will be done.

Herbert's poem "Jesu" (No. LXXXVII) seems to have contributed too. The persona's heart is broken "all to pieces" in which was to be found "JESU". He painstakingly pieces it all together again to spell "to my broken heart ... I EASE YOU, / And to my whole ... JESU." Hopkins pieces together the welts on the scourged backs of supplicants to mean Jesus' cross.

The poem resembles the earlier "Barnfloor and Wine-press" and "New Readings" in its blend of Biblical and Metaphysical imagery (particularly in Herbert's style), and its interest in God's ability to turn what is now bad into what
will be ultimately beneficial. But there is a much more ascetic tone to this one. Alan Heuser says that "by 1865 Hopkins was an ardent Anglo-Catholic of strict devotion, ... following the ill-starred A.P.C.U. for Anglican-Roman-Orthodox union." And it was in this group's magazine, The Union Review, that Hopkins published "Barnfloor and Winepress" in the same year. March, the month he recorded "Easter Communion", was also the month he had written in his notebooks presumably intending to read them, "Tracts for the Times, Essays and Reviews", the products of the Tractarians. For March 12th he had entered, "A day of the great mercy of God", a comment critics usually cite as indicative of a significant religious experience in his life. And shortly after this he mentions that he "confessed on Saturday, Lady Day, March 25" an activity practiced solely by Anglo- and Roman Catholics. The next poem he wrote was called "To Oxford" (No. 12), the university town eulogised by the Tractarians as mentioned in the last chapter. Thus, by this time Hopkins has become an ardent follower of the Oxford Movement, even tending towards its Roman extreme.

In the same month that he wrote the Oxford sonnet, he also wrote his enigmatic sonnet "Where art thou friend, whom I shall never see" (No. 13). Though there are no notable echoes of Herbert in it, its style is typically 'Herbertian': conversational and abrupt. But, as we have already seen,
Christina Rossetti's poetry had an impact on Hopkins; and this style is also similar to hers, perhaps partly because she, in turn, was influenced by Herbert or because she practiced the 'poetic reserve' of the Tractarians.

This sonnet is almost a good one, though it is marred by an obscurity. Is the persona speaking of a particular friend? If so, who? House suggests that the friend is Digby Dolben, whom Hopkins met only once in February 1865, a young man with a calling towards the priesthood and an Authoritative Church equal if not greater than Hopkins'. Gardner wonders if

It is just possible that this poem was addressed to some fascinating stranger: "His face was fascinating me last term: I generally have one fascination or another on. Sometimes I dislike the faces wh. fascinate me but sometimes much the reverse ...".38

But how can the second line of the sonnet refer to someone Hopkins has once met: "conceiving whom I must conceive amiss"? I find the argument for a real friend as the poem's subject an implausible one, and prefer to read the poem as a general address to the poet's readers, or rather those readers he has never met, "that likest in ...[him]... either that or this." The poem becomes a plea to his unknown readers to surrender to God's pleadings and be saved from the wrath to come. Hopkins assumes that the bliss which inspired him and which was
incorporated in the poem, when it pleases others, brings out virtues in those readers. Thus, he asks that for the sake of these virtues the readers so affected should give the other virtues room "to abound." The poem is Elizabethan in style, particularly like Shakespeare's sonnets, wherein future readers are often included as, for example, in "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" Recall that Hopkins saw Herbert as one of the last 'Elizabethans'.

It has somewhat in common with Herbert's 'sweetened pill' poetic, too. The reader is already one who has heard "the sound of God's dear pleadings [which] have as yet not moved ...[him]"; the poem is intended to be a less direct spiritual call to the reader, appealing to the few virtues he already possesses through the religious pleasure generated by the poem -- an approach endorsed by the Tractarians, as we noted in the previous chapter. George Herbert's opening stanza to his first poem in The Temple, "The Church Porch", says much the same:

Thou, whose sweet youth and early hopes enhance
Thy rate and price, and mark thee for a treasure,
Hearken unto a Verser who may chance
Rhyme thee to good, and make a bait of pleasure:
   A verse may find him, who a sermon flies,
   And turn delight into a sacrifice.

Ultimately, Hopkins' theme probably derives from this late 'Elizabethan', but this is no doubt an instance of influence at a second remove via the Tractarians.
It is of interest that his next poems, three sonnets entitled "The Beginning of the End" (No. 14), are also, according to MacKenzie, "derived from sixteenth-century literature rather than experience." Hopkins wrote seven sonnets (numbers 11-14) in April and May of this year, and it is probable that the 'Elizabethan' poets he was reading were the main incentive to his experiments with this form. Certainly the style in all of these sonnets is of that period. "The Beginning of the End" appears to be conventional love poetry. It is sub-titled "a neglected lover's address to his mistress", and Robert Bridges had once noted "These two sonnets must never be printed" referring to the first and third parts. But as we have shown that the previous poem (No. 13) can be read both as a personal and as a general address, perhaps this trio may be treated similarly. 'Elizabethans' were fond of having double levels in their poems. The final lines of part three provide a simile that is not one normally appropriate for discussing matters of 'carnal' love:

The sceptic disappointment and the loss
A boy feels when the poet he pores upon
Grows less and less sweet to him, and knows no cause,
no doubt a reference to his growing disillusionment with Tennyson's poetry. By ending on this change of focus, he encourages the reader to re-read the trio, this time looking for a possible allegorical equivalent, or "underthought" to
the declared theme. There are indications that Hopkins is growing uneasy about his spiritual condition in this and the following months. I suggest, therefore, that these three sonnets are also intended to be an apology to the Church of England for his being unstoppably drawn towards Rome.\textsuperscript{43}

One fragment (No. 118), written in May also, is almost entirely in Herbert's style:

\begin{quote}
But what indeed is ask'd of me? 
Not this. Some spirits, it is told, 
Have will'd to be disparadised 
For love and greater glory of Christ. 
But I was ignorantly bold 
To dream I dared so much for thee. 
This was not ask'd, but what instead? 
Waking I thought; and it sufficed: 
My hopes and my unworthiness, 
At once perceiv'd, with excess 
Of burden came and bow'd my head.
\end{quote}

It is admittedly written to someone other than Christ, and in that respect it differs from Herbert. But the development of the argument is similar to "The Collar" (No. CXXII), "The Thanksgiving" (No. V), and a number of other poems in \textit{The Temple}. Hopkins begins with bold plans to earn his beloved's total admiration, just as Herbert in "The Thanksgiving" seeks to repay Christ for His Passion. After Herbert's list of equivalent payments there comes the Passion itself, at which point the one redeemed is at a loss, "Then for thy passion; I will do for that -- / Alas, my God, I know not what." Hopkins comes to a similar inadequacy, consequently wakes up
and offers only one thing, his submission:

My hopes and my unworthiness,
At once perceived, with excess
Of burden came and bow'd my head.

The movement from noble, grand intentions to true humility and acceptance of the gift of love is surely drawn from Herbert's poetry.

This brief bout of poetry that is relatively secular proved to be a frustrating direction for Hopkins. "The Alchemist in the City" (No. 15) is a lamentation of one who must "stand by" while

the whole world passes ...
They do not waste their meeted hours,
But men and masters plan and build.

He cannot work on the projects of the worldly, and yet his own pursuits after eternal life seem fruitless to him. Thus, the poem ends on a suicidal note, with his desire to be alone among "ancient mounds that cover bones ... / And silence and a gulf of air", to lay himself down on an altar -- "a long and squared height" -- among "the trees of terebinth and stones" traditionally associated, among the Hebrew, with Satanic religions:

After the sunset I would lie,
And pierce the yellow waxen light
With free long looking, ere I die;

The "yellow waxen light" presumably refers to candle-light.

In June 1865, Hopkins begins to write poetry that is
decidedly more religious. "Myself unholy, from myself unholy" (No. 16) begins in a similar vein to "The Alchemist..." with the poet looking "To the sweet living of my friends." But as the sonnet progresses he notices others' faults, discerning the Fall in all mankind. In his despair he realises that only the "best", Christ, can deliver him from his condition: "No better serves me now, save best; no other / Save Christ: to Christ I look, on Christ I call." Again, the development of argument and *consolatio* is typically 'Elizabethan'; the twelfth line's witty reversal, returning from his peer's sins to his own -- "And so though each have one while I have all" -- would not be out of place in Herbert's work.

The declaration at the end of the poem is more one voiced in faith than one issuing from a present release from his despair and spiritual barrenness. The next sonnet (No. 17) finds winter in spring, the snow and cold preventing growth and germination of sown seeds. The analogy is maintained consistently throughout the poem. Youthful dissipation and lack of commitment to Christ are freezing obstructions, preventing his going out as a labourer into the harvest. Perhaps he is questioning the value of his academic pursuits at Oxford as he seems to also do in "The Alchemist...". Whatever his 'obstructions' are he is clearly becoming more determined, or zealous, in his commitment to Christ, and at the same time
more and more despairing of Christ's grace. One can see in this frustration, the seeds of his defection to Rome, where the grace of God is not, unlike the Protestants, stressed without an equal emphasis on works. A major inspiration for this poem is, as MacKenzie notes, drawn from the reading for June 25 in the Book of Common Prayer, one day before he wrote the poem; it was the parable of the sower. MacKenzie associates "the chill spring" with Hopkins' "anti-Catholic upbringing and wasted opportunities", and goes on to say that

For a year before his reception into the Roman Church he was virtually a Catholic; verbal parallels in a letter of September 1865 suggest that the field of truth to which his feet should have been led (ll. 9, 14) was the Catholic faith (Further Letters, pp. 26, 226-7).44

There are echoes in the imagery and tone from Herbert's "Employment" (No. LIV) in this poem. Herbert wishes he "were an orange-tree" full of fruit, and Hopkins anticipates only a small yield in the distant future, seeing yet not even the first shoots of green. The latter's growth is hampered by a 'freeze' that delays its thawing while the former's hopes of yield are steadily diminished by the creeping cold of age:

But we are still too young or old;  
The man is gone;  
Before we do our wares unfold;  
So we freeze on;  
Until the grave increase our cold.

Both poets stress the desperate brevity of their lives. Hopkins, in drawing from Herbert to some extent, is once again adapting
his predecessor's work for his own purposes. To a certain extent we can see that gradually Hopkins is developing his own style so that Herbert's influence is absorbed and modified more and more towards its becoming invisible. The next poem, "My prayers must meet a brazen heaven" (No. 18), though Olney finds resemblances in it to Herbert's "Denial" (No. LV)\textsuperscript{45} -- and rightly so, for both express the exasperation of unanswered prayer -- has a violent tone more akin to Donne's Holy Sonnets, indicative perhaps of Hopkins' developing Catholic sensibility.

Out of this dark period emerged Hopkins' resolution to be a Roman Catholic. In his notebooks there is an entry almost immediately after his draft of "My prayers must meet a brazen heaven" (Sept. 7), where he notes enthusiastically that "Edward the Confessor had a vision ...". He had been reading of this event in the \textit{Union Review} in an article which interpreted Edward's vision as having to do with the future return of Catholicism to Britain.\textsuperscript{46} From this point onwards the entries in the notebooks often indicate his intention to become a Roman Catholic. On the next page he has copied out Newman's hymn "Lead, Kindly Light", and directly below this is his comment about Fortescue: "Note that if ever I should leave the English Church the fact of Provost Fortescue (Oct. 16 and 18, 1865) is to be got over."\textsuperscript{47}
It is in this context that he wrote most of his remaining early poetry. "Let me be to Thee as the circling bird" (No. 19), was written down in his notebooks on October 22. In it he has "found ... [his] ... music in a common word"; after "Trying each pleasurable throat that sings / And every praised sequence of sweet strings", he chooses the "changeless note" which he "infallibly" prefers. In other words, he is voicing his decision to attach himself to the 'infallible' authority of Rome, with its ancient and unchanging variety of Christianity. The 'common word' is "the dominant of ... [his] ... range and state -- / Love, O my God, to call Thee Love and Love."

Gardner notes the resemblance of Hopkins' last line to some lines by Christina Rossetti: "I, Love am Thine; Thou, Lord my God, art mine" and "Give me thy love -- so be it, my God, my God." But Herbert's influence is significant too. The "changeless note" amongst "every praised sequence of sweet strings" is reminiscent of Herbert's poem "Jordan" (No. LXXVII), in which the poet "sought out quaint words and trim invention ... / Curling with metaphors a plain intention."

The familiar inner voice finally breaks through:

But while I bustled, I might hear a friend Whisper, "How wide is all this long pretence! There is in love a sweetness ready penned: Copy out only that, and save expense."

The 'common word' "Love" is perfectly sufficient poetry on its
own in both Herbert's and Hopkins' poems. The resemblance to Christina Rossetti is merely in the use of repetition, the expression "my God", to be found also in the Bible, and the personification of the attribute 'love', a standard treatment in the Christian Church through the ages. Whereas the echo of Herbert is evidently a genuine one. Furthermore, the musical extended metaphor is particularly Herbertian; and the dissipation of all intricacies, fictions, and conceits at the 'feet' of Love is the meat of one of Herbert's most famous poems "Love"[m] (No. CLXII). "Love"[III] is, appropriately the last poem in The Temple, describing Herbert's moment of true submission to Christ his Lord. Izaak Walton, in his Life of George Herbert (1670), records Herbert's message to Nicholas Ferrar, which was delivered to Mr. Duncan, concerning his poems:

Sir, I pray deliver this little Book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies.49

Thus, Herbert felt no need to write poems once he had subjected himself to the will of Jesus, as is indicated by "Love" [III]. The same might be applied to Hopkins. In "Myself unholy, from
myself unholy" he comes to a single-minded commitment, and in "Let me be to Thee as the circling bird" he indicates that the commitment can, for him, only be worked out in the Roman Catholic Church. This period is Hopkins' equivalent to that represented by Herbert's last poem, and that it was seen by Hopkins in the light of Herbert's submission to Christ is shown by Hopkins' special interest in "Love" during this time. Two years later "he burned some copies of his poems as a symbolic gesture" and perhaps this action was inspired by Herbert's final message to Ferrar, allowing his poems to be burned if his friend felt them to be of no advantage to "any dejected poor soul."

"The Half-way House" (No. 20), written within a few days of number 19, shows signs of Herbert's interest in "Love", as many critics have observed. The persona in Herbert's poem is encouraged to enter Love's house, to sit down and eat. That in Hopkins' poem is bidden to "enter these walls" -- of the Halfway House -- and to partake "in the breaking of bread", to "rest and eat". In both poems the meal is the Eucharist celebration.

Additionally, there are some similarities of design between Herbert's "Redemption" and "The Halfway House". In the latter, the seeker of Love is faced with the impossible task of climbing upwards to overtake her. He, therefore, pleads that Love come to him and at this point receives reply:
"You have your wish; enter these walls, one said: / He is with you in the breaking of the bread." In Herbert's poem, recall, the seeker sets out to find his landlord to negotiate a lease exchange -- law for grace, by analogy -- searching "heaven at his manor" only to be told he has gone below. Upon returning to Earth he finds his Lord; just as with Hopkins' seeker, it is at this point that he receives a reply of the same nature:

At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth
Of thieves and murderers; Here I Him espied,
Who straight, "Your suit is granted," said, and died.

Thus, both search for a new place, the one a manor, and the other a half-way house (which generally refers to a 'pub', where he, too, would doubtless hear "a ragged noise and mirth" ...). Both seek their Master in what seems to be an appropriate realm only to find he has placed himself in a particularly humble position to make himself accessible, by dying among "thieves and murderers" or by being ground into the simple staple of life, bread, and then broken. Both are answered by another with a paradox, for how can a suit granted be made legal by the 'grantor's' death, and how can Love be worth attaining when transformed into corruptible bread? The difference, as we have already seen when examining "Barnfloor and Winepress", between the two poems' outcomes is indicative of
the poets' differing religious affiliations. Herbert, a Protestant, believes that Christ's sacrifice was accomplished "once and for all" at Calvary; Hopkins, privately a Catholic, believes that Christ's death is reenacted at every occasion of "the breaking of the bread". Thus, these poems' seemingly differing outcomes, amount to the same idea, the paradoxical union of Christ with his servants through his death.

The title "Half-way House" is a reference to the Eucharist, which is in an intermediate position between heaven and earth since it is both bread of the earth and Christ's own body. But it also implies a second meaning, which makes it clear to the Victorian reader that the poet is advocating a Roman Catholic view. The term 'half-way house', as MacKenzie tells us, "comes from Newman's statement in Apologia":

there are but two alternatives, the way to Rome, and the way to Atheism: Anglicanism is the halfway house on the one side, and Liberalism is the halfway house on the other.53

Before leaving this poem, there is one further echo of Herbert that ought to be mentioned, that of Hopkins' paradox: "Hear yet my paradox: Love, when all is given, / To see Thee I must see Thee, to love, love". A somewhat wittier variant of this is to be found in "Affliction" [I] (No. XVIII), where again the poet has resolved to seek a new service, but suddenly dissolves: "Ah, my dear God, though I am clean forgot, / Let me not love Thee, if I love Thee not."54 A contributory
source for this paradox is probably also a Greek verse which Hopkins translated and rendered into English verse in March of the same year:

Love me as I love Thee. O double sweet!
But if thou hate me who love thee, albeit
   Even thus I have the better of thee:
Thou canst not hate so much as I do love thee. (No. 161).

Of course the existence of this verse qualifies the extent of Herbert's contribution.

At the end of 1865 Hopkins became more extreme in his self-astringent practices. He entered in his notebooks for Nov. 6, "resolved to give up all beauty until I had His leave for it." And on January of the same year he records his lenten resolves, among which was, "No verses in Passion Week or on Fridays." His next poem, "The Habit of Perfection" (No. 22), which he wrote in January 1866, reflects this heightened asceticism, as may be seen in the following stanzas:

Shape nothing, lips; be lovely-dumb:
It is the shut, the curfew sent
From there where all surrenders come
Which only makes you eloquent.

Be shelled, eyes, with double dark
And find the uncreated light:
This ruck and reel which you remark
Coils, keeps, and teases simple sight.

Palate, the hutch of tasty lust,
Desire not to be rinsed with wine:
The can must be so sweet, the crust
So fresh that comes in fasts divine!

MacKenzie draws attention to the Platonic attitudes that are
adopted in this poem. A physical silence is chosen to facilitate hearing spiritual music. Still lips as signs of surrender become truly "eloquent". And only eyes "shelled ... with double dark" are able to "find the uncreated light". A Platonism which excluded the natural world could never be appealing to Hopkins who particularly flourished spiritually when enjoying the nature he saw and heard. Perhaps this poem was an attempt to put into verse his recent resolve "To give up all beauty", but coming from Hopkins it cannot be construed as a genuine statement.

Giving up aesthetic pleasures for the sake of serving the Master is one of the major themes in The Temple. Herbert begins by offering his poetry as a sweetened spiritual medicine, made palatable and more appealing by the wit and pleasure with which poetry clothes truth. In "Jordan" [I] (No. XXVII) he is beginning to change his view, arguing that the truth is best expressed in the beauty of simplicity. Then, in "The Forerunners" (No. CXLIX), he reluctantly releases his rich array of poetic materials and talents, accepting that "'Thou art still my God' is all that ... [they] ... /

Perhaps with more embellishment can say." He recognises that increasing physical decrepitude, the "bleak paleness" that "chalk[s] the door", allows a growth on the spiritual level, "So all within be livelier than before", the same kind of view expressed in "The Habit of Perfection". The final
relinquishment of artistic ability comes in "Love" [II], wherein the guest's various arguments for why he is not supposed to receive such gracious hospitality are one by one quashed. He is rendered speechless, so to speak, invited to enjoy in the silence of his "no-longer-shaping anything" lips full communion with Love. Herbert, and his reader, has now tasted "The Church's mystical repast" (in "The Superliminare", No. II) which is promised to anyone who, having heard the catechisms of "The Church Porch" avoids profaneness and groans to be "holy, pure and dear." The poems that follow the "Superliminare" describe the sanctification process of the poet, until he is invited to "sit and eat." "The Habit of Perfection" can be read as an affirmative response to the "Superliminare" challenge. But, although Hopkins managed in his later years to simplify and make his poetry less ambiguous to some extent -- witness his terrible sonnets -- it was never in his nature to die to his poetic gifts completely, however much he may have wished it so. The Temple gives a consistent impression that Herbert wrote himself into redundancy by eventually discovering in his own words the true Word of God. Hopkins makes frequent rigorous attempts to cease writing poetry; we have already mentioned one instance. When he became a Roman Catholic he managed not to write poems until 1875 (bar a few exceptions), but throughout this period he mollified his poetic urges by keeping a journal that is
full of word-portraits and descriptions which come short of being defined as poems only because they lack verse-form. Ironically, Herbert's final statement of relinquishment, "Love" [III], is also the occasion for Love to stress the genuine beauty of eyes: the guest protests "Ah, my dear, / I cannot look on Thee," and then "Love took my hand, and smiling, did reply, / Who made the eyes but I?", implying that to call a physical organ of perception unclean and untrue is to say the same about the Creator of that organ. Thus, "Love" [III] is a refutation of the Platonic stance in "The Habit of Perfection". It should be added that the subtlety of Herbert's poem required full use of Herbert's poetic faculties. His dying to art is illusion only, an illusion he consciously cultivated as a poetic theme. Hopkins genuinely tried to die to his art and never came to that revelation that "all things are clean to those that are clean" which Herbert received. He suffered from a nagging guilt in this context. In later life he once wrote that when that rare inspiration came to him, to employ it in the writing of poetry would be sacrilegious.57

"Nondum" (No. 23), Hopkins' next poem, was written in Lent 1866. This, despite its polished eloquence, is a poem that is almost pure Parnassian. Recall that Parnassian poetry, according to Hopkins, can only be written by a poet but lacks the inspiration to give it life. "Nondum" has
Herbert's colloquy style, but after the long complaint it comes to no real resolution, unless it be a personal one for Hopkins himself which we cannot properly share. The tone is tame and wistful compared to, for example, Herbert's "The Collar", which bursts with angry frustration. Hopkins has caught the Tractarian spirit here, rather than his beloved 'Elizabethan' one. There is an implicit acceptance of Church Authority pervading the poem, undercutting any potential for tension. The poem is based on the uncertainty of which church is the true Church, a theme that also generated one of John Donne's greater poems. But, unlike the latter's, Hopkins' effort seems apathetic, the resolution or *consolatio* achieved amounts to waiting on orthodoxy and patience.

This lack of 'inspiration' may have been intended. MacKenzie says that "here he voices the doubts and fears of his contemporaries (from whom he borrows more of his imagery than usual)." In other words, Hopkins is employing a persona who does not express the poet's own assurance of faith. Among the borrowings, MacKenzie mentions Newman's *Apologia*, Keats' "Chapman's Homer", Arnold's "Dover Beach", Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and two passages from the Bible -- Genesis 1:1; Psalm 19. If he is voicing doubts and fears not his own, then we must credit him with successfully capturing the despondent spirit of the age. It is certainly strange that he can "see the glories of the earth / But not the hand that
wrought them all" when much of his later poetry speaks repeatedly of the reverse. And having already decided which church is the true one, he could hardly be struggling with the question over and again.

The poem does not merely reflect the spirit of the age. It is an attempt to bring those who are struggling with the questions about Faith which science has provoked to a commitment to God. Such a use for poetry is in keeping with the Tractarians, who had played a major part in Hopkins' spiritual development. Isaac Williams, whose poetry I have already suggested was influential upon Hopkins, has a representative echo in "Nondum". Stanza five of Hopkins' poem deals with the horrible 'unplumable' depths that the soul can encounter, a theme he returns to in one of his "terrible sonnets":

And still th' abysses infinite  
Surround the peak from which we gaze.  
Deep calls to deep, and blackest night  
Giddies the soul with blinding daze  
That dares to cast its searching sight  
On being's dead and vacant maze.

The passage, previously quoted, from Williams' "A November Scene" (see p. 55) is remarkably similar:

... such thoughts that tempt the soul  
To dizzy crags that look on vacancy,  
And tamper with the infinite, Controul  
Dropping the reign of her blest mastery.

The implication in both these verses is that such quests
after knowledge are follies appropriate to Satan and his consequent fate. Thus, Hopkins includes, as an underthought, a warning to those wallowing in the unbelief so often generated by a scientistic approach to life.

The theme of "Nondum", that of man's inability to see God's Providential hand beyond the phenomenal world or to 'hear' his answers to prayer, is also to be found in Herbert's "The Flower" (No. CXXXIV), the poem Coleridge recommended and which we have already shown to be influential upon Hopkins (see p. 27). The final stanza of Herbert's poem balances God's work in man against man's work against God, the latter is again conceived by the quest for knowledge:

These are thy wonders, Lord of love,
To make us see we are but flowers that glide;
Which when we once can find and prove,
Thou hast a garden for us where to bide.
Who would be more,
Swelling through store,
Forfeit their Paradise by their pride.

Stanza three of "The Flower" seems to have been a favourite of Hopkins. It is echoed in stanza three of "The Wreck of the Deutschland", and it also contributes to stanza seven of "Nondum", though Hopkins removes all ambiguity leaving an entirely pessimistic view, unless he intends Herbert's stanza to be implied:
These are thy wonders, Lord of power,
Killing and quickening, bringing down to Hell
And up to Heaven in an hour;
Making a chiming of a passing bell.
We say amiss,
This or that is;
Thy Word is all, if we could spell,

which becomes in Hopkins' words

My hand upon my lips I lay;
The breast's desponding sob I quell;
I move along life's tomb-decked way
And listen to the passing bell
Summoning men from speechless day
To death's more silent, darker spell.

There are also resemblances to Herbert's "The Search" (No. CXXXI) in "Nondum" as Olney notes. Both poems involve a persona calling out to "a God that hidest Thyself". In "The Search", Herbert complains that,

My knees pierce the earth, mine eyes the sky;
And yet the sphere
And centre both to me deny
That thou art there,

and he, in "Nondum", has a similar distress:

God, though to thee our psalm we raise
No answering voice comes from the skies;
To Thee the trembling sinner prays
But no forgiving voice replies.

Furthermore, the former's words have a second meaning besides the unanswered-prayer "syndrome", the inability to discern the Maker behind "the glories of the earth" and "the myriad worlds" to which "Night ... gives birth" ("Nondum", ll. 7,9); he "can ... mark how herbs below / Grow green and gay" and "how stars above / Simper and shine" yet "both ... deny /
That ...[He is]... there."

The eleventh stanza of "The Search" employs that more typically Donnean conceit of the relation between microcosm and macrocosm:

Thy will such a strange distance is,
   As that to it
East and West touch, the poles do kiss,
   And parallels meet.

A substantial Hopkins fragment (No. 130), written in January 1866, opens with the lines that may well have been inspired by the above:

The earth and heaven, so little known,
   Are measured outwards from my breast.
I am the midst of every zone
   And justify the East and West.

There is a possibility that this fragment was intended to be a part of "The Alchemist in the City" (No. 15).61 The stanzas are of the same length and metre, and in both the persona stands still in perplexity while the world around him is in constant flux. "The Alchemist..." focuses on the city, ending with an eulogy to the pleasures of tranquil nature that lie beyond the city. The fragment concentrates on the busy natural world where, again, the persona feels out of place. Since it begins with the microcosm and macrocosm claim, the fragment is possibly a record of Christ in His loneliness amongst what He has spoken into existence and come to redeem. If this be so, the apparently suicidal
ending of "The Alchemist ..." can be construed rather as Christ expressing His sacrificial aim. The image of Christ as an alchemist is one used by Herbert in "The Elixir" and it is frequently found in the Bible in the limited sense of one who purifies gold with fire.

Though the year is not certain, Hopkins' poem "Easter" (No. 24) is generally assumed to have been written in 1866 for Easter. Gardner compares this poem unfavourably with Herbert's two Easter poems (Nos. XII and XIII), saying it "lacks the tender personal quality and rhythmic variety of Herbert's two Easter poems." This is not very fair, in my opinion, because Herbert's two are so different from Hopkins' poem, although Mariani includes "Easter" in his list of Hopkins' poems that have been influenced by Herbert. Perhaps he is noticing the strongly Biblical flavour in Hopkins' poem and, finding a similar flavour in many of Herbert's poems, confusing the source of the various echoes. I find absolutely nothing of Herbert in the poem, except the word "box" which is too common a word to be anything more than a normal member of an English speaker's vocabulary.

The poem is strikingly formal and almost childish in its simplicity, neither qualities very characteristic of Hopkins, hence Gardner's poor opinion of the poem. It is
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evidently a hymn, in the Tractarian style. It seems to me that it was written as an answer to the lenten poem of despair, "Nondum", since it offers such a contrasting confident and jubilant exhortation.

Hopkins "was finally convinced of the Catholic position in July" of the same year, and then in October he was formally received into the Roman Church by Newman. The change marked an end to his poetic output until his time at St. Beuno in 1875. There were, however, besides two celebratory poems which are undated but placed in the early 1870's by Gardner and MacKenzie, a number of fragments produced within the next two years. Among these there is one which is assumed by many to have been written in response to the death of Hopkins' fellow Catholic convert, Digby Dolben, whose similar religious aspirations seem to have been a source of encouragement to Hopkins. He had received a letter from Dolben on November 6th, 1866 with delight. Dolben died the following year before being officially brought into the Roman Catholic Church. The fragment, if indeed it should be called such for it is complete despite its brevity, was written in September 1867 and is notably in Herbert's style:

Not kind! to freeze me with forecast,
Dear grace and girder of mine and me.
You to be gone and I lag last --
Not I nor heaven would have it be.
It is regrettable that this piece has been relegated to the fragment section of Poems, for it is a beautiful verse, concise, evocative of a sense of grief, and showing the controlled assonance and alliteration that so proliferated in Hopkins' later poems. Although it is in Herbert's style it betrays no direct echoes from Herbert's poems. Hopkins has begun, by this time, to be capable of writing poetry that is his own, that, though it may share stylistic or thematic features with other poets, is rarely derivative. Most of these early poems that we have examined have tended to be somewhat derivative, especially the first few. Yet even in these we have seen, by focusing on his use of Herbert's poetry, that Hopkins usually treats what he 'borrows' in a new way that is more truly his own. The exceptions to this are his inclusions of Biblical materials, which he may alter syntactically, but always careful to preserve the original meaning.

The period we have examined would be expected to yield poems that are rather more 'Parnassian', or derivative, than inspired. They are the fruit of Hopkins' formative years. The last piece we have considered was written when he was only twenty-three and the first when he was a mere sixteen. It is a point in his favour that these are often better than mediocre.
MacKenzie and Mariani among others, are conservative when identifying early poems that betray Herbert's influence, both listing "Barnfloor and Winepress", "New Readings" and "Heaven-Haven", with the latter adding "Easter". Elizabeth Schneider is much more sweeping. After excluding "The Escorial", "A Vision of Mermaiđs", "Winter with the Gulf Stream", "A Soliloquy of One of the Spies ...", and "The Alchemist in the City", she indicates the "other early pieces appear to be conscious imitations of the deliberately quaint ingenuities of George Herbert, whom Hopkins always admired." As we have seen during the course of this chapter, Schneider is closer to the truth. The majority of Hopkins' early poetic works show signs of Herbert's influence, and in some cases he has consciously borrowed from The Temple, though using such material in a novel way as I have already mentioned. At times, echoes of Herbert claimed by critics are questionable. Problems arise particularly when both poets have drawn from their common Biblical backgrounds. And there are always the Tractarian and Pre-Raphaelite influences, mediating Herbert's influence on Hopkins, to be allowed for.

Mariani is one of many who comment on "the Pre-Raphaelite tone and diction" of Hopkins' early poetry. He says though that "George Herbert is the most noticeable religious influence, strong enough to break through Christina
Rossetti's suffusing ambience ... Hopkins' own epithet for the peculiar characteristic of Herbert's poetry is 'fragrant sweetness'. And it is certainly this characteristic which is stressed in the early poems." He goes on to comment appropriately on the problematic diction of the poetry:

it is in a curious middle-high register, a dreamy mixture of the sensuous and the moral. It suffers, in fact, from what Hopkins would later come to call medieval keepings. Experience is filtered through a rosy, aureate tapestry whose warp is Christina Rossetti and Tennyson, and whose woof is Herbert, blended under their common strand of goodness and sweetness ... 

Olney is a little less sympathetic towards these impressive first poems with their Herbertian flavour:

it must be recognised that these early poems, in which Herbert's spirit is immediately discerned, are not Hopkins' best or most characteristic poems. Biographically Hopkins' Anglicanising represents an important stage in his spiritual refinement; poetically it is of considerably less importance. We do not value Hopkins' poems for their Anglican spirit or for their recall of George Herbert. Hopkins offers us something very different and very much more individual than a reworking, in Herbert's terms, of Herbert's themes.

We may grant that Olney is correct in preferring Hopkins' mature poems over these that "recall ... George Herbert", but he errs in equating Herbert with an "Anglicanising" phase in Hopkins' life. Hopkins was born an Anglican, and by no means one of the low church variety. As we have seen,
the period of time in which he wrote his Herbertian poems was the time when he was becoming more and more Roman Catholic. Terence Heywood's observation is more to the point:

It is easy to imagine how congenial the poet who called his Temple "a picture of many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul" must have been to him about the time of his conversion. And it is from this period that we have the group of devotional poems in Herbert's manner.70

Hopkins first encountered Herbert as an Anglican, probably through the Tractarians. Yet his interest in the 'Elizabethan' poet remains with him throughout his conversion to the Church of Rome, and it is evident even after that, as is indicated by the brief lines probably on Dolben's death written in 1867. But this last piece, though it is in Herbert's style, lacks the typical argument that resolves itself which is so familiar to readers of Herbert. Instead, the poem consists solely of a complaint, an expression of feeling to God, and thereby shows its kinship with the Tractarian poets, especially Newman. Heywood, in the same article says of those poems that Hopkins wrote after his years of silence,

The later Hopkins, as we might expect, has moved beyond Herbert; there is a difference in the devotional attitude (a greater reliance on the reason and will); there is a greater complexity and profundity; more passion, intellect,
colour; and a far greater intensity in the pressure and fusion of his images. And we have noted this tendency to move beyond Herbert already present and developing in the latter of these early poems.
Heywood, in the passage I quoted at the end of the previous chapter, indicates that the later Hopkins 'grew out' of Herbert. But he adds that "Herbert, however, appears to have had a lasting influence, spiritual as well as technical." It is the extent of this lasting influence that we shall consider in this chapter.

Hopkins' early poetry is, as we have already demonstrated, derivative. It is noticeably tied to Biblical imagery and themes, reflecting the Protestant Christianity under which he sheltered before officially turning to the Roman Church. Protestants are commonly careful adherents of God's inspired Word and, as the profusion of denominations indicates, not inclined to grant equal authority to Church leaders in decisions concerning matters spiritual and doctrinal. When Hopkins became a Catholic, he accepted the infallibility of papal authority, and eventually the Jesuit Rule, and the Bible, therefore, became a less prominent influence upon him. Similarly, the Book of Common Prayer was, no doubt, largely put aside, and replaced by Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises. The change from a relatively free religious practice to a very rigorous and restrictive one seems to have had the surprisingly obverse effect of releasing Hopkins from the artificiality
of his early poems. His mature poetry evokes uncontrolled potency and fulness of life. The dominance of Biblical authority seems to have cramped his style. Now that it was less central for him, he could turn to that other source, the Creation, and it was here that he evidently found his element. Thus, his conversion to Catholicism contributed significantly to the leap he made from writing 'Parnassian' verse to writing 'inspired' verse.

The sudden change of his creative capabilities from "Nondum" to "The Wreck of the Deutschland" is remarkable. However, the suddenness is illusory; in his journals which he began upon leaving Oxford (after his conversion), he wrote numerous descriptive passages about flowers, natural patterns, and other subjects for an artist's eye which are only not poems because they lack verse-form. Though he produced virtually no poems during his period of silence, he had had plenty of practice in seeing things poetically and in working with words in like manner.

Olney is of the opinion that George Herbert ceased to be a significant influence on Hopkins, once he had converted. In view of the above observations on how the Bible's influence became less prominent in Hopkins' life as a Catholic, Olney's opinion would seem the most reasonable one. Yet, as we shall see, Herbert's influence continues unabated.
throughout his mature poems. A few have nothing of Herbert in them, but in the majority there are echoes or stylistic similarities.

An important factor in Hopkins' remarkable poetical improvement, and also in his continued interest as a Catholic in Herbert's Anglican poetry, is the revival of interest in the Metaphysical poets that emerged in the 1870's while Hopkins was in his 'period of silence'. T.S. Eliot saw Metaphysical poets as direct descendants of their Elizabethan poetic predecessors, inheriting and employing their techniques. There was a continuity of tradition then. In the mid-seventeenth century, poets, according to him, began to lose the ability to produce poems that were simultaneously expressive of feeling and intellectual. This 'dissociation' developed into the Romantics' poetic of genius being measured by spontaneity and fulness of feeling. The thoughtful crafting involved in poetry was downplayed (see part I of chapter 1). Eliot thought that this problem was only dissolved in his own time by a renewed interest in the Metaphysicals and the subsequent return to a similar poetic in the poetry of the early twentieth century.

He was not, however, the first to comment on this. A.B. Grosart in the early 1870's was one of the first critics to discover in metaphysical poetry a dynamic process in which
thought and feeling were merging into one another. He denied the contention of many earlier critics that thought clogged the flow of feeling, and began to investigate the way in which thought and feeling fused and formed a new whole.⁴

Revival of interest in Herbert had begun with Coleridge and by 1870, after a number of years under the Oxford Movement's patronage, his works were already popular. Yet both Rathmell and Duncan tell us that the other Metaphysical poets were little read until Grosart's work. "Between 1870 and 1875 he brought out new editions from the original manuscripts of Southwell, Crashaw, Marvell, Donne, Vaughan, Herbert and Sidney."⁵ It is the thesis of Duncan's book that the revival of interest in Metaphysical poetry began in the 1870's not in the twentieth century.

This revival coincides with Hopkins' silent period. It might be argued by some, though, that Hopkins as a Jesuit was out of touch with literary fashions. But the reverse would be closer to the truth. As Rathmell points out

In 1871 ... [Grosart] ... was working on the Stonyhurst manuscript of Southwell whilst Hopkins was at that seminary; and in 1872 the Catholic periodical, The Month, which was later to reject "The Wreck of the Deutschland", devoted several pages to notices of Grosart's edition of Southwell and Crashaw.⁶

Thus, Hopkins must have been exposed to Metaphysical poets other than Herbert in this period, some of whom he had, perhaps, never encountered before.
With Hopkins as a Catholic we might expect Herbert to fall into his disfavour, to be replaced by poets who were suitably Catholic such as Crashaw and Southwell, or even Donne whose poetry despite that writer's apostasy to the Anglican Church remained Catholic in tone. These poets were among Grosart's recoveries. But Hopkins never mentions Crashaw or Donne. And Southwell, to him, was "a minor poet but still a poet." Nevertheless, there are evidences that Donne and Crashaw made their mark upon him. "Rosa Mystica" (No. 27), which MacKenzie tentatively dates as 1874, is reminiscent of the extreme stretching that Crashaw inflicts on his conceits, as for example in "The Weeper." "The Blessed Virgin compared to the Air we Breathe" (No. 60) can be compared to Donne's "Aire & Angels", as Duncan observes.

The Protestant poets, on the other hand, receive Hopkins' admiration:

Marvel, of whom I have only read extracts, is a most rich and nervous poet. Thomas Vaughan's poems were reprinted not so long ago. He was a follower of Herbert both in life and style; he was in fact converted from worldly courses by reading Herbert's poems on a sickbed and even his nurse underwent a conversion (for he had written before). He has more glow and freedom than Herbert but less fragrant sweetness. Still I do not think him Herbert's equal.

The little he read of Marvell's poetry pleased him and he praises Vaughan's work. Yet, Herbert remains superior, "his favourite." The above was written in 1879, as was his com-
ment to Bridges about Herbert and his poems' "Westcountry 'instress'." The other two references to Herbert in Hopkins' correspondence appear in a letter to Dixon in 1881 (see my Introduction). All come after this revival is underway.

Among Anglicans in Hopkins' time, at least among those within the Oxford Movement, Catholic devotional literature was often placed on an equal footing with Anglican material. They practiced what Helen Gardner calls "devout eclecticism." The same was true for those in the Catholic Revival, which was intimately linked to the Oxford Movement. Francis Thompson, a Catholic poet, wrote critical essays on Herbert, Crashaw, Cowley, and Marvell, and thus, contributed to the renewed interest in these poets. Duncan tells us that Thompson was not impressed by the poetry of Crashaw, Donne or Cowley, an attitude we may suspect Hopkins shared. Whereas Herbert impressed him: "He asserted that Herbert leavened 'daily bread with mysticism' and blended 'the subtleties of spiritualities with a homely practicality, a Teutonic common sense'." And of Herbert's influence on this poet, Duncan says:

A wide chasm separates the controlled, contained calm of Herbert's lyrics and the precipitate prodigality of Thompson's odes. While Herbert was satisfied with a star, Thompson wanted a sky-rocket. Yet when Thompson's metaphysical figures are not
distinctly his own, they are most frequently like those of Herbert.¹⁴

There is, therefore, ample justification for Hopkins to continue in his enjoyment of Herbert and other Anglican Metaphysical poets. Perhaps, with the revival of the other Metaphysical poets he now saw greater quality in Herbert.

The writing of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28) marked an end to Hopkins' period of silence. It was the fruit, in part, of his numerous wordpaintings in his journals but also, it seems, of his readings of the poets promoted by Grosart. Donne's influence is indicated in this poem. Margaret Willy compares Hopkins' "Thou hast, bones and veins in me, fastened flesh" (st. 1) with Donne's "A Valediction: of my Name in the Window":

The rafters of my body, bone
... the Muscle, Sinew, and Vein,
Which tile this house.¹⁵

Johnson observes that "stanzas nine and ten... are reminiscent of the Metaphysical poets, and more, perhaps of the violent Donne than of Hopkins' favorite Herbert" and then cites

Be adored among men,
God, three-numbered form;
Wrting thy rebel, dogged in den,
Man's malice, with wrecking and storm. (st. 9).

This latter instance is more an example of resemblance in style than an echo. We have earlier noted that Hopkins' style often shares in Donne's violence of tone.

It is in this same stanza that Duncan, while talking
of Hopkins' use of "passionate paradox" and citing the lines "Thou art lightning and love, I found it, a winter warm", finds echoes of Crashaw, whose lines "Summer in Winter! Day in Night! / Heaven in Earth! and God in Man!" function almost as a commentary on Hopkins' 'a winter and warm', explaining the significance of the paradox by putting it in its traditional Christian context. Yet this paradox could equally well have been inspired by lines in Herbert's "Sighs and Groans" (No. LVIII),

    Thou art both Judge and Savior, feast and rod,
    Cordial and Corrosive: put not thy hand
    Into the bitter box; but O my God,
    My God, relieve me,

as Ritz suggests. The phrase "winter and warm" may not appear in Herbert's lines, but the pairing of paradoxes with the connective "and", allowing for a more balanced ambivalence than in Crashaw's pairs, common to both Herbert's and Hopkins' lines, makes Herbert's influence here more plausible than Crashaw's, or, at the least, more significant.

The poem is bristling with echoes from Herbert's poetry. Many are cited by Hopkins' modern-day critics. Gardner points out to us that "in one of ... [Herbert's] ... shorter poems, "The Storm", we find a concise statement of the central ethical theme of Hopkins' two poems of shipwreck:

    tempestuous times
    Amaze poor mortals and object their crimes."
Poets have wronged poor storms: such days are best,
They purge the air without; within, the breast.\textsuperscript{18}

Ritz, on the same subject, mentions the line from "The Bag", "storms are the triumph of his art."\textsuperscript{19} Gardner also notes that "the image, in 'The Deutschland', of the sloe which flushes the man with its 'sour or sweet' might have been suggested by" Herbert's poem "Bitter-Sweet" (No. CXLII):\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{quote}
Ah, my dear angry Lord,
Since thou dost love, yet strike;
Cast down, yet help afford;
Sure I will do the like.

I will complain, yet praise;
I will bewail, approve
And all my sour-sweet days
I will lament, and love,
\end{quote}

a poem which again turns on the paradox so crucial in Hopkins' poem, that of a God who is both "winter and warm."

Sometimes echoes claimed are not very convincing. MacKenzie implies an echo in the lines in stanza twenty-six, "Blue-beating and hoary-glow height; or night, still higher, / With belled fire and the moth-soft Milky Way," when he comments in this context that "Herbert, once his favourite poet, spoke of prayer as 'Church-bells beyond the stars heard'"\textsuperscript{21} ("Prayer"[I] No. XXI). The connection is not easily perceived nor is it very credible. Duncan says cautiously that "Hopkins apparently took ... an allusion at the close of "The Wreck..." "Remember us in the roads, the heaven-haven of the reward" from 'heav'n the haven' in Herbert's "The Size"."\textsuperscript{22} We have
already discussed the difficulties involved in linking Herbert's "The Size" to the title of "Heaven-haven" (see pp. 91-96), and the same must apply here. The phrase is, indeed, drawn from Hopkins' earlier poem, for just before his draft of "Heaven-Haven" (1864) in his notebooks he had entered the following lines:

... His ill-launched hope
In unimperilled roads is wreck'd.

which are clearly precursory to that "allusion at the close of "'The Wreck'."

Hopkins' poem ends with a grand flourish, in a long string of multiple epithets for Christ: "Ride, rose, prince, hero of us, high-priest, / Our heart's charity's hearth's fire, our thoughts' chivalry's throng's Lord." Stylistically, this recalls Herbert's compendium of definitions for prayer in "Prayer"[1] (No. XXI). Duncan identifies the same in the last line of stanza four: "The series of short metaphors at the end of the stanza suggests the close of Herbert's 'Prayer' I, 'Church-bells beyond the starres heard, the souls bloud, / The land of spices; something understood.'"

He argues convincingly that "Hopkins had this passage in mind for at the end of the next stanza he wrote that he blessed God when he understood." This then makes MacKenzie's suggested echo more plausible.

Stanza four consists of one of Hopkins' most typically
Metaphysical conceits. Its paradoxical dual function -- the hourglass tells the dwindling time of the Christian's life as it returns to dust while the well within nurtures and secures his unchangeable spiritual life -- is Hopkins' own invention. But the treatment of man in his mortality as an hourglass is also to be found in Herbert's poem "Church Monuments" (No. XXXVII):

Dear flesh, while I do pray, learn here thy stem
And true descent; that when thou shalt grow fat,
And wanton in thy cravings, thou mayst know,
That flesh is but the glass, which holds the dust
That measures all our time; which also shall
Be crumbled into dust.24

The relation between the two passages is clear, or at least it seems to be. Unfortunately, not even this is so simply resolved. Gardner finds "a comparison between man's life and an hourglass" in one of Francis Quarles' poems. He builds his case on echoes in other parts of "The Wreck...":

That image, in "The Deutschland", of the soul hunted by God ... was anticipated in George Herbert's "Temptation" (Stanza 1) [No poem by Herbert has this title. Presumably he is referring to the line "Lord, hunt me not" in "Affliction" IV (No. LXV)] but more remarkably in a poem by Francis Quarles:

"O whither shall I fly; what path untrod
Shall I seek out to 'scape the flaming rod
Of my offended, of my angry God?"

It is difficult to resist the inference that stanza 3 of "The Deutschland" is an unconscious but more intense and dramatic refashioning of Quarles' last two stanzas:

If not to thee, where—whither—should I go?

Then work thy will. If passion bid me flee
My reason shall obey; my wings shall be
Stretched out no further than from thee to thee." (Emblems edn. of 1833, Book III, No. 12).

(The genuineness of Quarles' influence in this instance would not negate the evidently different echoes from Herbert's "The Flower" which we examined in Chapter one [see pp. 26, 27].

Gardner adds that Quarles cites his source for this as St. Augustine's version of Psalm 33; it is possible that Hopkins had drawn from the same, rather than from Quarles' poem.

From this discussion Gardner moves to the hourglass image:

There is some evidence, based on 'association of ideas', that Hopkins had read the selection from Quarles in vol. xxi of The Sacred Classics (ed. Cattermole and Stebbing, 1835), pp. 191-7. The above poem stands third, and the very next opens with a comparison between man's life and an hourglass; so also do the next stanza of "The Deutschland"...

However, we have seen that Hopkins' source for stanza three could also be from either Augustine, whom he surely read while preparing for the priesthood, or even the Bible. Quarles' metaphor in the succeeding poem of Cattermole's selection is probably, with regard to Hopkins' metaphor, coincidental. Herbert's poem "Church Monuments" offers the more convincing source, but it, too, remains an uncertain one and, thus, must be qualified by that in Quarles' poem.26

The problem of having more than one source for something written by Hopkins is a frequent one. Our earlier consideration of "Heaven-Haven" illustrated this. It could
mean that Hopkins has reinvented the metaphor, that the earlier instances are coincidentally similar. Alternatively, it might be that he has read all the sources; the image in question would then be reinforced by the repetition in his mind, and the 'honour' due would have to be shared. In Hopkins' "The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo" (No. 59), written much later when he was at Stonyhurst (1882), there is another instance of dual origin. (We mentioned earlier that Hopkins has employed Herbert's echo technique in this poem [see p. 100].) Gardner, considering Hopkins' line, "... these most mournful messengers, sad and stealing messengers of grey", cites two lines written by Lord Vaux: "These hairs of age are messengers / Which bid me fast, repent, and pray." But the lines in Herbert's "The Forerunners" (No. CXLIX) are also a potential source, "The harbingers are come. See, see their mark; / White is their colour, and behold my head." The 'key' theme in Hopkins' poem of giving up beauty is the same one examined in "The Forerunners". In Herbert's poem the loss of attractive externals, of the poet's person and of his poems, is replaced with a development in the more important inner, spiritual life of the poet:

Yet if you go, I pass not; take your way: For, Thou art still my God, is all that ye Perhaps with more embellishment can say. Go birds of spring: let winter have his fee; Let a bleak paleness chalk the door, So all within be lively than before.
Hopkins, too, regrets in "The Leaden Echo" the "vanishing away" of all beauty, that there is no way to hold on to such, "Nor can you long be, what you now are, called fair."

In "The Golden Echo", though, he realizes that it is wisest to cheerfully resign them, sign them, seal them, motion them with breath, and with sighs soaring, soaring sighs, deliver them...

Give beauty back, beauty, beauty, beauty, back to God, beauty's self and beauty's giver, because God has promised that "the thing we freely forfeit is kept with fonder a care, / Fonder a care kept than we could have kept it...", Yonder. Herbert's poem appears to have provided substantial inspiration for this one by Hopkins. It is possible that Lord Vaux's image was the source for Herbert's, from where it was then passed on to Hopkins. But it is equally possible that Hopkins was familiar with both.

The echoes of Herbert we have considered in "The Wreck..." are only a select few of those that can be identified. There are also many in the other poems that Hopkins wrote while at St. Beuno. That notably Pre-Raphaelite sonnet, "The Starlight Night" (No. 32) admonishes the reader to look at the stars! look, look up at the skies!... Ah well! it is all a purchase, all is a prize.

Buy then! bid then -- What? -- Prayer, patience, alms, vow A stanza in Herbert's "Misery" (No. LXXVI) goads the reader in a similar direction:
Oh foolish man! where are thine eyes?
How hast thou lost them in a crowd of cares?
Thou pull'st the rug, and wilt not rise,
No, not to purchase the whole pack of stars;
There let them shine,
Thou must go to sleep or dine.

But there is another passage in Herbert's "The Church Porch" (stanza 29) which Robert Bridges has identified:

Raise thy head;
Take stars for money; stars not to be told
By any art, yet to be purchased;

this bears a closer resemblance to Hopkins' lines. The two Herbert passages are much the same and it matters little which Hopkins was touched by. The effect of repetition, to which we have already referred, may have contributed, too.

It is worth noting, though, that all three instances are probably based upon the exhortation in Isaiah 55:

Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; Yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. (King James Version).

The bread and water of Isaiah have been replaced by the stars. Both poets were familiar with this piece of scripture, but for both to have independently substituted stars for bread and water is a coincidence rather improbable. Hopkins evidently drew from Herbert in this instance, not from the Bible.

A study of one poet's influence on another is useful
because it clarifies what generally constitutes true poetic genius. However, sometimes it can also illuminate a line or entire poem that would otherwise remain obscure. "The Windhover" (No. 36) is Hopkins' best known poem and is among those written at St. Beuno. It is also a poem which has stimulated an enormous quantity of scholarly articles. This is not necessarily a measure of its quality. It contains, besides some brilliant rhythmic changes and descriptive lines that capture the immediacy, majesty, and movement of the windhover, various obscurities and it is these that usually occupy critics. One is the "ah my dear" in the penultimate line. It 'rhymes' with "O my chevalier" in line eleven, and some feel that Hopkins is addressing Christ;29 the sub-title, "To Christ our Lord", would suggest as much. Others argue that Christ, and His symbol the windhover, is too awesome, too regal, too fierce to be addressed with a term of endearment, that the poet is therefore addressing his own soul.30 This latter view is not easy to hold, for the central feature of Christianity is Christ as both intimate Saviour and omnipotent Judge.

There is one minute echo from Herbert's poetry in "The Windhover", but it is the most frequently cited echo in all of Hopkins' poetry.31 The reason for its popularity is that it provides evidence that Hopkins' phrase was addressed to Christ rather than his own soul. Schneider, for example,
points to

Hopkins' temperament and the occasionally surprising informality in his relations with Deity ... But for the particular phrase in "The Windhover", he also had the precedent of "ah my dear" used similarly in George Herbert's "Love" (III).32

In fact, Herbert uses this expression or its equivalent a number of times. "Affliction" [I] (No. XVIII) yields "Ah, my dear God! though I am clean forgot, / Let me not love thee, if I love thee not", which would be an equally suitable source. "Bitter-Sweet" (No. CXLII) has the phrase "Ah, my dear angry Lord", and again in "The Crosse" (No. CXXXIII) there is "Ah my dear Father, ease my smart!" Hopkins had a number to choose from. Presumably this is another instance of recurrence lodging the phrase in Hopkins' mind.

MacKenzie, having acknowledged the resemblance to Herbert's expression, does not negate the alternative view that the poet is addressing his own heart. He feels that it is not important to resolve the problem.33 Perhaps Hopkins had both views in mind. He had addressed his own heart in "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28):

Ah, touched in your bower of bone,
Are you! ...
... mother of being in me, heart ...
(stanza 18).

And these lines, together with the nun's "heart-throw, birth of a brain, / Word, that heard and kept thee and uttered
thee outright" (stanza 30), were probably inspired by Herbert's Providential labours in "Affliction [III] (No. XLVIII):

My heart did heave, and there came forth 'O God!'
By that I knew that thou wast in the grief,
To guide and govern it to my relief.

Thus, Herbert's poems could have provided Hopkins with the two meanings; Hopkins often aimed for appropriate, controlled ambiguities.

In previous poems that contain echoes of Herbert we have also noticed that the source poems often have thematic elements that are similar to those in their Hopkins counterparts. This is not the case with "The Windhover" and "Love" [III]. Hopkins discovers in Christ's majesty, a God to be feared. Herbert, incredulous, discovers that his admired holy God wants the friendship of the sinner, Herbert. We are touching upon an important difference between the two poets. Herbert's God may rule his servant with rods, griefs, and what I have chosen to call "redemptive wreckings", but any reader of his poems will be more struck by His warmth and approachability. Hopkins' God tends to lurk ominously behind the veil, and every now and then reveals Himself terrifyingly. It is these occasions that Hopkins attempts to capture in his poems. Thus, the "ah my dear" tone is often somewhat out of place, giving the reader the sense that Hopkins wants to find God's warmth while, frustratingly, he only continues to experience His "winter".
The distinction also applies to the two poets' ways of employing nature. Nature, for Herbert, needs to be tamed and cultivated. Its usual wild tendencies, by implication, are manifestations of its fallen condition. Trees, like humans, need to be pruned if they are to bear fruit (see "Paradise" No. CIV). Man tames nature, and God tames man—an activity reflected in Herbert's gradual loss of words for his poetry, continuing until he is fully obedient in the very last line of "Love" [III].

Nature in Hopkins' poem is untameable, as in "The Windhover", for example. The wildness is contrasted with the fallen condition of man, and is itself still virtually like its original in Eden. It becomes for Hopkins as holy and potent almost as God Himself. In "God's Grandeur" (No. 31) despite the destructive presence of man -- "all is seared with trade; bleared, smeared with toil; / And wears man's smudge and shares man's smell" -- "for all this, nature is never spent." The reason for its resilience is that "the Holy Ghost over the bent / World broods with warm breast and with ah! bright wings." Nature is also one of God's means for redeeming man. The storm in "The Wreck...", for all its impersonal violence, delivers the nuns into Christ's haven; and the sight of the windhover becomes a revelation to Hopkins of Christ Himself. Hopkins' real aim is to discover Christ in each part of nature that he contemplates. This is perhaps
partly due to his practice of Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises, in which the contemplative must saturate his senses with a kind of imagined real, felt experience and this, in turn, is carefully steered towards a spiritual meaning; hence the sharp transition in many of the sonnets written at St. Beuno from a portrait of nature in the octave to a spiritual commentary in the sestet. But this aim is also occasioned by his Scotist philosophy. Every part of Creation, in Hopkins' view, was made to be its unique self. To catch each thing functioning in this manner was to catch a glimpse of God immanent in this Creation. Hopkins notes in his journals: "I do not think I have ever seen anything more beautiful than the bluebell I have been looking at. I know the beauty of our Lord by it." Thus, he tries to preserve in his poetry particular details which give rise to each glimpse.

In one sense the revelation of God through nature which he seeks is an extension of his belief in the Real Presence at the Eucharist. There is a certain amount of irony here in that while seeking the immanence of God he has to associate God with the murderous, unrelenting face of nature and thereby distances himself from God. Whereas Herbert, who favours the more Protestant, consubstantiation view of the Eucharist -- a view that presents God as somewhat less immediate -- actually comes closer to God in his poems.
Herbert seldom merits mention as a nature poet because nature is not usually his source of inspiration. When he does use it it is always as a symbol, a means of spiritual instruction. Helen Gardner says concerning seventeenth-century religious poets:

For all the beauty of the poetry of natural description and the natural images in the religious poetry of Vaughan and Traherne, and Marvell, the world of nature remains for them still the "book of the creatures" in which man finds lessons.

Herbert belongs in this category, too. While considering "The Rose" (No. CL), Olney makes an apposite remark:

A rose teaches Herbert lessons in many ways and it represents all sorts of things. It is, in fact, nearly everything but a rose.

He then says, by way of comparison, "But to Hopkins a rose is first of all a rose", adding that we should substitute "bluebell" for "rose" in Hopkins' case.

For Hopkins it is, nevertheless, not merely a rose, or bluebell. He gleans a spiritual insight, too. Besides the possible Ignatian origin of his sonnet's two-fold thematic structure, some credit must be given to the Tractarians, and they followed in Herbert's steps. Newman writes that "it is the charm of the descriptive poetry of a religious mind, that nature is viewed in a moral connexion." Shairp observes while commenting on Keble's poetry that

There are two sides which nature turns towards the imagination. One is that which the poet
can read figuratively, in which he can see symbols, and analogies of the spiritual world.

This "side" he identifies in Keble, and goes on to indicate a limitation in this poet's work:

But nature has another side, of which there is no indication in Keble's poetry. We mean her infinite and inhuman side, which yields no symbols to soothe man's yearnings. Outside of and far beyond man, his hopes and fears, his strivings and aspirations, there lies the vast immensity of nature's forces which pays him no homage, and yields him no sympathy.38

Hopkins has captured this latter side of nature, though in a peculiarly Christian way (Shairp is speaking from the Romantic's pagan perspective). He has taken Ruskin's admonition to heart, "to go to nature in its wild, unspoiled condition ... trustingly, rejecting nothing, selecting nothing"39, and hence his passion for wildness:

What would the world be, once bereft
Of wet and of wilderness? Let them be left,
0 let them be left, wildness and wet;
Long live the weeds and wilderness yet.

But when he dwells most on nature's "infinite and inhuman side, which yields no symbols to soothe man's yearnings", he perceives the creative purpose that lies behind that side, and the Creator Himself. In that nature conveys the presence of God to him, it functions for Hopkins in a kind of symbolical way. He comes close to featuring both sides of nature, the figurative hieroglyphic one of Herbert and the Tractarians,
and that remorseless, impersonal, "photographic" one of Ruskin.

The transition from the contemplation of the natural object to the "moral connexion" is, at times, in Hopkins' poems, achieved almost imperceptibly. In "The Windhover" the poet's first impressions of the bird are of its regal control and its ability to kill effortlessly. They become a sensible evidence of God's awesome power and 'consuming fire' love. He moves to thoughts of Christ in lines ten and eleven: "AND the fire that breaks from thee then, a billion / Times told lovelier, more dangerous, O my chevalier!" These lines can be read, though, as a continuation of his record of the bird's flight; he has watched it hovering and gliding with and against the wind, and now, at the beginning of the sestet, its graceful flight has been curtailed in anticipation of its dive for a kill: "Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume, here / Buckle!" It is at this point that the transition lines occur. The "lovelier, more dangerous" fire might be interpreted as breaking from the bird as it dives and catches its prey; the poet would then be addressing the bird not Christ as "thee". It is perhaps because the transition is not clear that Hopkins later decided to add the subtitle "To Christ our Lord".40

In a later poem "Peace" (No. 51) there is no transition. Peace, an abstract, and the "wild wooddove" are one
and the same, although it is clear that the dove is a metaphor and peace the subject. "Peace" was written in 1879, the year in which Hopkins also made two of his comments on Herbert's poetry. MacKenzie, referring to Hopkins' letter to Bridges about "Westcountry 'instress'", observes that Herbert was fresh in his mind ... when he composed this poem which, though called "Peace", might with more reason be given a title from Herbert, "Affliction": in fact its central image bears some resemblance to one found in Herbert's first poem under that name:

I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree
For sure then I should grow
To fruit or shade: at least some bird would trust
Her household to me, and I should be just."

He goes on to note that Hopkins sees himself as a tree but that no bird trusts him. Thus, the different treatments of natural imagery by the two poets is apparent. Hopkins would receive the greater acclaim from Newman, who had written that "ordinary writers ... compare aged men to trees in autumn -- a gifted poet will in the fading trees discern the fading men." Perhaps this critical dictum from Newman may have contributed to Hopkins' use of natural metaphor. A year after this poem he wrote "Spring and Fall" (No. 55), the poignant lines in which he teaches a young child, Margaret, to discern in her sorrow over falling leaves a grief for her own autumn yet to come.

A sense of spiritual despondency begins to be present
in Hopkins' poetry at this time, but it is not until he is in Ireland that it dominates his writings. There he spent the last five years of his life, excessively overworked as "Professor of Greek and Latin Literature at University College, Dublin" and marking countless examination papers. The poems that appeared in this time are mostly undated, though MacKenzie suggests that they were from 1885: Hopkins had told Bridges in a letter dated September 1, 1885,

> I shall shortly have some sonnets to send you, five or more. Four of these came like inspirations unbidden and against my will. And in the life I lead now, which is one of a continually jaded and harassed mind, if in any leisure I try to do anything I make no way — nor with my work, alas! but so it must be.\(^44\)

Hopkins' distress was aggravated by his sense of exile. He was, despite his conversion to Rome, still very English. By converting he had cut himself off from his family and had given priority to his duties as a priest over his desire to write poetry. Now, in his poem "To seem the stranger lies my lot" (No. 66), he grieves again, "I am in Ireland now; now I am at a third / Remove." Daniel Harris, while discussing this poem, draws our attention to the resemblance between Hopkins' "at a third / Remove" and Herbert's "Catching the sense at two removes" in "Jordan" [I] (No. XXVII), saying that Hopkins intentionally alluded to the latter "to imply the limits and imperfections of language in expressing a presumed
truth." The poem, however, is not about his inability to communicate, but rather his lack of people -- whether "Father and mother dear, / Brothers and sisters ... in Christ" or "England ... wife / To ... [his] ... creating thought" -- to hear his thoughts or heed them. By being in Ireland he is at a further remove. The family element running through the poem also lends a genealogical meaning to the phrase. Herbert's "removes" only refer to the contortions and witticisms of unsanctified, worldly poetry. Besides the word itself there is little to substantiate Harris' assertion, except perhaps that there is another tentative echo from Herbert's "The Bunch of Grapes" (No. C) -- "And now, methinks, I am where I began" -- in Hopkins' last lines, "This to hoard unheard, / Heard unheeded, leaves me a lonely began."

The despondency and spiritual barrenness of Hopkins is one also experienced by Herbert. Hopkins' "terrible sonnets" have their counterparts in Herbert's poems of affliction. But the two are very different. Herbert usually resolves his difficulties in a colloquy at the end of each poem. Thus, in "The Cross" (No. CXXXIII), after bewailing his wretched treatment --

Thou turnest the edge of all things on me still,
Taking me up to throw me down:
So that, e'en when my hopes seem to be sped,
I am to grief alive, to them as dead --

he concedes that
...since these thy contradictions
Are properly a cross felt by thy son,
With but four words, my words, Thy will be done.

Hopkins seldom achieves such a positive turn. In "No worst, there is none" (No. 65) he concludes miserably:

Here! creep,
Wretch, under a comfort serves in a whirlwind: all
Life death does end and each day dies with sleep.

"Carrion Comfort" (No. 64) does turn on the last line, but it provides no source of encouragement since the discovered Being with whom he has been struggling remains identified (without explanation) with Despair: "That night, that year / Of now done darkness I wretch lay wrestling with (my God!) my God."

The opening line to Herbert's "Affliction" [III] (No. XLVIII), previously mentioned as a source poem for material in "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (No. 28), "My heart did heave, and there came forth, 'O God'!", bears some resemblance to Hopkins' "resolution". A similar apostrophe is found in the last line of "Misery" (No. LXXVI),

Now he is
... A sick toss'd vessel, dashing on each thing;
Nay, his own shelf:
My God, I mean myself,

though the discovery is of a different being. These two are probably the sources from which Hopkins drew the idea; rather like the "ah my dear" expression in "The Windhover" it is its recurrence in Herbert's poems that has established it in Hopkins' mind.
Hopkins' lack of colloquy and his attempt to capture the immediacy of an experience are contributory factors to Helen Gardner's unfavourable comparison of "I wake and feel the fell of dark" (No. 67) to Herbert's poem "Denial" (No. LV):

[In Hopkins] there is a disquieting sense of indulgence in self-disgust... The poem, for all its depth of feeling and the exactness of so much of its phrasing, has a tone of contrivance, of the factitious... melodramatic.

Whereas Herbert's "poem is, in fact, far more artificial or artful than Hopkins' sonnet; yet it sounds far more natural." Her judgement is not a fair one. Both poems are good but in their own ways. Hopkins conveys powerfully the depths of his despair -- and Helen Gardner does complain of the claustrophobia it evokes in her -- which is surely his aim. Herbert is actually, by implication, writing a poem of hope, not despair. The experience has 'blown over' and he is recording it for future encouragement in the event of its recurrence. As Gardner notes:

Herbert carefully distances his pain from us by speaking of it in the past tense; whereas Hopkins is attempting to render overwhelming personal experience and feeling at the moment when it overwhelms him.47

Hopkins achieves what he attempts, as does Herbert. The judgement of these two should be based on what each attempts, not on what he does not attempt. There is also an Anglican bias in Gardner's critique. Her preference for the experi-
ence being distanced and more matter-of-fact than "melodramatic" is a descendant of Keble's and Williams' poetic of reserve, and is peculiarly Anglican.

Hopkins was not always in such an unhappy condition in his last years. Even the darkest of his sonnets "No worst, there is none" reveals his stamina for resisting the attacks. But he comes to realize that he is his own worst enemy, that Despair is a name for part of himself rather than his God, and resolves:

My own heart let me more have pity on;  
Me live to my sad self hereafter kind,  
Charitable; not live this tormented mind  
With this tormented mind tormenting yet.

... come, poor Jackself, I do advise  
You, jaded, let be; call off thoughts awhile  
Elsewhere; leave comfort root-room; let joy size

At God knows when to God knows what ... (No. 69).

Harris identifies the phrase "let joy size" with "Herbert's 'The Size', whose last line also provided him with the title for 'Heaven-Haven'." However, we have already seen that "size" in fragment 88, originally paired with "Heaven-Haven", was more probably from Manley Hopkins' poem "Clouds" than from Herbert's title. We may be equally suspicious here. Schneider suggests that this verbal use of the word probably comes from Keats' Endymion: "'twould size and swell / To its huge self"49, which is a more reasonable origin if, indeed, it was borrowed at all. But there is, nevertheless, something Herber-
tian about this poem. Hopkins' decision to treat his heart charitably, "to call off thoughts of his own imperfections awhile / Elsewhere" resembles Herbert's exhortation to his own heart in "The Dawning" (No. LXXXVI): "Awake sad heart, whom sorrow ever drowns: / Take up thine eyes, which feed on earth." This latter heart is also looking downwards at its own carnal nature and weeping profuse tears of despair. Contemplation of such a mire can never yield inspiration for joy. Herbert reminds his heart that

Thy Saviour comes, and with him mirth:
Awake, awake;
And with a thankful heart his comforts take.

Hopkins, too, begins to realize that looking for comfort in his own darkness is fatuous:

I cast for comfort I can no more get
By groping round my comfortless, than blind
Eyes in their dark can day or thirst can find
Thirst's all-in-all in all a world of wet.

He, too, resolves to wait for Christ's comfort, "whose smile / 's not wrung, see you; unforeseen times rather." It is as if Hopkins had read Herbert's poem while in the depths of his despair. The sonnet would then be his response, stirred or inspired within his soul by "his favourite poet". Herbert's poem ends with a Metaphysical chuckle which the more serious readers may find too light and trivial, or even irreverent:

Arise, arise;
And with his burial linen dry thine eyes.
Christ left his grave-clothes, that we might, when grief
Draws tears, or blood, not want a handkerchief.
The witticism is appropriate because it forces the weeping heart to turn to laughter; the poet is backing up his words of exhortation with a deed! Hopkins, speaking out his resolution while still in the darkness, cannot accomplish the same as Herbert. Yet, he does anticipate God's smile, which "as skies / Between pie mountains -- lights a lovely mile." Thus, although the poems are, in many ways, very different, these thematic similarities suggest that a real relation exists between them.

In the latter half of 1888 Hopkins completed his sonnet of sonnets, "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire and of the comfort of the Resurrection" (No. 72). It begins with an 'Isaian' perspective on existence that "all flesh is grass" (Isaiah 40:6,7), but in the Greek terms of Heraclitus who taught that nature was in a constant flux, continually burning up and regenerating -- and hence his reference to "Million-fueled, nature's bonfire." The poet moves rapidly to his familiar despair, "all is in an enormous dark / Drowned. O pity and indignation ...". Then, abruptly, he takes the advice Herbert had given in "The Dawning", turning from the insignificant and brief existence of a human to the beacon of Christ: "Enough! the Resurrection, / A heart's-clarion! Away grief's gasping, joyless days, dejection," and the poem
becomes one of his most positive pieces.

It ends with a colloquy that is truly Herbertian in style, though the complexity could only come from Hopkins:

Across my foundering deck shone
A beacon, an eternal beam. Flesh fade, and mortal trash
Fall to the residuary worm; world's wildfire, leave but ash:
In a flash, at a trumpet crash,
I am all at once what Christ is, since he was what I am, and
This Jack, joke, poor potsherd, patch, matchwood, immortal
diamond,
Is immortal diamond.

There is a witty play on the interrelationship between time and eternity in the third last line, for "I am" can refer both to the poet ("This Jack, joke, poor potsherd, patch, matchwood") and to Christ, since one of God's names is "I am" (see Exodus 3:14). The peculiar rhyme between "I am, and" and "diamond" colours this: 'I am' (that is to say that presence of Christ within 'me') and the refuse of which 'I myself' consist, when passed through the Heraclitean "bonfire", become "immortal diamond". Herbert frequently uses such ironic lines in his poetry. Recall that in his poem "Jesu" (No. LXXXVII) the name spelled in his heart is spilled when the frame of the heart falls apart; and when Herbert manages to put himself, and hence the letters of the name, together again he spells "I ease you":

When I had got these parcels, instantly
I sat me down to spell them, and perceived
That to my broken heart he was I ease you,
And to my whole is JESU.
Other instances in Herbert's poetry involve the pairing of opposites, as in "death" / "breath" and "thorn" / "corn"; and of this variety Hopkins has produced "spark" / "dark" in this same poem.

Critics, with rare exceptions, read this colloquy as a transformation, assuming mistakenly that the much used Metaphysical image of carbon's isotopy is being invoked: the veritable 'rubbish-dump' assortment is suddenly to be transformed into a pure, hard, fixed and glittering immortal diamond by the Heraclitean conflagration. Robinson says "the ash of the pyre becomes carbon in its most imperishable form -- but only after burning." William Foltz, though he makes an interesting extension of the metaphor to include all life, follows the same path: "Obviously, the production of diamonds is more than minerological fact; it is also the ultimate reduction by pressure ('crash') and heat ('flash') of the basis of life: carbon." However, the diamond, nay the immortal diamond, is already present in the poet before the "flash", amongst the trash. The so-called end product is linked to its variegated original by the copula in the present tense, "is": "This Jack, joke, poor potsherid, patch, matchwood, immortal diamond / Is immortal diamond." It is the mortal parts only which are affected; and rather than being converted form carbon to diamond by the fire of stress they are left in the flux. Scientifically speaking, if one puts carbon-
aceous materials into a fire the normal end products are not diamonds but carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, and water, all of which ascend to the sky in billows of smoke to form clouds or rather, in Hopkins' words, "CLOUD-PUFFBALL, torn tufts, tossed pillows." The diamantine part of such matter is all that remains.

Herbert does not use the simple isotopic conversion of carbon into diamond as a metaphor, except perhaps in a poem that is not, for certain, his and that, in any case, was not printed in Hopkins' time under Herbert's name; it is called "To the Right Hon. the L. Chancellor (Bacon)" and turns on the contrast between "a diamond" and "a Black-amore", which latter might be construed as standing for coal. But Hopkins would not have read this poem. However, in the poem "Virtue" (No. LXIII) Herbert comes close to Hopkins' usage of the metaphor. The poem consists of four stanzas, three of which concern the ephemeral nature of living things, the same concern that occupies more than half of the lines in Hopkins' poem. The last stanza discovers one kind of life that endures the ravages of time:

Only a sweet and virtuous soul,  
Like season'd timber, never gives;  
But though the whole world turn to coal,  
Then chiefly lives.

Herbert's virtuous soul is "season'd timber" rather than "immortal diamond", but the important similarity is that
both souls begin and end with their enduring qualities. No transformation occurs, although the conflagration has a purifying function so that Herbert's soul "Then chiefly lives" and Hopkins' can shine brighter -- the "trash" having gone in the "flash". Geological science was becoming widely disseminated among the public in the Victorian era because of the theories of Darwin and various major discoveries, so it is very possible that Hopkins absorbed the fact of this isotopy merely from the general knowledge of his own time. But he could have constructed his metaphor entirely from Herbert because, though the soul in "Virtue" is only "season'd timber", in another poem "Matins" (No. XXXIV) a heart is likened among other things, to a gem:

My God, what is a heart?  
Silver, or gold, or precious stone,  
Or star, or rainbow, or a part  
Of all these things, or all of them in one?

The association of a soul with a rainbow, incidentally, appears in that much earlier, St. Beuno poem "The Caged Skylark" (No. 39):

Man's spirit will be flesh-bound when found at best,  
But uncumbered: meadow-down is not distressed  
For a rainbow footing it nor he for his bônes risen.

We have seen that Hopkins' mature poems are full of echoes from Herbert's poetry. The prominent echoes tend to be thematic or stylistic ones rather than the more obvious direct borrowings of words and phrases, but this latter kind
is also present. The influence extends throughout the adult part of his life. It is neither erased nor dwarfed by his exposure to other Metaphysical poets during what Duncan identifies as the Metaphysical Revival; in fact, such exposure seems to have heightened his interest in Herbert's poetry. It is more than twelve years after he had ceased writing poetry in his early period that we find him writing to Dixon of his preference for Herbert over Vaughan. His readings of Herbert's contemporaries and, no doubt, critical reviews of these by such as Grosart and Thompson perhaps enabled him to read Herbert more perceptively. By becoming a Catholic he was no longer under the restrictive poetic tutelage of the Tractarians, who were more inclined to promote Herbert's devotional qualities than his Metaphysical "quaintnesses" of wit. And we have noticed that Hopkins begins to grasp the spirit of Herbert's wit, as in, for example, his use of colloquies and ironic rhyme. Yet, as he becomes more familiar with Herbert's poetic and incorporates it in his work, that work becomes more and more uniquely Hopkins'. Perhaps the rigorous discipline of the Catholic Orders, eventually of the Jesuits, tended to severely limit his poetic scope, and Herbert, with his comparatively more relaxed and open religious attitude, provided the balance of freedom that Hopkins needed to produce his magnificent poetic flourishes. This was almost certainly true for his spiritual life. The Ignatian techniques
of self-contemplation, a part of the Catholic tradition which Hopkins willingly adopted, must have aggravated his extremities of despair, and Herbert's poems of "hope" -- recall the comment made earlier on "Despair" -- would have light-heartedly diverted him from a serious break-down.

It has been assumed by many that the poems in The Temple are structurally arranged; the title implies as much. But no-one has yet satisfactorily discovered a relation between each poem that would account for this. What is clear, though, is that the poems provide the semblance of a spiritual autobiography, conveying, as Walton records, "a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom." As we have mentioned, the last poem in The Temple, "Love" (No. CLXII), reflects his discovery of that peaceful service and "perfect freedom". Hopkins' poems also provide a spiritual autobiography. It is almost an unfair advantage upon him that we have recourse to his journals and letters as well, with which we can verify the story told by the poems. This we do not have for Herbert; his poems remain fictions that suggest real experiences. But both portray the struggles of a Christian who tries to be obedient to his Master, to respond in faith to the painful, seemingly destructive, sanctifying process of affliction, made more difficult by his
poetic inclinations. Hence, Herbert ends with a poem in which all his arguments are silenced and he has to meekly accept his hostess' seductive invitation to "sit and eat." Hopkins' last poem has sexual implications, too; and the winter world of "The Forerunners" (No. CXLIX), in which the gift of poetic elaboration has been taken away, is present:

Sweet fire the sire of muse, my soul needs this;
I want the one rapture of an inspiration.
0 then if in my lagging lines you miss

The roll, the rise, the carol, the creation,
My winter world, that scarcely breathes that bliss
Now, yields you, with some sighs, our explanation.

It is not intended that this be construed as an echo. The two are very different poems. But it is appropriate that Hopkins should write last what is perhaps his most complete and polished poem, a poem which complains of an impoverished poetic ability, just as his "favourite poet" had done two hundred years or so before.
CONCLUSION

I began this study by casting doubt on the assumed influence of Herbert on Hopkins, pointing to the very limited nature of the primary evidence — Hopkins only mentions Herbert on four brief occasions, and Addis' remark might be unreliable. Yet, in our lengthy examination of, firstly, Hopkins' early poems and then his mature ones, we have seen that Herbert's influence is a significant one throughout Hopkins' writing life.

Nevertheless, many of the echoes suggested by critics are not, with certainty, easily classified as originating from Herbert's poetry. They often have a number of possible origins. Sometimes the similar passages in Herbert and Hopkins are due to their common interest in Biblical imagery. And sometimes the poets seem to have arrived at a metaphor independently. Perhaps some of the resemblances between the two poets which I have noted may also be later shown by someone to be attributable equally to other sources. It is important, as has been demonstrated, to keep the potential complexity of influences in mind when claiming a particular echo. The extent of Herbertian elements in Hopkins' poetry makes, though, for a solid case of the former poet's influence. The common assertion that Herbert was "Hopkins' favourite poet" is a fair one.

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The evidence from Hopkins' poems is diverse. Words and metaphors from Herbert, themes, or instances of Herbert's style of wit are to be found in the majority of the poems. Such evidence to some would indicate that Hopkins' work is derivative and therefore not the work of original genius. To an extent, this derivative character, which Hopkins might associate with Parnassian verse, is found in his early poetry. But this is more the result of his participation in the Tractarian spirituality, and hence their poetic, than the influence of Herbert. After his conversion he inevitably moved away from Tractarian perspectives. His mature poetry is full of intense feeling and immediacy, a quality that is not in accord with Helen Gardner's Anglican sense of decorum. The Bible becomes much less prominent in the mature poems, and is replaced with God's other book, that of Creation. Herbert's influence, on the other hand, continues; and it cannot be said of these later Hopkins poems that they are derivative, at least not in the pejorative sense of the word. Even in his early poems he had tended to take elements from Herbert's poetry and employ them in novel ways. In the mature poems, the echoes from Herbert become more disguised, the thematic and stylistic resemblances predominate over the direct borrowing of phrases. Hopkins has absorbed them into what has become peculiarly his own style. Thus, one of his
last poems, and one of his greatest, "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire and of the comfort of the Resurrection" (No. 72), is full of his exuberant complexity of language and feeling, a style that is the opposite of Herbert's, while still containing signs of Herbert's influence.

They were, indeed, very different poets. Perhaps to some readers who are not Christians they might appear similar because of their common faiths. But even their faiths are divergent, as we have seen when examining their views of the Eucharist. Their poetic styles, as I indicated above, are antithetical to each other. Herbert's poetry sports the plain style, though deceptively so since there are frequently levels of meaning to be uncovered beneath the surface. Hopkins' poetry appears to be an utter chaos of words, but again the appearance is deceptive; a careful reader can usually resolve all the complexities into one overall meaning in Christ. Their use of nature as a source of imagery differs. Herbert sees that part of Creation as fallen and in need of subduing, as, therefore, an analogy of man's condition and need for discipline from God's hand. Hopkins looks to nature as a comparatively untarnished part of Creation despite fallen man's presence, and nature becomes an instrument of discipline in God's hand for redeeming man. Yet, despite these differences, the former has influenced
the latter considerably.

I quoted Ritz in my Introduction as saying that Hopkins enjoyed Herbert more for his poetry than for his religious faith (see p. 2). This we can now refute. Though we have focused in this study on Herbert's poetic influence, his spiritual influence has also been evident. The Romantics, Tractarians, Pre-Raphaelites, and Ruskin, all of whom were formative figures in Hopkins' life, read Herbert's poetry devotionally, deriving a considerable degree of spiritual inspiration from it. We can assume that the same was true for Hopkins in his early years. The conversion of Hopkins, rather than causing Herbert's poetical influence to dissipate, allowed a continued interest in that poet. I have suggested that, because Herbert offered a freedom of spirit that contrasted with the strictures of Hopkins' new commitment, his poetry became spiritually more important to Hopkins, especially as a source of comfort and encouragement during his periods of severe depression.

The depths of the relationship between these two poets, in the spiritual and poetical sense, does not, however, mean that Hopkins lacked originality. The two poets remain different. This study, in fact, serves to illustrate some of the ways in which poetic genius operates. No one invents all their metaphors, themes, and techniques, most are derived from predecessors. But the true genius will convert what
he borrows into what is unmistakably his own; he gives the material an original treatment. Hopkins does, indeed, display a high degree of originality, and his style cannot be confused with that of others. But Herbert has provided him with a quantity of poetic materials. We, as later readers of the two poets, can deduce this from the advantage of hindsight. I indicated earlier in this study that Hopkins had succumbed to the distorted view of imaginative genius connected with the Romantics. It is to the credit of his critical powers that in later life he did qualify his understanding of the nature of originality:

Every true poet, I thought, must be original and originality a condition of poetic genius; so that each poet is like a species in nature (not an individuum, genericum or specificum) and can never recur. That nothing should be old or borrowed however cannot be.¹
INTRODUCTION

ENDNOTES


6 Lahey, p. 18.


12 Ibid., p. 95.

CHAPTER ONE

ENDNOTES


5 English Romantic Writers, p. 430.


8 Cited by Terence Heywood, "Gerard Manley Hopkins, His Literary Ancestry", English (Spring, 1940), p. 16.


12 Ibid., p. 148.


Poems, p. 66. See also "The shepherd's brow, fronting forked lightning ..." (No. 75), p. 107, in which mankind's depravity is concisely and crudely conveyed: "Hand to mouth he lives, and voids with shame; /And, blazoned in however bold the name, /Man Jack the man is, just; his mate a hussy."

Religion and Literature, p. 162.

Correspondence, p. 99, in a letter dated 1/16 Dec. 1881.

Religion and Literature, pp. 134,135.

Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 80.

"By thought, word, and deed ..." p. 5.


"William Wordsworth and English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", 31,32.

Ibid., cited from Theodore T. Stenberg's article "Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior' and Herbert's 'Constancy'", MLN,XL (1925), 252, 253.

George Herbert, The Temple (London, 1844), pp. 67, 68. Henceforth all references to this work will be cited from this edition (Pickering's) as The Temple.

Cited from English Romantic Writers, p. 297.

G.C. Moore Smith, "Wordsworth and George Herbert", Notes and Queries XII (January 13th, 1923), cited from Haverfield's article of September 15th, 1883, Notes and Queries.

29 Poems. All Hopkins' poems are cited from the 4th edition.

30 *Oxford English Dictionary*, compact edition (New York, 1971). The original edition was begun in 1857 by the Philological Society and was then called *The New English Dictionary*. The project was enthusiastically in full swing during Hopkins' Oxford days.

31 A Study... , Vol. II, p. 22.

32 S.T. Coleridge, "On Poetry or Art" (1818), cited from *English Romantic Writers*, p. 493.


34 *Victorian Devotional Poetry*, p. 19.

35 The poetic confusion of words with multiple meanings are all ultimately resolvable by an astute reader into the Logos, the Word of God which is Christ.

36 Olney, writing in the 1960's, still criticizes Herbert for some of his devices (as in "Jesu", for example), citing "Hopkins' criterion of 'being in earnest'" [*George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins*, p. 217], though he omits to mention that Hopkins also wrote light verse and that even in his more serious work there are witty sleights of hand and intellectual conceits.

37 This is to be found in S.T. Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*. George Watson, the editor of the Everyman edition (London, 1965) p. 226, annotates the comment with the original Dryden version: "cf. Dryden, *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668), preferring Donne's satires to Cleveland's: 'the one gives us deep thoughts in common language, though rough cadence; the other gives common thoughts in abstruse words.'"


40 "By thought, word, and deed", p. 6.

41 *George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins*, pp. 5, 6.
"For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men,
Teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world;
Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;
Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." (Titus 2:11-14, Holy Bible, King James Version 1971).
52 Ibid., pp. 40, 68.
53 Ibid., p. 41.
54 Ibid., p. 33.
56 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 29.
57 See Ibid., p. 86f.
58 Duncan, The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry, p. 44.
59 Religion and Literature, p. 165.
60 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, pp. 64, 119, 128.
62 These were popular in the seventeenth century; for example, Joshua Poole's, The English Parnassus Or a Help to English Poesie (London, 1677). Curtis notes that Wordsworth owned a copy of Robert Allot's England's Parnassus (London, 1600) [See "William Wordsworth and English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", p. 34].
63 Cited in Victorian Poetry and Poetics p. 691.
65 Further Letters, p. 21, letter to Baillie September 10th, 1864.
66 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 64.
68 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 160.
69 Ibid., p. 149.
70 Kent, "By thought, word, and deed...", p. 6.
71 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 152.
72 Ibid., pp. 168,175,176.
73 Ibid., p. 168.
74 Ibid., p. 153.
75 Correspondence, p. 147, in a letter dated 23 Oct. 1886.
78 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 152.
79 Ibid., p. 167.
80 Ibid., p. 182.
81 Ibid., p. 183.
82 Poems, p. 253.
83 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 184.
84 Ibid., pp. 129,133.
85 In George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, passim.
86 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 17.
89 Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, p. 112.
90 Ibid., pp. 140-142.
91 Journals, p. 13.
92 Ibid., p. 56.

94 Hopkins, Ruskin and the Sidney Psalter", 62.


96 Hopkins, Ruskin and the Sidney Psalter", 55.


98 Hopkins, Ruskin and the Sidney Psalter", 53.


102 Ibid., p. 16.

103 Ibid., p. 3,4.


105 Ibid., p. 16.

106 Stevenson, The Pre-Raphaelite Poets, p. 303.

107 "By thought, word, and deed ..., p. 6.


109 "By thought, word, and deed ..., pp. 5,7.


111 "By thought, word, and deed ..., p. 10.
112 Ibid., p. 24.
113 Ibid., p. 20.
114 The Pre-Raphaelite Poets, p. 121.
115 "By thought, word, and deed ...", p. 16, cited from her Family Letters, 183, and Time Flies, 26.
118 Ibid., pp. 198, 202, 220.
119 Religion and Literature, p. 165.
120 Stevenson, The Pre-Raphaelite Poets, p. 119.
121 Journals, p. 287, in his lecture notes on "Rhythm and other Structural Parts".
122 Stevenson, The Pre-Raphaelite Poets, p. 303.
123 The Poetical Works, pp. 9-12.
CHAPTER TWO

ENDNOTES


10. Furthermore, Fray Luis de Granada, in his "Meditation on Gethsemane and Crucifixion", says: "Yee that are desirous of wyne, to cure your wounds, this is that cluster of grapes, that was brought out of the land of promise into this vale of tears, which is now crushed, and pressed upon the presse of the Crosse, for the remedie and redresse of our offences." Louis L. Martz cites this as a source for Herbert's poem. (The Poetry of Meditation [New Haven, 1954], pp. 84, 85. Perhaps Hopkins was also aware of this work?


12. See, for example, Elizabeth Schneider, The Dragon in the Gate ..., p. 7.


17 Poems, p. 248.
18 Dawson, "A Note on an Early Poem of Hopkins", 101.
20 "A Note on an Early Poem of Hopkins", 104.
21 A Commentary, pp. 10, 11.

22 The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the CHURCH according to the use of the Church of England together with The Psalter or Psalms of David ... (London, 1960), a recent reprinting of the original reenactment of The Book of Common Prayer by Queen Elizabeth I.

23 "A Note on an Early Poem of Hopkins", 104.


27 A Commentary, p. 11.


29 Ibid.

30 A Study ..., Vol. II, p. 73.


33 Ibid., 31; and A Reader's Guide, p. 22.
34"The Genesis of Hopkins' 'Heaven-Haven"", 32.
36Journals, pp. 56, 58.
37Ibid., p. xxi.
41Poems, p. 250.
43See Further Letters, p. 27, in a letter to Urquhart dated 24 Sept. 1866.
45George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 20.
46Journals, p. 70.
49The Works of George Herbert, Vol I, pp. 69, 70.

Journals, pp. 71-72.


In a letter to Bridges dated Feb. 15th 1879 he wrote: "Feeling, love in particular, is the great moving power and spring of verse and the only person that I am in love with seldom, especially now, stirs my heart sensibly and when he does I cannot always 'make capital' of it, it would be a sacrilege to do so." Letters, p. 66.


George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 19.


A Study ..., Vol I, p. 91.

A Commentary, p. 2.


Journals, p. 71.

The Dragon in the Gate..., p. 7.

A Commentary, p. 2.

George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 21.

Gerard Manley Hopkins, His Literary Ancestry", English, (Spring 1940), 22.

Tbid.
CHAPTER THREE

ENDNOTES

1See Gerard Manley Hopkins, His Literary Ancestry, p. 22.
2See George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 21.
5Rathmell, "Hopkins, Ruskin and the Sidney Psalter", 53.
6Ibid.
7Correspondence, p. 94, in a letter dated 1/16 December, 1881.
8A Reader’s Guide, p. 27.
10The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry, pp. 93, 94.
13Religion and Literature, p. 172.
14The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry, pp. 91, 102-105.
16The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry, p. 97.
Mentioned by Duncan, *Ibid.*; and Todd K. Bender, *Gerard Manley Hopkins, The Classical Background and Critical Reception of his Work* (Baltimore, 1966), p. 87. Herbert's expression "All flesh is but the glass" immediately recalls the Bible's "All flesh is grass". "Glass" literally echoes the previous "grass", which is no doubt Herbert's intention. Hopkins uses the same technique in "The Habit of Perfection" (No. 22): "Palate, the hutch of tasty lust, / Desire not to be rinsed with wine", according to MacKenzie (*A Reader's Guide*, p. 26), echoes the ancients' idea of the palate "as the vaulted palace of taste."


See *Gardner, Ibid.*; p. 172.

*Schneider, Dragon in the Gate*, p. 161; et al.

*MacKenzie, A Reader's Guide*, p. 84; et al.


*Dragon in the Gate*, p. 161.

*A Reader's Guide*, p. 84.

35Religion and Literature, p. 194.
36George Herbert and Gerard Manley Hopkins, pp. 223, 224.
37"Poetry; With Reference to Aristotle's Poetics", p. 90.
41Ibid., p. 132. He also notes that "The final sentence differentiates between peace and rest", and is reminded of Herbert's poem cleverly entitled 'The Pulley' (No. CXXIX), since this is a mechanical device for transforming the downward drag of gravity into an upward lift. In that poem Herbert imagines God, in the process of making Man, almost emptying a glass of blessings over him. When only rest remained, he stopped, being afraid that if man were given rest, he might 'rest in nature, not in the God of Nature'. [Herbert is] playing on 'rest' as Hopkins here plays on 'peace'. pp. 133, 134.
42Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry, pp. 38, 39.
43Ibid., p. 16.
46See Symes, "Hopkins, Herbert and Contemporary Modes", p. 393.
47Religion and Literature, pp. 187, 188.
48Inspirations Unbidden, p. 65, n. 81.
49Ibid. Cited from "My Own Heart Let Me Have More Pity On", The Explicator, 5 (1947), item 51.
50In "Mortification" (No. LXXIV) and "The Collar" (No. CXXII).
When describing man's part in "Million-fuel'd, nature's bonfire" Hopkins refers to man as a spark and a star, both of which are rapidly lost in darkness:

But quench her [nature's] bonniest, dearest' to her, her clearest-selved spark

Man, how fast his firedint, ' his mark on mind, is gone!

... Manshape, that shone

Sheer off, disseveral, a star, death blots black out...

These lines seem to echo stanza two of Herbert's second "Employment" (No. LIV) poem:

Man is no star, 'but a quick coal
Of mortal fire:

Who blows it not, nor doth control
A faint desire,

Lets his own ashes choke his soul;

especially when Hopkins' poem, were it not for the 'heavenly' touch, would end with "This Jack, joke, poor potsherd" etc. leaving "but ash".

52 In Extremity, p. 125.


55 Correspondence, p. 24.

56 The Temple, p. vi, cited from Walton's Life of George Herbert (1670).
CONCLUSION

END NOTES

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