

# Gerard Manley Hopkins— A Stranger Still?

Maureen Lynch

## *Robert Martin's view of Gerard Manley Hopkins*

Biography is enjoying one of its periodic resurgences in popularity. Literary biography seems to be particularly in vogue. But the purpose of telling the story of some great author's life is no longer simply historical or even hagiographical. In this post-structuralist age, the intention of such a pursuit as biography has to be expository—to get behind the public face and reveal the real man or woman; to deconstruct the myth and reconstruct the person and their 'emotional, intellectual and psychological makeup'.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely this which Professor Martin tries to do in his most recent biography '*Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Very Private Life*'.

Hopkins, the enigmatic priest-poet of the nineteenth century, seems in one way a particularly suitable candidate for such a treatment. On the surface there seems to exist such a very great divergence between his public persona, a Jesuit priest dedicated to the discipline of the Ignatian 'Spiritual Exercises', and the private man, a poet of great imagination and originality. Whether this dichotomy is seen as responsible for the psychological imbalances which intermittently afflicted him, or as the dynamic which is at the centre of his creativity hardly matters. On the other hand, the facts of Hopkins' life, both public and to a large extent private, are very well established. His poems were published in their first collected edition in 1918; the personal journals were published in 1937 and the letters between 1935 and 1938. Professor Martin did, it seems, have access to the originals of the journals and to Jesuit sources especially with relation to the final period of Hopkins' life in Dublin. Such access does provide him with potential for revelation. When a poet provokes such extremes of reaction—from W.H.Auden's [Hopkins] 'ought to be kept on a special shelf like a dirty book and only allowed to readers who won't be harmed by him',<sup>2</sup> to F.R. Leavis' [Hopkins] 'is likely to prove ... the only influential poet of the Victorian age, and seems to me the greatest'<sup>3</sup>—surely the more we know of him the better.

Professor Martin in this biography devotes much more space than has been usual in previous works on Hopkins' life to his childhood and his time at Oxford. This is partly because he sees Hopkins' years as an Anglican

as of great significance for his later development. Unfortunately, having stated this position he does not really return to any consideration of the importance of Hopkins' Anglicanism and its influence. More importantly, for Martin, concentration on this period in the poet's life allows him to explore Hopkins' 'homoeotericism'. It is to this theme of homoeroticism much more than Hopkins' early spiritual development to which Martin will return—though indeed he would argue that the two are inseparable.

The picture he paints of Hopkins' childhood and early adult life is typically Victorian. Gerard Manley Hopkins was a member of a large prosperous and prospering middle class family; his father, the founder of a firm of average adjusters, had wide and varied interests in literature amongst other things. Hopkins' childhood seems to have passed relatively uneventfully, except for a visit to the family home by the nephew of the king of Hawaii in 1850. Even this incident was peculiarly Victorian in its oddity since it was the result of Manley Hopkins Senior's having serving as Consul General of Hawaii, a country he had never visited but of which he had written a lengthy history. Hopkins, Martin tells us, was brilliant at his studies at Highgate School and got into trouble with no one except the headmaster, Dr Dyne. Even at this early stage in his life Hopkins had no gift for getting on with his superiors it seems. His distinguished scholastic career led him via an Exhibition to Balliol College, Oxford in 1863.

Hopkins had a great affection for Oxford, the 'towery city' and appears, by Martin's account to have felt at home there. He had a wide circle of acquaintances and participated actively in College life. Yet there was always the desire for solitude, walking by the Thames at Binsey or in Oxford itself. He continued the writing of poetry and the sketching he had begun at Highgate School, and began to keep the journals which provide so much information about his preoccupations and experiences. From the journals and his letters of the period, Martin shows us a young man preoccupied with poetry, the 'sins of the flesh' and Savonarola 'I feel such an enthusiasm about Savonarola ... the prophet of Christian art'. Such a combination was not so unusual in Oxford in 1860s as it might later become. Art, sexuality and religion, especially religion exemplified by a quirky outsider, seem to have been constant companions in the minds at least of those undergraduates amongst whom Hopkins moved in Tractarian Oxford.

Martin takes great pains to provide a sense of the atmosphere of this great university city finding itself at the centre of a process of religious transformation the end of which could not be predicted. His lack of complete success in this endeavour is due largely to his concentration in this period of Hopkins' life on his relationship with a young man, Digby Dolben, a fellow poet of sorts and an individual of extreme ritualistic

tendencies. Hopkins and Dolben met in Oxford over a period of a few days in February 1865: they had much in common, their poetry, their high church views, their devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. They spent a few days exploring Oxford together and talking no doubt of all these things. Then they parted never to meet again and to correspond only spasmodically. Hopkins was able to have news of Dolben through Robert Bridges, by this time his closest friend, whose cousin Dolben was. Clearly from the evidence Martin and others have presented (largely the same evidence incidentally) there is no doubt Hopkins formed an attachment to Dolben which had a sexual aspect, an attachment which was of great significance at the time. But equally clearly this attachment emerges from Martin's own account as a post pubescent 'crush' of the kind with which perhaps even the majority of Victorian undergraduates, having lived most of their young lives in exclusively male society at public school and then at Oxford, would have been familiar; a post pubescent crush which would have been of little interest to critics had not the individual concerned become a Roman Catholic priest. It may be appropriate to suggest that Dolben was of great importance to Hopkins and his poetry during 1865, even to suggest that the memory of the relationship would persist for many years. However it seems quite inappropriate to use this relationship and the feelings it aroused in Hopkins as the touchstone of the mature man and his work. Perversely, it might be thought, it is the absence of frequent mention of Dolben in the original of Hopkins' journal to which Martin has had access, which convinces the biographer of the depth of Hopkins' passion for Dolben. Had he felt less he would have mentioned more. Here indeed is the biographer as mind reader.

In Martin's presentation of Hopkins' life it is this relationship with Dolben which provides the immediate context for his conversion to Catholicism with the clear implication that Hopkins' spiritual crisis was bound up with his sexuality and his ritualism. But whatever the nature of the spiritual crisis Hopkins experienced in the spring of 1865 and whatever Dolben's role in it, Hopkins' decision to be received into the Roman Catholic Church was the product of something much more enduring. He made it clear himself that it was not ritualistic or aesthetic considerations which swayed him. In response to his father's reservations about his decision, Hopkins wrote:

I am surprised you sld say fancy and aesthetic tastes have led me to my present state of mind; these wd be better served in the Church of England, for bad taste is always meeting one in the accessories of Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

Hopkins left the Anglican Church, like Newman before him, because

he had become convinced that 'salvation was not to be found in it'. Martin conveys the excitement and exhilaration which overtook Hopkins once he had made the decision to become a Catholic; his desire to keep it secret until he had informed his parents, but equally his inability to contain his emotions:

After he came from Birmingham he told Urquhart, 'You are the only friend who I have deliberately told of my conversion' but had to admit that some six or seven others knew.<sup>6</sup>

There is a great deal of detail in the book on the reaction of the Hopkins family to this conversion, which clearly shows that Hopkins thrived on the opposition of those to whom he had been close—his family, Liddon and Pusey, his Tractarian mentors at Balliol. Even the caution and relative coolness of Newman, to whom Hopkins turned in September 1865 as so many putative converts had done before him, only served to strengthen his resolve. Hopkins' father desired desperately to prevent his son 'from throwing a pure life and a somewhat unusual intellect away in the cold limbo which Rome assigns to her English converts';<sup>7</sup> but to no avail. Gerard Manley Hopkins was received into the Roman Catholic Church on 21 October 1866. He was not, however, to remain an ordinary Catholic for long. By September 1868, a little less than two years after his reception into the church and after a stay with Newman's Community in Birmingham, he set out for Manresa House in Roehampton to embark on his new life as a Jesuit.

It was to be a new life indeed. Painting and poetry were to be abandoned, the first because it 'put a strain upon the passions'<sup>8</sup> and the second because it would 'interfere with [his] state and vocation'.<sup>9</sup> So in a not uncharacteristic act of self-dramatisation Hopkins burned his poetry, the 'slaughter of the Innocents' as he called it. It was to be within the mould provided by the 'Spiritual Exercises' of St Ignatius that his personal development and self expression were now to take place. The reasons for Hopkins' choice of the Ignatian mould ultimately escape Martin, as they have escaped all other writers on Hopkins' life. It may have been the high profile which the Society of Jesus enjoyed within the Catholic Church in England at this time; it may have been their tendency to persecution, a state which held a perverse attraction for Hopkins, 'to be persecuted in a tolerant age is a high distinction'<sup>10</sup>; it may have been their sense of intellectual superiority or Newman's admiration for the Society and his personal connections with it. There is, of course, no way to know. Martin tends to favour in this question, as he does in most others, the personal psychological explanation that the Jesuit life would be a hard discipline providing Hopkins with an outlet for the asceticism he had practised as an

undergraduate. Clearly Hopkins saw the achievement of salvation as a struggle and it may just be that he agreed with Newman that the Jesuits would lead him to heaven<sup>11</sup>.

Professor Martin provides in one way the fullest account to date of Hopkins' life as a Jesuit. He may not give the minute detail of community life to be found in Alfred Thomas' book<sup>12</sup>; but he does bring together the progress of Hopkins' Jesuit training with his development as a poet. The years of the Noviceship and the Philosophate at Roehampton and Stoneyhurst, although fallow in terms of the production of poetry, are shown to be crucial in the accumulation of images and phrases and the development of aesthetic theories for later use. This is of great value, and Martin does try to present Hopkins' life as a Jesuit on its own terms. But at the centre of Martin's approach to Hopkins the Jesuit there is a puzzlement, a failure in sympathy. He sees Hopkins in his Tertianship, the third and final stage of his Jesuit preparation, as 'reduced to the status of a schoolboy'<sup>13</sup> because he is no longer free to choose his companions or his activities; he judges Hopkins' moving statement as he approached his final profession, 'I have not only made my vows publicly some two and twenty time, but I make them to myself every day, so that I should be black with perjury if I drew back now. And beyond that I can say with St Peter; To whom shall I go'<sup>14</sup> as 'sentences that uncover [Hopkins] 'sheer plod' in day to day fulfilment of vows that after so many years had gradually lost the magnetism which first drew him to his vocation'<sup>15</sup>. A more sympathetic reader would surely find in them the priest who could later say 'I have never wavered in my vocation, but I have not lived up to it'<sup>16</sup>. Like Robert Bridges, Martin seems to tolerate Hopkins' allegiance to the Society of Jesus, but it is a puzzled tolerance.

It does not prevent Martin from presenting a fair picture of Hopkins life as a Jesuit. He does tend to concentrate on the psychological and emotional difficulties which Hopkins experienced, though in a biography this is not surprising perhaps. This does not mean that he is unaware of the problem which an individual who 'was fond of pursuing niceties to an extent that stood in the way of his general usefulness'<sup>17</sup> would pose for the Society of Jesus. As a theologian Hopkins' allegiance to Duns Scotus, 'He ... who of all men most sways my spirits to peace'<sup>17</sup> affected his usefulness within the Society itself; as a preacher his lack of sensitivity to his audience affected his usefulness in representing the Society within the Church. In urbane and fashionable Farm Street Hopkins preached a sermon in which 'he compared the church to a cow full of milk, with seven teats, the sacraments, through which grace flowed';<sup>18</sup> as a pastor his shyness and his attitude to his flock, more often than not made up, as in Liverpool, of the poor and uneducated affected his usefulness in carrying out the work of the Society in the world

'and the drunkards go on drinking, the filthy, as the scripture says, are filthy still; human nature is so inveterate'." All of this, with Hopkins' frequent moves, six postings in three years, is well documented by Martin. Yet for all the information there is an inability to synthesise Hopkins' life as a poet and his life as a priest. He finds Hopkins' devotional work impenetrable and is thrown back on an interpretation of Hopkins' poetry in personal and psychological terms.

Martin is hardly alone in this kind of approach to Hopkins. Indeed critics do seem to fall quite distinctly into two groups—those who see Hopkins' poetry as the unique expression of a tortured individual and those who view the body of his work as the exploration and presentation of a theology in poetry. There is a third course Hopkins' critics have followed, not mutually exclusive with either of the other two, and that is to see Hopkins primarily as an innovator who pushes the language of poetry to the limits of its effectiveness. In fact it is the innovative quality of so much of Hopkins' verse which poses the biggest problem for readers and critics alike. The breathless quality created by Hopkins' consistent use of the novel metrical system he called sprung rhythm, so at odds with the sense of patterning achieved through his use of the unusual chiming consonants, conspires with his oddity of language to create a barrier for the reader. It is possible in the shorter poems, especially the later sonnets, to ignore what is not quite understood. But when it comes to 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' this is not so. Indeed this monumental poem with which Hopkins broke his seven years of self-imposed poetic silence undoubtedly holds the key to Hopkins' poetic achievement. It stands in the forefront of his work 'like a great dragon folded at the gate to forbid all entrance'<sup>20</sup> Any understanding of it requires a critical framework which goes beyond individual response.

The critical framework Martin supplies is again the personal, psychological one. 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' for him is the outpouring of the personal suffering Hopkins had wrestled with and ultimately suppressed throughout his years of poetic silence. The problem with this kind of approach is two-fold: it makes any attempt to understand the poem dependent on knowledge of Hopkins' suffering and its origins; and it presupposes that the personal anguish of an obscure nineteenth century Jesuit priest will be of enduring interest in itself. Certainly 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' contains autobiographical material, 'What refers to myself in the poem is all strictly and literally true and did all occur'<sup>21</sup> But this does not mean that Hopkins' purpose in writing the poem was to sublimate unresolved emotions or experiences. Indeed the context within which the poem was written and Hopkins own actions regarding the poem would both seem to indicate that personal factors were neither the only nor the most important ones at work.

Having burned his earlier poetry on his entry into the Society of Jesus in 1868, Hopkins wrote no poetry until 1875. 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' came into being because Hopkins' superior at St Beuno's in North Wales, where he was preparing for his final vows, made the casual remark that it would be fitting for someone, perhaps Hopkins, to write a poem on the subject of the death in a shipwreck of five Franciscan nuns fleeing from persecution in Germany. As frequently happens in religious communities this casual remark, because it licensed an already congenial course of action, was adopted as if it were an instruction given under obedience. Hopkins spent the following six months writing 'The Wreck of the Deutschland'. So the poem was not composed in the midst or even the immediate aftermath of some immense emotional crisis. It was written, as indeed was the vogue at the time, as a memorial for lives lost in a tragic incident at sea. Having carried out his superior's instructions Hopkins then uncharacteristically began to make attempts to have his poem published. He sent the finished product to the Jesuit journal *The Month*, and pursued its editor with some vigour until it became clear that he was not willing to find space for it; a reader to whom the editor had sent the poem, another member of the Society of Jesus, had returned it with the reflection that the only result of his reading, 'was to give me a very bad headache'? Understandable though such a reaction may be, there is no doubt that any engagement with Hopkins must begin with an engagement with just this poem. It contains not only the whole range of stylistic techniques he would perfect throughout his life but also the central themes which preoccupied him personally and creatively.

That 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' is a religious poem hardly needs saying. Martin pays lip-service to this by saying that in it Hopkins sought to justify the ways of God to man. But the religious quality of the poem goes far beyond that; indeed it goes far beyond simply the presentation of one individual's religious experience. At the centre of the poem is the constant and unremitting struggle between imperfect man and the living God. Even in the first line of the poem Hopkins suggests at once the struggle and its perpetual nature:

Thou mastering me  
God

the use of the present participle clearly implying an incompleteness, an action which continues. The poem itself is full of movement: from the sense of resistance overcome in the opening line to the resigned self-abandonment of:

I am soft sift  
In an hour glass  
from the personal 'me' of the opening line to the universal:  
Make mercy in all of us, out of all of us  
Mastery

The movement is always from struggle to resolution, even although there is the recognition that the resolution is only temporal and therefore temporary.

The poem is divided into two parts. The first part concerns itself, terrifyingly at times, with an individual's encounter with God:

I feel thy finger and find thee

and with the anguish and ecstasy such an encounter involves. The second part focuses on the fate of five Franciscan sisters who perished at sea in their flight from persecution; in particular it concerns one of their number who welcomes her fate almost as a palm of martyrdom:

O Christ, Christ come quickly  
The cross to her she calls Christ to her, christens her wild worst  
Best.

Again the movement in this part is from the personal fortitude and faith of the drowning sister to the general call for the return of England to the one true faith. Permeating the whole poem, however, is the mystery of Christ's Incarnation inextricably bound up with His passion and death:

Warm laid grave of a womb life grey

For Hopkins the Incarnation allowed the diffusion of God throughout the natural creation:

'How a lush-kept plush capped sloe  
Will, mouthed to flesh burst,  
Gush!—flush the man, the being with it sour or sweet  
Brim in a flesh, full

Christ's passion enables human beings to flee:

... with a fling of the heart to the heart of the Host

So God and man are united in the world, in suffering and in the constant struggle for personal salvation, a struggle which continues unto death, with moments of human resistance and despair alternating with moments of almost beatific recognition and acceptance:

For I greet him the days I meet him, and bless when I understand



This sense of perpetual struggle is at the heart of Hopkins' poetry. But it is only superficially the kind of struggle Professor Martin suggests, an endeavour to suppress sinful sexual desires or an inappropriate engagement with the physical world. At the heart of Hopkins' poetry is the very struggle for personal individual salvation. It is a lonely and a tortured path, no doubt. It is perhaps more so for Hopkins who seems to persist rather in the Protestant emphasis on individual salvation unable to find solace in the more Catholic vision of the communion of sinners. In this Hopkins remains a convert until the end of his life. So it is not so much that Hopkins is concerned in, 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' and throughout his poetry with his own salvation, but rather that he sees salvation in personal and individual terms.

This is one of the reason for the very strong sense of personal presence in Hopkins' poetry. But there is another, equally important. Hopkins chose to write lyric poetry, even 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' has a lyric rather than a narrative impetus. By definition the lyric poem needs, even depends for its nature, on a sense of personal presence—the 'eye' and the 'I' through which the experience is perceived and presented. Hopkins achieves such a sense remarkably well, perhaps even too well; it is the unmistakable awareness of the human voice in 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' and in the body of Hopkins' work which has so often prompted critics to resort to the poet's personal experience as an explanation of his poetry; it is just this awareness which has made Hopkins such a tempting target for structuralist critics with their uneasy combination of Aristotelianism and posthumous psycho-analysis. In fact, any sense of personal presence in Hopkins' poems is a technical achievement not necessarily a reflection of intensity of emotion. Hopkins has a mastery of the rhetorical devices used by lyric poets throughout the centuries to conjure the cadences of the human voice in their work. Through extensive use of apostrophe, imperatives and most importantly through the use of the personal pronoun of the first person, Hopkins engages his reader in a conversation. But who is the 'I' in the dialogue? Sometimes it will be an exuberant youth luxuriating in the abundance and variety of God's creation:

Glory be to God for dappled things—  
For skies of couple-colour as brindled cow;  
For rose moles all in stipple upon trout that swim  
Fresh-firecoal chestnut-falls; finches' wings  
at other times it will be world weary, oppressed by inescapable despair:

I wake and feel the fell of dark not day

Even Hopkins innovative sprung rhythm is designed to create the sound of  
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the human voice:

'it is nearest to the rhythm of prose, that is the native and natural rhythm of speech, the least forced, the most rhetorical and emphatic of all possible rhythms'.<sup>22</sup>

At all times the immediacy and intensity of the dialogue depends on the rhetorical devices used. The feeling must be made real in the poem; whether or not it has been really experienced is irrelevant.

Just as the rhetorical realisation of personal presence in the poems is tied up with Hopkins' view of salvation so too is his attitude to nature. For Hopkins the natural world in all its manifestations is intrinsically involved in the process of man's salvation. There is, however, no sense in which Hopkins sees nature itself as having any redemptive quality. Although there are many Romantic elements in his poetry and his aesthetic theory, he does not in any way share the Romantic vision of nature. He does not begin with nature and find God or some other analogous creative force in its grandeur, its wildness and its variety; rather his starting point is the essentially Thomist one of asking questions about the nature of God and finding in the natural order some of their answers. Above all Hopkins finds in the natural world the answer to his questions about human suffering and God's place in it. The physical world is for Hopkins God's eternal pledge of salvation:

.....nature is never spent,  
There lives the clearest freshness deep down things;  
And though the last lights off the black West went  
Oh, morning at the brown brink eastward, springs—  
Because the Holy Ghost over the bent World broods with warm breast  
and with ah! bright wings.

Hopkins finds such a pledge in nature because of its wildness, its grandeur, its variety, its 'otherness'. His attention to the minutest detail of the natural world is quasi-scientific, even mechanistic but quintessentially Victorian; at the same time it is religious even sacramental; this attentive observation is an attempt to experience, to instress, fully the 'otherness', the inscape, of the elements of God's creation. Undoubtedly Hopkins derived much of his aesthetic theory of inscape—that the beauty of an object is to be defined as its 'otherness', its unique harmonious cohesion, its being itself—from Duns Scotus. Equally clearly Aquinas could have provided a very similar aesthetic. In fact in his poetry Hopkins proves an imperfect theologian, seeming to accept Aquinas on the nature of the Incarnation while at the same time adopting Scotus' view of the diffusion of the divine in creation.

Ultimately he called himself a Scotist because that 'subtle doctor'

provided the philosophic framework within which he could undertake the kind of involvement with the natural creation which so attracted him. Added to this, of course, was the fact that Scotus was out of fashion and the Hopkins who emerges from Martin's book would have liked nothing so much as to be thought a Scotist when every one else was a Thomist!

Martin has a great deal to say on the language which Hopkins uses and finds a great many images which might be presented as erotic, even homoerotic. Although Martin does allude to the long tradition of erotic imagery in religious verse, he does not consider how Hopkins language fits in to such a tradition; neither does he explore the influence of classical literature, especially Greek literature, on the development of Hopkins' imagery. In many ways an absence of homoerotic imagery in the writing of someone with Hopkins' contact with Greek culture and literature would have been the more surprising thing. He prefers instead to see erotic images as an indication of Hopkins' sexual preoccupations. It is unfortunate, to put it no higher, that Martin chooses to examine Hopkins' use of language through this focus. In his biography he shows Hopkins to be an individual with a deep involvement even love of the English language in all its forms, a collector, a hoarder of strange words and quaint expressions; he also shows him to be profoundly interested in the art of writing poetry and its tradition. But none of this informs Martin's discussion of Hopkins' diction. He sees the power of a phrase such a 'time's eunuch' as depending upon knowledge and acceptance of Hopkins as a suppressed homosexual wrestling with the restrictions of religious life. In fact its power comes from the way in which it speaks for and to the human condition, expressing metaphorically and metaphysically the impotence and incompleteness of human beings in their fallen state. He sees sexual undertones even in the anguished cry of the nun in 'The Wreck of the Deutschland' Perhaps this says more about the biographer and the cultural milieu he inhabits than it does about the the poet. But to suggest, as Martin does, that the encroachment of sexual imagery in this poem is a consequence of Hopkins repressed sexual impulses finding unbidden outlet is an insult to a poet Martin himself shows to be a consummate technician.

In the end it may be this picture of Hopkins the technician which will prove the greatest contribution Professor Martin's book will make to Hopkins scholarship. He shows Hopkins to be a craftsman who thought deeply about his art and its demands, an individual open to a great variety of influences—the long tradition of English and classical verse, the dialects of England, the blossoming Welsh poetry, in which he found his two most distinctive stylistic features , sprung rhythm and his chiming consonants. Though he tells much that is new concerning Hopkins' last years in Dublin, there is here, as throughout the biography, a sense that perhaps the

biographer is missing the point in focusing so exclusively on personal psychosexual factors. The 'Terrible Sonnets' of the Dublin period are such not because they chronicle the emotional and psychological decline of a sensitive and unstable individual. Their terror lies in the accuracy with which they capture and express the dark thoughts and feelings to which every 'poor Jackself' falls victim at some time. Above all Hopkins is a poet deeply concerned not with himself but with the human condition. Martins' failure to appreciate this mean that Hopkins eludes him; he continues to 'seem the stranger'. Perhaps such is Hopkins destiny. At times his originality, the highly wrought nature of his poetry, obscures his meaning. Perhaps in an age when the critics so seldom trust the poet it would be fitting to leave the last judgement of his work to Hopkins himself:

No doubt my poetry errs on the side of oddness....Now it is the virtue of design, pattern or inscape to be distinctive and it is the vice of distinctiveness to become queer. This vice I cannot have escaped.<sup>23</sup>

The challenge is to take the poet at *his* word.

*Robert Bernard Martin, Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Very Private Life*  
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- 1 Robert Bernard Martin, *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Very Private Life* p.xiv 2. quoted in Gerald Roberts *Gerard Manley Hopkins: The Critical Heritage* p.25
- 3 F.R. Leavis 'Gerard Manley Hopkins' in *Hartman Hopkins; A Collection of Critical Essays* p.36
4. quoted in Martin p. 78 5. Hopkins to his father quoted in Martin p.292 6. Martin p.145
- 7 Manley Hopkins sen to Liddon, 15 October 1866, *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins* p.434
- 8 quoted in Martin p.172.
- 9 Hopkins to Bridges quoted in Martin p.174.
- 10 Hopkins quoted in Martin p.191
- 11 Newman to Hopkins 'Don't call the Jesuit discipline hard; it will bring you to heaven' quoted in Martin p.175.
- 12 Alfred Thomas Hopkins *the Jesuit: The Years of Training, 1969.*
- 13 Martin p.336.
- 14 quoted Martin p.337.
- 15 Martin p.337.
16. Thomas op cit p.22.
- 17 quoted in Martin p.288.
- 18 Martin p.282.
- 19 Martin p.327
- 20 Robert Bridges in the Preface to Hopkins 'Collected Poems' quoted Martin p.258
- 21 Hopkins to Bridges.
- 22 Father Smith SJ quoted in Martin p.249.
- 23 Hopkins quoted in Martin p.255.
- 24 Hopkins quoted in Martin p.316.