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Pre-Raphaelitism in the Early Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins.

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Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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Pre-Raphaelitism in the Early Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by

Whitney Robert Mundt
B.S.S., Loyola University of the South, 1958
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1961
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ABBREVIATIONS


The term "Pre-Raphaelite" should not be restricted to the seven members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood or to their works. It should be widened to include those whose works were directly influenced by the Brotherhood. And it may also be used legitimately to designate those whose works reflect the characteristics of Pre-Raphaelitism. For example, the original seven members of the Brotherhood directly influenced Christina Rossetti and William Morris, among others. Their work may be called Pre-Raphaelite. Such disparate figures as Gerard Manley Hopkins, William Butler Yeats, and George Bernard Shaw never came into direct contact with the Brethren, but their work nevertheless reveals the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism. Thus it too may be called Pre-Raphaelite.

The Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic is difficult to define, partly because the Brethren were individualists, not theorists. They did not restrict the meaning of Pre-Raphaelitism; they expanded it. Thus Pre-Raphaelitism is best known by its works—the characteristics and qualities of the art and poetry its members produced. The chief characteristics are fidelity to nature, particularity of detail, sensuousness and sensuality, religious feeling, medievalism, and pictorial and poetic qualities.

Hopkins was born into a family both literary and artistic. These formative influences made him receptive to Pre-Raphaelitism. As a schoolboy he wrote prize-winning poems which revealed the influence of Tennyson and Keats—poets whose work anticipated Pre-Raphaelitism and
who were admired by the Brethren. At Oxford University he developed an interest in the Brotherhood and in Christina Rossetti. He met her and Holman Hunt and was encouraged to work seriously in both poetry and painting. His artwork reveals the specific influence of John Ruskin, a close associate of the Pre-Raphaelites, as well as the influence of John Everett Millais, a member of the original Brotherhood. Hopkins transcribed a number of poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, a founding member of the Brotherhood, and also by his sister, Christina Rossetti. Hopkins' letters and diaries reveal admiration for other Pre-Raphaelite associates, notably William Morris, who founded the Oxford Brotherhood after the model of the original group. But at Oxford Hopkins became a Roman Catholic convert on October 21, 1866. The following year he determined to follow a religious vocation, and on May 11, 1868, he burned his early poems, believing them in conflict with his intention to become a priest. Between then and December 1875 he wrote only two or three religious poems as called for by the occasion. But in later life he began friendships with Coventry Patmore, a close associate of the original Brotherhood, and with Richard Watson Dixon, a peripheral member of the Oxford Brotherhood. Thus he confirmed his lifelong interest in Pre-Raphaelitism.

Hopkins' early poetry--written from 1860 to 1875--contains echoes from the poems of Keats and Tennyson, who both foreshadowed Pre-Raphaelitism. The specific influence of Christina Rossetti, Algernon Swinburne, and Patmore is also easily observable. And there is strong
evidence that the poems of Gabriel Rossetti and Morris were close at hand when Hopkins was composing.

But independently of any specific, personal Pre-Raphaelite influence, Hopkins' predilection for things of beauty in nature is his most enduring Pre-Raphaelite quality. It is constant throughout his poetic development and is a logical outgrowth of his early admiration for the Pre-Raphaelites. The period of his specific indebtedness ended, as it had to. But his Pre-Raphaelite affinities—sensuousness, spirituality, love of the particular, devotion to natural beauty—these became part of his aesthetic creed and did not end.
CHAPTER I

THE CIRCLE OF PRE-RAPHAELITISM

Pre-Raphaelitism did not begin and end with the original seven members of the Brotherhood. Those seven members were merely the center of an ever-widening circle of influence, and all discussions of Pre-Raphaelitism should consider the area of the circle rather than its center. No useful purpose is served in restricting the term "Pre-Raphaelite" to those seven men who comprised the original group, except to simplify the task of definition. Obviously the task is easier if the critic excludes those who were not members of the Brotherhood. But ease of definition does not compensate for concomitant distortions; for example, Christina Rossetti is more representatively Pre-Raphaelite than Thomas Woolner, whose art seems to have been impervious to the principles of the Brotherhood, but she was never literally a Pre-Raphaelite; he was one of the original seven. It is more useful to examine the ways in which artists of the period were affected by the Pre-Raphaelite movement and to plot their position within the circle of Pre-Raphaelitism than it is to shrink the circle and thus to exclude legitimate claims. Criticism should be inclusive rather than exclusive.

William E. Fredeman, in his bibliocritical study of Pre-Raphaelitism, resolves the difficulty by distinguishing three stages of the literary and artistic impulse which moved seven men to form a Brotherhood and others to emulate them. These three stages, Fredeman argues, are not mutually exclusive but sequential. They represent a continuous aesthetic force, though not a unified one. He denotes the three stages by three terms: the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, and Pre-Raphaelitism. The terms are loosely used as synonyms, but should be used more precisely to distinguish the three stages, Fredeman believes.

The first of these terms, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, refers specifically to the group of seven men who in 1848 banded together to oppose contemporary principles of art. The second term, the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, is broader in implication, incorporating not only the Brotherhood "but all later aesthetic influences emanating from the doctrines of the Brotherhood and culminating in what may be called, historically and critically, a school" (p. 1). The third term, Pre-Raphaelitism, is broader still and is "essentially a generic usage, including the more common characteristics of the art and literature of such disparate figures as Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, and Christina Rossetti, Arthur Hughes, Simeon Solomon, and the early Algernon Swinburne--in short, the whole panoply of artists and writers for whom, roughly between 1848 and 1882,


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Pre-Raphaelitism was the special kind of romantic common denomina-
tor. Fredeman believes that "failure of critics to distinguish the
three phases of Pre-Raphaelitism has almost stripped the term of
critical significance" (p. 2). But Pre-Raphaelitism is too vital and
too influential an aesthetic force to remain unexamined or to be mis-
interpreted and misstated, Fredeman insists.

The difficulty of properly defining Pre-Raphaelitism is partly
the fault of the Brotherhood itself. The critic could easily despair
at the task of resolving the "near-aestheticism of Rossetti, the
religiosity of Holman Hunt, the literal realism of Millais . . . the
moral-ethical sermon-paintings of Ford Madox Brown, and ultimately
the medieval-socialism of Morris via Ruskin" (p. 3). But to confine
discussion, as many critics have done, to the original Brotherhood
and to the second Brotherhood at Oxford "in reality begs the question,
for it is Pre-Raphaelitism in its generic sense with which the aes-
thetician or art historian must finally concern himself if he is to
account for the dynamic role played by the movement in the history
of nineteenth-century English art and literature" (p. 4).

Fredeman believes that "a full examination of the movement's
importance to a succession of literary isms--Aestheticism, English

3Ibid., p. 1. Fredeman's terminus a quo is the founding date
of the Brotherhood; his terminus ad quem is the death of Dante Gabriel
Rossetti. But with the exception of Collinson, Rossetti was the first
of the original seven to die. William Morris, leading figure of the
Oxford Brotherhood, died in 1896. Thus Fredeman is defining Pre-
Raphaelitism in terms of Gabriel's leadership--a narrower limitation
than the one for which he seems to be arguing.
Symbolism, Imagism, and even Surrealism—may lead to the eventual recognition of Pre-Raphaelitism as one of the most dynamic movements of the nineteenth century and perhaps the most aesthetically fecund progenitor of the twentieth.\textsuperscript{4} 

The number of artists who adopted Pre-Raphaelite methods or themes is legion. In his still-important study first published in 1899, Percy Bate discussed forty-one artists influenced by Pre-Raphaelite aims, including members of the original Brotherhood. As a kind of postscript he added nearly two dozen more, grouped loosely under "Pre-Raphaelism Today."\textsuperscript{5} Nearly fifty years later, with the advantage of perspective, Robin Ironside refined this list of Pre-Raphaelite painters to eighteen names, but added another six not given by Bate.\textsuperscript{6} Ironside may have refined too severely, omitting such Pre-Raphaelite luminaries as Charles Allston Collins, whose \textit{Convent Thoughts} stirred Ruskin's appreciation in 1851. 

From fine art, its original medium, the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism spilled over into poetry. And from poetry and art its influence spread to criticism and from thence to drama and fiction, though not always in discrete steps.


\textsuperscript{5}\textit{The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters: Their Associates and Successors} (London: Bell, 1899).

\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Pre-Raphaelite Painters} (New York: Phaidon, 1948).
Gabriel and Christina Rossetti were Pre-Raphaelite poets of the first generation. His personality reportedly was intense, and many men acknowledged his domination both in poetry and in art. George Meredith was the same age as Gabriel and therefore less inclined to be dominated than Swinburne, who was nine years younger, but both for a time fell under his sway. Meredith's sonnet sequence Modern Love was written in part while he and Rossetti were living together at 16 Cheyne Walk in Chelsea. The Pre-Raphaelite influence on Meredith has been discovered primarily in the pictorial quality of his descriptions. Swinburne was also in residence at Cheyne Walk with Meredith and Rossetti in 1862, but his debt to Rossetti reached back in time to 1857 and the Oxford Union frescoes. Swinburne also held Christina in high regard and readily acknowledged his indebtedness to her. Gerard Manley Hopkins also fell under her influence, and two of his poems are replies to one of hers.

William Morris was, like the Rossettis, a major source of Pre-Raphaelite influence. Hopkins admired his medievalism, and William Butler Yeats came under the influence of both his art and his politics. Morris and Yeats became friends and fellow students of Socialism. Under the spell of Morris and also of Rossetti, Yeats found

7S. M. Ellis, "George Meredith: His Association with the Pre-Raphaelites," Bookman, 73 (February 1928), 251.

himself "in all things Pre-Raphaelite."\(^9\) Morris also exerted a strong influence on George Bernard Shaw, whose Candida was designed to be a modern Pre-Raphaelite play.\(^10\) Pre-Raphaelite principles could be adapted to the ends of fiction as well as drama, and Charles Reade's novel, Christie Johnstone, has been called a "portrait of the artist as a young Pre-Raphaelite."\(^11\)

In criticism, as well as in fiction, drama, poetry, and painting, Pre-Raphaelite principles could be applied. Both Frederic George... Stephens and William Michael Rossetti were members of the original Brotherhood and practicing critics. And, although John Ruskin was not a member of the original Brotherhood, he was profoundly affected by the work of Millais, Hunt, Rossetti, and their fellow-artists.\(^12\) He has been variously regarded as the father of Pre-Raphaelitism and as an associate, but whichever was the case, his defense of their art "was forcing him to state more precisely the principles of artistic composition."\(^13\)

Thus Pre-Raphaelitism spread its influence from art to the various literary genres. In the course of that progress it touched


\(^11\)Wayne Burns, "Pre-Raphaelitism in Charles Reade's Early Fiction," PMLA, 60 (1945), 1149-64.

\(^12\)Fredeman, Pre-Raphaelitism, pp. 183-85.

the lives of men not ordinarily associated with the movement—men like
Reade, Meredith, Hopkins, Shaw, and Yeats—and if Pre-Raphaelitism
did not leave an indelible stamp on their work, it did affect the
course of their development.

The Pre-Raphaelite associations of Gerard Manley Hopkins have
not been fully studied, though many times noted. The tendency of
Hopkins criticism has been to regard him as a modern poet or as a
Victorian anachronism—a member of the avant garde of modern poetry
who was confined by an accident of time to an unsympathetic era. But
this notion is an example of the distortion created when literary
historians segment literature into periods. Hopkins' collected poems
were first published in 1918, and that date is within the literary
period designated "modern." To many students it therefore comes as a
surprise to learn that he predeceased five of the seven Pre-Raphaelite
brothers. William Rossetti outlived Hopkins by thirty years, and
Stephens outlived him by eighteen. Hopkins' lifespan (1844-89) almost
calls within the extreme edges of Pre-Raphaelitism, if one accepts
1896 (death of Morris) as the end of that era. Hopkins produced his
entire corpus during a time when Pre-Raphaelitism was a viable force
in England's world of literature and art. And his most memorable
poems were produced when Gabriel Rossetti's literary star was in its
ascendance. It is not surprising that evidence of Pre-Raphaelitism
can be seen in Hopkins' poems; it would be surprising if Pre-
Raphaelitism were not found there.
But studies of Hopkins' Pre-Raphaelitism are rare. In fact, studies relating Hopkins to his own century are few. Perhaps the earliest published effort to assess Hopkins in terms of the nineteenth century is that of Arthur Mizener, one of the "Kenyon Critics." Mizener contributed to the Kenyon collection a paper entitled "Victorian Hopkins" in which he demonstrates his belief that the poet's thought is that of the "typical 19th Century Englishman." This belief is based on two aspects of Hopkins' life: his social thoughts and his "minute and loving observation of nature" (p. 96). A simple perusal of Hopkins' journal is enough to substantiate Mizener's point that the poet's observation of external nature places him firmly in the company of his contemporaries. As Mizener says, it is "almost incredible how much of his time was spent in remarking the details of sunsets, flowers, and waves" (p. 18).

Four years later, on the occasion of the Pre-Raphaelite centenary, Humphry House declared emphatically that it was Gerard Manley Hopkins who "truly developed Pre-Raphaelite aims." But he did not develop his thesis, leaving it for others to document.

There have been two attempts to link Hopkins to his century by associating him with prominent Victorians. In 1960 Jean-Georges Ritz published the definitive account of Hopkins' friendship with Robert

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Bridges, a thorough and meticulously organized volume. The text is biographical and does not attempt to understand Hopkins as a nineteenth-century poet. In 1965 David A. Downes published a study of the relationship between the poet and his tutor, Walter Pater. Because the relationship was brief and relatively impersonal, rather than lengthy and epistolary, Downes was required to assemble a "cluster of affinities," whereas Ritz had been able to cite the correspondence of a quarter-century. But the study of Hopkins and Pater is oriented along literary lines and thus contributes more to an understanding of Hopkins as a Victorian poet.

Wendell Stacy Johnson's recent study, Gerard Manley Hopkins: The Poet as Victorian, is an attempt to evaluate Hopkins' role as a poet of his century. Johnson's thesis is that Hopkins' poetry "expresses Victorian preoccupations"—specifically, "understanding the self in an intensely self-conscious age" and especially, "relating the idea of the self to the idea of nature." Johnson concentrates on four "centrally important poems," demonstrates their Victorian character, and concludes that Hopkins belongs to "the highest rank of the Victorian poets" (p. 4).


The most recent study of Hopkins as a Victorian is Alison G. Sulloway's *Gerard Manley Hopkins and the Victorian Temper*, published in 1972. She argues that the Victorian age is characterized by "mood swings" and that it is this "shifting spirit, now exuberant, now tentatively hopeful, or at least reconciliatory, now gloomy, if not actually apocalyptic, that places Hopkins so firmly in the centre of the Victorian tradition." As evidence she cites the fact that he suffered the same religious traumas for which the Victorian age was famous. She also notes his debt to Ruskin: joy in nature's bounty and sadness at England's moral decay. She points out that almost a third of Hopkins' mature poems echo Carlyle's message that to work is to pray. And she notes that he shared a contemporary ambivalence about art, nature, and the aesthetic life, as well as a sense of impending doom. She concludes that the poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins are "records of the joys and burdens of Victorian England" (p. 7). But she does not relate him to the Pre-Raphaelites.

In fact, the entire issue of Hopkins' relation to the Pre-Raphaelites has been inadequately treated. Other than Humphry House's mere mention of Hopkins as a Pre-Raphaelite, there are a number of scattered and sometimes cursory references in W. H. Gardner's two-volume study, *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition*. Gardner notes the influence of the


Pre-Raphaelites, but he disperses his discussion into various chapters of both volumes. The result is an unsatisfactory treatment of a significant influence. Alan Heuser also devotes space to the subject of Hopkins' relation to the Pre-Raphaelites in The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins. The first four chapters of his study, dealing with the period from 1860-1868, touch upon the Pre-Raphaelite influence. But Heuser treats this influence as ancillary to the formation of Hopkins' idea of beauty, as a kind of simultaneous condition without any positive causal effect. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood seems to be slighted. In fact, neither of the Rossetti poets is ever mentioned, nor is Hunt, Millais, or Morris. Heuser's purpose is to set forth the poet's "shaping vision"—that is, a "vision of creation, from its beginnings in Pre-Raphaelite sensationalism and Greek philosophy, through its modifications and applications, psychological, poetic, moral, theological, to its final stages of discovery" (p. 6). But it is difficult to understand how one can discuss the Pre-Raphaelite influence without naming the principals in the movement.

Paradoxically, the article which best succeeds in associating Hopkins with the Pre-Raphaelites is an article which does not presume to do so. Elizabeth Rothenstein discusses "The Pre-Raphaelites and Ourselves" and along the way interposes three pages on Hopkins as "the one man who did realize to the full the P.R.B. ideal." This is a

\[21\] Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1968.

\[22\] The Month, NS 1 (March 1949), 193.
very large claim for a man almost totally divorced from public life, a man whose art was voluntarily subordinated to the demands of another discipline. But Mrs. Rothenstein offers evidence that the Jesuit poet was greatly affected by his P,R,B. predecessors: the influence of Ruskin's drawing upon his own; his interest in the Brotherhood as attested by his diary; his fascination with the phenomena of nature; his Pre-Raphaelite feeling for color; his passion for the distinctive and the unique; his discovery that outward beauty is the sign of inward beauty; his use of symbolism to express the meaning of Christ.

But Hopkins is not merely the silent associate of the Brotherhood; he is the greatest of them, according to Mrs. Rothenstein. More than that, "He is the key to them. . . . When he studied the inscape of a thing or a place it was to discover the selfhood of the thing. . . . He used words in a way of his own and coined compounds and ran counter to ordinary diction in an effort to cleanse words of associations so that they could with the greater precision declare the unique objective selfhood of the thing that he describes" (pp. 196-97). Mrs. Rothenstein compares several of his poems with paintings by Holman Hunt, and she describes his poems as if they were paintings: "Everyone has the experience, on reading him, not only that one is in a vivid world where there is life and a clarity that will have nothing of the merely vague or uncanny, but that he has seen as we see, but more deeply; that he has described, as we should have liked but never could, the distinctive character of things and places" (p. 197).
Testimony such as this rises almost to the plane of lyrical intensity. And it is not surprising that it should do so. Hopkins and the Pre-Raphaelites, apart or together, inspire a rare degree of excitement or enthusiasm. What is surprising, then, is that no one has examined in significant detail Hopkins' relations with the Pre-Raphaelites or their influence on his early poetry. The topic is intriguing. And if answers are not easy, the investigation will place Hopkins more securely in his own age. And it will illuminate our understanding of his poetry, the "achieve of, the mastery of the thing."

This study will be limited to the early poems--those written from 1860 to 1875. Twenty-seven finished poems and sixty fragments are extant from this period, all reprinted in Poems. It is impossible to determine how many may have been lost in the "slaughter of the innocents" on May 11, 1868, when Hopkins burned his manuscript poems, having resolved to "give up all beauty" until he had God's leave for it. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at Roehampton on September 7, 1868. Except for "two or three little presentation pieces," he wrote no more verse until he began the startlingly original Wreck of the Deutschland in December 1875. With that he commenced his mature period and the poems for which he is best known.
CHAPTER II

PRE-RAPHAELITISM KNOWN BY ITS WORKS

The Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic is difficult to define, and the fault is partly that of the Pre-Raphaelites themselves. They left no theoretical justification for their movement, no explanation of its philosophical basis. Both William Rossetti and Holman Hunt wrote voluminously about the phenomenon of Pre-Raphaelitism, but their works are primarily historical and autobiographical, not theoretical. There is the added difficulty that members of the Brotherhood were individualists whose progress was not always parallel; they went their separate ways, expanding the concept of Pre-Raphaelitism. It became an organic thing, changing shape and color as it grew. And ultimately Pre-Raphaelitism must be defined from its practice, rather than from a priori determinations. It is, for example, an untenable definition which excludes the art of William Morris, although his art is closer to art for art's sake than to Hunt's didacticism. As Christina Rossetti once said, "Whilst our 'school' was everything, it was no one definite thing." The surest definition, then, is one which abstracts the characteristics of Pre-Raphaelitism from its works.

When William Holman Hunt met John Everett Millais in 1844, Hunt was seventeen and a twice-disappointed applicant to the Royal Academy Schools. Millais was barely fifteen but already a student of some five years' standing in the Schools, marked as a future R.A. As

23 Quoted in Fredeman, The Victorian Poets, pp. 284-85.
fellow students the two boys began a friendship which was essentially the first step in the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The second step was Hunt's proselytizing on behalf of John Keats. Hunt soon conceived a design for a scene from "The Eve of St. Agnes" and showed it to Millais, who commended the idea. The painting to which Hunt referred was to become one of his most admired works, The Eve of St. Agnes. It represents the scene depicted in stanza XLI of Keats's poem:

They glide, like phantoms, into the wide hall;
Like phantoms, to the iron porch, they glide;
Where lay the Porter, in uneasy sprawl,
With a huge empty flaggon by his side:
The wakeful bloodhound rose, and shook his hide,
But his sagacious eye an inmate owns:
By one, and one, the bolts full easy slide:--
The chains lie silent on the footworn stones;--
The key turns, and the door upon its hinges groans.
(II. 361-69)

The painting was rushed to completion so that it might be submitted in time for the eightieth exhibition of the Royal Academy in the spring of 1848.

Millais became as ardent an admirer of the poet as Hunt, and the two artists resolved to begin a series of drawings illustrating Keats's "Isabella." Before the project was well underway, however, the third step in the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood took place: Dante Gabriel Rossetti visited the Royal Academy exhibition. Hunt's painting was hung in a good light, and Rossetti was


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immediately attracted to it. He was already an admirer of Keats's poetry, and he was drawn to the painting because of its subject. Until Rossetti approached Hunt to express admiration for his painting, they had been "only on nodding terms" (I, 106), although both had been studying at the Royal Academy for nearly three years. Ultimately it was not their role as students which brought them together, nor Hunt's respect for his young fellow student; it was their mutual appreciation of Keats.

No one knows precisely when Rossetti conceived his enthusiasm for the poetry of Keats, but his brother suggests 1844 as a possible date. This would make Gabriel's discovery of Keats contemporaneous with, though independent of, Holman Hunt's discovery. Over the years to follow, Rossetti turned again and again to Keats, and some of his poems appear to be modeled on those of Keats, though subtly altered to minimize the extent of his dependence. Nevertheless his debt is certain, as Tennyson's debt was and Hopkins' would be. But aside from the question of Keats's influence on Rossetti's poetry, it was Rossetti's influence on other artists which helped to propagate Keats's fame: "He is the link between Keats and later writers, and through his example and influence, the Keatsian strain becomes predominant in later nineteenth century poetry."


26 Ford, pp. 121-45.

27 Ibid., p. 145.
Rossetti visited Hunt at his home within a few days after their conversation at the exhibition, and the two young artists agreed to share a studio. Hunt and Millais already were friends, of course, and Hunt was eager to introduce his fellow artists to each other. When the moment was most opportune, therefore, Hunt accompanied Rossetti to the home of Millais. This was, in effect, the initial meeting of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, although at that precise moment the idea was yet unformed. The three young men on one occasion purred a volume of engravings of the frescoes at the Campo Santo. The designs are attributed to early Italian painters who predated the better known Raphael. The frescoes are thus literally Pre-Raphaelite, and their "attentive observation of inexhaustible Nature" (Hunt, I, 133) is often credited with providing the principle and the prototype for the work of the three artists and their followers, as well as the name of the Brotherhood itself.

The three young men invited four others to become members of the Brotherhood: Thomas Woolner, a student of sculpture at the Royal Academy; James Collinson, a Royal Academy student and suitor of Rossetti's younger sister, Christina; William Michael Rossetti, Gabriel's brother; and Frederic George Stephens, a pupil of Hunt.

The original three members and Collinson were even then at work, preparing their paintings for the 1849 exhibition season. Rossetti

sent *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* to the Free Exhibition at Hyde Park Corner. Hunt carried his own picture, *Rienzi*, to the Academy at nearly midnight on April 10, the final day for entries. Millais was forced to work swiftly to finish *Lorenzo and Isabella* in time for the Academy entry deadline. His painting was the product of an enthusiasm for Keats which Hunt had implanted, and it illustrates the first stanza from Keats's "Isabella, or the Pot of Basil":

```
Fair Isabel, poor simple Isabel!
Lorenzo, a young palmer in love's eye!
They could not in the self-same mansion dwell
Without some stir of heart, some malady;
They could not sit at meals but feel how well
It soothed each to be the other by;
They could not, sure, beneath the same roof sleep
But to each other dream, and nightly weep.
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(11. 1-8)

Millais chose to inscribe the mysterious initials PRB on the leg of the chair in which Isabella sits, rather than following his signature as both Rossetti and Hunt had done. The fourth member of the Brotherhood to exhibit that year, James Collinson, submitted *Italian Image Makers at a Roadside Alehouse*. But despite successful showings by four of its members, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood failed to alter the Royal Academy's system of values.

The 1850 exhibition season—a time when members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had hoped to achieve positive acclaim—became a time of notoriety and scurrilous abuse. The nearly unrelieved hostility that greeted them included that of Charles Dickens, novelist, who had become a magazine editor only three months earlier and now was
quasi-art-critic. On June 15, in Household Words, he loosed the reigns of his rhetoric to evaluate Millais' Christ in the House of His Parents as "the lowest depths of what is mean, odious, repulsive and revolting." He justified his revulsion by contending that the picture's realism defeats the ennobling power of beauty, and beauty is the artist's means of rendering "reverence and homage to the faith in which we live and die!" Dickens did not want to look at the veins and angular elbows of Joseph the carpenter because, he said, the same varicose veins could be seen on any dirty drunkard and thus did nothing to elevate one's thoughts. His attack, however fallacious its major premise, struck at the heart of the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic with its emphasis on scrupulous fidelity to nature. Millais had taken his easel to a carpenter's shop in order to record truthfully the muscles and sinews of a man whose daily labor was the same as that of St. Joseph.

The members of the Brotherhood were dismayed at these unexpected outbursts, and Rossetti resolved never to exhibit again in public. The other three painters, Hunt, Millais, and Collinson, persevered and began their designs for the 1851 season. And three close PRB associates, Ford Madox Brown, Charles Allston Collins, and Walter Howell Deverell, also were preparing Pre-Raphaelite works for the coming exhibitions. Although none of the three was formally a member, all were


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intimates of the Brotherhood and had painted works in accord with Pre-Raphaelite principles.

The enmity displayed by literary journals, newspapers, and art critics in general may have hastened the end of another PRB project: The Germ. It was to be the literary showplace for Pre-Raphaelite talent, just as the Royal Academy and the Free Exhibition were showplaces for their arts of design. Gabriel was at heart as much a poet as a painter. The PRB journal would provide an outlet for his poetry. His need to express himself in words as well as in oils was made graphically clear in 1849 at the Free Exhibition, where he was not satisfied merely to title his painting; he appended two sonnets, one to describe the painting, the other to interpret the symbols.

At about this same time William Rossetti was made secretary to the Brotherhood and began keeping a record of their monthly meetings as well as other professional and semi-professional affairs. The first entry is dated May 15, 1849, and less than two months later Gabriel and William are mentioned in connection with plans for a "monthly sixpenny magazine for which four or five of us would write and one make an etching, each subscribing a guinea, and thus becoming a proprietor."30 By December 27 the proof sheets had been run off, and on the last day of December the first set of completed copies, dated January 1850, was sent to the publisher. Within its fifty pages plus wrappers, Gabriel

Rossetti published a poem and a short story, his brother William two sonnets and a book review, and their sister Christina two lyrics. Woolner contributed two poems, and Brown and Coventry Patmore one poem each. Hunt's double etching illustrated Woolner's related poems. The February number was reduced to an edition of five hundred, on advice of the printer. William, as editor, began gathering manuscripts, including "The Blessed Damozel" and three lyrics by Christina. Other contributions included a poem and a review by William Rossetti, a poem and an etching by James Collinson, and an essay entitled "The Purpose and Tendency of Early Italian Art." The essay was written by Stephens, under the name "John Seward," and it is an attempt to justify the admiration of the Brotherhood for painters who practiced before Raphael's time. The essay also expresses the central tenet of the Pre-Raphaelite creed, truth to nature: "Believe that there is that in the fact of truth, though it be only in the character of a single leaf earnestly studied, which may do its share in the great labor of the world."31

This injunction seems to be almost a prediction of the primary concern of Hopkins' life and a significant link with Pre-Raphaelitism. Other contributions to the February number included an essay by Brown and poems by Deverell and Patmore.

The March edition contained two poems and a review by William Rossetti, two poems each by Gabriel and Christina, an essay by Patmore, a

poem by Woolner, and an etching by Brown. But the fortunes of the magazine were very dim, and the fourth issue was the final one. It was dated May 1850, and it contained an individual poem and a series of six sonnets by Gabriel, three poems and a review by his brother, a poem and an etching by Deverell, and an essay entitled "Modern Giants" by one "Laura Savage," later identified as Stephens. This essay was a defense of the Pre-Raphaelite doctrine of faithful adherence to nature and a forlorn wish that the modern element in poetry and painting be accorded the same respect as that given to the ancient and classical.

The Germ never attained its true goal: to express and propagate the ideals of Pre-Raphaelitism. But it was not neglect that caused The Germ to die; it was financial poor health, complicated by the negative reaction to the Pre-Raphaelite art exhibits of May 1850.

In the 1851 Academy exhibition Collins' Convent Thoughts was attacked as if he were a member of the PRB. Brown also had a picture hung at the Academy and was included in the criticism. Deverell was exhibiting with Collinson at the Free Exhibition, where both were excoriated as Pre-Raphaelite degenerates. Hunt's Valentine Rescuing Sylvia from Proteus was his only contribution, while Millais, with his usual facility and industry, had produced three pictures: Mariana, The Woodman's Daughter, and The Return of the Dove to the Ark. All shared in the liberally distributed opprobrium.

It was evident that Pre-Raphaelitism was still anathema in the English art world. Millais was the most concerned—painting had been his existence for perhaps fifteen years, and at the time of the 1851
exhibition he was only twenty-one. Despite the Pre-Raphaelite assault on Academy authority and values, Millais did not wish to endanger the prospect of his success in the profession he had chosen. Therefore he sought out Patmore, who was also a friend of Ruskin, already the premier art critic of Victorian England. Patmore in turn spoke to Ruskin, who wrote two letters to The Times of London in defense of the young artists Collins, Hunt, and Millais—all of whom The Times had ridiculed mercilessly in its review of the exhibition. Ruskin's letters, published May 13 and May 30, nudged the Brethren toward respectability, though not immediately, and they were the most potent single force in the improving fortunes of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. They also comprise a definition of Pre-Raphaelitism.

Patmore may have pointed out to Ruskin the fact that much of the rationale for Pre-Raphaelitism was embodied in Modern Painters, the first two volumes of which had made Ruskin famous. The initial volume had appeared in 1843, and its author, because he was only twenty-four, was identified on the title-page only as "A Graduate of Oxford." It was an immediate success, and in 1846 Ruskin published the second in what was to become a five-volume treatise. It may have been this second volume which both delighted and awed young Holman Hunt, who at that time was still a student in the Royal Academy Schools. Hunt relates how he borrowed the book from a fellow-student: "To get through the book I sat up most of the night, and I had to return it ere I made acquaintance with a quota of the good there was in it. But of all its readers none could have felt more strongly than myself that it was
written expressly for him. When it had gone, the echo of its words
stayed with me, and they gained a further value and meaning whenever
my more solemn feelings were touched" (Hunt, I, 73).

Hunt never specified what inspiration he found in Ruskin's Modern
Painters, but the central thrust of those volumes was to demonstrate
the superiority of certain modern English painters with respect to
their representational fidelity to nature. The Oxford graduate argued
that truth is the most valuable idea that art can convey, and he urged
artists and spectators alike to develop their powers of observation
and perception. He insisted that the artist must express the beauty
of the visible world; thus the spectator will be delighted, enobled,
and instructed.

The first letter which Ruskin wrote in defense of the Pre-
Raphaelites explained the primary tenet of Pre-Raphaelitism and an-
swered specific criticisms made by the Times' art critic. It began
by expressing regret at the acerbic tone of the newspaper's critique
"because the mere labour bestowed on those works, and their fidelity
to a certain order of truth (labour and fidelity which are altogether
indisputable), ought at once to have placed them above the level of
mere contempt; and secondly, because, I believe these young artists to
be at a most critical period of their career--at a turning-point, from
which they may either sink into nothingness or rise to very real great-
ness."32

32The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedder-
burn (London: George Allen, 1903-12), XII, 319. Hereafter cited as
Works.
Following his criticism of Collins' supposed Tractarianism in *Convent Thoughts*, which depicts a nun examining a flower as she stands before a placid pool, Ruskin writes: "I happen to have a special acquaintance with the water plant, *Alisma Platago*, among which the ... gold fish are swimming; and as I never saw it so thoroughly or so well drawn, I must take leave to remonstrate with you, when you say sweepingly that these men 'sacrifice truth as well as feeling to eccentricity.' For as a mere botanical study of the waterlily and *Alisma*, as well as of the common lily and several other garden flowers, this picture would be invaluable to me, and I heartily wish it were mine" (*Works*, XII, 321). This single point constitutes a significant argument in favor of the Pre-Raphaelites because it establishes the validity of their major tenet: exact rendering of nature. The Brotherhood of artists insisted upon fidelity to what the artist sees, as opposed to idealization of nature, which was an article of faith in the Royal Academy Schools. "It is simply fuller Nature we want," Hunt had said in establishing the first principle of Pre-Raphaelitism (I, 87).

Ruskin also took care in his letter to clarify misapprehensions regarding the name Pre-Raphaelite. Patmore apparently had briefed him well, for he was aware that much criticism was founded upon a misinterpretation of the name. It had been presumed by several critics that Pre-Raphaelite implied a rejection of Raphael himself and of his heritage. But Ruskin offered to correct an impression which your article is likely to induce in most minds, and which is altogether false. These pre-Raphaelites (I
cannot compliment them on common-sense in choice of a nom de guerre) do not desire nor pretend in any way to imitate antique paintings as such. They know very little of ancient paintings who suppose the works of these young artists to resemble them. As far as I can judge of their air—for, as I said, I do not know the men themselves—the pre-Raphaelites intend to surrender no advantage which the knowledge or inventions of the present time can afford to their art. They intend to return to early days in this one point only—that, as far as in them lies, they will draw either what they see, or what they suppose might have been the actual facts of the scene they desire to represent, irrespective of any conventional rules of picture-making; and they have chosen their unfortunate though not inaccurate name because all artists did this before Raphael's time, and after Raphael's time did not this, but sought to paint fair pictures, rather than represent stern facts; of which consequence has been that, from Raphael's time to this day, historical art has been in acknowledged decadence (Works, XII, 321-22).

A more succinct and masterful explanation of the rationale behind the choice of title for their revolutionary pleiad could not have been framed by William Holman Hunt himself. But Ruskin was not content with correcting this misconception. He asserted that with very few exceptions, "There is not a single study of drapery in the whole Academy, be it in large works or small, which for perfect truth, power, and finish could be compared for an instant with the black sleeve of the Julia or with the velvet on the breast and the chain mail of the Valentine, of Mr. Hunt's picture; or with the white draperies on the table of Mr. Millais' 'Mariana,' and of the right-hand figure in the same painter's 'Dove returning to the Ark.'" And if these unequivocal remarks were insufficient to cast doubt on the credentials of the Times'
art critic, Ruskin further contended that "as studies both of drapery and of every minor detail, there has been nothing in art so earnest or complete as these pictures since the days of Albert Durer. This I assert generally and fearlessly" (Works, XII, 322-23).

On May 30 the sequel appeared, along with a somewhat subdued rebuttal by the Times. Ruskin's letter offered specific criticisms of Hunt's and Millais' pictures before concluding grandly that the Pre-Raphaelites might "lay in our England the foundation of a school of art nobler than the world has seen for three hundred years" (Works, XII, 327). Ruskin's advocacy was invaluable to the Pre-Raphaelites—not merely the two letters to the Times, but also his pamphlet issued later in the year, which elaborated on those two letters. The pamphlet provides a philosophical justification for the efforts of the Brotherhood, as well as a criticism of methods of art instruction then in vogue. And it appears that Ruskin had come to regard Hunt and Millais as the visible embodiment of his advice given at the close of the first volume of Modern Painters and quoted in the "Preface" to his pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism: "The young artists of England should go to nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thought but how best to penetrate her meaning; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing" (Works, XII, 339).

Ruskin begins his pamphlet by supposing that the two faculties a painter requires are "intenseness of observation and facility of imitation." Furthermore, a painter must have an instinct for "faithful
representation of all objects of historical interest, or of natural beauty." Ruskin then reduces to three the principal charges leveled at the Pre-Raphaelites and disposes of each in succession. "The current fallacy of society as well as the press, was, that the Pre-Raphaelites imitated the errors of early painters." This is purely and simply a falsehood, Ruskin argues; there is "not a shadow of resemblance" between the two styles:

The Pre-Raphaelites imitate no pictures; they paint from nature only. But they have opposed themselves as a body to that kind of teaching above described, which only began after Raphael's time: and, they have opposed themselves as sternly to the entire feeling of the Renaissance schools; a feeling compounded of indolence, infidelity, sensuality, and shallow pride. Therefore they have called themselves Pre-Raphaelites. . . .

The second falsehood was, that the Pre-Raphaelites did not draw well. This was asserted, and could have been asserted only by persons who had never looked at the pictures.

The third falsehood was, that they had no system of light and shade. To which it may be simply replied that their system of light and shade is exactly the same as the Sun's; which is, I believe, likely to outlast that of the Renaissance, however brilliant. (Works, XII, 357-58n.)

Ruskin's injunction to paint from nature only was perfectly realized in the Pre-Raphaelites and perfectly illustrated in Millais' picture, The Woodman's Daughter, then hanging at the Royal Academy. Millais had taken his theme from Patmore's poem and had so meticulously observed the primary tenet of Pre-Raphaelitism that he had ordered strawberries from which to paint, despite their exorbitant cost in March: "I had to pay five-and-sixpence for the four--a vast sum for me
in those days, but necessary . . . and Charlie Collins and I ate them afterwards with a thankful heart".\(^3^3\)

Largely because of Ruskin's willingness to defend publicly the little band of seven men, they achieved a sort of legitimacy in the English art world, and in January of 1853 William Rossetti was able to observe: "Our position is greatly altered. We have emerged from reckless abuse to a position of general and high recognition, just so much qualified by adverse criticism as suffices to keep our once would-be annihilators in countenance" (Diaries, p. 306).

It was not until 1853 that Gabriel Rossetti met Ruskin, whose defense of Pre-Raphaelitism had not mentioned him and thus had not boosted his career as it had those of Hunt and Millais. Ruskin soon compensated for that slight by attempting to prod Rossetti into artistic productivity and by relieving his relative poverty.

During the years remaining to Rossetti he concentrated on his poems as much as on his painting, and it is largely through his (and Christina's) poetry that the Pre-Raphaelites acquired a literary reputation. She had published two poems in the prestigious Athenaeum in October 1848, though she was only seventeen. Gabriel did not publish any of his poems (except in The Germ) until four years later--also in the Athenaeum. But he had already written some of his best poetry, including "The Blessed Damozel" in May 1847 and "My Sister's Sleep" before then. In the 1850's he occupied himself much of the time with

translations from the Italian poets, and in 1861, with Ruskin's financial assistance, he published his translations from Dante and others. It was entitled Early Italian Poets but later renamed Dante and His Circle. The following year his wife, Elizabeth Siddal Rossetti, died accidentally or committed suicide, and Gabriel impulsively thrust his manuscript of original poetry into her coffin. These poems were exhumed in October 1869, and in the last days of the following April the poems were published. The volume gave him a reputation "second to that of no contemporary English poet after Tennyson and Browning."\(^{34}\)

His second major volume of original poetry, Ballads and Sonnets, was published in the fall of 1881, scarcely six months before his death on Easter Sunday, and it contained a number of new poems together with an autobiographical sonnet sequence, The House of Life. On these sonnets, as well as on earlier poems such as "The Blessed Damozel," much of his literary reputation rests. And because he is the personification of literary Pre-Raphaelitism, the term itself is linked to his poetry in general and to "The Blessed Damozel" in particular. It is thus regarded as one of the most representative poems of Pre-Raphaelitism. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to learn that Hopkins obtained a manuscript copy of this poem and transcribed it into his common-place book.

\(^{34}\)Richard Garnett, "Rossetti, Dante Gabriel," DNB (ca. 1888-89).
In an essay entitled "Pre-Raphaelite Poetry," W. W. Robson looks to that poem and others for evidence of the characteristics that distinguish Rossetti's poetry as well as that of his sister, Christina, and his friend, William Morris. Robson argues that the adjective "Pre-Raphaelite"—as used by the literary critic—suggests certain idiosyncrasies of style. For example, there is a deliberate simplicity of manner. Robson does not define "simplicity" as he uses it, but many of the poems of both Christina and Gabriel are notable for simplicity of diction and setting and emotion. This simplicity is typical of the ballad, a mode which both Rossettis employed often. Robson finds, in conjunction with simplicity of manner, that "curious trick of particularizing" (p. 355). The use of specific numbers to particularize a scene is the most obvious device, and Robson cites the most obvious instance of it—"The Blessed Damozel":

She had three lilies in her hand,
And the stars in her hair were seven.
(11. 5-6)

Another oft-quoted instance of particularizing with numbers occurs in "The Woodspurge":

My eyes, wide open, had the run
Of some ten weeds to fix upon;
Among those few, out of the sun,
The Woodspurge flowered, three cups in one.
(11. 9-12)

Robson also finds particularity of sensory detail in Pre-Raphaelite poetry, and as an example he cites Rossetti's "My Sister's Sleep," a poem written before he became a member of the Brotherhood:

Without, there was a cold moon up,  
Of winter radiance sheer and thin;  
The hollow halo it was in  
Was like an icy crystal cup. (11. 13-16)

This kind of visual particularizing abounds in poetry of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, but is not unique to it and in fact occurs in the best poetry of every age. But as a conscious and characteristic device the use of visual detail clearly earmarks Pre-Raphaelite verse, as in the famous example from "The Blessed Damozel":

And still she bowed herself and stooped  
Out of the circling charm;  
Until her bosom must have made  
The bar she leaned on warm,  
And the lilies lay as if asleep  
Along her bended arm. (11. 43-48)

And although Robson does not mention tactile appeal in his catalogue of sensory detail, both examples above yield instances of appeal to the sense of touch, another technique of particularizing frequently used by the Pre-Raphaelite poets.

A third method of particularizing through appeal to the senses is the auditory detail which appears frequently in Pre-Raphaelite verse. Robson again cites an example from "My Sister's Sleep":

Twelve struck. That sound, by dwindling years  
Heard in each hour, crept off, and then

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The ruffled silence spread again,  
Like water that a pebble stirs.  

Our mother rose from where she sat;  
Her needles, as she laid them down,  
Met lightly, and her silken gown  
Settled: no other noise than that.  
(11. 25-32)

Robson might as easily have selected an example from "The Blessed Damozel," that archetypal Pre-Raphaelite poem:

(Ah sweet! Even now, in that bird's song,  
Strove not her accents there,  
Fain to be hearkened? When those bells  
Possessed the mid-day air,  
Strove not her steps to reach my side  
Down all the echoing stair?)  
(11. 60-65)

More vivid than all of these, the images in Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market" depend upon the sense of taste for their effect. Christina develops her unforgettable poem around the taste delights proffered by the little men in the glen:

She clipped a precious golden lock,  
She dropped a tear more rare than pearl,  
Then sucked their fruit globes fair or red.  
Sweeter than honey from the rock,  
Stronger than man-rejoicing wine,  
Clearer than water flowed that juice;  
She never tasted such before,  
How should it cloy with length of use?  
She sucked and sucked and sucked the more  
Fruits that unknown orchard bore;  
She sucked until her lips were sore;  
Then flung the emptied rinds away.  
(11. 126-37)

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The gustatory images of Christina's poem are dominant, and sensory appeals in other Pre-Raphaelite poems seem less functional in comparison. But her brother several times calls up fragrance that seems to rise in the air like incense:

The Queen sat idle by her loom:  
   She heard the arras stir,  
   And looked up sadly: through the room  
   The sweetness sickened her  
       Of musk and myrrh.  
   (11. 21-25, "The Staff and Scrip")

Another instance of olfactory imagery may be found in Gabriel's "Sudden Light":

   I have been here before,  
       But when or how I cannot tell:  
   I know the grass beyond the door,  
       The sweet keen smell,  
   The sighing sound, the lights around the shore.  
   (11. 1-5)

Besides particularizing the subject through use of specific numbers and sensory detail, the Pre-Raphaelite poet characteristically medievalizes and archaizes the poem, according to Robson. As an example he cites Morris:

   'They hammer'd out my basnet point  
       Into a round salade,' he said.  
   'The basnet being quite out of joint  
       Natheless the salade rasps my head.'  
   (11. 5-8, "Old Love")

Gabriel's "Sister Helen" is the best known Pre-Raphaelite poem in the ballad mode, although it is not accompanied by the archaic vocabulary.
one finds in this poem by Morris. Christina also used certain characteristics of the ballad, as in "Amor Mundi," but the poetry of William Morris is rife with medieval elements, of which archaic vocabulary and archaic forms—such as the ballad—are only two examples. His use of the medieval subject in The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems suggests his dedication to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and this book of poems has been described as the most Pre-Raphaelite volume of poems. His love of medievalism found its way into his crafts as well—furniture, manuscripts, and tapestries—and Pre-Raphaelitism became a threefold impulse: painting, literature, and craft. One of Christina's poems seems almost a literal description of a Morris tapestry:

Raise me a dais of silk and down;  
Hang it with vair and purple dyes;  
Carve it in doves and pomegranates,  
And peacocks with a hundred eyes;  
Work it in gold and silver grapes,  
In leaves and silver fleurs-de-lys;  
Because the birthday of my life  
Is come, my love is come to me.  
(11. 9-16, "A Birthday")

This is characteristic Pre-Raphaelite taste in decoration, according to Robson. But the decoration, the medievalizing, the particularizing, the simplicity of manner—all these are simply superficial traits of style, Robson contends. More important for the literary critic, he

believes, is the recurrence of certain habits of feeling, especially a mood of listlessness, decay, desolation, death—a mood frequently imaged in the season of autumn. As an example he cites some lines from "The Stream's Secret" by Gabriel Rossetti:

Then by her summoning art
Shall memory conjure back the sere
Autumnal Springs, from many a dying year
Born dead; and, bitter to the heart,
The very ways where now we walk apart
Who then shall cling so near.
(11. 97-102)

Robson also cites lines from Morris's poem, The Earthly Paradise, and from one of Christina Rossetti's sonnets in the Later Life sequence to document the mood of decay so often discovered in the Pre-Raphaelite poets, of whom Christina most consistently expresses the mood. A certain morbidity tinges much of her verse, and "baulked desire" of one kind or another is an element in the character of her poetry.

Still another characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite poetry, Robson writes, is "religiosity: the use of religious language for evocative purposes, by a man to whom real religion means nothing" (p. 357). But he restricts this unsympathetic assessment to Gabriel Rossetti because, he says, to Morris formal religion meant little, and he was not tempted to "exploit" its language; and to Christina Rossetti formal religion meant a great deal, and therefore she was not tempted to exploit its language. But Gabriel was different, Robson insists. And he cites these lines from "Love's Redemption" [sic] as an example:
O thou who at Love's hour ecstatically
Unto my lips dost evermore present
The body and blood of Love in sacrament;
Whom I have neared and felt thy breath to be
The inmost incense of his sanctuary. (11. 1-5)

But it is not possible from the example itself--without reference to Rossetti's personal conduct--to detect the "religiosity" of that passage. *Intent* is difficult to prove, whether in a court of criminal or literary judgment. And if one is to be permitted to call up biographical facts as evidence, one ought to be able to cite contrary instances--for example, the "sincerity" of the sonnets he composed to interpret his first exhibited picture, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*. And even if Dante Gabriel Rossetti is the pre-eminent literary Pre-Raphaelite, the fact that neither Christina Rossetti nor William Morris "exploits" the language of religion is grounds to question "religiosity" as a characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite poetry.

But there is a note of *spirituality* which appears quite often in the poems of brother and sister. In Christina's verse the note is closer to conventional doctrine; in Gabriel's verse the note is closer to mystical. And it is this difference that Robson feels, perhaps.

Christina remains doctrinally true:

```
I have no wit, no words, no tears;
My heart within me like a stone
Is numbed too much for hopes or fears.
Look right, look left, I dwell alone;
I lift mine eyes, but dimmed with grief
No everlasting hills I see.
My life is in the falling leaf;
O Jesus, quicken me.
(11. 1-8, "A Better Resurrection")
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Her call for succor to relieve despair is addressed to a recognizable savior. Gabriel, on the other hand, is quite capable of inventing a savior whose peace is of this world:

Gather a shell from the strown beach
   And listen at its lips; they sigh
The same desire and mystery,
   The echo of the whole sea's speech.
   And all mankind is thus at heart
   Not anything but what thou art;
   And Earth, Sea, Man, are all in each.
(11. 22-28, "The Sea-Limits")

This kind of pantheistic piety is different from his sister's devotional poetry, but it would be unfair to term this an "exploitation" of the language of religion. His poetry deviated little from the tenets of established religion, although it sometimes seems to be caught between two worlds—those of the flesh and the spirit. "The Blessed Damozel" unites those worlds, but it is not the language of exploitation. His choice of words for their religious effect seldom went beyond the example of "The Blessed Damozel," that spiritualized vessel of femininity whose thoughts were quite fleshly:

"There will I ask of Christ the Lord
   Thus much for him and me—
Only to live as once on earth
   With Love, only to be,
As then awhile, forever now,
   Together, I and he.

"We two will lie i' the shadow of
   That living mystic tree
Within whose secret growth the Dove
   Is sometimes felt to be,
While every leaf that His plumes touch
   Sith His Name audibly."

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She gazed and listened and then said,
Less sad of speech than mild--
"All this is when he comes." She ceased.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
And then she cast her arms along
The golden barriers,
And laid her face between her hands,
And wept. (I heard her tears.)

(11. 127-32, 85-90, 133-35, 141-44)

This is not exploitation of religion. It is simply a non-doctrinal
religious tenor adapted to suit the ends of poetry. As such it is not
unlike the religious note in the poetry of Christina or of William Mor­
ris, and hence it is characteristically Pre-Raphaelite.

The literariness which Robson also finds in the poetry of these
three is a doubtful virtue in his system of values. By "literariness"
he refers to the artifice and sophistication which he feels to be com­
mon to all examples quoted and present in all of Gabriel Rossetti's
poetry. A reader's response to his poetry "is predominantly a re­
response to words, words heavily charged with literary association and
reminiscence. . . . The words seem to be 'saying' a great deal, but to
be 'doing' very little; and when we look up the passage in its context,
the impressiveness of this 'saying' seems to be the raison d'être of
the whole poem" (p. 358). This argument, which is essentially nega­tive, is not capable of resolution. Words are the stuff of poetry.
The difference between purely referential language and symbolic, emo­tionally heightened language is the difference between prose and poet­ry. The degree to which those words should be other than purely refer­ential is a subjective value judgment on which there can be no unanim­ity. The question is similar to the one about whether Shakespeare's
plays should be interpreted in a declamatory or in a naturalistic acting fashion, or somewhere in between. The answer is that it is a matter of taste. All poetry involves artifice of some degree, from Christina's typical mood of denial to Gabriel's voluptuousness to Morris's medievalism. The art in poetry lies in concealing the artifice.

Christina was apparently able to do this better than her brother could, for Robson takes one line from her lovely sonnet, "A Pause," to illustrate the simplicity and naturalness of her writing: "Perhaps he loves, I thought, remembers, grieves." But Robson was so impressed with the "speaking voice" in that line that he did not recognize the artificiality of the sestet in that sonnet:

At length there came the step upon the stair,  
Upon the lock the old familiar hand:  
Then first my spirit seemed to scent the air  
Of Paradise; then first the tardy sand  
Of time ran golden; and I felt my hair  
Put on a glory, and my soul expand.  
(11. 9-14)

The crescendo of emotion in the sestet is clearly contrived, as shown by comparison with the octave, in which an opposite mood is depicted. But the crescendo is perfectly attuned to the occasion, the hoped-for return of the loved one, and is therefore artistically acceptable despite its literariness. (Robson also misinterprets the theme of the poem, seeing it as essentially religious--the story of a soul's wait for heavenly redemption and its final reward. But in fact the poem is about love and death: the body lies in state, the soul not yet departed, waiting for one last visit from its earthly lover. The poem is morbid in subject, the scene contrived, the treatment artificial, the
language literary; but the effect is happy.)

The seven characteristics which W. W. Robson adduces to be Pre-Raphaelite are generally true enough. Had he wished, he could have noted also the sensuality which is a feature of Gabriel Rossetti's poetry in particular—"the homage of the dim boudoir," in his own phrase. It was this fleshliness that Robert Buchanan seized upon in the essay which led Rossetti to omit "Nuptial Sleep" from The House of Life in later editions of his poetry. But sensuality marks many of the sonnets there, as in "Willowwood I":

Then the dark ripples spread to waving hair,  
And as I stooped, her own lips rising there  
Bubbled with brimming kisses at my mouth.  
(11. 12-14)

Sensuality is also present in Christina's "Goblin Market":

She clung about her sister,  
Kissed and kissed and kissed her:  
Tears once again  
Refreshed her shrunken eyes,  
Dropping like rain  
After long sultry drouth;  
Shaking with anguish fear, and pain,  
She kissed and kissed her with a hungry mouth.  
(11. 485-92)

But sensuality was not Christina's characteristic note, as it was in her brother's poetry and occasionally in Morris's:

I kissed her hard by the ear, and she  
Kissed me on the brow,  
And then lay on the grass, where  
The mark on the moss is now,  
And spread her arms out wide  
While I went down below.  
(11. 49-51, "The Wind")

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Algernon Charles Swinburne was the most sensual of the Pre-Raphaelite poets, although in some ways his Pre-Raphaelitism is limited to his brief association with the Rossettis and Morris and to a few of his early poems such as "The Triumph of Time" or perhaps "Faustine":

And when your veins were void and dead,
What ghosts unclean
Swarmed round the straitened barren bed
That hid Faustine?

What sterile growths of sexless root
Or epicene?
What flower of kisses without fruit
Of love, Faustine?

What adders came to shed their coats?
What coiled obscene
Small serpents with soft stretching throats
Caressed Faustine?
(11. 125-36, "Faustine")

But it is sensuousness, not sensuality, which is a consistent element of Pre-Raphaelite poetry; sensuality is merely a recurring feature.

Another element of Pre-Raphaelite poetry is the symbolism which sometimes is a part of the conscious design, sometimes a subtle warp that creates a sense of fantasy or mystery. "The Blessed Damozel" specifies three lilies in the hand of its protagonist and seven stars in her hair. The three lilies may symbolize the Trinity and thus suggest heaven. The seven stars may represent the meeting of heaven and earth in her person, being a combination of the three lilies (heaven) and the four winds of earth or the four elements. Or the Damozel may have been drawn from the figure in Revelation who holds seven stars in
The right hand. The fact that Christian equivalents can be adduced is part of the poem's charm, one of its layers of meaning. But the Damozel might just as well have held five lilies, and her hair would have been as lovely with thirteen stars as with seven. The demi-symbol creates an atmosphere of mystery, and that mystery is Pre-Raphaelite in character. But the white rose which adorns her robe, the gift of Mary, is functionally symbolic. It denotes the Damozel's virginity and functions effectively by concentrating the pathos of her situation. Similar examples of conscious symbolism and seeming-symbolism can be discovered in multiples throughout the poetry of the Pre-Raphaelites. Whether by design or not, the effect is always more profound than otherwise.

The pictorial quality which the particularity of symbolism helps to achieve is a significant characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite poetry. Rossetti often commented that a picture should be a painted poem, and the converse was often his practice. He and other poets in the Pre-Raphaelite movement sought to make a poem into a visual experience, painting with words a scene of precise color and definition. Rossetti's fame as a painter preceded his reputation as a poet, but as early as 1850 at least one astute critic recognized the duality of Rossetti's art. The first issue of The Germ included his early poem, "My Sister's Sleep," about which The Critic commented: "What a picture it is. A...

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"The Blessed Damozel" may be his finest demonstration of the ut pictura poesis theory. The poem was written in early 1847, prior to his first success in art but following his decision to be an artist. It clearly is an attempt to communicate visually as well as verbally, and from 1873 to 1877 he worked on a commissioned painting which would illustrate the poem. Rossetti was the only member of the Brotherhood skilled enough in poetry to verbalize his paintings. But both Hunt and Millais found inspiration in their favorite poems to use as subjects for their art. Dante, Shakespeare, Keats, and Tennyson benefitted most thereby.

Pre-Raphaelitism began as a force in the art world rather than in literature, but to a large extent the same drives were present in both, particularly a literalism or scrupulous fidelity to nature which shows itself in the cumulative detail of both painting and poem. Hunt and Millais proposed to follow nature's lessons rather than those of the Royal Academy. "It is simply fuller nature we want," Hunt concluded (I, 87). And thus the first principle of Pre-Raphaelitism was decided: a devotion to the truth of nature as opposed to the sham of convention. To Hunt and Millais particularly, this resolution meant "childlike submission to nature" (I, 132). Out-of-door pictures became virtually dé rigeur, and generalized renderings of natural objects were no longer

tolerated. Millais' Christ in the House of His Parents is an instructive example of their precept "fidelity to Nature." Millais took his easel to a carpenter's shop in order to capture the musculature of a working carpenter and the precise configuration of the woodcurls. For the flock of sheep visible at the left rear, Millais was not content with imagined models or reproductions; he went to a neighboring butcher shop, where he purchased two sheep's heads and simply duplicated them to obtain the flock. Insistence on such representational fidelity was the heart of Pre-Raphaelite theory.

At first Hunt and Millais incorporated minute details in their paintings. But Hunt maintained that such overelaboration was merely to train the eyes of young artists and that "relinquishment of this habit of work by a matured painter would not make him less a Pre-Raphaelite." He added, "We were never realists" (I, 150). This was Hunt's understanding of the first principle of Pre-Raphaelitism, and Millais' also. "The Pre-Raphaelites had but one idea," Millais said, "to present on canvas what they saw in Nature" (JGM, Life, I, 55).

William Michael Rossetti echoed this understanding and expanded upon it:

Let there be no mistake about what Pre-Raphaelitism means. It has nothing to do with the technical deficiencies, or technical practice, or choice of subjects, of painters who lived before Raphael, but with the condition of mind which actuated them to represent whatever was in hand—whether typically or naturally—with a resolute adherence to truth of feeling and truth of fact, and a resolute disregard of all mere grace and all mere dexterity which would interfere with the first or affect the second. Pre-Raphaelitism, at its lowest, is reverent faith in Nature, whether seen with the
poet's eye or with the catalogue-compiler's, whether rendered with the artist's hand or with the transcriber's. At its highest—and the young men who founded the school understood it at its highest—this faith in Nature takes a far wider range; involving that sincerity of thought which shall always invent something specific and something new in conception—something truly natural in idea, as well as express this through a medium of visible nature studied with that love of observation which cannot but catch, out of her infinity, beauties ever fresh and individual.\textsuperscript{39}

Another characteristic which marked Pre-Raphaelite painting from the date of its origin was its literariness. Hunt and Rossetti had developed, almost simultaneously, an attraction to the poetry of John Keats, whose poetry was to inspire other Pre-Raphaelite paintings, including several of Millais' finest. Besides \textit{The Eve of St. Agnes} (1848), Hunt's other major painting from Keats is entitled \textit{Isabella and the Pot of Basil} (1866). Millais' first Pre-Raphaelite painting also depicts a scene from Keats's "Isabella, or the Pot of Basil." Entitled \textit{Lorenzo and Isabella}, it was exhibited in 1849. In 1862 he painted \textit{The Eve of St. Agnes} in true Pre-Raphaelite fashion. Millais first selected the fifteenth century mansion of Knole Park in Sevenoaks, located approximately twenty miles southeast of the center of London, as the historically proper background for his painting. He set up his easel in a bedroom of the Knole mansion, where James I had slept, which was furnished with the old tapestries and fittings of silver. In that room, in December, Millais posed his wife, Effie, "at

\textsuperscript{39}"Art News from London," \textit{The Crayon}, April 25, 1855, p. 263.
the midnight hour when the moonlight was streaming in through the win-
dow" (JGM, Life, I, 372-73).

Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,  
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,  
Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,  
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,  
And on her hair a glory, like a saint:  
Of all its wreathed pearls her hair she frees;  
Unclasps her warmed jewels one by one;  
Loosens her fragrant bodice; by degrees  
Her rich attire creeps rustling to her knees:
(11. 217-18, 220-22, 227-30)

The painting was begun and completed within a week's time and exhibit-
ed at the Royal Academy in 1863.

Both Hunt and Millais selected themes from Tennyson, and they joined with Rossetti in illustrating the 1857 Moxon edition of Tenny-
son's works. Thirty years later Hunt began an oil painting of The Lady of Shalott, based on his earlier design for Edward Moxon. It was finished and exhibited in 1905, less than five years before his death at seventy-three. Despite the lapse of time between the first impulse of Pre-Raphaelitism and the completion of Hunt's painting, it is a pure specimen of that genre.

Millais also painted a work of pure Pre-Raphaelitism from Tenny-
son, but it was completed in 1851, at the height of PRB industry and before Millais' alleged surrender to sentiment. Mariana depicts a scene from the poem of the same name first published in 1830. Millais meant to illustrate the last stanza of the poem:
The sparrow's chirrup on the roof,
The slow clock ticking, and the sound
Which to the wooing wind aloof
The poplar made, did all confound
Her sense; but most she loathed the hour
When the thick-moted sunbeam lay
Athwart the chambers, and the day
Was sloping toward his western bower.
Then, said she, "I am very dreary,
He will not come," she said;
She wept, "I am aweary, aweary,
Oh God, that I were dead!"
(ll. 73-84)

This poem so perfectly illustrates several characteristics of Pre-Raphaelite verse that it is easy to understand why the Brethren were drawn to Tennyson's verse and why they devoted some of their talents to illustrating his works. And it is precisely because Hopkins shared their vision that he, too, borrowed from Tennyson and Keats.

A fourth characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite painting is its poetic quality—the power of a work of art to stir the emotions of the viewer because of the feeling he imagines to be portrayed. Millais demonstrated the powerful effect of a dramatic situation in the 1856 Academy exhibition, where he displayed Autumn Leaves and The Blind Girl, which have been called the "apotheosis" of Pre-Raphaelitism.40 Ruskin considered Autumn Leaves to be Millais' "most poetical work."41

The poetic quality found in so many Pre-Raphaelite paintings sometimes sprang from, or at least was accompanied by, a fifth characteristic of Pre-Raphaelitism: its religious feeling. At its best this

41Cited in JGM, Life, I, 290.
religious feeling was an expression of a highly developed moral sense; at its worst it was mere religiosity. Hunt was more profoundly moralistic than either of his two chief allies. His pictures verged on the doctrinal at times, as for example the much-admired Light of the World, which was intended to illustrate two passages from Scripture: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path"; and, "The night is far spent, and day is at hand." Although Hunt freely admitted that morality and art are not necessarily interrelated and that "a sense of beauty in itself alone gives innocent joy" (II, 465-66), he also contended that "all art from the beginning served for the higher development of men's minds" (II, 463). He adopted the Ruskinian principle that the sincerity or insincerity of an artist will reveal itself in his works (II, 465). And he concluded that Pre-Raphaelitism not only introduced new techniques in its outer form but also exemplified the principle that "Art is Love" (II, 465).

A technique often used in Pre-Raphaelite religious painting may be regarded as distinct from the characteristic of religious feeling. Both Hunt and Rossetti employed symbols to communicate a more profound meaning. The Scapegoat was a major effort of Hunt, painted near the Dead Sea in 1854 and exhibited in 1856 at the Academy after he had returned from his two-year sojourn in the Holy Land. The picture of a lone long-haired goat seen against a backdrop of mountains was supposed to remind viewers of the goat in Hebrew ritual on which the sins of the people were placed and which was then driven into the wilderness to expiate those sins.
Of Hunt's two closest associates, Millais was less likely to employ overt symbolism than Rossetti, whose mysticism prompted the use of symbols in many paintings, including his first major work, The Girlhood of Mary Virgin, for which he wrote a sonnet of explication:

These are the symbols. On that cloth of red
I' the centre is the tripoint: perfect each,
Except the second of its points, to teach
That Christ is not yet born. The books—whose head
Is golden Charity, as Paul hath said—
Those virtues are wherein the soul is rich:
Therefore on them the lily standeth which
Is Innocence, being interpreted.
The seven-thorn'd briar, and the palm seven-leaved
Are her great sorrow and her great reward.
Until the end be full, the Holy One
Abides without. She soon shall have achieved
Her perfect purity: yea, God the Lord
Shall soon vouchsafe His Son to be her Son.

The Beata Beatrix, seven versions of which were painted, is a symbolic work in Rossetti's later manner. It features Rossetti's wife, Elizabeth, as Beatrice, and the original was painted in 1863, a year after her death. He explained the symbolism in a gloss appended to the picture: "The picture illustrates the Vita Nuova, embodying symbolically the death of Beatrice. . . . The picture is not intended at all to represent death, but to render it under the semblance of a trance, in which Beatrice, seated at a balcony overlooking the city, is suddenly rapt from Earth to Heaven. . . . I have . . . made the figures of Dante and Love passing through the street and gazing ominously on one another, conscious of her death; while the bird, a messenger of death, drops the poppy between the hands of Beatrice.

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She, through her shut lids, is conscious of a new world."

*Beata Beatrix* is also an example of the sensuality which can be seen in so much of Rossetti's art. One reason for this tendency is Elizabeth Siddal, who came into his life in 1850. Rossetti was infatuated with her, and he drew picture after picture emphasizing her heavy-lidded eyes, her full lips, her thick, coppery-colored hair, and her long, arched neck. These features, and the sensual posture of his figures--passive, easeful, dreamy, and indolent--became the epitome of the Pre-Raphaelite woman, however much she may have differed from Holman Hunt's conception of Pre-Raphaelitism embodied. It is no surprise that Hunt rejected Gabriel's later manner: "The more sensuous phase of taste developed in Rossetti's later period was of hothouse fancifulness, and breathed disdain for the robust, out-of-door growth of native Pre-Raphaelitism" (II, 436). By sensuous Hunt denoted Rossetti's sensuality, for sensuousness is evident in many of the finest works of the brethren and their disciples. The odor of burning leaves seems to be part of Millais' *Autumn Leaves*, and his *Blind Girl*, with its warmly hued rainbow and sightless young girl, depends on the viewer's awareness of his own vision for its emotional impact. (In true Pre-Raphaelite fidelity-to-nature fashion, Millais reversed the original sequence of colors in the second rainbow after he discovered that the second is only a reflection of the first rainbow and should therefore

be a mirror image in this natural phenomenon.) It is not his only example of appeal to the senses. Millais' The Knight Errant is also more sensual than most painting Rossetti exhibited. The knight may have been noble and the lady virginal, but her nudity so shocked the art world that the picture remained unsold for four years after it was hung at the Academy in 1870. Millais himself eventually decided the lady's exposure would be less offensive if her eyes were demurely averted from those of the spectator, and he turned her head away (JCM, Life, II, 24).

Hunt's paintings were less flagrantly sensual than The Knight Errant, but he, too, on occasion created figures whose sensuality easily rivaled that of Rossetti's women. For example, Hunt's Isabella and the Pot of Basil, which was painted in Florence, where Hunt and his bride stayed in the fall of 1866. He had married Fanny Waugh the previous year, and in Florence she modeled for him as he recreated Isabella, weeping for her dead Lorenzo, whose head she wrapped in a silken scarf,

... and for its tomb did choose
A garden-pot, wherein she laid it by,
And cover'd it with mould, and o'er it set
Sweet Basil, which her tears kept ever wet.

(11. 413-16)

Hunt chose to illustrate her frustrated love by painting Isabella in a nightgown of diaphanous crepe, her delicate flesh tones thus revealed.

43JCM, Life, I, 240.
her bedcovers symbolically thrown back. The picture is at least as sensual, if not more so, than anything Rossetti drew; but from Hunt's standpoint it was also morally impeccable, which Rossetti's designs occasionally were not. Hunt's lady in The Lady of Shalott is lovely and sensual as she struggles to free herself from the cursed web, and her wild hair, and her terrified fingers, and her delicate feet all emphasize her helplessness. She is the epitome of the Pre-Raphaelite woman, and Gabriel considered Hunt's early drawing of her to be a "masterpiece." Perhaps, if Gabriel had been able to see the later version before his death, he would have admired it still more, for Hunt carefully embellished his original design to give it an aura of sensuality: he removed the lady's shoes, he raised the hem of her dress, he gave her a form-fitting bodice, and for the simple figure of the crucified Christ painted on her wall, Hunt substituted a mythological-astrological-Biblical array of carven imageries, among them Rubenesque nudes.

The posture of such early Pre-Raphaelite women as seen in Mariana and in Isabella and the Pot of Basil in some way seems to foreshadow the languid manner of Rossetti's women, a manner found also suggested in the weary, dreamy mood of Pre-Raphaelite poetry. The languid manner is thus distinguishable as a characteristic of both forms of Pre-Raphaelite art. The fully clothed Mariana sensuously arches her back and surrenders to weariness, while Isabella prostrates herself over

the "fast mouldering head" of her loved Lorenzo. Rossetti accentuated the flowing lines of these figures and produced a sinuous creature whose grace lies somewhere between affectation and mystery (as in La Pia, for which Mrs. William Morris modeled). Many of these works are Dantesque or Arthurian and represent Rossetti's chivalric manner. William Michael Rossetti lists forty-three works by his brother which illustrate Dante, and eleven more on Arthurian subjects. Excluding portraits, his chivalric works thus amount to nearly twenty per cent of his lifetime production.45

It was one of Gabriel's watercolors illustrating Dante that drew Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris to Rossetti, who seemed to them the chief figure in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.46 That first encounter with a Rossetti design was not, however, their first acquaintance with the Pre-Raphaelites.

Edward Jones (as he was then known) and William Morris entered Oxford in 1853, and shortly thereafter discovered the inspiration of Ruskin.47 From Ruskin's Edinburgh lectures they learned of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and began looking for exhibitions of Pre-Raphaelite art. It was Millais' The Return of the Dove to the Ark upon which they first gazed in 1854, and the following May they visited the


Academy exhibition, where they saw his painting, The Rescue. They also searched out privately owned paintings by Madox Brown and Holman Hunt, and they ran across a copy of The Germ containing "The Blessed Damozel." That summer the two young friends toured France and found seven Pre-Raphaelite paintings exhibited by the Beaux-Arts in Paris, including Hunt's The Light of the World and Millais' The Order of Release. On their return to England they began discussing a proposed magazine to be modeled after the Germ. The original suggestion came from Richard Watson Dixon, who had matriculated at Oxford one term earlier than Morris and Burne-Jones, and who, four years after his graduation in 1857, was to become one of seventeen-year-old Gerard Manley Hopkins' teachers at Cholmeley's grammar school in Highgate. During Christmas vacation that year Burne-Jones met Rossetti in London, and, under his influence, gave up the idea of Holy Orders to become a painter. In January the first issue of The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine appeared, "based on Pre-Raphaelite principles," and before it expired eleven monthly issues later it published three poems by Rossetti, among works by Morris, Burne-Jones, Dixon, and others. This group of men became known as the Second Brotherhood, or the Oxford Circle. They were second generation Pre-Raphaelites, and while their art differed in significant respects from that of the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, it may be considered a natural development rather than an unnatural deviation. Rossetti was the common bond between the two groups, and the Oxford Circle derived its primary inspiration from him,
adopted the languid manner of his figures, and developed the medieval­
ism and decorative taste which were implicit in his art.

Even Holman Hunt, who grew proprietary about Pre-Raphaelitism in
his old age, was generous in his admiration of Morris and Burne-Jones.
Hunt lost few opportunities in his two-volume study of Pre-Raphaelitism
to diminish the role of Gabriel Rossetti, minimize those of William
Rossetti and Frederic Stephens, and virtually exclude the claims of
Woolner and Collinson. And while admitting the sine qua non of Mil­
laís, Hunt sadly acknowledged Millais' later defection from Pre-
Raphaelitism. Therefore it is surprising to read his approval of the
late-comers Morris and Burne-Jones, especially because they looked to
Gabriel as their leader. Hunt saw Morris as a "noble designer and
poet" who was an "off-shoot from our original energy"; and Burne-Jones
as his "remarkable companion" whose impluse to art also emanated from
Rossetti but who "superadded to Rossetti's earlier spirit a certain
classicalism of style in the posing and drawing of the human figure"
(II, 387). Hunt believed that Burne-Jones's rendering of his designs
was the logical outcome of the instructions Hunt had once given Rosset-
ti. He also claimed partial credit for the decorative taste developed
by these Oxford Pre-Raphaelites: "Acting, as I have shown, upon an
idea promulgated by Millais and myself twelve years earlier, they
gradually developed a system of ornamentation so royal and perfect in
principle, that again the spirit of British taste, which had produced
the old cathedrals, the rich wood carvings of varying types and ages,
the choice embroideries, the gorgeous metal work of iron, gold and silver, the graceful fittings of old English homes, the exquisite Wedgwood ware, and the old Worcester and porcelain work, had been re-awakened" (II, 406).

The ornamentation and medievalism which characterize the works of the Oxford Circle were to a degree inspired by Rossetti's chivalric themes and partly by Pre-Raphaelite particularity. Morris's only surviving oil painting, Queen Guenevere, is an example of both characteristics, and both may also be seen in his poetry and crafts. When Morris moved to London in the fall of 1856 he took rooms at 17 Red Lion Square--the same rooms Rossetti had once shared with Walter Deverell--and he began to furnish them with tables and chairs of his own design which Gabriel termed "intensely medieval." Burne-Jones also was illustrating medieval themes, and in 1857, the annus mirabilis of Pre-Raphaelitism, the three of them began painting Arthurian frescoes in the new Union Society debating hall at Oxford. Arthur Hughes and four other artists were enlisted to help with the project to illustrate Malory's Morte d'Arthur, and after the new school term began, others dropped in to help or to watch, including R. W. Dixon and Swinburne.

When Hopkins matriculated at Balliol College just over five years later, he discovered the murals, which had begun to fade even before


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the end of 1858 but were still plainly visible in 1863. The Arthurian themes he found there may have led Hopkins to regard medievalism as one of the salient characteristics of Pre-Raphaelitism, and he thought of the Pre-Raphaelites as a modern medieval school of artists and poets. An artist and poet himself, his interest in this group of men was entirely natural, and one cannot escape the feeling that had circumstances been different, Hopkins would also have fallen under the persuasive sway of Rossetti and have dedicated his life to art, instead of to the church. It was by chance that Hopkins went up to Oxford barely too late to become a member of the Oxford Circle, though his affinities clearly were with that group of men and with the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism generally.

The medievalism which at first Hopkins thought to be salient was but one of perhaps ten characteristics of Pre-Raphaelite poetry and art. When these characteristics are arranged in double-column fashion to emphasize their complementary nature, the impulse that was Pre-Raphaelitism can be seen more readily:

**CHARACTERISTICS OF PRE-RAPHAELITISM IN POETRY AND PAINTING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetry</th>
<th>Painting</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Simplicity of manner</td>
<td>1. Submission to Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(homely scenes, simple emotions)*</td>
<td>(scrupulous fidelity to life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Particularity of detail</td>
<td>2. Microscopic detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(specific numbers, sensory appeals)*</td>
<td>(overelaboration, photographic reality)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Sensuousness, sensuality
(concrete imagery, fleshliness)

4. Symbolism

5. Religious feeling
(Christian sentiment, language of belief)*

6. Literariness
(word choice for its own sake)*

7. Medievalism
(chivalric attitudes, archaic language)*

8. Pictorial quality
(visual elaboration)

9. Decorative taste
(verbally ornate, colorful)*

10. Languid manner
(dreamy, weary)*

*as listed by Robson, pp. 355-58.

From the characteristics of Pre-Raphaelitism in both poetry and painting one can infer something about the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic, but there was never a formal aesthetic creed. An attempt to codify the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism could never satisfy; it would tend to exclude certain contradictory elements: for example, the dreamy, fleshly, mystical elements in Rossetti's art clash with the explicit, didactic and spiritual elements in the work of Hunt. Yet if the term "Pre-Raphaelitism" is to mean anything at all it must account for both tendencies. Rossetti's later manner was an extension of his earlier,
which was spiritualized and closely related to Hunt's art. And in his later manner one can find this same spirituality, under the guise of the fleshly. There is a constant yearning to escape from this world into the hereafter, but at the same time Rossetti's figures seem bound by the limitations of the flesh. His art is an attempt to unite the flesh and the spirit, and his poetry expresses the same yearning.

And both Hunt's spirituality and Rossetti's fleshliness seem to contradict the purely decorative, medieval, art-for-art's-sake elements in the work of Morris. Yet that, too, is an organic development of the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic. Morris's art cannot be excluded in any codification of Pre-Raphaelite principles. Nor can Millais' contribution be excluded—a technical achievement in color and realistic depiction of nature. His early painting is characterized by an almost photographic literalism which has been identified with Pre-Raphaelitism. But it is not Rossetti's manner of vague, formless, dreamlike figures. And yet both are Pre-Raphaelite.

Ultimately the question becomes: what did Pre-Raphaelitism mean to Gerard Manley Hopkins, or to any of those who were influenced by the movement? Hopkins was psychologically predisposed toward Pre-Raphaelitism, particularly its sensuous and spiritual elements. Like Rossetti, he was attempting to find, in his life, the meeting ground of this world and the next. By education he was prepared to be an artist and a poet, just as Rossetti was. And he was devoted to nature, as all the Pre-Raphaelites were. He shared with them an intense
admiration of the poetry of Keats and Tennyson, and one feels that it is the sensuousness and dreaminess and melody that both the Brethren and Hopkins discovered there. Hopkins was also impressed with the medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites, particularly Morris. This medievalism is part of the Oxford Movement and of the Gothic Revival which also influenced Hopkins. His affinities are so strong that one cannot escape the feeling he would have been a Pre-Raphaelite if he could have been one.
Hopkins' early years prepared him for a life devoted to art and literature, but he also felt the pull of asceticism. There is no biography which satisfactorily explains the ascetic-aesthetic conflict in his psychological profile; in fact, there is no definitive biography at all, and for a reliable account of his life one must turn to primary materials, including the extensive notes by his editors, Humphry House and Claude Colleer Abbott.

The picture that emerges is that of a boy whose artistic temperament was nurtured in his home, developed at Highgate and at Oxford, and restrained and refined in the priesthood. He was born in Stratford, Essex—northeast of London then, but since assimilated by the growing city. It was July 28, 1844, and he was the first-born of nine children. His father, Manley Hopkins, was himself the third of five artistically inclined children. The eldest of these was Anne Eleanor Hopkins, born in 1815. She was both painter and musician, and she tutored her nephew Gerard while living with her brother's family. She continued to live with them during all of Gerard's early boyhood. He called her Aunt Annie, thought highly of her talent and learning, and was close to her. She painted a watercolor of Gerard in 1859, and it now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London.\textsuperscript{49}

The youngest of Manley Hopkins' three brothers was Thomas Marsland Hopkins, who collaborated with Manley on a book of poems entitled *Pietas Metrica; Or, Nature Suggestive of God and Godliness*. It was published anonymously in 1849 and dedicated to the Church. Marsland had been ordained a year earlier. He died in 1862, before Gerard went up to Oxford, and he seems to have exerted very little influence on Gerard. But his religious and poetic nature suggests the familial atmosphere in which Gerard matured.

But Gerard's father was perhaps the most potent influence in the poet's early life. He was twenty-five when Gerard was born and had already published a book of poems, *The Philosopher's Stone and Other Poems*. It had appeared in 1843, the same year that he married Gerard's mother, Kate Smith. Three years after Gerard died he published his third book of poetry, *Spicilegium Poeticum*. But his profession was marine insurance, and he formed his own company of average adjusters. Under admiralty law, an average adjuster is one who determines liabilities resulting from damages by sea peril to cargo or ship. He published the standard work on average adjusting in 1857, and ten years later published *A Manual of Marine Insurance*. In 1856 he became Consul-General for Hawaii in London, and in 1862 published a history of Hawaii which went into a second edition. He also published two other books and many articles, and he transmitted the urge to write and publish to Gerard, although Gerard's scrupulous sense of propriety restrained him from seeking recognition in print.
It is not at all surprising that Gerard Manley Hopkins was liter­arilly precocious, considering his father's interests. As Jean-Georges Ritz says in his study, *Le Poète Gérard Manley Hopkins, S.J.*, "Il n'est donc pas douteux que Gérard Hopkins a reçu de son père plusieurs de ses dons artistiques, une curiosité toujours en éveil, un attrait pour l'étrange, l'inattendu, les spéculations où le raisonnement s'abandonne volontiers à la fantaisie, un style littéraire aisé, et un vif amour de la poésie."\(^{50}\)

On the maternal side of the family there was also a strong liter­ary and artistic inclination. His mother, Kate Smith Hopkins, was the eldest of eight children born to John Simm Smith and Maria Hodges Smith. John Smith was a medical student who enrolled, with John Keats, at Thomas's and Guy's Hospital. Maria Hodges' sister, Sophia, was mar­ried to Richard Lane, an engraver and lithographer who was elected to the Royal Academy and who was related to Thomas Gainsborough. To Gerard Manley Hopkins he was "Uncle Dick."

Maria Smith, younger sister of Gerard's mother, married George Giberne, amateur artist and photographer, who thus became "Uncle George." He was also interested in architecture, and the editor of Hopkins' *Journals and Papers*, Humphry House, believed Giberne's photo­graphs "played a large part in GMH's study of medieval architecture in youth."\(^{51}\) Giberne's younger sister, Maria Rosina Giberne, was a


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personal friend of John Henry Newman, and she also became a Catholic, eventually joining an order of nuns.

Edward Smith was a younger brother of Gerard's mother and was called "Uncle Edward" by Gerard, who was only eleven years younger than Edward. Though he practiced law for awhile, he became a professional painter, principally in watercolors, and exhibited often at the Royal Academy.

Others in the family followed literary or artistic careers but were more distantly related. Frances Ann and Katherine Hannah Beechey were granddaughters of Sir William Beechey, portrait-painter to Queen Charlotte. In 1855 Katherine married Gerard's uncle, Thomas Marsland Hopkins, and three years later Frances married another of his uncles, Edward Martin Hopkins. Gerard was closer to Katherine, calling her "Aunt Katie" and visiting her and her children. Frances lived with her husband in Canada while Edward Hopkins was employed by the Hudson Bay Company and perhaps for that reason was more of a stranger to Gerard. But she was the talented sister of the two, depicting in oils the canoe-men in the fur trade. Four of these oils hang in the Archives at Ottawa. In later life she is said to have exhibited a good deal in the Royal Academy.

Within Gerard's immediate family every brother and sister either played or painted or published, with the exception of Cyril, who became a partner in his father's firm of adjusters. Other than Gerard, Arthur was perhaps the most talented. He studied at the Royal Academy,
where six of the seven Pre-Raphaelite Brethren had studied before him, and he won a gold medal there, evidence of future success. He became an artist and illustrator, contributing to the Illustrated London News, among other journals, and he illustrated several serialized novels, among them one by Wilkie Collins, brother of Charles Collins, the Pre-Raphaelite associate. Arthur Hopkins also painted in oils and exhibited at the Royal Academy. He was influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites, and he voiced his highest admiration for Millais. According to Humphry House, his principle then was: "So long as the artist sticks to truth, and learns from Nature to be faithful and modest, he will always have his reward, though he may never be the fashion."52 One of his paintings was exhibited at the Munich Secession in 1896, hung under the title Nach fernen Landen. According to J. D. C. Masheck, the painting derived in subject from the Pre-Raphaelite emigration pictures.53

Everard was the youngest of the eight Hopkins children, nearly sixteen years younger than Gerard, and he and Gerard were never companions in the sense that Arthur and Gerard were. But Everard followed Arthur's example, becoming a professional artist and illustrator. He studied at the Slade School of Art, where he held a scholarship for the three-year period of studies.54 He worked for many journals, including Woman's World, then under the editorship of Oscar Wilde, and the

52 JP, p. 304, n. 17.1.
54 Letters: RB, p. 269, n. 3.
Illustrated London News, to which Arthur also contributed.

Kate Hopkins, Gerard's second sister, was also talented in art, like her three more famous brothers. Her sketches of trees and flowers are said to bear "clear affinities" with those of Gerard (JP, pp. 339-40 n. 71.6).

The other two sisters, Milicent and Grace, were both musically rather than artistically inclined. Milicent was talented enough to improvise on the piano and thus to impress her brother Gerard. She became an Anglican nun at All Saints' Home, Margaret Street, along with Maria Francesca Rossetti, the eldest of the four Rossetti children.

Grace was musically gifted enough to compose music and to set accompaniments for Gerard's own music. In 1903 she published in Goodwill the words and music to a carol entitled "Sing! Baby, sing."

Lionel was not literary in the same sense that Gerard was, nor was he artistic or musical. But he was a scholar and a prolific writer. He learned a Chinese dialect and became an interpreter with the British Consular Service in China. He later was named Consul-General in Tientsin. He translated into English The Six Scripts by Tai T'ung, and he also published a study of colloquial Chinese. Between 1911 and 1949 he contributed forty-three articles to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, chiefly concerning his collection of inscribed bone and tortoise-shell, which dated from 1300 to 1050 B. C.

Thus Gerard matured in a family whose members were exceptionally talented--scholarly, literary, musical, or artistic--and who generally were religious along conventional High Church lines. Both sides of the
family seemed to be achievement-oriented, thus explaining the poet's despair at failing to "breed one work that wakes."

But the world lay all before him on July 28, 1844. Very early in life he was introduced to art and literature by his Aunt Annie, and he may have learned his first Ruskin at her knee. By the time he began his formal education in 1854, Ruskin's fame was well established. He had published the first volume of *Modern Painters* in 1843, and the second volume—the one which so impressed Hunt—appeared three years later. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* was published in 1849 and *Stones of Venice* appeared in 1851, the same year Ruskin defended the Pre-Raphaelites and thus helped turn the tide of their fortunes. The talented Ann Eleanor Hopkins would have known of him and his work, even if there had been no tempest stirring in the London art world.

Manley Hopkins was at the same time helping to form his son's poetic instincts, and he may have encouraged Gerard to begin transcribing poems into his commonplace book. Some of these transcriptions are in the father's hand, some in the son's. They include ten poems from Manley Hopkins' *The Philosopher's Stone*, three from Dante Gabriel Rossetti, one from his sister, Christina, and two from Ford Madox Brown, among others. It is perhaps impossible to date the entries, but because some of them are in the father's handwriting, it is likely that the book was begun even before Gerard left Hampstead. In 1863, when he left home for Oxford University, Gerard took the book with him. He continued to transcribe favorite poems, including "The
Blessed Damozel."

In 1852 the family moved to a home on Oak Hill Road in Hampstead, a suburb just northwest of London. Hampstead's literary associations certainly must have made their impression on the literarily precocious Gerard. He would have known that John Keats had walked those same streets only a little more than thirty years earlier. Leigh Hunt, Keats's literary godfather and Rossetti's early mentor, had maintained his home in Hampstead, on the edge of the Heath. Ford Madox Brown also had his lodgings there, and *An English Autumn Afternoon*, exhibited at the British Institution in 1855, depicts Hampstead Heath from the artist's window. And the Pre-Raphaelite Brethren had taken their midnight strolls through those streets of Hampstead illustrated in Brown's *Work*. If the Hopkins family had moved to Hampstead a year or two sooner, perhaps young Gerard would have been aroused from slumber at the shouts of the Brethren as they strove to keep Collinson awake during their moonlit jaunts.

Highgate was a neighboring suburb, and Gerard was enrolled in 1854 as a boarder at Sir Roger Cholmeley's grammar school there. It was an apt choice of school for him because Charles Lamb, Thomas DeQuincey, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and John Keats had all attended the school a generation earlier. And Coleridge's grandson, Ernest Hartley Coleridge, was a student there with Gerard. The two became fast friends and exchanged letters after Coleridge left the Highgate school in 1860. Gerard remained there till 1863, when he went up to Balliol College.
At Cholmeley's school Hopkins polished his verse writing, and in 1860, when he was not yet sixteen, he won the poetry prize for a poem in Spenserian stanzas entitled "The Escorial." The same nine-line stanzaic pattern had been used by Keats in "The Eve of St. Agnes," and Hopkins' poem bears strong Keatsian echoes. It also shows evidence that the fifteen-year-old boy was ranging widely in art, architecture, and religion. In 1862 he may have won the school's poetry prize again, this time for a poem in heroic couplets. In Pre-Raphaelite fashion Hopkins illustrated "A Vision of Mermaids" (JP, plate 3).

It was in that year, 1862, that Hopkins first met Richard Watson Dixon—Oxford graduate, member of the Second Brotherhood, intimate of Rossetti, Morris, and Burne-Jones. Dixon had been ordained in 1858, had conducted the marriage service in 1859 for William Morris and Jane Burden, was married in 1861, and at the end of that year went as an assistant master to Highgate School. He was there less than a year, but was remembered as one who "would praise Keats by the hour" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 6). Sixteen years later Hopkins and Dixon exchanged memories about the days at Highgate. Such recall after so lengthy an interval suggests that Hopkins and Dixon profoundly impressed one another; and it is tempting to believe that Dixon may also have talked Pre-Raphaelitism by the hour. Hopkins clearly associated Dixon with Morris, Rossetti, Keats, and Burne-Jones.

Dixon left Highgate School in 1862; the following spring Hopkins also left, as the Governor's Gold Medalist, to take up residence at
Balliol College, Oxford. He had been awarded a scholarship to Balliol because of his performance at the Cholmeley Grammar School.

At Balliol (1863-1867) Hopkins studied for a degree in classical literature. But he did not restrict himself to purely scholarly matters. He sketched a good deal, filling notebooks with delicately minute drawings of natural objects in Pre-Raphaelite fashion. The notebooks also record precise verbal observations of clouds, sunsets, flora and fauna, and the phenomena of nature generally. He continued his interest in architecture, consulting his Ruskin and touring the architectural triumphs of the day. Much of his early poetry may also be found in the pages of his early diaries and journals.

Before he left Oxford for summer vacation in July, 1863, he wrote to his new friend, Alexander Baillie, that he was "sketching in a Ruskinese point of view" (Further Letters, p. 202). He told Baillie that he was considering painting as a career, and his diaries at this time indicate a specific interest in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The notion that he would become a poet-painter possibly was stimulated by a meeting with Christina Rossetti and Holman Hunt. In another letter to Baillie he describes the meeting, which must have taken place in July, 1864, and he mentions his "rational hope" of doing something in poetry and painting (Further Letters, p. 214). Because his record of the meeting and his "rational hope" are juxtaposed, one could logically infer that he had received some form of encouragement.

In December of 1864 his ambitions must have been further encouraged when he won first class honors in Moderations, a public oral
examination before a panel of moderators.

It was in 1865 that Hopkins experienced the spiritual crisis which ultimately led him to the Catholic Church and to the Jesuit priesthood. His state of mind at this time was almost certainly influenced by two forces: the Oxford Movement generally, and John Henry Newman particularly. The primary force of the Movement was exerted between 1833 and 1841, long before Hopkins arrived at Oxford. Yet its influence was still evident there in 1863, restimulated by publication in 1860 of the Broad Church, latitudinizing Essays and Reviews. It went so far as to attack the Bible as a standard of faith. And it prompted a reaction by the High Church group, including republication in 1865 of Tract XC. This document had sought to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not hostile to Catholicism. When it was first published on February 27, 1841, the outcry led to Newman's departure from Oxford and to his conversion on October 9, 1845. Now, twenty years later, its republication was evidence that the spirit of the Oxford Movement was still active.

Other evidence of that spirit confronted Hopkins at Balliol. The revival of interest in Gothic architecture was closely associated with the Tractarian Movement, and Oxford University was the starting point for both. The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture had been founded in 1839, simultaneously with the formation at Cambridge of the Camden Society, which wished to re-introduce Catholic ritual into the Anglican Church and to urge the principles of Gothic design in restoration and construction of church buildings. A recent
study by Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), details the revival of Gothic and the roles played by prominent architects, including William Butterfield and George Edmund Street. Butterfield was a contemporary of Hopkins, and there are numerous references in Hopkins' journals to his architectural designs. The one in which Hopkins would have been most interested, perhaps, is All Saints, Margaret Street. Butterfield was a firm Anglican, and the All Saints Home he designed was the address of the Anglican sisterhood to which Milicent Hopkins and Maria Francesca Rossetti both belonged. He also restored the Merton College Chapel at Oxford in 1849, and Hopkins made rather careful notes on the architecture during a visit there in 1865 (*JP*, p. 59).

Street was also known to Hopkins; they dined together on July 4, 1866, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Holland, friends of the Hopkins family. Hopkins does not record their conversation, but it is likely that their talk included the name of William Morris, who was well known by both the architect and by the poet. Morris had gone to work for Street on January 21, 1856, after leaving Oxford. But he had remained with Street for less than a year before succumbing to Rossetti's imperative that he must be a painter. Hopkins knew Morris chiefly through his poetry and through his associations with Oxford University. It is also likely that Street and Hopkins discussed the architect's churches, in view of Hopkins' interest in that subject. Only two months earlier he had seen SS Philip's and James's, consecrated in 1862 and known to be a favorite of "gentlemen of the ritualistic
persuasion" (Cited in JP, p. 346, n. 133.10). Edward William Urquhart, one of Hopkins' closest friends at Oxford, was curate of that church 1864-1866. Although he was an ordained Anglican priest, he very nearly went over to Rome.

Hopkins, of course, did become a convert. And the person to whom he applied to receive him into the faith was the Reverend John Henry Newman. Less than two weeks after his dinner with Street a notation in Hopkins' journal records for the first time his decision to leave the Church of England. But it was a decision not easily reached, and it must have been on his mind constantly, perhaps as early as the spring of 1864, when Newman was publishing Apologia Pro Vita Sua in weekly installments. Hopkins does not indicate that he read the Apologia, but it was widely read, discussed, and reviewed; and it is difficult to believe that Hopkins did not read it carefully and ponder it deeply. He would have been drawn to it also by the fact that Maria Giberne, younger sister to his uncle George, knew Newman personally and herself became a Catholic nun. Newman knew of her relationship to Hopkins and refers to her in a letter to Hopkins dated September 26, 1870 (Further Letters, p. 409).

On August 28, 1866, less than six weeks after the journal entry documenting his decision to become a Catholic, Hopkins wrote to Newman requesting an audience prior to his conversion. Newman received him into the Church on October 21, 1866. Unfortunately, the journal which would record events and thoughts leading up to and following his conversion—that portion dated from July 24, 1866, to July 10, 1867

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After his conversion Hopkins returned to Oxford to continue his studies. In June of 1867 he took his final examinations, which he passed with First Class Honors.

His journal for the summer after he took his degree reveals his continuing interest in art and his apparently intensified appreciation of the beauty of his natural surroundings. He visited several exhibitions in Paris and in London before leaving for Birmingham and Newman's Oratory, where he had been received into the Church some eleven months earlier. He remained at the Oratory as a lay teacher until April, 1868, while mulling over his vocation. It is clear, however, that by January he was already considering the priesthood (Letters: RB, p. 22). During an Easter retreat at the Jesuit Novitiate in Roehampton he determined to become a priest; his decision to join the Jesuit Order was not made until the second week in May. It was also at that time Hopkins resolved to burn his verses as incompatible with his new profession. They were burned on May 11 (JP, Appendix V, pp. 537-39).

The destruction of these early poems was the "slaughter of the innocents" in Hopkins' own words. It marked the end of the first stage in his life, symbolically the line of demarcation between aesthetics and ascetics. But the "slaughter" was not so destructive as it seemed. Many of the poems existed in other copies, and from time to time Hopkins still was able to enjoy art, poetry, and friends. In fact, before he began his training for the priesthood in September, but after he burned his early verses in May, he met Swinburne; lunched with Walter
Pater; visited Simeon Solomon's studio; viewed the exhibition at the Academy; attended a concert; toured Belgium, France, Germany, and Switzerland; climbed several mountains; and took notes on the architecture of at least four churches. Nevertheless, his poetry had been his principal pleasure, and the destruction of his early poems represented a radical reordering of his priorities. And from the date of his "slaughter of innocents" until December of 1875, when he began writing The Wreck of the Deutschland, his poetic output was restricted to two or three brief pieces designed to advance his vocation. For over seven years Hopkins had maintained a self-imposed, virtual silence.

The first two of those seven years were spent at the Jesuit Novitiate in Roehampton, then a village southwest of London. From September 7, 1868, to September 9, 1870, Hopkins stayed at Manresa House, the Jesuit mansion there. When this portion of his novitiate ended, Hopkins was transferred to St. Mary's Hall, the seminary on the grounds of Stonyhurst College, near Whalley, in Lancashire. At Stonyhurst he completed the three-year course in philosophy which was part of a Jesuit's training, then returned on August 29, 1873, to Roehampton. At Manresa House he remained for another year, teaching rhetoric to the junior scholastics and incidentally developing his prosodic theories. Finally, for the three-year period of theological studies which led to ordination, Hopkins was sent to St. Beuno's College in Wales. He arrived on August 28, 1874, and remained there until his ordination on September 23, 1878. The journal he kept at
St. Beuno's indicates his joy at the beauty of the surroundings, but it ends abruptly, in mid-sentence, on February 7, 1875. The missing journal book, if there be one, would have recorded his renewed poetic composition, and it would have documented his emotions as he struggled to compose *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, which took perhaps six months to complete.

From St. Beuno's Hopkins was sent to Mount St. Mary's College in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, near Sheffield, and letters to his family indicate that he was not fully happy there. His stay lasted from October 19, 1877, till April 27, 1878, at which time he was temporarily reassigned to Stonyhurst in order to tutor students preparing for degrees at London University.

During this two-month reassignment he wrote a letter which subtly altered the course of his life. On June 4, 1878, he addressed Richard Watson Dixon in what may be one of the most gracious and graceful letters of appreciation ever penned in the English language (*Correspondence: RWD*, pp. 1-3). He recalled their acquaintance at Highgate Grammar School, paid tribute to Dixon's poetry, and explained that he was writing because "... I seemed to owe you something or a great deal, and then I knew what I should feel myself in your position --if I had written and published works the extreme beauty of which the author himself the most keenly feels and they had fallen out of sight at once and been ... almost wholly unknown; then, I say, I should feel a certain comfort to be told they had been deeply appreciated by some one person, a stranger, at all events and had not been published.
quite in vain." Hopkins went on to compare Dixon's poetry with that of Keats, Morris, and Rossetti, knowing quite well the response those names would elicit in Dixon. Hopkins also singled out a few lines for special praise, then closed with a remark which seems to reveal how very much he identified with Dixon: "I have said all this, and could if there were any use say more, as a sort of duty of charity to make up so far as one voice can do, for the disappointment you must, at least at times, I think, have felt over your rich and exquisite work almost thrown away." The correspondence thus begun lasted nearly till Hopkins' death, eleven years later.

In July of 1878 he was assigned briefly to The Immaculate Conception, Church of the Jesuit Fathers, on Farm Street, London. But in November he was sent to St. Aloysius Church, a Jesuit parish in Oxford. During his ten months there he renewed an occasional old acquaintance, including that of Walter Pater, for whom he had written student essays. The next October he was in Bedford Leigh, Lancashire, near Manchester, but he was not to remain long there; after Christmas he was assigned to St. Francis Xavier's Parish in Liverpool. Those two manufacturing towns effectively stifled his muse, and "Liverpool is of all places the most museless" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 42). On August 10, 1881, he was assigned to St. Joseph's in Glasgow, Scotland, and he found the experience just as depressing as the time he spent in Liverpool. He must have been relieved to return to Manresa House in Roehampton on October 8, 1881, to begin his tertianship, a one-year renewal of vows. Then in September, 1882, he began a two-year term as a teacher of
classics at Stonyhurst College.

It was during this period of Hopkins' life that his correspondence with Coventry Patmore began. Hopkins had known of Patmore and his poetry at least by 1866, when a journal entry dated May 9 indicates that he took Patmore's poems with him as he walked. They met for the first time on August 1, 1883, when Patmore attended "Speech-day" as a guest on the Stonyhurst College campus. He was entrusted to Hopkins and thus began a friendship, mostly epistolary, which lasted until Hopkins' death. During those last six years Hopkins was corresponding, therefore, with Patmore—an intimate of the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and with Dixon—an intimate of the Second Brotherhood at Oxford.

In March of 1884 Hopkins left Stonyhurst to become Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland in the department of classics. It was a senior position, and an honor, but it was also debilitating. Hopkins became melancholy to the point of madness, and those poems commonly known as the "terrible sonnets" date from this period of his life. He increasingly spoke of fame and of his failure to publish, and he indicated to Bridges that he had once again taken up drawing. But he was not to achieve fame in his lifetime. He died on June 8, 1889, in Dublin, and is buried at Glasnevin, in the cemetery of the Society of Jesus.

A chronology of Hopkins' life reveals how often the path of Pre-Raphaelitism intersected his own. But it does not reveal how deeply Hopkins was impressed, or how much of the movement he converted to his
own use. For that insight one must look more closely at the poet's work and at his reactions to the work of others.

Gerard Manley Hopkins' most obvious indebtedness to Pre-Raphaelitism may lie in his art. Although he finally abandoned art as a viable career, he was born to it and actively studied it before turning to a life of faith. He returned to art in desultory fashion during later life, perhaps in a vain attempt to regain the vigor of his youthful inspiration, his ability to discover the "dearest freshness deep down things." His early art reveals this ability, which he shared with and perhaps learned from the Pre-Raphaelites.

The evidence of this influence is reproduced in his Journals, where Hopkins' preoccupation with the beauty of nature stands revealed in a multitude of drawings dating from his seventeenth year. They show a precocity which could have developed into professional talent exceeding that of his younger brother, Arthur, whose illustrations graced the pages of many Victorian periodicals and who also exhibited regularly in both watercolor and oil. One of Gerard's letters to Arthur is preserved in Further Letters, and it contains detailed criticism, in Gerard's best pedagogical manner, of one of Arthur's published works. Portions of two other letters to Arthur have been preserved, each containing as part of the salutation a playfully ornate drawing; one of these (JP, plate 7) is in the manner of an illuminated manuscript, and the following one is a typical nature study with less-than-serious embellishments. A much more elaborate salutation adorns a letter addressed to Charles Noble Luxmoore,
a close friend of Hopkins and fellow-student at Highgate, and an artist as well. The intricate and highly finished design (reproduced opposite p. 1, Further Letters) is an integrated pattern comprising two distinct elements: a carefully delineated woodland scene strongly reminiscent of Millais' early outdoor work, as in The Woodman's Daughter; and a medievalized, Lombardic script which seems to anticipate the illuminated manuscripts of Morris's press.

Hopkins' understanding of the Pre-Raphaelite art aesthetic was probably acquired through Ruskin and through personal observation of Pre-Raphaelite works on exhibit. The initial impulse of Pre-Raphaelitism was its submission to nature as seen in its scrupulous fidelity to life and in its plein-air technique. Hopkins' own art, unfinished and undeveloped, reveals the same close study of nature. In its exact rendering of naturalistic detail Hopkins' art shows that he had assimilated the first principle of Pre-Raphaelitism and its corollary, depiction of microscopic detail. The sensuousness of Pre-Raphaelitism is also a part of its aesthetic, although never formally stated as an item of belief. But sensuousness in Pre-Raphaelite art is a natural concomitant of its realism; to achieve their stated aim of devotion to nature, the Pre-Raphaelites employed the colors of bright, sunlit out-of-doors. Coupled with photographic realism, the result was direct appeal to the senses so that the viewer felt himself to be in the presence of the subject itself. When Hopkins visited Hunt's The Shadow of Death he made copious notes which recorded his admiration for the "true sunset effect" and the extreme realism of the
picture (JP, p. 248). Hopkins may also have related medievalism and Pre-Raphaelite art. In 1864 Hopkins saw two pictures by William Shakespeare Burton, a Pre-Raphaelite associate: Guinevere and Elaine, both illustrating scenes from Tennyson's Idylls of the King. Hopkins made a note to ask F. W. Burton if the pictures were his and also specifically about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (JP, p. 31). Of course Hopkins knew about the Pre-Raphaelite devotion to Keats and Tennyson, and in the 1863 Academy exhibition he saw Millais' The Eve of St. Agnes, which is both literary and medieval. Hopkins knew and admired Pre-Raphaelite art.

Hopkins began his studies at Oxford in April 1863, just prior to the Academy exhibition. His studies apparently included art instruction from Ruskin's The Elements of Drawing, published in 1857. In a letter to Baillie he refers to these "Ruskinese sketches," declaring, "I have particular periods of admiration for particular things in Nature; for a certain time I am astonished at the beauty of a tree, shape, effect etc, then when the passion, so to speak, has subsided, it is consigned to my treasury of explored beauty, and acknowledged with admiration and interest ever after, while something new takes its place in my enthusiasm. The present fury is the ash, and perhaps barley and two shapes of growth in leaves and one in tree boughs and also a conformation of fine-weather cloud" (Further Letters, p. 202). The letter was written from Shanklin, on the Isle of Wight, where Hopkins and his family were vacationing. Hopkins may have had his book of art instruction with him, as he appears to have been following Ruskin's...
suggestions in the many drawings he produced at this time. Some of these drawings, chiefly in pencil, are reproduced in the *Journals* (plates 10-15). Of the sixty-four illustrations included in Appendix I to the *Journals*, only six are of the human figure, and one of these is a self-portrait taken from a reflection in a lake. The remainder, almost without exception, are representations of Gothic window arches or of distant groupings of buildings or of natural objects such as grasses, trees, rocks, and water. All of these subjects are listed by Ruskin as proper for imitation in *The Elements of Drawing* (Works, XV, 75).

The extent of Hopkins' indebtedness to Ruskin's art instruction is summarized by J. D. C. Masheck.55 For example, Masheck believes that the self-portrait of Hopkins may be the product of Ruskin's discussion of the effects of light reflected off, and refracted through, a surface of still water. Masheck also notes that "in a small-scale way this [reflected image] suggests something of the spatial complication of the mirror in Holman Hunt's *The awakening conscience*" (p. 28). Two of the drawings done at Shanklin focus on boulders, as if in response to Ruskin's injunction to copy stone because "if you can draw the stone rightly, everything within reach of art is also within yours" (Works, XV, 49). One of these drawings--"Rock in the cliff copse. Shanklin. July. 1863" (plate 11)--is among Hopkins' best. The effect of the foliage surrounding the rock appears to be patterned

after Ruskin's own figures, especially their effect of intricacy achieved through a kind of generalized indistinctness, or obscurity, which Ruskin calls the law of mystery. Ruskin also propounds two other laws: organic unity and individual liberty. According to the former, all landscape is subject to lines of action or growth so that each element is in some measure typical. According to the latter, all landscape is composed of elements which are in some fashion individual or unique; this individuality is the source of their power. This emphasis on particularity within pattern may have helped Hopkins form his own notion of "inscape," or the set of individualizing characteristics which makes a thing distinctive, and his notion of "in-stress," or the unifying force within a thing: its essence.

The emphasis on the particular is a hallmark of Hopkins' art, as it is in the art of the Pre-Raphaelites generally. His drawings are the result of his ability to observe critically and carefully and to analyze; or, conversely, his ability to focus on the particular within the whole produced drawings of minute, realistic detail in the manner of William Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais. And of course Millais was the painter Hopkins most admired. His regard for Millais is documented in the same letter to Baillie in which he refers to his "Ruskinese sketches": "About Millais' Eve of S. Agnes, you ought to have known me well enough to be sure I should like it. Of course I do intensely--not wholly perhaps as Keats' Madeline but as the conception of her by a genius. I think over this picture, which I could only unhappily see once, and it, or the memory of it, grows upon me. Those
three pictures [The Wolf's Den, My First Sermon, The Eve of St. Agnes] by Millais in this year's Academy have opened my eyes. I see that he is the greatest English painter, one of the greatest in the world" (Further Letters, p. 201). Hopkins was not yet nineteen when he ventured that opinion and was not immune from youthful enthusiasms, and Millais had just turned thirty-four, still unconverted by popular sentiment. But the hypercritical Hopkins never substantially altered his opinion of Millais.

Hopkins must have been acquainted with Millais' work even as a child; Millais' fame was established in 1852 when he exhibited The Death of Ophelia and A Huguenot. In that year Hopkins moved to the London suburb of Hampstead, and his art-conscious family must have visited the Academy Exhibition. At any rate, Hopkins was familiar with his drawings as published in Once a Week from 1859 (Cited in JP, p. 386, n. 167.3). And Hopkins' first published poem, "Winter with the Gulf Stream," faced an illustration by Millais in an issue of Once a Week dated February 14, 1863. That must have given the nineteen-year-old poet a special thrill. Millais and Hopkins shared a high regard for nature, and now they were sharing recognition. It was a special honor, because Hopkins identified the Pre-Raphaelite "school" with Millais' faithful depiction of nature. Baillie must have suggested to Hopkins in the spring of 1863 that Millais was leaving the Pre-Raphaelite school or at least have commented on signs of change in Millais' work. Hopkins thought these rumors unfair: "If Millais drops his mannerisms and becomes only so far prominent from others' styles
as high excellence stands out from mediocrity, then how unfair to say he is leaving his school, when that school, represented in the greatest perfection by him, passing through stage after stage, is at last arriving at Nature's self, which is of no school—inasmuch as different schools represent Nature in their own more or less truthful ways, Nature meanwhile having only one way" (Further Letters, pp. 201-02).

It is evident that Hopkins was aware of the Pre-Raphaelite school and aware that faithful representation of nature was its central tenet. It is also clear that he regarded Millais as Pre-Raphaelitism's most significant artist. Hopkins' other comments confirm this, and in his art he seems to follow Millais' example. The most interesting and obvious instance of this emulation occurs in Hopkins' signature to drawings completed in 1862 and 1863. The highly stylized monogram is clearly modeled on the signature of Millais:

Hopkins also included among the pictures in his room at Oxford a photograph of A Huguenot, which he must have particularly admired for the truthfulness of its background, a rough-textured brick wall accented with vegetation at the top and the leaves and bloom of the Canterbury bell. Unfortunately, Hopkins lost his photograph (Further Letters, p. 88). But he retained its image in his mind, for nearly twenty years later he was able to cite its virtues in a letter to Bridges: "He
[Millais] has, I have always seen, no feeling for beauty in abstract design and he never designs; but he has a deep feeling, it is plain, for concrete beauty, wild or natural beauty, much as Keats had. . . .
The Huguenot has some splendid 'concrete beauty' in the vegetation and so on" (Letters: RB, p. 132). Masheck draws an explicit parallel between A Huguenot and Hopkins' own "Dandelion, Hemlock and Ivy. The Field, Blunt House, Croydon. April-July 1862" (plate 2). He notes "the same clear, uniformly dense foliage, and the lack of sky, in both. In fact Hopkins' segmental upper edge evades the sky left and right, behind the central motif, by eliminating corners, as in the Millais, and the line of the wall in the background of the Hopkins sketch could even be read like the boundary of the patch of ivy on Millais' wall, supplying a horizontal line in a picture which actually cancels reference to the real horizon by its segmental upper rim" ("Art by a poet," pp. 28-29). This and other drawings of Hopkins are termed "decidedly Pre-Raphaelite in character" by Masheck.

Holman Hunt never enjoyed Hopkins' approval in the same degree as did Millais. But Hopkins knew Hunt personally, examined his pictures carefully, and recognized him as a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. In Hopkins' early diaries, beneath a sketch of water lilies, he entered a list of names grouped in significant association: "Dixon. The Brownings. Miss Rossetti. D. G. Rossetti. The Pre-raphaelite brotherhood. Consisting of D.G.R., Millais, Holman Hunt, Woolner, and three others. One of these three went out to Australia" (JP, p. 30). It is clear from the entry that Hopkins had researched his subject, and
it may be that his information was derived from either Holman Hunt himself or from Christina Rossetti. The drawing of water lilies is dated July 18, 1864, and the names appear immediately following. On July 20 Hopkins wrote a letter to his friend Baillie, relating in rather excited fashion his meeting with Hunt and the two Rossetti sisters, among others. The meeting very likely occurred shortly before the diary entry, and if so, it would seem a natural inference that they had spoken of poetry, painting, and the Brotherhood. Christina would have volunteered the information about Gabriel's early fascination with Browning—hence the inclusion of his name. And Hopkins, knowing already of Dixon's acquaintance with Gabriel and William Morris at Oxford, would have interposed his name. This meeting, and the chance to converse socially with those who already had achieved fame in his chosen fields of poetry and painting, must have fired the young student's ambition. Hunt was an accomplished artist of renown whose works, such as *The Light of the World* (for which Christina had modeled), were obtaining for him record prices. And Christina had published, just two years earlier, her vastly popular *Goblin Market*, a volume which included "The Convent Threshold," Hopkins' favorite among her verses. Unfortunately, he does not record their conversation, nor his impressions of them on this occasion. But his response to their work is evident in his own. For example, as Masheck points out, "The text of the sonnet 'The Lantern out of Doors' (1877) reads like a verbal description of Holman Hunt's painting *The Light of the World*" ("Art by a poet," p. 25). The likeness is perhaps not immediately

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evident, and the image of a lantern as used by both Hunt and Hopkins is a common symbol; but it is a plausible inference. Although he does not mention the painting by name, he had ample opportunity to view it. After its exhibition at the Academy in 1854 it was purchased by Thomas Combe, director of the Clarendon Press at Oxford University, and was available for private showing when it was not on public display at a variety of exhibitions to which Combe lent it. When Combe died in 1872 his widow donated the painting, which had gained immense popularity, to Keble College at Oxford, where it remained on public display in the chapel. The only painting of Hunt on which Hopkins made extensive notes is The Shadow of Death, which was finished and exhibited at the Academy in 1874, where Hopkins saw it on June 12: "True sunset effect --that is/ the sunset light lodged as the natural light and only detected by its heightening the existing reds, especially in the golden-bronze skin he had given to our Lord's figure, and by contrast in the blue shadows on white drapery and puce-purple ones on pink silk. Also thin unmuscular but most realistic anatomy of arm and leg. . . . On the whole colour somewhat overglaring. . . . Face beautiful, sweet and human but not quite pleasing" (JP, p. 248). At the same exhibition Hopkins took notes on a number of Millais' pictures, among others. But he did not record a word about his aunt, Frances Hopkins, whose Canadian Voyageurs was also on display at the Academy.

If Hopkins' Pre-Raphaelite preceptors in art were Ruskin, Millais, and Hunt, those in poetry were chiefly the Rossettis. Christina was the better poet of the two, Hopkins thought: "I daresay he has more
range, force, and interest, and then there is the difference between a man and a woman, but for pathos and pure beauty of art I do not think he is her equal: in fact the simple beauty of her work cannot be matched" (Further Letters, P. 119). This was the opinion of a man, not a mere youth; Hopkins was then twenty-seven and studying philosophy as part of his training for the priesthood; he had been acquainted with her poetry for perhaps a decade or more, although his earliest reference to her occurs in the journal entry of 1864, which was probably after he had met her. But he had transcribed her poem, "Once I thought to sit so high," in his commonplace book, which he had begun to keep even before he went to Oxford in the spring of 1863.

The poem which affected him most deeply, "The Convent Threshold," was not published until 1862. Some time between March of that year, when the poem appeared in Goblin Market, and July 20, 1864, Hopkins read it and began to write a reply. In a letter to his friend Baillie which Hopkins began on that date, he mentions that his answer to her poem is almost complete: "I have nearly finished an answer to Miss Rossetti's Convent Threshold, to be called A voice from the world, or something like that, with which I am at present in the fatal condition of satisfaction" (Further Letters, p. 213). He spoke literally. Satisfied with the poem, he renamed it "Beyond the Cloister" and sent it off to Macmillan's Magazine, which, he noted "is always having things of Miss Rossetti" (Further Letters, p. 36). But the poem was rejected. The reason for the rejection is clear from a letter to Hopkins' friend Urquhart: "Too many licences are taken for a beginner, but the
objection is on the score of morality rather than of art, and as the
licences in themselves I still think justifiable I need not alter what
I cannot publish" (Further Letters, p. 36). He added, somewhat defens­
vively, "I think you wd. find in the history of Art that licences and
eccentricities are to [be] found fully as often in beginners as in
those who have established themselves and can afford them; those in
Milton, Turner, and Beethoven are at the end, those in Shakspere [sic],
Keats, Millais, and Tennyson at the beginning." And having placed him­
self in a class with Keats, Millais, and Tennyson, as well as Shake­
speare, he declined to revise his poem for publication. "I have ceased
to care for Beyond the Cloister being put into a magazine," he conclud­
ed, unconvincingly. But nevertheless he did not grow weary of the idea
of treating Christina Rossetti's poem in some fashion; he turned por­
tions of "The Convent Threshold" into Latin verse, probably in 1867,
and entitled the new version "Elegiacs: After The Convent Threshold."
His letters indicate a continuing interest in Christina Rossetti and
her poetry, and on one occasion as late as 1881 he recommended her new
volume, A Pageant and other Poems, to his friend Dixon. His admiration
was lifelong.

For Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Hopkins' admiration was not of the
same kind. Christina was a religious poet, a child of the Oxford
Movement like Hopkins himself. But Gabriel was a secular poet whose
work Hopkins could admire more easily than identify with. It is im­
possible to say just when Hopkins first became acquainted with the
poetry of Gabriel Rossetti. His earliest published poems appeared in
The Germ in 1850. In 1856 he published three poems in The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine. But except for poems published in these two short-lived periodicals and a few scattered publications, including poems appended to pictures on exhibition, Rossetti published nothing until 1861, when his volume of translations, The Early Italian Poets, was published. But it was not until Hopkins arrived at Oxford that he began to study the poetry of Rossetti in earnest, along with that of the other Pre-Raphaelites. In 1863 he copied three of Gabriel's poems in his verse book.

One of Hopkins' tutors at Oxford was Robinson Ellis. He was a fellow of Trinity College rather than of Balliol, in which Hopkins was enrolled, but Hopkins records an appointment with him in January or February, 1864. They must have decided to speak of Rossetti, because it was Ellis who lent Hopkins a manuscript copy of "The Blessed Damozel," which he copied into his commonplace book. Perhaps it was Ellis who stimulated Hopkins to discover more about the Pre-Raphaelites, because there are many references in Hopkins' Oxford papers to members and associates of the Brotherhood. For example, in July of that same year there is the list of members, already quoted. And again that year, in a letter to Baillie, Hopkins describes his reaction to "The Blessed Damozel": "This is the language of strange masculine genius which suddenly, as it were, forces its way into the domain of poetry, without naturally having a right there" (Further Letters, p. 220). Hopkins called this kind of poetry Olympian. Of course Hopkins was also aware that Rossetti painted and of the significance of the
Pre-Raphaelite school: in an 1864 essay entitled, "Health and Decay in the Arts," Hopkins suggests that art which bears the look of perfection actually slips back towards barbarism. "Recovery must be by a breaking up, a violence, such as was the Preraphaelite school" (JP, p. 79). Hopkins thus included Rossetti among a group of artists whose revolutionary approach to painting was corrective. Hopkins probably knew of Rossetti's participation in the painting of the Oxford Union frescoes, although it is not certain whether he thought the paintings were in any way revolutionary or corrective. In 1865 he wrote a Platonic dialogue, "On the Origin of Beauty," into which he introduced a fictional painter named Middleton who was at Oxford to work on "those excellent frescos which are being added to the new smoking-room at the Union" (JP, p. 91). Hopkins seems to imply that the beauty of the frescoes lay in the relation between their symmetry and their irregularity. One could easily believe that Hopkins was commenting on Morris's penchant for symmetry, coupled with Rossetti's need to be "different," and concluding that their contrasting styles—indeed, the varied styles within the entire Pre-Raphaelite school—are precisely the source of their beauty. In the words of the fictional professor in Hopkins' Platonic dialogue: "It seems then that it is not the excellence of any two things (or more) in themselves, but those two things as viewed by the light of each other, that makes beauty" (JP, p. 93). Hopkins' fictional professor carries his theory still further with reference to Gabriel's etching for the frontispiece to Christina's *Goblin Market*. There is beauty, the professor argues, in
the dots with which Gabriel suggests the folds in the girl's dress. The dots are arranged in a triangular pattern, the professor points out, and there is an "element of beauty in the contrast between the continuity, the absolutely symmetrical continuity, of the straight lines which are the sides of the suggested triangle, and the discontinuity, if I may use the word, the emphasised extreme discontinuity, of the three dots" (JP, p. 103). If the professor's argument concerning dots seems strained, at least the example Hopkins allows him to cite indicates how minutely Hopkins was examining the works of the two Rossettis.

Hopkins' interest in the poetry and art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti remained with him after he left Oxford to join the priesthood. For example, Hopkins carefully transcribed "Lady Lilith," "Sibylla Palmifera," and "Venus Verticordia," three sonnets written to accompany correspondingly titled pictures. These three poems were first published together in 1868 in a pamphlet-review by William Michael Rossetti and Algernon Charles Swinburne.\(^6\) The three sonnets had been written between 1864 and 1866 but were printed in 1868 only at the insistence of Swinburne. Hopkins must have transcribed them directly from the pamphlet, which was entitled Notes on the Royal Academy Exhibition, 1868, because all three appear together in that pamphlet. It is true, of course, that all three also appear in Rossetti's Poems of 1870, but if Hopkins had transcribed them from there they probably

\(^6\)WMR, DGR as Designer and Writer, p. 145.
would have been entered in his commonplace book, along with two other sonnets of Rossetti. Both "Lost Days--Sonnet" and "Sudden Light" were copied into that book, sometime after they appeared in 1870. In short and in sum, it seems that Hopkins maintained contact with contemporary poetry, perhaps especially that of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, despite his insularity. Hopkins also, of course, visited public art exhibitions whenever he could, including the Academy exhibition of 1868, where perhaps he was able to purchase the pamphlet-review containing Rossetti's poems. Even when he was unable for one reason or another to attend art exhibitions, he sought news of them from his friends. One such request was addressed to Baillie on January 14, 1883, and asked eagerly about "the Rossetti exhibition" (Further Letters, p. 253). There were three exhibitions of Rossetti paintings in 1883, within a year after his death. Hopkins' reference probably was to the Royal Academy exhibition of eighty-four Rossetti paintings.

Three years later Hopkins summed up his impressions of Dante Gabriel Rossetti in words of qualified admiration: "It may be remarked that some men exercise a deep influence on their own age in virtue of certain powers at that time original, new, and stimulating, which afterwards ceasing to stimulate their fame declines; because it was not supported by an execution, an achievement equal to the power. For nothing but fine execution survives long. This was something of Rossetti's case perhaps" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 134).

Characteristically discriminating, Hopkins rarely proffered unqualified praise; in one oft-quoted instance he wrote to a friend that he had begun to doubt even Tennyson. But one wonders what his criticism would have been if he had known that Dante Gabriel Rossetti once had doubted him. In the spring of 1881 Rossetti told his amanuensis, Hall Caine, that Dixon would contribute a sonnet or two to Caine's proposed anthology if Caine were to request a sonnet and to mention Rossetti's name along with the request. Caine did this, and Dixon sent back two of Hopkins' sonnets as well. Then Dixon asked Hopkins to send an additional sonnet directly to Caine; Hopkins sent three, indicating a new willingness to publish (Correspondence: RWD, pp. 46-47). But Hopkins' sonnets were not accepted. He never knew why. All he learned was that Caine had showed the five sonnets to "a critic of utmost eminence" who agreed they should be rejected. On April 30, 1881, Hopkins wrote to Bridges with news of the rejection and with curiosity as to the identity of the "critic" (Letters: RB, p. 128). But the identity of that critic--Dante Gabriel Rossetti--was not revealed until 1917. When Dixon learned that Hall Caine had rejected the poems he sadly concluded that the poems seemed "doomed to linger" in manuscript. But he considered the loss to be Caine's (Correspondence: RWD, p. 51).

Hopkins' relationship with William Michael Rossetti and Maria Francesca Rossetti naturally was more tenuous than his relationship

with other offspring of that illustrious family. But he knew who William was and what he did, even if he did not know him personally. He had met both sisters and Holman Hunt, and they probably talked about the Brotherhood and its members, although Hopkins does not include William's name in his list. And then William was a fairly prolific author whose name Hopkins would have encountered: in 1866 he published a defense of Swinburne, a poet Hopkins had met; in 1867 he reprinted some of his art criticism in what may have been the source of some of Hopkins' information about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; in 1868 he published in collaboration with Swinburne a pamphlet-review already alluded to, and it seems clear that Hopkins had read a copy; in 1878 he published a collection of his prefaces to the Moxon Popular Poets series; and in 1887 he published a life of John Keats. In short, despite Hopkins' failure to take notice of him except on one occasion (Correspondence: RWD, p. 16), Hopkins must have been aware that William was a literary figure in his own right.

And Maria Francesca Rossetti--at a distant remove from Pre-Raphaelitism--nevertheless was the topic of some of Hopkins' letters. When they met in 1864, Hopkins was barely twenty; she was seventeen years his senior. In 1871 she published A Shadow of Dante, dedicated to her father, who had devoted his life to explicating the Italian poet. Although she was the oldest child, she was the last to publish, and the others were happy for her. Hopkins apparently knew her well enough to wish to congratulate her. On March 5, 1872, he wrote to his mother: "When you next meet Miss Rossetti give her my kind remembrances
and do not forget. I am most glad to hear of the success and appreciation of her book" (Further Letters, pp. 118-19). Hopkins' primary contact with Maria, however, would have been through his sister, Milicent, who joined the Anglican Sisterhood at All Saints' Home. Maria was fully professed in the same order in 1873, while Milicent was still an out-sister, living at home. Milicent took the sister's habit on August 10, 1878, two years after Maria died (JP, p. 361, n. 143.1).

Hopkins' relations with the three lesser members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood are understandably inconspicuous. Of these three, Collinson, Stephens, and Woolner, the most notice is paid to Woolner, whose name appears in Hopkins' list of Pre-Raphaelites. The other two names do not appear in Hopkins' works. Probably he saw some of Woolner's work at the Academy exhibitions; it was regularly on display. Among other pieces of sculpture Woolner executed a bust of Tennyson and medallions of Patmore and his wife. Tennyson and Patmore were two of Hopkins' favorite authors, and he surely would have known of Woolner's work. It is certain that Hopkins knew of Woolner's poem, "My Beautiful Lady," which was first published in The Germ. Extracts from that poem have been discovered in Hopkins' handwriting, enclosed within the pages of one of his Oxford notebooks. It is tempting to infer that Hopkins must have transcribed it from The Germ, reasoning that because it was found in one of his Oxford notebooks it must have been written while he was at Oxford. But it is more likely that Hopkins copied it from Woolner's book, My Beautiful Lady, which appeared in 1863, went into a second edition the following year, and into a third
in 1866. The transcription was found along with copies of three poems from Dante Gabriel Rossetti, already cited and probably copied from *Notes on the Royal Academy Exhibition*, 1868, published in May of that year. Two poems from Christina Rossetti, also in Hopkins' handwriting, were found together with "My Beautiful Lady" and the three poems of Gabriel. The two by Christina are "A Smile and a Sigh" and "Dead Hope," both of which were published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1868. It is likely that all the poems were copied at that time, inasmuch as all were found together and five of the six were published for the first time in that month. The significance of their being together, all in Hopkins' handwriting, and all transcribed at approximately the same time, is that Hopkins classified Woolner's poetry along with that of the Rossettis as belonging to the Pre-Raphaelite "school." It is obvious that Hopkins was making a conscious effort to preserve examples of their poetry.

Of the closest associates of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Hopkins was intimately acquainted with two: Coventry Patmore and Richard Dixon. Patmore was older than the founding members of the Brotherhood, and an established author, or he almost certainly would have been among them as artist and poet. He shared their principles, or they his, as exemplified in his *Poems* of 1844. The young artists found nature, morality, medievalism, an eye for detail, and a certain Tennysonian

Their particular admiration was reserved for "The Woodman's Daughter." Patmore, in turn, praised their works, especially Woolner's poetry, and agreed to contribute to The Germ. His first contribution was a brief lyric entitled "The Seasons," a highly condensed, carefully shaped account of Nature's perennial cycle. The Brethren were much impressed, and Hopkins was too. Exactly when he read the lyric is not clear; one is tempted once more to conclude that Hopkins had obtained a copy of The Germ and first read it there. But Patmore sent Hopkins a copy of his collected poems, and this may be the source from which Hopkins took the poem. Hopkins set the poem to music, probably in 1884, which was the year after he received the four-volume edition from Patmore.

Hopkins' first reading of Patmore may have occurred at Oxford, although it is entirely plausible that he became acquainted with Patmore's work before he left Highgate. Hopkins was already a relatively accomplished poet in 1860, and that accomplishment presumes the study of other poets. By 1860 Patmore had already published six volumes of verse and had maintained residences in both Highgate and in Hampstead. It would be strange indeed if an aspiring young poet like Gerard Manley Hopkins were unaware of the existence of a successful one like Coventry Patmore, who lived, figuratively, a few doors down the street. In addition, Richard Watson Dixon may have mentioned Patmore's name to Hopkins when Dixon was teaching at Highgate. Patmore visited Oxford in

1857 to examine the Union frescoes and to write an article on them for the *Saturday Review.* \(^{61}\) Dixon had a brush in hand at one time or another during that episode and may have met Patmore. But the first firm evidence that Hopkins knew of Patmore's work occurs in a letter to Baillie written on July 20, 1864 (*Further Letters*, p. 213). In it Hopkins refers to a number of poems he had recently written, among them "a trifle in something like Coventry Patmore's style." Entitled "The Lover's Stars," this seven-stanza poem in quatrains of iambic tetrameter may be found in unfinished form in Hopkins' early diaries (*JP*, pp. 29-30). The editors of his *Poems* have rearranged the order of the seven stanzas in order to present a coherent version for publication. The editors do not speculate what poem of Patmore may have inspired this imitation. But whatever poem it was, it made a strong impression on Hopkins.

Also while at Oxford Hopkins probably read Patmore's *The Angel in the House*. A journal entry on May 9, 1866, confirms that he was reading a book of Patmore's poems, possibly *The Angel*, a revised edition of which was published in 1866. In 1883, when Patmore sent Hopkins his collected poems, the Jesuit poet turned first to *The Angel in the House*, then thanked Patmore in his reply, adding: "Much of it I remember without reading (I do not say word for word) and of the rest there is little I do not at least remember to have read; though I believe I never read

\(^{61}\)"Walls and Wall Paintings at Oxford," December 26, 1857, pp. 583-84.

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it but once" (Further Letters, pp. 298-99).

Patmore and Hopkins finally met on July 29, 1883. They were to meet only once more in the six years remaining to Hopkins, but they carried on an extensive correspondence--fifty-six letters--in somewhat less than five years. Regrettably, little was said about the Pre-Raphaelites, although Hopkins would have known about his friend's early associations. But in 1883 they had both "put away the things of a child," although Patmore maintained friendships with Woolner and Stephens. During those final five years Patmore and Hopkins wrote of the things which were then their primary concerns: poetry and the Church. Like Hopkins, Patmore was a Roman Catholic convert, and the poetry of both men contains a strong spiritual note. Hopkins' greatest praise of Patmore was paid to him in a letter dated June 4, 1886: "Your poems are a good deed done for the Catholic Church and another for England" (Further Letters, p. 366).

Hopkins' relationship with Richard Watson Dixon, like that with Coventry Patmore, was almost entirely epistolary. Hopkins and Dixon had known each other at the Highgate Grammar School, 1861-62, but Dixon left before Hopkins distinguished himself by winning the exhibition to Oxford. Nevertheless, when Hopkins wrote to Dixon sixteen years later, Dixon replied by recalling specific facts about Hopkins: "I remember a pale young boy, very light and active, with a very meditative & intellectual face, whose, name, if I am not mistaken, was yours. If I am not deceived by memory, that boy got a prize for English poetry" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 4). In that same letter Dixon acknowledges

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with some pride his relations with Burne-Jones and Rossetti, which apparently represented or arose out of his most memorable experience. Some years later, in response to a request from Hopkins for autobiographical information, Dixon specified his friendships at Oxford with Burne-Jones, Morris and others with whom he was "associated in undertaking the Oxford & Cambridge Magazine, in 1856, of Pre-Raphaelite principles" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 124). Hopkins, of course, was well aware of Dixon's associations--in fact, was drawn to Dixon because of them. His initial letter to Dixon on June 4, 1878, establishes the position Dixon occupied in Hopkins' mind: "Your poems had a medieval colouring like Wm. Morris's and the Rossetti's and others but none seemed to me to have it so unaffectedly. I thought the tenderness of Love's Consolation no one living could surpass nor the richness of colouring. . . . And the Tale of Dauphiny and 'It is the time to tell of fatal love' (I forget the title) in the other book are purer in style, as it seems to me, and quite as fine in colouring and drawing as Morris' stories in the Paradise, so far as I have read them, fine as those are" (pp. 2-3). Hopkins was also quick to mention Dixon's likeness to Keats, one of Dixon's favorite poets, just as he was a favorite of Hopkins and of all the Pre-Raphaelites: "And if I were making up a book of English poetry I should put your ode to Summer next to Keats' on Autumn and the Nightingale and Grecian Urn" (p. 3). Hopkins also singled out for praise Dixon's expression of the "pathos of nature and landscape"--a major Pre-Raphaelite concern. And Hopkins touchingly related how, when he had entered the Society of Jesus, he
copied out "St Paul," "St John," "Love's Consolation," and others from Dixon's two volumes: *Christ's Company* (1861) and *Historical Odes and Other Poems* (1864). According to Claude Collee Abbott, who wrote the introduction to the correspondence between the two poets, in *Christ's Company* there is a strong resemblance in tone and temper to the early work of Morris. Abbott cites several instances of this influence and of a "romanticized and medievalized" Pre-Raphaelitism. He finds "Love's Consolation" to be "essentially a Pre-Raphaelite poem. And in general, he concludes, "the 'keepings' of the earlier Dixon, one feels, are with Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites" (pp. xix-xx). This quality, along with an obvious spirituality, must have been precisely what Hopkins found and admired.

Their correspondence extended over a ten-year period, but they met only once during that time, and then only briefly, between trains. But there was much friendship wrapped in those seventy-seven letters, and mutual support for two hidden poets.

Dixon, like Swinburne, was a nominal member of the Oxford Brotherhood. The moving spirits in that group were William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, together with Rossetti; and Hopkins knew, directly or indirectly, all of them. Some of his information may have come from Dixon himself, during Dixon's tenure at Highgate Grammar School; Dixon's associations with the Second Brotherhood obviously were well known to Hopkins. But much of Hopkins' knowledge must have been obtained during his term at Oxford. He viewed the Union Hall, with its medieval designs by Morris and friends; he read Morris's poetry, on
one occasion listing Morris among a group of "Oxford poets," including Dixon and Newman (JP, p. 60); and at Oxford Hopkins certainly would have had access to copies of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. Hopkins may have gained his notion of Morris's medievalism partly from the magazine and partly from *Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems* (1858). It is the medieval character of Morris's work that defined him in Hopkins' eyes. And Hopkins once planned an essay on "modern medievalism" in which, it is almost certain, Morris would have been the chief figure (JP, p. 26). Four years after the plan first occurred to him, Hopkins began writing it; but like many of his plans to publish, it came to naught: "I began writing an article for a review... the subject wd. be Wm. Morris's last poem and the medieval school of poets" (Further Letters, p. 53).

Most of Hopkins' observations on Morris are crowded into his letters to Dixon, including the comment that Dixon and Morris were much alike. When Dixon protested, Hopkins insisted: "I must hold that you and Morris belong to one school... I used to call it the school of Rossetti: it is in literature the school of the Prae-raphaelites" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 98). There was one difference, however: Hopkins considered the deliberate use of archaisms to be a "vicious practice" when employed by Morris; but Dixon had mastered the technique, he thought--"made [it] his own, and in fact a style and not a trick" (Further Letters, p. 296).

Hopkins records his admiration for Burne-Jones' paintings, which he considered "beautiful and original" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 133).
But he considered them to be technically imperfect: "Now no one ad-
mires more keenly than I do the gifts that go into Burne Jones's
works, the fine genius, the spirituality, the invention; but they
leave me deeply dissatisfied as well" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 133).
That letter was written twenty years after Hopkins first recorded his
reaction to the work of Burne-Jones on July 2, 1866. On that occa-
sion he visited both the Academy and the exhibition of the Society
of Painters in Water-Colours. The notes he took show clearly his
interest in the Pre-Raphaelites and seem also to indicate that he
classified Burne-Jones with them. Of the ten painters mentioned in
those notes, five are considered to have been influenced by the Pre-
Raphaelites: besides Burne-Jones there are Valentine Prinsep, who al-
so helped with the Oxford Union frescoes; Arthur Hughes, a close as-
sociate of the original Brotherhood, John Raven, a contemporary of
the original seven; and John Brett, whose Summer Noon in the Scilly
Isles was "scarcely to be surpassed for realism in landscape" (JP,
p. 247).

Although Swinburne joined the group in the Union Hall and al-
though his early poetry was influenced by Morris, Swinburne clearly
was peripheral to the Oxford Circle. He had come up to Balliol in
1856, already a bit of a poet, already an admirer of Rossetti. In
1857 he was introduced to Rossetti, Morris, and Burne-Jones, who were
then at work on the frescoes. At Oxford he read the work of Morris
and turned out an unfinished poem on Tristram and Iseult, under the
influence of Morris. But he did not wish to be considered a one-time
Pre-Raphaelite, when in later years the question was raised, and perhaps only some of his early verse could be so construed. But as Cecil Y. Lang argues, "It is not fanciful to see in an occasional sharply limned detail or the uncommonly definite positioning of a character a certain debt to this early tutelage." Swinburne maintained close relationships with the Rossettis—living a while with Gabriel, collaborating with William, and addressing Christina in verse. Hopkins met Swinburne on May 29, 1868, after Swinburne's reputation had been established both in verse and in person. As early as September 15, 1867, Hopkins had formed his opinion of Swinburne, which was to remain essentially unchanged: "It is impossible not personally to form an opinion against the morality of a writer like Swinburne" (Further Letters, p. 228). In one respect, at least, he classified Swinburne with the Pre-Raphaelites: the use of archaic language. Hopkins theorized that "the poetical language of an age shd. be the current language heightened," and he believed that obsolete usage would be fatal to Swinburne and to Tennyson's idylls and perhaps even to Morris. But whatever Hopkins thought of Swinburne's morality and his archaisms, he obviously admired his poetic genius as displayed, for example, in the "ornate and continuously beautiful" language of Locrine (Correspondence: RWD, p. 157). Hopkins' true regard for Swinburne's verse, despite his reservations, is evident in his "Ad Mariam," a clear imitation of the melodies in Swinburne's

62 The Pre-Raphaelites and Their Circle, p. xxi.
verse.

Yeats, like Hopkins, was too young to participate in the Oxford Brotherhood. But he was an intense admirer of Keats, and Rossetti, and Morris; and his early verse consciously echoes the Pre-Raphaelites. When Yeats published his first book of poems, *The Wanderings of Oisin and Other Poems* (1889), he sent a copy to Morris, who replied: "You write my sort of poetry."63 As Yeats later confessed: "I was in all things pre-Raphaelite" (p. 76). Hopkins was quick to recognize this when he found young Yeats's poems in a magazine; he recognized the power that was in his poetry, something with which he felt an immediate kinship. That was in 1886, and Hopkins was moved to call on Yeats—or, rather, on his father, who had filled his son's mind with Pre-Raphaelitism: "I called on his, young Yeats's, father by desire lately; he is a painter; and with some emphasis of manner he presented me with *Mosada: a Dramatic Poem* by W. B. Yeats, with a portrait of the author by J. B. Yeats, himself; the young man having finely cut intellectual features and his father being a fine draughtsman" (*Further Letters*, pp. 373-74). There was not time to develop this friendship, which had begun in much the same manner as his friendships with Dixon and with Patmore. But Yeats many years later repaid that act of friendship with a brief note in his introduction to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse: 1892-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937).

It seems that all his life Gerard Manley Hopkins sought friendships with men who were in some way related to the Pre-Raphaelite movement. And all his life he found his attention directed toward men whose work was in some way affected by Pre-Raphaelitism. Hopkins even shared the same literary tastes as the Brethren—particularly admiration for the poetry of Keats and Tennyson. Both were favorites of the Pre-Raphaelites, and Hopkins' regard for them reveals his affinity with the impetus of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. If Keats was the poetic progenitor of the Brethren, he was Hopkins' first love and perhaps his last; if Tennyson was the contemporary with whom they seemed to share the most and admire the most, he was to Hopkins a man whose "gift of utterance is truly golden" (Letters: RB, p. 95).

Hopkins' extensive relations with members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, with members of the Oxford Circle, and with associates of the two groups, places him firmly in the Pre-Raphaelite movement. And his interests, which seem to run along parallel lines with those of the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates, tend to confirm the Pre-Raphaelite influence in Hopkins' life. An examination of his early poetry reveals the Pre-Raphaelite influence at work and helps to place him more firmly in his own century, contrary to the popular notion that Hopkins was an anachronism in the nineteenth century. The characteristics which exist in the poetry of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood may be found in his also, and discovering them helps provide insights to his poetry.
CHAPTER IV

PRE-RAPHAELITISM IN HOPKINS' EARLY POETRY

The poetry of John Keats and Alfred Lord Tennyson is frequently characterized as Pre-Raphaelite. Yet Keats died in 1821 without knowing that twenty-seven years later a group of young artists would gather in his name. And Tennyson already had published—in 1830, 1832, and 1842—those poems often called "Pre-Raphaelite." In fact his reputation was sufficiently well established in 1850—the year of *The Germ*—for him to be chosen Poet Laureate, succeeding Wordsworth. Thus it would be more logical to call Pre-Raphaelite verse "Keatsian" or "Tennysonian." The paradox arises from the fact that the poems of Keats and Tennyson anticipate those qualities conveniently termed Pre-Raphaelite: appreciation of nature, sensuousness, mood of weariness, medievalism, and decorative taste, among others. These qualities reappear in poems written by the Brethren and in those written by men who acknowledged indebtedness to the Pre-Raphaelites—men like Hopkins and Morris, whose early verse can be called Keatsian or Pre-Raphaelite without any essential distinction. Keats was the progenitor of them all.

The Brethren also looked to Tennyson for inspiration. He was included on their famous list of immortals, in the fourth level of five along with Patmore, but beneath Keats. It was Keats who provided the occasion for the collaboration of the Brotherhood, and with respect to Keats, Hopkins clearly is at peace with the Pre-Raphaelites. He recognized that the Brethren were deeply indebted to him:
"This modern medieval school is descended from the Romantic school (Romantic is a bad word) of Keats, Leigh Hunt, Hood, indeed of Scott early in the century. That was one school; another was that of the Lake poets and also of Shelley and Landor; the third was the sentimental school, of Byron, Moore, Mrs. Hemans, and Haynes Bailey. Schools are very difficult to class: the best guide, I think, are keepings. Keats' school chooses medieval keepings. . . . They were also great realists and observers of nature" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 98). Hopkins' observations reveal not only that he read widely, but also that he had a sharply defined critical sense capable of making distinctions about contemporary literature and of citing examples to support those distinctions. For example, in that same letter to Dixon (December 16, 1881), Hopkins further distinguishes the three schools he has defined, in terms of their diction, their treatment of nature, and their "keepings," or period details: "The Lake poets and all that school represent, as it seems to me, the mean or standard of English style and diction. . . . [It is] generally pure, lucid, and unarchaic. They were faithful but not rich observers of nature. Their keepings are their weak point, a sort of colourless classical keepings. . . . Byron's school had a deep feeling but the most un­trustworthy and barbarous eye, for nature; a diction markedly modern; and their keepings any gaud or a lot of Oriental rubbish" (pp. 98-99). Hopkins clearly ranks the "modern medieval" school above the other two, particularly with regard to observation of nature. And it is also clear that he regards Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites as
the direct descendants of that school, followed by Morris and Dixon, and to some degree Tennyson and Swinburne. In the same letter to Dixon Hopkins continues: "Now since this time Tennyson and his school seem to me to have struck a mean or compromise between Keats and the medievalists on the one hand and Wordsworth and the Lake School on the other (Tennyson has some jarring notes of Byron in Lady Clare Vere de Vere, Locksley Hall and elsewhere). The Lake School expires in Keble and Faber and Cardinal Newmar" (p. 99). Hopkins found himself both attracted to and repelled by Swinburne, but he classified Swinburne with the medieval school, thus indicating his admiration in spite of himself: "Swinburne is a strange phenomenon: his poetry seems a powerful effort at establishing a new standard of poetical 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. In virtue of this archaism and on other grounds he must rank with the medievalists" (p. 99).

The influence of John Keats is strongly evident in Hopkins' first significant poem, "The Escorial," dated Easter 1860. Hopkins was then only fifteen, and the poem is precocious beyond the imaginings of Rossetti, who wrote "The Blessed Damozel" in his nineteenth year, or of Keats, who wrote "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" in his twentieth year. It was Keats's "The Eve of St. Agnes" that Hopkins appropriated for his model, and the similarities are strong. Both poems use the Spenserian stanza, both depend upon an architectural
background, both exhibit a strong pictorial quality, both consciously use color imagery, both employ compound adjectives, and both contain echoes of the same phraseology. For example, one might compare the sixth stanza of Hopkins' poem with the twenty-fourth of Keats's:

No finish's proof was this of Gothic grace
With flowing tracery engemming rays
Of colour in high casements face to face;
And foliag'd crownals (pointing how the ways
Of art best follow nature) in a maze
Of finish'd diapers, that fills the eye
And scarcely traces where one beauty strays
And melts amidst another; ciel'd on high
With blazoned groins, and crowned with hues of majesty.

(11. 45-53, "The Escorial")

A casement high and triple-arch'd there was,
All garlanded with carven imag'ries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings;
And in the midst, 'mong thousand heraldries,
And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings.

(11. 208-16, "The Eve of St. Agnes")

By 1860, when he wrote "The Escorial," Hopkins may have known of the Pre-Raphaelite admiration for Keats. Holman Hunt had exhibited his painting from "The Eve of St. Agnes," and Millais had shown Lorenzo and Isabella; Ruskin had explicated the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism in art; and The Germ had demonstrated them in literature. In "The Escorial" Hopkins seems to be demonstrating some acquaintance with the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism. In stanza six, quoted above, Hopkins refers to "foliag'd crownals" and how they illustrate the principle that art should imitate nature. There was nothing novel
about that principle, even then; but Pre-Raphaelite practice was reaffirming its truth, and Hopkins may have been reflecting his knowledge of that practice. In the eleventh stanza, in describing the works of art which decorated the interior of the Escorial, Hopkins refers to a "darken'd landscape." In his notes to the poem, published as part of the editor's notes in the 1967 edition of the Poems, Hopkins explains that the quoted phrase alludes to the dark coloring of landscapes to be seen in Rubens, Titian, and other masters. Of course it was precisely this dark, un lifelike use of brown pigment, or asphaltum, against which the Pre-Raphaelites were rebelling. The brightly colored works of Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti had been displayed for over ten years when Hopkins wrote his poem, and considering the knowledge of art reflected in the poem, Hopkins must have been cognizant of their departure from tradition.

The conscious use of color imagery in both "The Eve of St. Agnes" and "The Escorial" is a clear link to the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism. In the brief 125 lines of Hopkins' poem he repeatedly evokes the visual sense through use of grey, golden, purple, and silver; and he creates an aura of color through use of such images as "fiery," "darkness," "engemming," "hues," "gloom," "gilt," "gleam," and "rust." This technique, of course, is a hallmark of Keats's "The Eve of St. Agnes" and other poems as well. It is also a technique of Rossetti.

In "Keats and Pre-Raphaelitism," Rayner Unwin lists the use of color imagery among other characteristics of Keats and Rossetti which
identify them as members of one school. According to Unwin, "It is the brilliance and purity of its colour that is the most striking characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite art" (p. 230). He cites, by way of illustration, the twenty-fifth stanza of "The Eve of St. Agnes," which he considers to be "typically Pre-Raphaelite":

Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,
As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon;
Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,
And on her hair a glory, like a saint:
She seem'd a splendid angel, newly drest,
Save wings, for heaven:--Porphyro grew faint:
She knelt, so pure a thing, so free from mortal taint.
(11. 217-25)

The same kind of color-use, Unwin points out, can be found in Rossetti's "Jenny" (stanza four):

Why, Jenny, as I watch you there,--
For all your wealth of loosened hair,
Your silk ungirdled and unlac'd
And warm sweets open to the waist,
All golden in the lamplight's gleam,--
You know not what a book you seem,
Half-read by lightning in a dream! (11. 46-52)

Both passages are primarily pictorial; they do not advance the story, but rather merely pause to elaborate a moment of loveliness. According to Unwin, both Keats and Rossetti "loved, like painters, to dwell upon their subjects in detachment and tranquillity, and were especially

64English, 9 (Summer 1951), 229-35. Unwin does not mention that Millais' picture, The Eve of St Agnes (1863) was inspired by this twenty-fifth stanza.
fond of painting them in rich pure tones" (p. 232).

There are a number of other elements which Unwin discovers in both Keats and Rossetti and which he believes to be essentially Pre-Raphaelite in character. For example there is the love of a "nebulous antiquity" by which Unwin means the archaism or medievalism to be found in both--and also in the early poetry of Hopkins, one might add. As examples from Keats, Unwin cites "The Eve of St. Agnes" and "La Belle Dame Sans Merci." And "to search for medievalism in Rossetti," Unwin believes, "is to display his life and works" (p. 234). From Hopkins one might mention his fragment of a verse play, Floris in Italy, which is archaic in its Shakespearean manner and medieval in one passage which recalls King Arthur's Britain and Guinevere's sin.

Still another characteristic of Pre-Raphaelitism which Unwin feels Keats anticipated in his poetry is the painstaking and meticulous description of natural beauty. To Keats, nature was a facet of the Beautiful, according to Unwin, and therefore the proper realm for poetry. The Pre-Raphaelite urge to transcribe from nature led to their meticulousness, and the same verisimilitude is observable in Keats, whose great odes are in a sense Pre-Raphaelite. Rossetti seems at first glance to be an "indoor poet," Unwin points out, but in a poem such as "The Woodspurge" he "narrow and sharpens his focus on to an insignificant plant" (p. 234). Keats could also sharpen his focus and "build up a word-picture as full of colour, precision, and minuteness as a Pre-Raphaelite painting" (p. 230). Hopkins' early
poetry often seems concerned with word-pictures rather than ideas, and this characteristic is one point of similarity with Keats. For example, "A Vision of Mermaids" seems to exist on a surface level only—an exercise in word-power, rather than the vehicle for the communication of an idea. Its lush imagery is often compared to that of Keats's *Endymion*. "A Vision" also adopts the rhyming couplets of *Endymion*. But primarily the similarity between Hopkins' poems and that of Keats is the attempt to verbalize a picture. As W. H. Gardner observes, referring to Hopkins' "Vision": "Hopkins uses as lavish a palette as a Pre-Raphaelite painter."66

But the luxuriant verbiage of "The Escorial" and "A Vision" was disciplined quickly. Although Hopkins always was capable of savoring the joys of the senses, he learned to subordinate them to the demands of his art. For example, "Easter Communion," dated Lent 1865, carefully balances the ascetic with the pleasureful sensations, something Hopkins may have been unable to do only three years earlier, when he wrote "A Vision of the Mermaids." Not only had Hopkins' art matured, but he had begun to consider a life of self-denial. Both factors combined to make his verse less luxuriant, although not necessarily less sensuous. In "Easter Communion" there is still a Keatsian note of pleasure and a Keatsian phrase or two: for those


66Hopkins, II, 55.
who fast, "God comes all sweetness to your Lenten lips"; for those who kept vigil, "God shall o'er-brim the measures you have spent / With oil of gladness"; and for those who wore hair shirts, God will "Give myrrhy-threaded golden folds of ease." Hopkins still relishes the rewards which follow denial, and he seems to find gratification in mortification of the senses. Thus he enjoys both pleasure and pain, like Keats, who spoke of "aching Pleasure" and who found Melancholy in the temple of Delight, "Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue / Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine."

One of Hopkins' finest early poems, "The Habit of Perfection," builds upon the same theme as that of "Easter Communion"--the clash of the ascetic and aesthetic drives in man. In depicting the conflict, Hopkins employs sensuous imagery which is more than merely suggestively Keatsian; it is a clear echo of the phraseology used in Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn." Hopkins wrote "The Habit of Perfection" in January 1866, a few months before his conversion to Catholicism. It would appear that Hopkins was already considering the priesthood, for the affirmation of denial in "The Habit of Perfection" foretells priestly abstinence, while the Keatsian sensuousness recalls aesthetic delight. In fact, the poem may be read in the light of its pivotal significance in Hopkins' poetic career; one discovers in it the sensuousness which characterizes his earlier poetry as well as the religious devotion which characterizes his later work. The poem anticipates his surrender to the religious life.

This anticipated surrender is essentially the theme of the poem:
spiritual fulfillment through physical denial. The theme is expressed in seven four-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter, rhyming abab, bcbc, and so on. In the first six stanzas Hopkins catalogues the delights of the senses in his best Keatsian manner, but in each of the six he introduces a paradox: by denying the pleasures of the physical senses, one refines the delights of the spiritual ones. This paradox sustains the tone of the poem by introducing a tension which is resolved finally in the marriage of the seventh stanza. The marriage is the union of the speaker to a vow of poverty—or, in a larger sense, to the religious life. The imagery of the poem contributes directly to the theme by emphasizing the sensuousness, the spirituality, and the paradox of spiritual perfection through the senses. For example, the title itself is a play on the word "habit," which means both a repeated physical act and a kind of religious garb. The habit of self-denial, then, leads to perfection, just as the religious habit leads to perfection.

In the first stanza the Keatsian echoes are strong.

Elected Silence, sing to me
And beat upon my whorled ear,
Pipe me to pastures still and be
The music that I care to hear.
(ll. 1-4)

That stanza from "The Habit of Perfection" may be compared with these lines from the second stanza of Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn":

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;
Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,
Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone.

(11. 11-14)

The paradox of audible silence is present in both, the preference for music that cannot be heard is present in both, and the bucolic image of medieval pipes is present in both. Hopkins must have recalled the paradox of the urn.

In the second stanza Hopkins points up the continuing paradox by finding eloquence in lips that are mute. Only when one surrenders speech to spiritual ends, he says, can one become truly eloquent. In Keats's poem the fair youth beneath the trees will be forever mute and yet "For ever piping songs for ever new." As with the ears and lips, so also with the eyes. Only when the eyes are closed to material things—to the whirling crowds and varied interests of the world which seek to confuse the sensual eye—only then can one see the "uncreated light," that is, the creative energy which is God. The provocative image of "shelled eyes" in this stanza refers to eyes behind closed lids; and the "double dark," then, connotes the darkness of closed eyes within the darkness of the night or of the world. And by "simple sight" Hopkins explicitly distinguishes between the physical sense of sight and that spiritual sense which sees the "uncreated light."

The fourth stanza specifically looks forward to the ritual of the priesthood with such images as the "can," or chalice, and the "crust," or Host, both of which are used in the Catholic mass. In this stanza
Hopkins admonishes the lust of the palate, or the sense of taste, for desiring wine. Fasting is salutary, and the "fast divine" which precedes the taking of bread and wine in the mass serves to heighten the sweetness and freshness of that holy breakfast. The nostrils, Hopkins avers in the next stanza, expend careless breath in self-satisfaction. But they shall find greater relish in the scent of incense. Here, too, as in the fourth stanza, Hopkins admonishes simple sensual pleasure in favor of spiritual pleasure—again with reference to Catholic ritual.

The last sense, that of touch, is celebrated in the sixth stanza. The hands that long to feel the primrose, and the feet that remember the soft earth, both shall find rare pleasure in the priesthood. The feet "shall walk the golden street," that is, the aisle toward the altar; and the hands shall "unhouse and house the Lord," that is, remove and replace the Host in the tabernacle during the mass.

In the final stanza the paradox of each of the senses is resolved as the speaker takes the priestly vows and the simple senses become directed toward spiritual ends. The image of the marriage feast is appropriate to the ordination ceremony, where each priest is wedded to poverty, chastity, and obedience. The final two lines of the poem allude to a verse from the gospel of Matthew which teaches that God will care for one who forsakes material pleasures. And these lines appropriately close the poem. In admonishing the "simple senses" and elevating the spiritual ones, Hopkins expresses his interest in aesthetics and ascetics. In his earlier poetry the note
of Keatsian sensuousness seems dominant; toward the end of this early period a note of asceticism creeps in; and his mature poems are dominantly spiritual. But Hopkins forever retained his appreciation of the delights of the senses—something he learned from Keats, Tennyson, and the Pre-Raphaelites. It would be wrong to maintain that Hopkins turned from aesthetics. He merely channeled his sensibilities toward spiritual ends. When he donned the habit of perfection, his physical senses found new delights to savor.

Hopkins' apprenticeship to Keats and to the Pre-Raphaelite qualities in his verse was simultaneous with the influence of Tennyson. In the fall of 1862, before he had composed the Keatsian "A Vision of the Mermaids," Hopkins was at work on "Il Mystico." The poem was never finished, and Hopkins sent it in fragmentary form to his friend Ernest Hartley Coleridge, grandson of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In the accompanying letter Hopkins draws attention to some lines borrowed from Tennyson—lines which he revised to disguise their origin. Even the revised lines:

And when the silent height were won,
And all in lone air stood the sun,
(11. 75-76)

echo clearly their origin:

Close to the sun in lonely lands,
Ring'd with the azure world, he stands.
(11. 3-4, "The Eagle")

There are other lines in the poem which betray their Tennysonian
origin, although Hopkins acknowledged his debt in only that one instance. For example, these lines from "Il Mystico" may be compared with closely corresponding lines from one of the songs in The Princess:

And fainter, finer, trickle far
To where the listening uplands are.
(11. 81-82, "Il Mystico")

O hark, O hear! how thin and clear,
And thinner, clearer, farther going!
(11. 7-8, "The Bugle Song")

The same letter to Coleridge reveals how imbued with Tennyson Hopkins was at eighteen. For example, Hopkins offers a synopsis of Tennyson's "The Vision of Sin" in 400 words, obviously in response to a question from his correspondent. And Hopkins also indicates emphatic approval of Tennyson's "St. Simeon Stylites," a satiric treatment of extreme asceticism: "You ask do I admire St. Simeon Stylites. Admire! Ha! Of course I do. If you have never heard it spoken of, either you have not attended to conversation or else so much the worse for those who don't speak about it. It is indeed magnificent" (Further Letters, p. 8).

There are a number of qualities in Tennyson's verse which Hopkins admired, as did members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Many of these qualities, like those of Keats, can be called Pre-Raphaelite --although they anticipated Pre-Raphaelitism by several years. For example, Tennyson's medievalism, his aestheticism and sensuality, his
decorative taste and pictorial description, his love of nature, and
the note of spirituality—all are Pre-Raphaelite characteristics in
a very real sense, although they predated formation of the Brother­
hood. And of course the Brethren were close to Tennyson personally,
although not intimates of his: Woolner executed a medallion of him,
Rossetti sketched him, Millais painted a portrait of him, Hunt illus­
trated his poems in collaboration with Rossetti and Millais, Christina
and William Rossetti visited him at his home, Gabriel Rossetti's "The
Woodspurge" may have been inspired by a passage in Maud, and Tenny­
son belonged to the Hogarth Club along with five of the seven PRBs. The extent of this interaction has never been fully studied, though
there are scattered observations concerning Tennyson and the Pre-Raph­
elites. Tennyson's friend, Arthur Henry Hallam, identified in an
early review the characteristic of Tennyson's poetry which Hopkins rec­
ognized and appropriated. In the August 1831 issue of Englishman's
Magazine Hallam classified poets into two categories: poets of reflec­
tion and poets of sensation. Tennyson he placed among poets of

67 Jerome H. Buckley, Tennyson: the Growth of a Poet, Riverside
p. 146.

68 G. H. Fleming, That Ne'er Shall Meet Again: Rossetti, Millais,
Hunt (London: Michael Joseph, 1971), pp. 152-53. This volume is a
companion to Fleming's Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,
which treated the PRB until its dissolution in 1854.

Le Gallienne (New York: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 87-139.
sensation, along with Keats and Shelley. And he singled out five qualities of Tennyson's verse which supposedly justify that classification: his luxuriance of imagination, accuracy of feeling, picturesque delineation, variety of lyrical measures, and elevated thought (p. 109). It is an incisive essay, although effusive. But it does select a number of qualities which can be seen in Hopkins' early verse. For example, Hopkins' "Spring and Death" bears close resemblance to Tennyson's "Love and Death," which was published in the 1842 volume, along with the two poems Hopkins mentions in his letter to Coleridge. In both "Love and Death" and "Spring and Death" the poets picture a lush garden; in both poems Death appears and speaks, claims his due and vanishes; and in both, Death's antagonist (Love and Spring, respectively) holds temporary dominion. Hopkins appears to have been experimenting with Tennyson's "luxuriance of imagination."

In that same letter to Coleridge, Hopkins enclosed, along with the Tennysonian "Il Mystico," a fragment called "A fragment of anything you like." As one might expect, its Tennysonian overtones are evident. There is strong similarity of feeling and imagery in Hopkins' "Fragment" and in Tennyson's "Mariana."

Fair, but of fairness as a vision dream'd;
Dry were her sad eyes that would fain have stream'd;
She stood before a light not hers, and seem'd

The lorn Moon, pale with piteous dismay,
Who rising late had miss'd her painful way
In wandering until broad light of day;

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Then was discover'd in the pathless sky,
White-faced, as one in sad assay to fly
Who asks not life but only place to die.
("A fragment . . .")

The same mood of weariness, of lonely frustration, is expressed by Tennyson's "Mariana":

Her tears fell with the dews at even;
   Her tears fell ere the dews were dried;
   . . . . . . . . . . .
   In sleep she seem'd to walk forlorn,
   Till cold winds woke the gray-eyed morn
   . . . . . . . . . . .
   But when the moon was very low,
   And wild winds bound within their cell,
   The shadow of the poplar fell
Upon her bed, across her brow.
   She only said, "The night is dreary,
   He cometh not," she said;
   She said, "I am aweary, aweary,
   I would that I were dead!"
(11. 13-14, 30-31, 53-60)

The plaintive, self-pitying note in these two poems is typically Pre-Raphaelite and occurs in the poetry of both Rossettis and also in that of Morris, whose "Spellbound" is a prime example:

How weary is it none can tell,
   How dismally the days go by!
I hear the tinkling of the bell,
   I see the cross against the sky.

The year wears round to autumn-tide,
   Yet comes no reaper to the corn;
The golden land is like a bride
   When first she knows herself forlorn--

   She sits and weeps with all her hair
   Laid downward over tender hands;
For stained silk she hath no care,  
No care for broken ivory wands.  
(11. 1-12)

In addition to borrowing the mood from "Mariana" to lend to his "Fragment," Hopkins borrowed a few lines from it for his earlier poem, "The Escorial":

but most she loathed the hour  
When the thick-moted sunbeam lay  
Athwart the chambers, and the day  
Was sloping toward his western bower.  
(11. 77-80, "Mariana")

Then through the afternoon the summer beam  
Slop'd on the galleries; upon the wall  
Rich Titians faded; in the straying gleam  
The motes in ceaseless eddy shine and fall  
Into the cooling gloom.  
(11. 91-94, "The Escorial")

The ease with which Hopkins borrowed from both Tennyson and Keats implies a good deal about his early impressionability. And the kind of borrowing he did implies a good deal about his affinities with the Pre-Raphaelites.

Two of Hopkins' finest poems--universally considered among his finest whether early or late--are "The Habit of Perfection" and "Heaven-Haven." The first owes something to Keats and the second is indebted to Tennyson. But both have risen above their indebtedness and have achieved a merit which places clear title directly in Hopkins' hands. There are four versions of "Heaven-Haven," the earliest of which is dated July 1864 and appears in Hopkins' early diaries.
under the title "Rest" (JP, p. 33). The variants are not significant, although it is clear that the best version is the latest one (Poems, p. 19). It is subtitled "A nun takes the veil"; one of the others is entitled "Fair Havens--The Nunnery," and still another is entitled "Fair Havens; or The Convent." Either something had occurred to focus Hopkins' attention on religious orders for women, or he was attempting to disguise the autobiographical nature of the two-stanza lyric. The latter seems unlikely, and it may be significant that Hopkins refers to All Saints, Margaret Street, only one entry after the poem appears in his diary. His sister, Milicent, was to enter a religious order there within the next four years, and possibly she had discussed her intentions with him. In any event the poem expresses a desire to flee the troubles of the world, to escape to a haven where troubles may be forgot. The desire is a familiar form of Romantic escapism, multiple examples of which may be found in Keats, Tennyson, and others. But "Heaven-Haven" is distinctive:

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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.
```

The passage from Tennyson which helped inspire the language of this gem-like lyric is in "Morte D'Arthur," first published in the 1842 volume. That volume also includes every other Tennyson poem already

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mentioned from which Hopkins borrowed during his early period. The passage in "Morte D'Arthur" describes the king's farewell to Sir Bedivere:

But now farewell. 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-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchardlawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,
Where I will heal me of my grievous wound.

(11. 256-64)

The entire passage, but particularly the fifth line, appears to have contributed something to Hopkins' lyric. The rhyme scheme and variable line length of course owe nothing to the blank verse of "Morte D'Arthur." But part of the charm of this eight-line poem lies in Hopkins' manipulation of meter and sound—skilled for a young man barely twenty years old. He carefully controls his iambics, spondees, and anapests to complement the sense, in a manner mastered by Tennyson. The distinction of the poem arises from variations introduced into the regular pattern. Each stanza of four lines is a complete sentence and is syntactically parallel with the other. Each stanza is developed by means of the same rhyme scheme: abba cddc. And with one exception, each line corresponds in syllable count with its counterpart in the other stanza. The primary foot would seem to be iambic,

70Mariani, Commentary, p. 11.
but substitutions are frequent enough in this short poem so that no single pattern is clearly established. In the second line of each stanza Hopkins introduces a spondee to accentuate the negative:

Where springs not fail

And in the second stanza:

Where no storms come

This same technique is used effectively by Keats in "La Belle Dame Sans Merci"—the poem which William Morris once said was the germ from which all the poetry of his group had sprung:71

O, what can ail thee, Knight-at-arms
   Alone and palely loitering;
The sedge has wither'd from the lake,
   And no birds sing.

In the final line of the lyric Hopkins introduces two anapests, thus lengthening the line by two syllables, the only variation in the otherwise parallel line count: 6--4--10--6; 6--4--10--8. This departure is clearly a conscious device to approximate the rhythm of the sea: "And out of the swing of the sea." The original version: "And sunder'd from the sea" (JP, p. 33) is inferior to the revision. Still another improvement is in line three, which Hopkins altered

from "To fields where flies not the unbridled hail" to "To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail." "Sharp and sided" is an inspired piece of description which anticipates Hopkins' later originality. The adjectives capture more vividly the nature of the hailstones, whereas "unbridled" calls up the image of horses at freedom, inappropriate to the notion of anxiety and trouble which Hopkins wishes to convey. And as W. H. Gardner points out, "'Sided' is a typically precise and forceful epithet: the poet feels the facets and edges of the hailstone as though he were about to draw the object in his minute Pre-Raphaelite manner." The changes Hopkins made sharpened the rhythm and imagery and thus accented the sensuousness of the experience in Pre-Raphaelite fashion.

During the period of his literary apprenticeship Hopkins was not so familiar with the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti as he was with those of Keats and Tennyson. The reason is simple: Rossetti was more or less disinclined to come before the public, or perhaps he merely lacked the urge to publish. Until Poems of 1870, his original work remained mostly in manuscript. By 1870 Hopkins was committed to the program of studies for the priesthood and to a vow of poverty. Hopkins and Rossetti had passed each other in their separate paths without a chance to meet. How well Hopkins knew Rossetti from that distance is a matter of conjecture. The older poet

\[^{72}\text{Hopkins, II, 72.}\]

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had published a number of poems as pendants to his paintings; considering Hopkins' early interest in art, he may have seen these. Rossetti had also published eleven poems and one short story in *The Germ*; Hopkins demonstrates a familiarity with some of the contents of this short-lived magazine. Then in 1856 Rossetti contributed three poems to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, one of which, "The Blessed Damozel," had already been printed in *The Germ*; it is at least plausible, even reasonable that Hopkins discovered copies of this magazine at Oxford when he matriculated seven years later. He would have been drawn to it by the fact that his former teacher, Richard Watson Dixon, had published three articles in it.

It would be helpful to learn if Hopkins had in fact read *The Germ*, particularly Rossetti's story, "Hand and Soul." Morris and Burne-Jones had discovered it, and "the story of Chiaro soon became a literary model for Morris himself."73 Burne-Jones asked, in the first issue of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, "Why is the author of *The Blessed Damozel* and the story of Chiaro so seldom on the lips of men? If only we could hear him oftener, live in the light of his power a little longer."74 The story of Chiaro dell' Erma is the fictitious but partially autobiographical tale of a young artist of medieval Tuscany who from boyhood was devoted to the imitation of objects in nature. The reverence he felt for the objects he painted gave


74Quoted in Doughty, p. 206.
them merit in the eyes of God, he felt. His self was of the earth, but his work was of the heaven. But in time he became aware that his reverence for nature was not genuine faith; it was mere worship of beauty. And from that day forward he devoted himself to works of moral allegory. Yet men turned from him and fame left him. Then a vision of his own soul appeared to him, clad in green and grey raiment. And she said to him, paint what is in your heart, for that shall be pleasing to God.

Rossetti thus seems to be affirming the efficacy of aestheticism, or identifying a life of faith with worship of beauty. Graham Hough sees this philosophy as a "new kind of pre-Raphaelite creed--not fidelity to external nature, but fidelity to one's own inner experience, which is to be followed even if it contradicts formal morality." At any rate, it was Rossetti's blend of the sacred and the secular which is his particular contribution to the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic.

And very possibly it was this quality which attracted Walter Pater to Rossetti. Pater, of course, was Hopkins' tutor at Oxford, and he may have discussed Rossetti with his young pupil. Hopkins has left no notes recording any such discussion, but Pater later wrote an essay which may express some of the same ideas he held at the time he was on friendly terms with Hopkins. ("Friendly" is the proper term; Hopkins dined with him, visited him, and renewed acquaintance in 1878.

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At Oxford, according to Hopkins himself, "Pater was one of the men I saw most of" [Further Letters, p. 246]. In his essay on Rossetti, Pater selects for particular praise the poet's "definiteness of sensible imagery," his "particularisation," "Imaginative vividness," and his "pictorial or descriptive power in dealing with the inanimate world." Together, according to Pater, these qualities form an ideal type of beauty, a fusing of the material and the spiritual. Pater sees no reason why these elements should not be fused, although "spirit and matter, indeed, have been for the most part opposed, with a false contrast or antagonism by schoolmen, whose artificial creation those abstractions really are. In our actual concrete experience, the two trains of phenomena which the words matter and spirit do but roughly distinguish, play inextricably into each other" (p. 212). And Rossetti "knows no region of spirit which shall not be sensuous also, or material," according to Pater (p. 213). For Pater this fusion of the sensuous and the spiritual appeared to be Rossetti's particular charm. If Pater and Hopkins ever spoke of Rossetti --and the likelihood is very great--then Pater would have led Hopkins to see this quality in Rossetti. Pater also could have directed the young student to sources of Rossetti's work even before it was published. Perhaps it was Pater who asked his colleague Robinson Ellis to lend Hopkins the manuscript of "The Blessed Damozel." In

his essay on Rossetti he notes that "The Blessed Damozel, although actually printed twice before the year 1870, was eagerly circulated in manuscript" (p. 205). The two occasions on which it was previously printed were, of course, 1850, in The Germ, and 1856, in the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine. Because Pater knew of these two occasions--both instances of literary ephemera--it is reasonable to surmise that he directed Hopkins' attention to them. Perhaps he also called Hopkins' attention to "Hand and Soul," which, like "The Blessed Damozel," had some following at Oxford. The story itself was twice reprinted separately from editions of Rossetti's works: once in 1869, from proof sheets for the 1870 volume; and once in 1870, in The Fort-nightly Review 7 (1870), 692-702.

Precisely what Hopkins derived from his understanding of Rossetti it is difficult to say. The same qualities which Pater finds in Rossetti's work were in some cases already part of Hopkins' sensibility. It is instructive to learn that of the six Rossetti poems Hopkins copied out, "The Blessed Damozel"--that archetypal Pre-Raphaelite poem, perfect melding of sensuousness and spirituality--was among them. Another poem he copied out is "Lilith," representatively Pre-Raphaelite in a variety of ways:

Of Adam's first wife, Lilith, it is told
(The witch he loved before the gift of Eve,)  
That, ere the snake's, her sweet tongue could deceive,
And her enchanted hair was the first gold.
And still she sits, young while the earth is old,
    And, subtly of herself contemplative,
Draws men to watch the bright web she can weave,
Till heart and body and life are in its hold.

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The rose and poppy are her flowers; for where
Is he not found, O Lilith, whom shed scent
And soft-shed kisses and soft sleep shall snare?
Lo! as that youth's eyes burned at thine, so went
Thy spell through him, and left his straight neck bent
And round his heart one strangling golden hair.

One suspects that the poems Hopkins copied out were selected in answer to his own needs. And the conclusion would be that Hopkins admired the fusion of sensuous and spiritual which he saw in the poetry of Rossetti and which in some instances he tried to achieve in his own. A fine example of the fusion of sensuous and spiritual in Hopkins' verse would be "Easter," thought to have been written in 1866:

Break the box and shed the nard;
Stop not now to count the cost;
Hither bring pearl, opal, sard;
Reck not what the poor have lost;
Upon Christ throw all away:
Know ye, this is Easter Day.

Build His church and deck His shrine,
Empty though it be on earth;
Ye have kept your choicest wine--
Let it flow for heavenly mirth;
Fluck the harp and breathe the horn:
Know ye not 'tis Easter morn?

Gather gladness from the skies;
Take a lesson from the ground;
Flowers do ope their heavenward eyes
And a Spring-time joy have found;
Earth throws Winter's robes away,
Decks herself for Easter Day.

Beauty now for ashes wear,
Perfumes for the garb of woe.
Chaplets for dishevelled hair,
Dances for sad footsteps slow;
Open wide your hearts that they
Let in joy this Easter Day.
Seek God's house in happy throng;
Crowded let His table be;
Mingle praises, prayer and song,
Singing to the Trinity.
Henceforth let your souls alway
Make each morn an Easter Day.

The purpose of this catalogue of sensory delights is the expression of joy; Rossetti's purpose in "Lilith" was somewhat more erotic. Rossetti's sensuousness becomes sensuality, and this distinction remains the chief barrier between them in their respective performances as poets. Rossetti celebrated the body's beauty, and he saw it as the raiment of the soul; Hopkins celebrated the beauty of nature, and he saw it as evidence of the immanence of God.

But Hopkins was capable of depicting sensuality, at least in a dramatic setting. The fragment "Stephen and Barberie," written in January 1865, is a sample of his ability to empathize with the feelings of a distraught maiden, in the best Pre-Raphaelite tradition:

--She by a sycamore,
Whose all-belated leaves yield up themselves
To the often takings of desirous winds,
Sits without consolation, marking not
The time save when her tears which still [descend]
Her barred fingers clasp'd upon her eyes,
Shape on the under side and size and drop.
Meanwhile a litter of the jagged leaves
Lies in her lap, which she anon sweeps off.
'This weary Martinmas, would it were summer'
I heard her say, poor poor afflicted soul,--
'Would it were summer-time.' Anon she sang
The country song of Willow. 'The poor soul--
(Like me)--sat sighing by a sycamore-tree.'
Perhaps it was for this she chose the place.

This same sense of loss may be felt in much of the verse of the
Pre-Raphaelites—for example, in "Lost Days," the sonnet which Hopkins copied into his commonplace book perhaps as early as 1863:

The lost days of my life until to-day,
What were they, could I see them on the street
Lie as they fell? Would they be ears of wheat
Sown once for food but trodden into clay?
Or golden coins squandered and still to pay?
Or drops of blood dabbling the guilty feet?
Or such spilt water as in dreams must cheat
The undying throats of Hell, athirst alway?

I do not see them here; but after death
God knows I know the faces I shall see,
Each one a murdered self, with low last breath.
"I am thyself,—what hast thou done to me?"
"And I—and I—thyself," (Lo! each one saith,)
"And thou thyself to all eternity!"

The poem was written after his wife's death in 1862, and Rossetti indicated in a letter to a friend that the poem would have been one of his favorites if it had not been "wrung out of me." This mood of melancholy introspection was nearly duplicated in Hopkins' "Myself unholy, from myself unholy," a sonnet written in June 1865. In Rossetti's sonnet the wasted hours reappear to accuse him; in Hopkins' sonnet his own sins reappear in the person of his friends, and he "Yields to the sultry siege of melancholy":

Myself unholy, from myself unholy
To the sweet living of my friends I look--

He has a sin of mine, he its near brother;
Knowing them well I can but see the fall.
(11. 1-2, 8-9)

77Quoted in Doughty, p. 310.

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Christina Rossetti often articulated the same sense of loss, of melancholy, that one finds in her brother's poetry. And also in her poetry one finds the same strange commixture of sensuality and asceticism which marks the poetry of Hopkins. But she shared with Hopkins a spirit of doctrinal Christianity as well, whereas Gabriel's Christianity was aesthetic in nature. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hopkins believed Christina was a better poet than her brother. Nor is it surprising that her influence on Hopkins' poetry is direct and demonstrable, whereas Gabriel's influence is tenuous and conjectural.

Hopkins' strong admiration for the poetry of Christina Rossetti is evident chiefly in the fact that he "answered" her "Convent Threshold," as well as in his critical comments scattered throughout his letters. She wrote the poem in July 1858 and published it in her 1862 volume, Goblin Market. Hopkins probably did not see this book until after his arrival at Oxford in April 1863, possibly not until early 1864. It was in the first part of 1864 that he began to pen his reply, and one suspects that he wrote it in the heat of enthusiasm after reading her poem. It is sensuous, yet ascetic and spiritual, and it is precisely the kind of poem which Hopkins would have liked to write. His reply, "A Voice from the World," is patently modeled after hers in both theme and form. The "Convent Threshold" is the cry of a woman torn between earthly desire and the promise of heaven. She is a passionate rather than blessed damozel, but otherwise there are strong parallels between Christina's speaker and her brother's. In "The Blessed Damozel" the speaker already is in heaven, and she yearns for
her earthbound lover. In "The Convent Threshold" the speaker is a nun who has renounced her earthly love for a surer path to heaven, but her decision frustrates desire:

I choose the stairs that mount above,
Stair after golden skyward stair,
To city and to sea of glass. (ll. 4-6)

But she cannot renounce her love entirely. Together, she suggests, they can find sanctity and reunion in another world. Like the blessed damozel, she maintains hope that they will meet again:

Lo, stairs are meant to lift us higher:
Mount with me, mount the kindled stair.
(ll. 15-16)

But he looks only earthward. The description of what he sees there is couched in sensuous terms; Christina deliberately wishes to evoke desire, to create a scene of fleshly pleasure in contrast to the barren life of renunciation which the speaker has chosen:

You looking earthward, what see you?
Milk-white, wine-flushed among the vines,
Up and down leaping, to and fro,
Most glad, most full, made strong with wines,
Blooming as peaches pearled with dew,
Their golden windy hair afloat,
Love-music warbling in their throat,
Young men and women come and go. (ll. 30-37)

The language of passion which Christina employs symbolically recreates the act of love and emphasizes the pain of baulked desire which the nun experiences.
I turn from you my cheeks and eyes,
My hair which you shall see no more--
Alas for joy that went before,
For joy that dies, for love that dies.
Only my lips still turn to you,
My livid lips that cry, Repent.
Oh weary life, Oh weary Lent,
Oh weary time whose stars are few.
(11. 61-68)

It is a barely concealed or sublimated eroticism which the nun feels.
But even as she turns her lips to those of her erstwhile lover, they
form the word repent. She tells him of her dream, the symbolic death
of her flesh.

I tell you what I dreamed last night:
It was not dark, it was not light,
Cold dews had drenched my plenteous hair
Through clay; you came to seek me there.
And 'Do you dream of me?' you said.
My heart was dust that used to leap
To you; I answered half asleep:
'My pillow is damp, my sheets are red,
There's a leaden tester to my bed:
Find you a warmer playfellow,
A warmer pillow for your head,
A kinder love to love than mine.'
(11. 110-21)

But the dream cannot dislodge desire. It was a night of torment for
the nun, but with the aid of prayer she reconciles herself to renunciat-
on of the flesh.

For all night long I dreamed of you:
I woke and prayed against my will,
Then slept to dream of you again.

When this morning broke,
My face was pinched, my hair was grey,
And frozen blood was on the sill
Where stifling in my struggle I lay.
(11. 126-28, 133-36)

But reconciliation to her celibate state cannot destroy the memory of her love and their "pleasant sin." Like the blessed damozel, she hopes for reunion, and it is for this reason she urges her lover to repent—not out of a sense of sin, but in hope of some future meeting:

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.
(11. 145-48)

It is a poignant note on which to end, with the question of the lover's repentance still unanswered. In Gabriel's "The Blessed Damozel" the speaker knows her wish to be an idle dream, a mere projection of desire. As she ends her fantasy she weeps. But in "The Convent Threshold" there is no such resolution. And it was for this reason that Hopkins wrote "A Voice from the World"—title of the draft version found in his early diaries, or "Beyond the Cloister"—title of the finished poem, now lost. His poem provides the answer or the denouement to the drama of Christina's "Convent Threshold."

In Hopkins' poem the speaker is the young man with whom Christina's speaker "sinned . . . a pleasant sin." He is alone, but at last he hears her cry, "the voice well known." Once that voice called to him from within the wood "Late in the green weeks of April" and like the song of the cuckoo, it "carried me with ravishment." But the voice is
Now coming from the alien eaves,—
You would not house beneath my own;
To alien eaves you fled and went,—

(11. 3-5)

The narrator pleads with her, ostensibly to return to him. But it is too late, and her decision has been made, and she hears "but with a holier mind":

I cry out for wounded love.
And you are gone so heavenly far
You hear nor care of love and pain.
My tears are but a cloud of rain;
My passion like a foolish wind.

(11. 33-37)

Repulsed, he returns to their old haunts, trying perhaps to regain her love, but it is futile:

I walk towards eve our walks again;
When lily-yellow is the west.
Say, o'er it hangs a water-cloud
And ravell'd into strings of rain.

I fall, I tear and shower the weed,
I bite my hands, my looks I shroud;
My cry is like a bleat; a few
Intolerable tears I bleed.
Then is my misery full indeed.

(11. 54-57, 64-68)

But the words and the tears do not move her. Then the narrator relates a dream of his own, counterpart to hers. It is the day of judgment, and she is chosen; he is left. But "Mercy is left enough for one," an angel says, and the nun asks that her lover be given the gift of mercy. Then
The angel lifted us above.  
The bitterness of death was past,  
My love; and all was sweet and well.  

(ll. 119-121)

He wakes to find that redemption was only a dream. But he has learned resolve:

I have yet within  
The penetrative element  
That shall unglue the crust of sin.  
Steel may be melted and rock rent.  
Penance shall clothe me to the bone.  
Teach me the way: I will repent.  

(ll. 131-36)

In the last stanza of the poem as it is reconstructed by Hopkins' editors, Hopkins quotes a line from Christina's poem: "Knowledge is strong but love is sweet." He seems to have interpreted this line to mean that the male was learned and the female was loving. But now, in the closing lines of "A Voice from the World," he becomes the student, she the tutor:

I who was wise would be untaught,  
And fain would follow I who led.  

(ll. 171-72)

Christina's poems are sometimes interpreted autobiographically, as this one has been. Hopkins' reply to "The Convent Threshold" clearly is not autobiographical, no matter how much he was moved by the force of her emotion and her artful expression of sensuality coupled

78 Packer, Christina Rossetti, pp. 127-30.
with spirituality. But his later poems, which cry out with the same force of emotional sincerity, are often regarded as autobiographical.

It is interesting, therefore, to discover in one of Hopkins' so-called "terrible sonnets" an echo from "The Convent Threshold":

I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day.  
What hours, O what black hours we have spent  
This night! what sights you, heart, saw; ways you went.  
And more must, in yet longer light's delay.

With witness I speak this. But where I say  
Hours I mean years, mean life. And my lament  
Is cries countless, cries like dead letters sent  
To dearest him that lives alas! away.

I am gall, I am heartburn. God's most deep decree  
Bitter would have me taste: my taste was me;  
Bones built in me, flesh filled, blood brimmed the curse.

Selfyeast of spirit a dull dough sours. I see  
The lost are like this, and their scourge to be  
As I am mine, their sweating selves; but worse.

The first quatrain is parallel in theme and imagery with lines 54-57 of Christina's poem:

Woe's me that easy way we went,  
So rugged when I would return!  
How long until my sleep begin,  
How long shall stretch these nights and days?

The situations are parallel also: both speakers are members of religious orders; both suffer from an acute sense of sin; both have spent a sleepless night; and both cry out for relief. The conclusion is not that because Christina's poem cannot be literally autobiographical, Hopkins' cannot be. The conclusion is merely that Hopkins in his youth identified with the emotion and spirituality of the speaker in
"The Convent Threshold" to the extent that he penned a reply, and also that the mood and language of her poem remained with him till late in his life, till he, too, felt the torment which Christina expressed in "The Convent Threshold." In another way, less dramatic, perhaps, Hopkins manifested his continuing interest in this poem: he translated portions of it into Latin verse.

While Hopkins' identification with Christina's poem, or perhaps with its speaker, is the most obvious instance of his admiration for her poetry, it is not the only one. In his commonplace book he copied Christina's poem, "The Offering of the New Law." This poem was first published in Lyra Eucharistica, an anthology edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley and published in 1863.79 Hopkins must have read it there, for it was not reprinted until 1896. The poem is not particularly memorable, and it is easy to understand why she did not include it in any collection of verse published during her lifetime. What must have appealed to Hopkins is the spirit of Christian humility which it expresses:

> Once I thought to sit so high
> In the palace of the sky:
> Now I thank God for His grace
> If I may fill the lowest place.
> (11. 1-4)

On the other hand, because the poem is transcribed in the penmanship of Manley Hopkins, not Gerard, it may have been a subtle moral lesson,

There is also the possibility that Hopkins' limited interest in the ballad stems in part from his reading of Christina Rossetti. In her *Goblin Market* (1862) there are several ballads, as well as "The Convent Threshold" and the title poem. Two of Hopkins' early poems employ the conventions of the ballad form: "The Queen's Crowning" and "The Nightingale." The latter of these may take something from Christina's "Sleep at Sea," which itself bears resemblance to "The Ancient Mariner." Both Hopkins' poem and Christina's treat a dramatic situation involving death at sea. He was to return to the same theme, more successfully, in later poems.

But one feels that Hopkins was drawn to Christina Rossetti because of the spirit of Christian devotion which informed her verse, cast in the sensuous diction which characterized his own. He recognized in her a kindred artist as well as a Christian. The same feeling which led him into the Catholic Church moved her as well, although she remained within the Anglican Communion. Her brother, William, once wrote, "I have often thought that Christina's proper place was in the Roman Catholic Church, yet I never traced any inclination in her to join it." Hopkins must have sensed this affinity.

Coventry Patmore also felt the attraction of the Catholic Church, although it is not certain when he acquired it. William Rossetti notes in the journal of the Brotherhood that Patmore "was in 1849 a strict

and indeed prejudiced Protestant"; but in 1864, at the age of forty-
one, he became a Catholic. It is not clear how strong an influence
Cardinal Newman played in his conversion, but Patmore and Newman knew
each other personally and corresponded occasionally. And of course
Patmore was one of Christina Rossetti's earliest literary friends.
It is therefore a bit strange, perhaps, that Patmore's lengthy corres-
pondence with Hopkins does not include mention of these common inter-
ests. Instead the two poets concentrated their exchanges on the sub-
ject of poetry and poets. It is true, of course, that Hopkins' cor-
respondence with Patmore did not begin until 1883, approximately
thirty-five years after Patmore met Christina and nearly twenty years
after his conversion. Still, both Christina and Hopkins had written
poems under the influence of the older poet, and one could reasonably
expect a discussion of this coincidence. Christina admitted that "The
Lowest Room," written in 1856, had been composed with "a certain Pat-
morean flavour." Hopkins' own Patmorean poem is "The Lover's Stars,
" an unfinished effort which was begun in July 1864, perhaps only a day
or two before Hopkins himself met Christina. The poem as it appears
in Poems (p. 126) has been reconstructed by the editors. Hopkins re-
ferred to it in a letter to Baillie as "a trifle in something like
Coventry Patmore's style" (Further Letters, p. 213), by which he

81 Diaries, p. 233.
82 Reid, Mind and Art of CP, p. 111.
84 Packer, Christina Rossetti, p. 204.

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undoubtedly referred to *The Angel in the House*, an immensely popular poetic tale of love and courtship. Hopkins' poem preserves both the flavor and the meter of Patmore's original:

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The destined lover, whom his stars
More golden than the world of lights,
O'er passes bleak, o'er perilous bars
Of rivers, lead, thro' storms and nights,

Shall, when his star is zenith'd, find
Acceptance round his mistress' mouth:
Altho' unchallenged, where she sits,
Three rivals throng her garden chair,

He meets her, stintless of her smile;
Her choice in roses knows by heart;
Has danced with her: and all the while
They are Antipodes apart. (11. 1-4, 7-10, 20-24)
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Hopkins did not pursue this particular muse, and it is just as well; domestic love was not his forte. What he shared with Patmore was his Pre-Raphaelite sensuousness, his High Church upbringing, and his Catholic religion.

The entire Pre-Raphaelite movement was tinged with a High Church aura from the beginning. Even Ruskin, in his epistolary defense of the Pre-Raphaelites, abhorred their alleged "Romanist and Tractarian tendencies." James Collinson picked up his easel and joined the Jesuits. Holman Hunt was charged with Puseyism when he displayed his *Light of the World*. Charles Allston Collins exhibited *Convent Thoughts* and found that it was cited as an example of Pre-Raphaelite High Churchism, although he was not even a member of the Brotherhood. Christina Rossetti's devotional lyrics represent a link between the
Oxford Movement and Pre-Raphaelitism, and she has been called the "poetess of the Oxford Movement."\(^8^5\) Her poetic eulogy of Cardinal Newman after his death confirms her feelings. Hopkins' own relations with Cardinal Newman and the Oxford Movement are deep and profound, and at least two poems of his appear to be direct products of Newman's influence. "The Halfway House" was written in October 1865, after he had begun to consider seriously the prospect of conversion to the Roman Catholic church. The poem is transcribed in his early diaries almost immediately following Newman's "Lead, kindly light" and almost immediately preceding his oft-quoted entry, "On this day by God's grace I resolved to give up all beauty until I had His leave for it" (JP, p. 71). "The Halfway House" seems to mean that Hopkins had come to realize his Anglican faith no longer sustained him: "My national old Egyptian reed gave way." And in order to obtain salvation he must become a member of the Roman Catholic church:

To see Thee I must see Thee, to love, love;
I must o'ertake Thee at once and under heaven
If I shall overtake Thee at last above.
(11. 14-16)

The last two lines of the poem suggest that someone (Cardinal Newman?) had told him his conversion would be welcome and that his needs "under heaven" would be met in the Catholic doctrine of the transubstantiation:

You have your wish; enter these walls, one said:
He is with you in the breaking of the bread.
(11. 17-17)

The title of the poem may have its origin in a statement of Newman that "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."86

"Nondum" was written during Lent the following year, and it seems to indicate that Hopkins was moving closer to conversion. Newman received him into the Church on October 21, 1866, six or seven months after the poem was written. But still Hopkins was undecided when he wrote "Nondum," which is significantly subtitled: "Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself." He is asking for guidance, asking to be told which is the way:

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.

Oh! till Thou givest that sense beyond
To show Thee that Thou art, and near,
Let patience with her chastening wand
Dispel the doubt and dry the tear;
And lead me child-like by the hand
If still in darkness not in fear.

Speak! whisper to my watching heart
One word--as when a mother speaks

86 Sulloway, Hopkins, p. 18.
Soft, when she sees her infant start,
Till dimpled joy steals o'er its cheeks.
Then, to behold Thee as Thou art,
I'll wait till morn eternal breaks.

(11. 39-54)

This poem, particularly the passage quoted, bears a firm resemblance to Newman's "Lead, kindly light," which is also a plea for guidance until the morning of eternity.

Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
   Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home—
   Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene—one step enough for me.

... . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
   Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
   The night is gone;
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

(11. 1-6, 13-18)

Hopkins and Newman corresponded for the rest of their lives.

Like both Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins, William Morris was profoundly influenced by the Oxford Movement. When he went up to Oxford University in 1853 he intended to take Holy Orders and perhaps even to found a monastery. But his energies were diverted somewhat toward art, retaining the medieval keepings which were common to both his art and the Oxford Movement. It was his medievalism which drew Hopkins to him—or at least it was medievalism which he saw as Morris's chief characteristic, and he regarded Morris as leader of the modern medieval school. There are a number of indicators which
would lead Hopkins to this conclusion. First there was of course the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine, including poems and prose romances by Morris. Second there was the interior of the Oxford Union, with its medievalized frescoes by Morris, Rossetti, and others. The plan was to decorate some walls in the Union Hall with scenes from Morte D'Arthur. This Hall measured thirty-three feet by sixty-two and was forty-seven feet in height. A gallery with book shelves encircled the room. The area above the shelves and below the roof was divided into ten bays, each with two windows shaped like sexfoils, that is, having six lobes, like a six-petaled bloom. It was the area of the bays which the members of the Oxford Brotherhood and friends proposed to decorate with medieval designs. Rossetti set to work on Lancelot’s vision of the Holy Grail, Morris intended to illustrate the story of Tristram and Iseult, John Hungerford Pollen began to paint King Arthur receiving Excalibur, Burne-Jones took the death of Merlin as his subject. Other painters included Valentine Prinsep, who painted Sir Pelleas and the Lady Etarde, Rodham Stanhope took Sir Gawaine and the three damsels of the fountain, and Arthur Hughes took the death of Arthur. Alexander Munro carved the King and his knights in stone over the entrance to the building. William Riviere completed the final three bays with chivalric subjects after the other painters had left the project uncompleted. Hopkins was a member of the Union and took careful

87 As described in Fleming, That Ne'er Shall Meet Again, pp. 100-01


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note of the medieval nature of the designs. The third indicator which
led Hopkins to regard Morris as the leader of the modern medievalists
probably was his book, *The Defence of Guenevere*, and Other Poems, pub­
lished in 1858.

There is no direct evidence that Hopkins purchased this book and
read it. Part of the difficulty in tracing the origin of Hopkins' ideas is that when he took the vow of poverty many of his personal
possessions, like books, became the property of the Society of Jesus.
Thus when he moved from assignment to assignment, he often left his
books behind him. As he once explained in a letter to Bridges: "I had
to leave three volumes, if you can call pamphlets volumes, of your po­
ems behind me at Liverpool; for to carry them longer about with me
would have been to claim them as property" (*Letters*: RB, p. 137). An­
other difficulty in tracing the origin of Hopkins' ideas is that, un­
like Matthew Arnold and Ralph Waldo Emerson, he did not set down on
paper the progress of his reading. Hopkins' journals are more intro­
spective, although they do occasionally record something he has read.
For example, a journal entry on June 13, 1866, records that Christina's
*Prince's Progress* has been published, but Hopkins does not mention
that he either bought it or read it. Nevertheless he must have meant
that he had bought it, for Hopkins' autographed first edition of that
volume was purchased at auction in London on April 17, 1972, for £40.89

89"Items of Interest," *The Hopkins Research Bulletin*, No. 3
(1972), p. 32.

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Therefore, the fact that Hopkins never mentions having read Morris's *Defence of Guenevere* should not be regarded as evidence that he had not. And if Walter Pater actually did help direct his student's choice of reading, then there is a clear likelihood that Hopkins read Morris's *Defence*, for Pater thought highly of this book: "The poem which gives its name to the volume is a thing tormented and awry with passion, like the body of Guenevere defending herself from the charge of adultery, and the accent falls in strange, unwonted places with the effect of a great cry."\(^{90}\) Pater also praised other medieval poems in that same volume, for example, "King Arthur's Tomb," in which he finds "the maddening glare of the sun, the tyranny of the moon, not tender and far-off, but close down—the Sorcerer's moon large and feverish." He reserved his highest praise for "The Blue Closet," in which "this delirium reaches its height with a singular beauty reserved perhaps for the enjoyment of the few." If words like these were directed toward twenty-year-old Gerard Manley Hopkins, one would not be surprised to find him composing long Pre-Raphaelite poems to maidens in medieval dress. But in fact Hopkins was generally opposed to archaism. The few exceptions include a fragment of a play entitled *Floris in Italy*, in which this interesting passage appears:

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--O Guinevere
I read that the recital of thy sin,
Like knocking thunder all round Britain's welkin,
Jarr'd down the balanced story; the bleeding heavens
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\(^{90}\) Quoted in Henderson, *Morris*, pp. 53-54.
Left not a rood with curses unimpregnate;
There was no crease or gather in the clouds
But dropp'd its coil of woes; Arthur's Britain,
The mint of current courtesies, the forge
Where all the virtues were illustrated
In blazon, gilt and images of bronze,
Abandoned by her saints, turn'd black and blasted,
Like scalded banks topp'd once with principal flowers:
Such heathenish misadventure dogs one sin.

(ii, 11. 1-13)

Whether this owes anything to Morris is problematical, but there can
be little doubt that he admired Morris and that it was this kind of
medievalized verse with which he identified Morris. Tennyson, of
course, was also an exponent of medievalism and had published his
Idylls of the King in 1859, the year after The Defence of Guenevere
appeared. In fact, Hopkins adopted Tennyson's spelling of "Guinevere."
But if Hopkins was influenced by either one or the other, Defence is
perhaps the more likely, for he once wrote that Tennyson should have
called his Idylls by the title Charades from the Middle Ages (Corre­
spondence: RWD, p. 24). Another reason for believing that Morris was
the source of Hopkins' transient medievalism is that Hopkins associ­
ated Oxford University with the Middle Ages and Morris with Oxford.
Tennyson was a Cambridge man. Proof that Hopkins associated Oxford
with medievalism lies in his sonnet "To Oxford" (Poems, p. 21), which
is self-consciously medieval in theme and diction:

New-dated from the terms that reappear,
More sweet-familiar grows my love to thee,
And still thou bind'st me to fresh fealty
With long-superfluous ties, for nothing here

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Nor elsewhere can thy sweetness unendear.
This is my park, my pleasance; this to me
As public is my greater privacy,
All mine, yet common to my every peer.
Those charms accepted of my inmost thought,
The towers musical, quiet-walled grove,
The window-circles, these may all be sought
By other eyes, and other suitors move,
And all like me may boast, impeached not,
Their special-general title to thy love.

The use of such archaisms as "fealty" and "pleasaunce" is infrequent in Hopkins, and he soon made a deliberate attempt to eliminate them from his verse. In a letter to Bridges written in 1879, nearly fifteen years after "To Oxford" was composed, Hopkins explained why he opposed their use: "I cut myself off from the use of ere, o'er, weal-nigh, what time, say not (for do not say), because, though dignified, they neither belong to nor ever cd. arise from, or be the elevation of, ordinary modern speech. For it seems to me that the poetical language of an age shd. be the current language heightened. . . . This is Shake-speare's and Milton's practice and the want of it will be fatal to Tennyson's Idylls and plays, to Swinburne, and perhaps to Morris" (Letters: RB, p. 89). It is evident that in Hopkins' mind all three of these contemporaries could be faulted for their use of the deliberately archaic and that such anachronisms could affect their fame. But his admiration for all--Tennyson and Morris particularly--is clear. His admiration for Swinburne is best seen in practice.

Two of Hopkins' poems are generally considered to be modeled on Swinburne, despite Hopkins' mild disapproval of this peripheral Pre-Raphaelite. What Hopkins objected to most of all was Swinburne's
mantle of immorality. What he admired most of all, apparently, was Swinburne's melody. He once wrote to Bridges that Swinburne's dactyls and anapests were "halting" to his ear (Letters: RB, p. 44). But "Ad Mariam" employs anapestic rhythms, almost as if in imitation of Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon, which was published in 1865, and which Hopkins had read. A letter written to Baillie in 1867 confirms Hopkins' knowledge of the poem: "There is a real fault in the diction [of Simcox's Prometheus Unbound], which Swinburne's Atalanta too had: it is too full of unto and thereafter and -eths, an uneffective archaism" (Further Letters, p. 229). "Ad Mariam" also uses, besides the anaplectic rhythms, the very archaisms which Hopkins objects to in his letter. Consequently a number of scholars have questioned authorship of this poem, including Robert Bridges (see editor's notes to Hopkins' Poems, p. 253). On the other hand, W. H. Gardner argues convincingly in favor of Hopkins' authorship, pointing out, among other things, that the poet who wrote "Rosa Mystica" could easily have written "Ad Mariam."

The source for the first stanza of "Ad Mariam" is almost certainly the famous opening chorus of Atalanta:

When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces,  
The mother of months in meadow or plain  
Fills the shadows and windy places  
With lisp of leaves and ripple of rain;

91Hopkins, II, 91-93.
And the brown bright nightingale amorous
Is half assuaged for Itylus,
For the Thracian ships and the foreign faces,
The tongueless vigil, and all the pain.
(11. 65-72)

This stanza is a variation on ottava rima: it substitutes an anapest for an iamb as the basic foot, and it reverses the CC rhyme of the final couplet for the AB of the preceding two lines in the ottava rima stanza. The resulting rhyme scheme is: ABABCCAB. Swinburne also adopted a system of indentation to reflect his variation in the rhyme scheme. "Ad Mariam" follows all of these variations:

When a sister, born for each strong month-brother,
   Spring's one daughter, the sweet child May,
Lies in the breast of the young year-mother
   With light on her face like the waves at play,
Man from the lips of him speaketh and saith,
   At the touch of her wandering wondering breath
Warm on his brow: lo! where is another
   Fairer than this one to brighten our day?
(11. 1-8)

In addition Hopkins adopts the adverbial beginning, the controlling idea of the seasons, and the image of a mother nursing her infant. It is patently an imitation, and a skillful one. But where Swinburne's song becomes a pagan paean to the generative powers of spring, Hopkins' poem becomes a hymn of praise to Mary, whose month is May. And where Swinburne becomes sensual:

The ivy falls with the Bacchanal's hair
   Over her eyebrows hiding her eyes;
The wild vine slipping down leaves bare
   Her bright breast shortening into sighs;
(11. 113-16)

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Hopkins becomes spiritual:

For lips and hearts they belong to thee
Who to us are as dew unto grass and tree,
For the fallen rise and the stricken spring to thee,
Thee, May-hope of our darkened ways!  
(11. 37-40)

Although Hopkins may have felt it necessary to alter the paganism and sensuality of Swinburne's choral piece, it seems certain that he used Atalanta as his model. And although he may have objected to Swinburne's morality, he admired his poetry in spite of himself. He once wrote to Bridges that the "Swinburnian kind" of poetry "expresses passion but not feeling, much less character. . . . But [Swinburne's] genius is astonishing" (Letters: RB, p. 79).

"Rosa Mystica" is also generally considered to be a competent imitation of Swinburne; moreover, there is no doubt of its authorship because it exists in autograph. Furthermore, because both "Rosa Mystica" and "Ad Mariam" are Marian poems, and because the writing of such poems was customary in Hopkins' religious order during the month of May, these two poems may be the ones referred to when Hopkins told Dixon that "for seven years I wrote nothing but two or three little presentation pieces which occasion called for" (Correspondence: RWD, p. 14). "Rosa Mystica" resembles Swinburne chiefly in the anapestic rhythm which was also used in "Ad Mariam." Hopkins also uses a refrain, which Swinburne occasionally did, but there is no specific poem of Swinburne which has been identified as the model for "Rosa Mystica." There are similarities of theme and rhythm between this and several of...
Swinburne's poems. "Hertha," for example—published in 1871—concerns the theme of evolution; and the speaker asks, rhetorically, whence comes knowledge of life itself:

Who hath given, who hath sold it thee,
Knowledge of me?
Hath the wilderness told it thee?
Hast thou learnt of the sea?
(11. 51-54)

In the same fashion, Hopkins asks whence comes the rose:

What was its season then? how long ago?
When was the summer that saw the bud blow?
Two thousands of years are near upon past
Since its birth, and its bloom, and its breathing its last.
(11. 13-16)

And Swinburne uses the tree as a symbol of life, just as Hopkins does. Swinburne describes

The tree many-rooted
That swells to the sky
With frondage red-fruited,
The life-tree am I;
In the buds of your lives is the sap of my leaves; ye shall live and not die.
(11. 96-100)

Hopkins identifies the tree with Mary and the blossom with Christ, from whom life comes:

Is Mary the rose, then? Mary the tree?
But the blossom, the blossom there, who can it be?
Who can her rose be? It could be but one:
Christ Jesus, Our Lord, her God and her son.
In the gardens of God, in the daylight divine
Shew me thy son, mother, mother of mine.
(11. 25-30)
In rhythm, imagery, and use of the rhetorical question, Hopkins' poem bears strong similarities to that of Swinburne. The largest difference lies precisely where one would expect it; Hopkins has altered the pagan life-force to one recognizably Christian. It is almost as if he were attempting to proselytize for Christianity by using the same popularly successful techniques of Swinburne. In his notes to "Ad Mariam" (Poems, p. 253), W. H. Gardner suggests that it was written "to please Catholics who (like many others) admired Swinburne's metres but deplored his motifs." The same would be true of "Rosa Mystica."

In later life Hopkins seemed to grow more critical of Swinburne, but this is understandable when one considers that his own later poems are highly original, whereas many of his early ones were largely derivative. When Swinburne's Poems and Ballads, Third Series, appeared in 1889, Hopkins somehow obtained a copy (perhaps succumbing to his early enthusiasm), but his response was negative: "... a perpetual functioning of genius without truth, feeling, or any adequate matter to be at function on" (Letters: RB, p. 304).
Hopkins' interest in, relation to, and imitation of certain of the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates is prima facie evidence of their personal influence in his work. But this influence is largely limited to the early poems—those written prior to 1876. In that year, after a self-enforced seven-year period of virtual silence, Hopkins finished writing *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, whose originality signified that the poet had ended his period of apprenticeship as well as his silence. It is true, of course, that his later poetry emerges from his earlier. One finds in his later poetry an occasional image recalling an earlier indebtedness. For example, the influence of Swinburne has been discovered in *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, despite its originality. And one remembers that the Marian poems written during the preceding seven years were clearly Swinburnian.

But the indebtedness of his later poetry, unlike that of his apprenticeship, was not a matter of echoes or of replies. Independently of any specific, personal Pre-Raphaelite influence, Hopkins' predilection for things of beauty in nature is remarkably Pre-Raphaelite in character, and it is a quality of his poetry which is constant throughout his poetic development—as easily observable in his later poetry as in his earlier. The close observation of natural forms and

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the meticulous description of them in his poetry mark Hopkins' work as Pre-Raphaelite, though he was not a member of the Brotherhood or of the Oxford Circle.

Hopkins' very first published poem, "Winter with the Gulf Stream," is his most representative early example of Pre-Raphaelitism in nature description. It appeared in *Once a Week*, on February 14, 1863, and it was signed with the eighteen-year-old author's initials. There may be special significance in the fact that young Gerard sent his poem to *Once a Week*, rather than to one of the literary periodicals like the *Athenaeum*. *Once a Week* was founded in 1859 as an illustrated weekly and was an immediate success with 22,000 circulation. But more importantly, it was one of Millais' chief outlets for illustration. Before 1865 Millais published sixty-seven drawings in *Once a Week*. And Hopkins, who identified Millais with realism of nature, certainly must have been well aware that this new illustrated magazine favored Millais. Hence, he would have reasoned, *Once a Week* would favor a poem which is Pre-Raphaelite in its precise observation of nature. Besides, its policy was to encourage new writers. When the poem appeared, it faced a drawing by Millais, a fortuitous circumstance which must have pleased Hopkins.

The poem is composed of ten tercets, concluded with a couplet. The tercets employ interlocking rhyme, as used also in Morris's

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94 Fleming, *That Ne'er Shall Meet Again*, p. 86.

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"Defence of Guenevere." There is also the strong suggestion of Tennysonian onomatopoeia in the first four stanzas:

The boughs, the boughs are bare enough,
But earth has not yet felt the snow.
Frost-fringed our ivies are, and rough

With spiked rime the brambles show,
The hoarse leaves crawl on hissing ground,
What time the sighing wind is low.

But if the rain-blats be unbound,
And from dank feathers wring the drops,
The clogg'd brook runs with choking sound,

Kneading the mounded mire that stops
His channel under clammy coats
Of foliage fallen in the copse.

(11. 1-12, Further Letters, p. 437)

And there is a suggestion of Keats in the preciosity of the sixth and seventh stanzas and in the lustrous color of the eighth:

The moon, half-orb'd, ere sunset floats
So glassy-white about the sky,
So like a berg of hyaline,
Pencill'd with blue so daintily--

I never saw her so divine.
But thro' black branches--rarely drest
In streaming scarfs that smoothly shine,

Shot o'er with lights--the emblazon'd west,
Where yonder crimson fire-ball sets,
Trails forth a purfled-silken vest.

(11. 15-24)

In 1871 Hopkins revised the poem, altering many of the specifically Keatsian touches. It is this later version which is printed in Poems; the version quoted above is the original as it appeared in Once a Week, reprinted in Further Letters, p. 437. The same lines, revised:

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The bugle moon by daylight floats
So glassy white about the sky,
So like a berg of Hyaline,
And pencilled blue so daintily,

I never saw her so divine.
But through black branches, rarely drest
In scarves of silky shot and shine,

The webbed and the watery west
Where yonder crimson fireball sits
Looks laid for feasting and for rest.

Hopkins has eliminated four hyphens, three dashes, and five contractions—all characteristics of Keats's poetry. He also eliminated two archaisms—"orb'd" and "ere"—and toned down the emotionalism of "shot o'er" and "emblazon'd." Lastly, Hopkins seems to have softened the visual drama of "streaming scarfs" and "trails forth a purfled-silken vest." But there remains the Pre-Raphaelite emphasis on color, and in his revision of the final five lines Hopkins sharpened the image of the setting sun in the precise Pre-Raphaelite manner.

Its brindled wharves and yellow brim,
The waxen colours weep and run,
And slendering to his burning rim

Into the flat blue mist the sun
Drops out and all our day is done. (11. 28-32)

In the original version of those five lines the phrases "all ways" and "ever more and more" are vague; and "azure mist" lacks the true color perception which can be called Pre-Raphaelite:

Against its tawny-golden shore:
All ways the molten colours run:
Till, sinking ever more and more

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Into an azure mist, the sun
descends, and his journey done.

Nevertheless, the poem as a whole—either version—captures a scene of natural beauty with an observant eye that would do credit to Millais himself, and it is an exceptional performance for a youth of eighteen.

At about the same time he wrote this finished poem, Hopkins was writing "numbers of descriptions of sunrises, sunsets, sunlight in the trees, flowers, windy skies etc. etc." (Further Letters, p. 13). In that same letter he enclosed a fragment he called "A windy day in summer." As poetry it may leave something to be desired, but as a sample of color-laden nature description it serves well:

The vex'd elm-heads are pale with the view
Of a mastering heaven utterly blue;
Swoll'n is the wind that in argent billows
Rolls across the labouring willows;
The chestnut-fans are loosely flirting,
And bared is the aspen's silky skirting;
The sapphire pools are smit with white
And silver-shot with gusty light;
While the breeze by rank and measure
Paves the clouds on the swept azure.

This set piece is a word-painting, a verbal arrangement ready for the canvas. Without brushes, it is as close to the art of design as an artist can come. One is strongly reminded of the brilliant colors Holman Hunt was noted for, and in some respects Hopkins' verse fragment could be a literal description of the background to Hunt's Hireling Shepherd (1851).

Hopkins' journals are filled with his descriptions of nature, most of them phrased in the closely detailed fashion which was
characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelites. These verbal records of nature were almost a preoccupation with him, and he continued his fascination with things of beauty in the natural world until late in life. In his youth these descriptions reflected the self-indulgence of sensuous luxuriance; in his later life these descriptions reflect an awareness of the informing spirit of God, a belief that a Supreme Being can be known by apprehending natural beauty. The self-indulgence he permitted until he determined his vocation may be illustrated by an entry in his journal for August 30, 1867, written just a few months before his decision: "Putting my hand up against the sky whilst we lay on the grass I saw more richness and beauty than I had known of before, not brilliance but glow and colour. It was not transparent and sapphire-like but turquoise-like, swarming and blushing round the edge of the hand and in the pieces clipped in by the fingers, the flesh being sometimes sunlit, sometimes glassy with reflected light, sometimes lightly shadowed in that violet one makes with cobalt and Indian red" (JP, p. 154). The intensity of this innocently sensuous pleasure, coupled with his ability to relate it objectively to the artist's easel, is unquestionably Pre-Raphaelite in character and quality.

Another passage from his journal reveals quite clearly how well he shared the Pre-Raphaelite fondness for microscopic detail:

Drops of rain hanging on rails etc seen with only the lower rim lighted like nails (of fingers). Screws of brooks and twines. Soft chalky look with more shadowy middles of the globes of cloud on a night with a moon faint or concealed. Mealy clouds with a not brilliant

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Many of these journal entries were retained for use in poems to be composed. For example, Hopkins used an entry made a few days earlier than the one cited just above:

The stars were packed so close that night
They seemed to press and stare
And gather in like hurdles bright
The liberties of air. (JP, p. 72)

This observation of a natural phenomenon was incorporated into a poem, "The Elopement," and printed (or, rather, handwritten) two years later in a short-lived weekly journal passed around by students at Newman's Oratory, where Hopkins briefly taught. This observation of a natural phenomenon was incorporated into a poem, "The Elopement," and printed (or, rather, handwritten) two years later in a short-lived weekly journal passed around by students at Newman's Oratory, where Hopkins briefly taught. Two years after that, when Hopkins had begun his period of study for the priesthood, he recorded his precise examination of a bluebell, demonstrating how his former self-indulgence was now spiritually rewarding:

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. It's inscape is mixed of strength and grace, like an ash tree. The head is strongly drawn over backwards and arched down like a cutwater drawing itself back from the line of the keel.

95 See editor's notes, Poems, p. 309.
The lines of the bells strike and overlie this, rayed but not symmetrically, some lie parallel. They look steely against the paper, the shades lying between the bells and behind the cockled petal-ends and nursing up the precision of their distinctness, the petal-ends themselves being delicately lit. (JP, p. 199).

Hopkins' life-long preoccupation with the forms of nature amounted almost to a devotion, and his descriptions exceed in their literalism even the minutiae of Hunt. Hopkins' devotion to nature, and his frank, sensual enjoyment of it, is one of his closest ties to the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

Hopkins' appreciation of external nature, which was tantamount to identification with it, is the characteristic of Pre-Raphaelitism which Hopkins carried beyond his Pre-Raphaelite phase and into his mature poetry. It is not within the scope of this study to examine the ways in which Hopkins explored natural beauty in his later poetry, but it became his primary concern. He was able to project his state of mind upon external nature, to find in nature the correlative of his thoughts and feelings.

In nature he found proof for the existence of God:

I kiss my hand
To the stars, lovely-asunder
Starlight, wafting him out of it
(11. 33-35, Wreck of the Deutschland)

The world is charged with the grandeur of God.
It will flame out, like shining from shook foil
(11. 1-2, "God's Grandeur")
And in nature he found occasion for sadness:

My aspens dear, whose airy cages quelled,
Quelled or quenched in leaves the leaping sun,
All felled, felled, are all felled
(11. 1-3, "Binsley Poplars")

Margaret, are you grieving
Over Goldengrove unleaving?
Leaves, like the things of man, you
With your fresh thoughts care for, can you?
Ah! as the heart grows older
It will come to such sights colder
By and by, nor spare a sigh
Though worlds of wanwood leafmeal lie
(11. 1-8, "Spring and Fall")

And in nature he found occasion for despair:

O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall
Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed. Hold them cheap
May who ne'er hung there.
(11. 9-11, "No worst, there is none")

I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day.
What hours, 0 what black hours we have spent
This night!
(11. 1-3, "I wake and feel the fell of dark")

The fact that Hopkins looked to nature for objectification of his innermost feelings and the fact that his lifelong preoccupation with the forms of nature found expression in his art justifies his classification as a nature poet. This central concern is a logical growth of his early Pre-Raphaelitism.

The Pre-Raphaelite influence on the poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins has been ignored, if not denied, by most critics who
understandably prefer to concentrate on the later poems, which are demonstrably greater. Critics often tend to stipulate the existence of the Pre-Raphaelite influence, then to dismiss it as a juvenile phase, a necessary but unfortunate preliminary to Hopkins' work of permanent value. But Pre-Raphaelitism was more than that to Hopkins. It was a formative influence which helped to shape his vision. The period of his apprenticeship to the Pre-Raphaelites fashioned his taste and directed his study of natural beauty. Alan Heuser observes that "as a Pre-Raphaelite disciple he wished all in nature and art to be clear, ringing with rare spiritual purity." And he carried this aesthetic idealism with him into the art of his later period. His aesthetic idealism was a community of interest he shared with Ruskin and Millais and the Rossettis. The period of his specific indebtedness to them ended, as it had to. But his Pre-Raphaelite affinities --the sensuousness, the spirituality, the love of the particular, the devotion to natural beauty--these became part of his aesthetic creed and did not end.

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VITA

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