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The appeal of Byron in America

Angelo, Ansi Nicholas

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by

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Thesis

THE APPEAL OF BYRON IN AMERICA

by

Ansi Nicholas Angelo

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Chapter I

Introduction--A Review of American History from Approximately 1815 through 1860, with an Analogy of the Spirit of Byron with America's Turbulent Years
A brief review of the history of the United States during the years 1815 to 1860, when Byron's appeal was most apparent, will be given as an introductory background in order to help make clear that Byron's qualities were in accord with the spirit of America's contemporary age--"the era of good feelings"--and particularly the age following--"the age of the common man." The people probably saw in Byron a kindred spirit who was able to put into words the emotional, restless, and revolutionary thoughts which stirred the minds of young, awkward, and inarticulate America. Following this review are chapters dealing with Byron and "Byronism," and a final chapter concerning an evaluation of his appeal in America.

English critics have been inclined to attribute Byron's popularity in the United States to the "semi-culture" of the American people of that time. This might perhaps be true; but an analysis of the temper of the times in America will show that it was probably more than simply semi-culture which made Americans take Byron to their hearts.

"1815 is a turning point in American as in European

history, and a point of divergence between them. With the Peace of Vienna, Europe turned to problems that had little interest for America; and with the Peace of Ghent, America ignored continental controversies. With apparent national union achieved, the balance between liberty and order seemingly secured, and a virgin continent awaiting the plow, there opened a "serene prospect of peace, prosperity and social progress." No one suspected that expansion would bring its problems no less than encircling pressure, that the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence would be challenged anew, and that within half a century, Americans would be slaughtering one another.

There followed, after a quarter-century of rivalry between Federalists and Republicans, what contemporaries called "an era of good feelings." But since no real conversion to nationalism had taken place, American politics did not long continue in this smooth rhythm. The United States had become tired of strife as Europe of war and revolution, but things were not at a stand-still. The "key to the era of good feelings" is that Americans were content to acquiesce in the sort of nationalism represented by President and Congress, as Europeans endured the sort of internationalism represented by


3. Ibid., p. 433

4. Ibid.
the Holy Alliance, while readjustment was taking place by new forces among the states of the Union.

Manufacturing was becoming the dominant interest in New England and Pennsylvannia; democracy was invading society and politics in New York. Virginia, slowly declining as an agricultural state, had as yet found no other main interest. King Cotton was advancing from South Carolina and Georgia into the new Gulf states. The Northwest, rapidly expanding in population and influence, was acquiring new wants and aspirations. The underlying antagonism was brought to the surface by a series of sharp and bitter sectional conflicts. By 1830 the sections had adopted the stand they were to take until the Civil War.

Almost a century of diplomacy was required to clear up all the questions left open between Britain and America by the Treaty of Ghent. The United States was no longer regarded by the English tories as a joke, but as a menace to British institutions. During the years following 1815, the Edinburgh and the Quarterly teemed with sneering criticism of American life, character, and letters. These were written by Englishmen who feared the success of republicanism and were responsible for continuing the uneasy feeling between the two countries. This attitude contributed to a great measure in preventing the common ties of blood and language from having their natural effect.

Despite the fact that the tories were in power during
the first fifteen years of peace, it was a leader of that party who did most to bring the two nations together; he was Lord Castlereagh. "Lord Castlereagh coined no phrases about Anglo-Saxon solidarity during his long career." In England he is known chiefly through Byron's savage verses. Yet this great and silent statesman was a promoter of Anglo-American concord. His policy was to treat the United States in every respect as an equal.

The struggle for independence of the Greeks had aroused immense interest in the United States. An emotional current swept the country. "The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments and arouses in our bosoms the best feelings of which our nature is susceptible," said Monroe in his annual message of 1822. State legislatures petitioned Congress to acknowledge Greek independence, statesmen proposed to lend the Greek government a fleet, Bryant wrote The Greek Partisan. Classic colonnades were added to modest farmhouses, and Greek grammar was forced on school boys.

Then came the Monroe Doctrine in 1832; this was the real date of American political independence. On the heels of the 1820's came America's "age of the rise of the common man." It was America's awkward age. Her new republicanism and democracy

6. Ibid., p. 461
were in the pioneering stage. Her alternate successes and failures with this venture were viewed with mingled amusement and disgust by devotees of the old, established governments. She was eager for praise and resented advice, believing that she was being criticized.

Republicanism and democracy did work, and the resources of a new country, exploited by the inhabitants under laws of their own making and breaking, had brought a degree of security and comfort to the common man that he had not known for a long time. It was not surprising that Americans were full of bounce and bluster, contemptuous of old-world monarchies. Even a "frontier bully" had some redeeming qualities, if only, as Emerson's grandfather remarked at the village reprobate's funeral, that he was "useful at fires!" The American had many unpleasant habits, particularly in connection with tobacco, according to Charles Dickens, and no manners. Respect and deference were not to be had of him at any price, but those who addressed him as an equal discovered a natural civility and spontaneous kindness that took the place of manners. Intercourse between man and man was easy and pleasant because there was no assumption of social superiority on the one side, or acknowledged inferiority on the other. The Americans carried forbearance to excess in their uncritical attitude toward their own books, customs, institutions, and abuses. They were becoming less independent and more gregarious, a deference to the opinion of others being a
condition of social intercourse on a democratic basis. Yet, so complex was the American character, that the excess of one quality was balanced by the excess of its reverse. Intolerance appeared in the persecution of unpopular groups and in hot resentment of unfavorable criticism.

It was America's busy age; her people were called "dollar-chasers" by travellers. Everyone worked, or at least made a pretense of it.

Yet with all these drawbacks, the Northern and Western states were a land where dreams of youth came true. The fun of building, inventing, creating, in an atmosphere where one man's success did not mean another's failure, gave American life a peculiar gusto. Europeans often mistook this "joyous activity" for avidity: the incidental results for the object. Half the population were engaged in realizing the ambition of frustrated peasant ancestors for a farm of their very own. The other half, having achieved the farm, childlike, had tired of it and turned to some other occupation, or taken up pioneering again.

The exuberance of the age, which irritated foreign visitors, was not just a demonstration of democratic perversity. It flowed from the dynamic efforts of the struggling multitudes, granted some leisure and an economic surplus, to entertain and decorate themselves, after the fashion of classes supposed to be their "betters."

Emerson described the seething democracy of this time:
"Madmen, and women, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Unitarians and Philosophers."

It was this impressionable society—a society in revolt—to which Byron, who always had some idea or ideal to proclaim, appealed.
Chapter II

The Mental, Physical, Moral, and Environmental Conditions That Helped Formulate the Byron Character Which Is Reflected in his Work
Coleridge once stated that "personality is individuality existing in itself, but with a nature as a ground." We can all agree to the truth of this statement. Our purpose is, however, to present for review in this chapter the important part played by mental, physical, moral, and environmental conditions in impressing the particular nature of the English poet, Lord Byron, and helping to create the end product,--the individual. We are conscious of his individuality throughout his literary work.

Byron was descended from a race of rovers and fighters; or, as he so characteristically put it, "a line of cut-throat ancestors." His was a background of wildness and irregularity. His ill-disciplined mother, deserted by her wandering husband, took occasion to vent her ungovernable temper on her lame child whom she loved and hated depending on her mood.

She threw things at him, reviled the Byron family in "shocking language;" and whenever he did anything to annoy her, which was frequent, she taunted him about his lameness. There was very little in this upbringing that even suggested training in self-control.

By nature an impressionable child, he retaliated with

1. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 400

2. Ibid.
defiance, mocking and mimicking her absurdities of speech (she was Scotch), and her walk, and he laughed at her inability to do him any harm. His nature was "a union of opposite extremes." Ability, beauty, and genius were his; but there was "a curse with every blessing." Byron had great intellectual powers, but he had an egotistic temperament;" he had a beautiful head, but his foot was deformed. For every strength he had a weakness. Mrs. Byron, fluctuating from extreme indulgence to extreme severity, supervised the rearing of this child.

A streak of kindness that he showed throughout his life was in this boy's nature. In his childhood he had a tutor of whom he had a very high opinion. One source informs us that he had an American refugee for a tutor, and that he was much inspired with the man's talk of General Washington. It is said that it was he who directed Byron to appreciate the qualities of that great man. Evidence points to the fact that this tutor's name was Mr. Ross. However, in no reference is the name Ross followed by the information that Mr. Ross was an American. In another source it is pointed out that Mr. Ross was Byron's private tutor, and amends the fact that it is to him that Byron owes his enthusiasm for history. Both sources make note of the fact that Byron thought a great deal

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5. J.D. Symon, Byron in Perspective, p. 79
of his tutor, and always spoke of him highly.

Though Mrs. Byron had been an heiress, there was little money left with which to sustain herself and the boy. This weak-willed woman, having known better living conditions and having associated with a higher stratum of society, was not content with the life she was forced to live. Too many were the times she had expressed her dissatisfaction in her upbradings of the one responsible for her condition (her husband.) Thus, the child's thoughts were colored with bitternesses and discontent about finances, social position, and rank.

At the age of ten he inherited the title of Lord, and it is to be noted that he was already very much conscious of what the title implied. Always sensitive about his lameness, he was more so about his relative poverty and was perhaps too watchful for signs of affront to his rank and personality.

He was a sublime egoist as men of genius usually are; but still he was interested in others. He developed a passionate resentment toward the least suspicion of tyranny toward himself or toward others. Moulded to place great importance on rank, he was, therefore, responsive to the ideals of honorable, manly, and heroic behavior which he considered necessary to one who had been born to his station in life.

Byron was accused of being a poser, but few realized that this pose was a defense for his unusual sensitiveness. All the Byrons had been vain. Because sensitiveness usually
promotes vanity, we can safely say that he was more than moderately vain. His makeup was such that he craved the approval of the public despite his show of unsocial pride. Although he loved his solitude, he also loved being with people.
Chapter III

Qualities and Ideals of Byron That Appealed to Young America
Although Byron helped to shape the destinies of the crushed European peoples, he had no such far-reaching effect in America. The American spirit, following the War of 1812, was new and hopeful in contrast to the resigned spirit on the Continent. American society, contemporary with the rise of Byron, was crude and unsophisticated, but it was not a rotten society in need of thorough reform. For this reason, Byron did not exert a great social and political force; his appeal was personal and literary.

In this chapter we shall consider the personal characteristics of Byron, that is, his qualities and ideals, which appealed to young America. The following chapter will be concerned primarily with his literary appeal.

Like a child, young America of this era noisily flaunted her independence and was loud in her criticism of others, hoping to prove herself unrestricted and free. Like a small-town boy who is eager to be a friend to the polished cosmopolitan, she approved and imitated the spectacular and unusual. It is no wonder, then, that Lord Byron, who certainly was a leader, and who had in him, in addition, beauty, romance, and

1. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p.10

eccentricity, should appeal to inexperienced and prosaic America. However, Byron's gay and roguish qualities are only one side of his appeal, for although still crude, America was not insensible to the ideals he proclaimed, and, what is far more important, fought to maintain.

It is true that the vogue of Byron in America had much in common with his vogue elsewhere. This is explained partly by his being in accord with the stormy and restless spirit of the times, and partly by the willingness of the people of a sentimental era to imitate any extraordinary person. Although America did not share the disillusion and defeat of the Continent, she was aware of the Continental mood and was receptive to Continental thought. For example, we know that the French Revolution had had American supporters, the Greek struggle for liberty was being championed by American orators, and Napoleon had American friends. Therefore, America could understand and sympathize with the restless Byron who depicted with such power and force the great problems and events of the age. Byron's experiences, moral and immoral, made him able to write the better of grief, love, oppression, and freedom. The French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the monarchs and their oppressed peoples,—he took them all as themes. In The Prisoner of Chillon, a Swiss hunter is put in

chains because of his religious beliefs. *Childe Harold's* majestic lines tell about Napoleon's thirst for power:

"There sunk the greatest, nor the worst of men,  
Whose spirit, antithetically mixt,  
One moment of the mightiest, and again  
On little objects with like firmness fixt."  

He tells of the actual worthlessness of power and fame:

"Conqueror and captive of the earth art  
thou!  
She trembles at thee still, and thy wild name  
Was ne'er more bruited in men's minds than now  
That thou art nothing, save the jest of Fame."  

It is stated by W.E. Leonard, in his *Byron and Byronism in America*, that the Byron vogue in America is best understood by reference to Byron's effect on the young. H.T. Tuckerman, critic, has said that Byron's truest appeals find an immediate response in the youthful heart. We are inclined to agree with both these gentlemen.

In the same way that the young experience an eager craving for the unusual and romantic, so did young America feel an attraction for the glamour, mystery, and daring of Byron's heroes and of Byron himself. His Continental tour was not a staid visit to other countries, but was as exciting.

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4. *Childe Harold*, C.III, s:36, l:1-4  
5. *Childe Harold*, C.III, s:37, l:1-4
an adventure as every boy dreams of. During his travels on the continent he had gone among wild and lawless peoples, facing hardships with admirable composure and enjoyment, taking all risks with coolness. His companions and servants, not so daring, were many times embarrassed by his calmness. Byron's best qualities were brought out, it seems, when there was action and actual danger at hand. This was the kind of life he enjoyed.

Upon his return from his Continental tour, his mind freshened with a new enthusiasm for classical antiquity and stocked with pictures of the exotic Eastern scenery and manners that he had beheld, and his romantic mind imagined on, that melancholia, so much a part of his nature, returned. His discontent and sense of futility were evident beneath "the light war of mocking words," ready to prompt him at any moment "to deeds eternity cannot annul."

The tales of love and lawlessness, interwoven with a more or less melancholy and mysterious reputation for wickedness, in Childe Harold had made Byron a national idol overnight. There was as much real passion in The Corsair, The Gaiour,

6. G. Boas, Dryden, Pope and Byron, p. 159
7. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 402
8. Ibid., p. 401
The Bride of Abydos and Lara as there was in the numerous flirtations of his early period, but the public was delighted with these. In America, too, the stay-at-home public was dazzled with these romantic poems.

The glittering portals of society were now opened wide to Byron. He was the darling of society and played his role to the utmost. But his marriage proved his social downfall. The mysterious circumstances accompanying the separation from his wife caused the scandal-mongering public, who, such a short while ago, had lain at his feet, to accuse him of "indescribable cruelties." After the lurking envy, the hidden malice, and all the suspended detestation of what Byron stood for, good and evil, had been let loose upon him, he had no alternative other than to leave England. A worthy supporter contends:

"The real original reason for the outcry against Byron was simply that the women made such a ridiculous fuss about him that the men grew jealous and were not satisfied until he was hounded out of England." 11

It has been said that to be a good Briton, "a man must trade profitably, marry respectably, live cleanly, avoid excess, revere the established order, and wear his heart in his

10. G. Boas, Dryden, Pope and Byron, p. 161  
breeches pocket or anywhere but on his sleeve." Needless to say, Byron did none of these. The English thought him "offensively conspicuous," and yet his genius and personality became a "vital influence the world over."

Particularly before the Civil War, America had before her constantly the moral foundations of the republic. The memory of her great men was strong and the ideals of her great orators rang loudly in her ears. Just as the ethical sense is strong in the young person, so, too, was it strong in emotional and rustic America. From her pulpits and village greens, she heard praise for the high-minded and great, detestation for the dishonorable and unjust and sympathy for defeat and ruin. In Byron, who hated hypocrisy and who as an "ardent individualist demanded freedom for himself and consequently for others," America perhaps found a hero, for whom she could emotionally combine her sympathy and admiration.

Byron knew that an opportunity for honorable distinction in his own country was ruined. This caused a turning point

12. W.E. Henley, Views and Reviews, pp. 56-58

13. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 112

14. Anderson and Walton, This Generation, p. 903
in his career. He had sinned, but he felt that his punishment was more than he deserved. The society that had cast him out he had known to the core and felt he had been the victim of "its seductions first of all and then of its insincerity, its bigotry, its hypocrisy, and its injustice."

We can see that many of the scenes and passages from Don Juan are not deliberately written to corrupt but are, rather, the work "of a coarse, but thoroughly sincere satirist, bent on shocking people he despises." The play of life and human character is spread throughout the various movements of Don Juan. This is the courtroom in which Byron the lawyer presents his charges against hypocrisy and despotism:

"I would not imitate the petty thought,
Nor coin my self-love to so base a vice,
For all the glory your conversion brought,
Since gold alone should not have been its price,
You have your salary: was't for that you wrought?
And Wordsworth has has place in the Excise,
You're shabby fellows--true--but poets still,
And duly seated on the immortal hill."

Byron was "a citizen of the world," a poet, and almost everything else, "because he could not help it."

This man whom America had taken to heart was not only a writer, but a fighter, too. It was not his nature to bear

15. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 402
17. Don Juan, Dedication, st. 6
18. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 400
anyone's contempt. His passionate and uncurbed temper caused him to retaliate with *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* after the critics had severely lampooned his *Hours of Idleness*.

But:

"They had drawn the fire of a born fighter. He so vigourously pitched into everybody, poets and critics, big and little, landing with damaging accuracy on their vulnerable spots." 19

His hate for tyranny and injustice, his revolt against those features of morality on which society sets up the most exacting standards, and the established orders, opinions, governments, and institutions of society, are depicted in *Manfred, Cain, Heaven and Earth, The Vision of Judgment*, and in *The Deformed Transformed*. He had the courage to put his "satirical" pen to work on such dignitaries as George III, 20 Wellington, and George IV. He sees everyone for what he is, not as the person supposed himself to be; he sees things as they are, not as people think them to be.

In *Sardanapalus* he has the courage to present an "apologia" 21 for his life of sin, vice, and licentiousness in Venice. Here he lived one of the most interesting and colorful phases of his life; but it also happens to be the most disreputable.

Byron did not seek refuge in Venice because it was a city


20. G. Boas, *Dryden, Pope and Byron*, p. 166

21. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron and English Society," *Byron, the Poet*, p. 75
of great liberty and would tolerate his excesses. He went because Venice was a great city of culture and most great and educated people paid her homage. In his own words he:

"Resolved that he should travel through All European climes, by land or sea To mend his former morals, or get new."22

When Barrett Wendell says, "A good deal of Byron's personality depended on confession; it was in much literary favor," we are inclined to agree with the statement. Byron was well aware of his actions because he had that keen insight of self-evaluation. However, we do not find him crying out for understanding and asking for a "break" (in our own American terminology.) In the first place his self-pride would not allow him to bend to plead his cause, even though he might have been perfectly justified in asking for consideration. In the second place he felt that people should be able to exercise their abilities to criticise and appreciate. Some critics suppose, however, that "Byron could not or would not control his own selfish passions," and "was too arrogant to conciliate mankind."24

Byron even supposed himself, and had often been declared,

22. Childe Harold, Canto I, st. 1
23. B. Wendell, The Traditions of European Literature, p. 218
"a thorough misanthropist with a lodged contempt for humanity as a whole." It is certain, however, that no poet has dared to hold up to public amusement the "foibles of the world" or "has more savagely lashed its crimes." It was indeed natural for America, who had so recently fought for her rights, to appreciate and understand this fighting spirit.

When Byron ridicules his countrymen or criticizes something with which he is not in favor, he gaily concedes that he is a past master in folly and admits his own frailty. Nowhere in his writings does he ever imply that he is either wise or virtuous. He had a certain modesty about himself when it came to essentials, and he had a sense of humor, neither of which would allow him to write about himself in a reverential manner, though he is quite sincere when, from his irreparable exile, he writes:

"But there is that within me which shall tire Torture and Time, and breathe when I expire; Something unearthly which they deem not of,

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

Shall on their soften'd spirits sink and move 27 In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love."

Ironically enough he is expressing a faith that he will be remembered for what he is, not for what he "imparts."

25. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 501

26. Ibid.

27. Childe Harold, C. IV, s:137, 1:4-6, 8-9
More than any other contemporary, Byron had "a grand eloquent ethical note." His poetry had the power, force and sweep which appeal to the young boy who delights in high-sounding phrases. His noble ideas lent themselves well to the ringing voices of oratorically-minded Americans. In short, America simply liked the feel and sound of his poetry. "And as mankind is wont to feel first and to think afterwards, a single one of his heart-cries may prove to the world of greater value as a moral agency than all intellectual reflections...." Byron, who preached a dogma of private revolution, was "not interested in words and phrases but in the greater truths of destiny and emotion." The magnificent, sweeping lines in Childer Harold make us aware of nature's awe-inspiring wonders and of man's limitations:

"Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean---roll!
Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain;
Man marks the earth with ruin---his control
Stops with the shore;..."

In other selections of practically the same period, we read through the lines:

"Mine were my faults, and mine be their reward
My whole life was a contest, since the day

28. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 113
29. W.E. Henley, Views and Reviews, p. 61
30. Childe Harold, C.IV, s:179, 1:1-4
That gave me being, gave me that which marr'd. 31
The gift,—a fate, or will, that walk'd astray.

What mortal his own doom may guess?
Let none despond, let none despair!! 32
and

"My very chains and I grew friends,
So much a long communion tends
To make us what we are:—even I
Regain'd my freedom with a sigh," 33
we find that the poet has not just shuffled words together
for poetic effect, but has reached down to the depths of his
greatest heart-break and despair and pours forth an amazing
amount of wonderful poetry.

In his literary works he presented himself as a practical
disciple of the devil, but at the same time put forth, with 34
"all the abandonment of glorious despair" his cunning and
energetic genius and won the admiration of the world. There
is a bitterness and a conflict in his nature that is not
clearly understood but glows behind the lines of his most
passionate and most mocking poetry.

Byron has made many contributions not only to the poetry
of the Transition Period but also to that of the Romantic
Period. By taste and inclination Byron claimed to be in

31. Epistle to Augusta, 3:25-28
32. Mazeppa, 1:853-854
33. Prisoner of Chillon, 1:389-392
34. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 402
sympathy with the Classical School and had constantly spoken
his eloquent praise of the Classicist Alexander Pope. But
Byron never labored on any one poem long enough to assure it
immortality of poetic structure.

Commenting on the many faults in literary art in Byron,
H.M. Jones says, "All the literary art of the period was
imperfect, not only Byron's." Poetry had undertaken to put
into poetic form the changing conditions and struggles of
society. Poetry was inadequate for that type of expression
and in our day, we employ the possibilities of the novel.

Some critics maintain that a poet who writes just as his
passions and impulses dictate to him can find "no appreciative
audience save among the semi-cultured." That the Continental
appeal of Byron was great despite the defects of artistry is
not to be ignored. The answer for this appears to be that
"foreigners are naturally blind to artistic defects that are
potent to every Englishman."

35. T.B. Macaulay, ed., "Moore's Life of Lord
Byron," Essays, p. 327

36. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron, a Study,"
Byron, the Poet, pp. 11-12

37. H.M. Jones, "The Byron Centenary," Yale
Review, n.s., 13:734

38. W.P. Trent, "The Byron Revival," The
Authority of Criticism, p. 214

39. Ibid.
Byron's work is "dashing, brilliant, rich in content, but marred by faults of technique" and displays marked inequalities of merit. He claimed to have served the public and his temporary sway "had been purchased by servitude,--by the sacrifice of his own taste to the taste of the public."

Feeling the necessity of self-expression, he cries out:

"And I will war, at least in words (and should My chance so happen--deeds), with all who war With thought; and of thought's foes by far most rude Tyrants and sycophants have been and are." 41

Here was straight-forward poetry, written by a rebel poet who spoke in his own person. This, unsophisticated America loved and understood.

From his retreat in the Adriatic among people whose vices and pastimes did not include prying on the privacy of their neighbors, as was customary with some English who even followed Byron to spy on his every movement and report the inanities to the waiting "gossips" back home, he sent back volume after volume of bitter disdain, pathos, critical judgments, and charges against hypocrisy and despotism. His poetry again became popular. People began to turn over in

40. J.V. Nash, "Byron--After One Hundred Years," Open Court, 38:405
41. Childe Harold, C.II, st. 76, 1:1-2
42. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 115
43. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron, a Study," Byron, the Poet, p. 22
their minds the reasons for "victimizing" this poet and found them wanting. The stigmatism of the English had followed him everywhere and in France it was known that women had fainted when he entered the room.

He did not voice his opinion from his "retreat" merely because his pride had been hurt. He was at war with two great forces which his sense of justice and his critical judgment would not tolerate him to ignore. The first was the aristocratic society with its privileges, politics, and ideals, and the other was the pietistic Evangelical Christianity in which he had been trained as a child.

There is much, we will agree, that the strict moralist could find fault with in the acclaimed masterpieces of the world; the Bible, the works of the great Greek masters, the works of Shakespeare, yet, few deign to speak too loudly. Byron does not seem to have earned this awful respect from too many of his critics. In a discussion on the limitations of William Cullen Bryant, a critic tells us, "Byron is the brilliant impersonator when it comes to writing hymns, but Bryant was incapable of such hypocrisy."

44. W.A. Briscoe, ed., Byron, a Study," Byron, the Poet, p. 22
45. Ibid., "Byron and English Society," p. 80
46. Ibid., "The Moral Influence of Byron," pp. 91-93
47. A.H. Strong, American Poets and Their Theology, p. 220
It was not uncommon that "in some American pulpits, Byron's career was used as a text for denunciation of the atheist and libertine, the seducer of women and blasphemer of the Most High." Moralists came to the fore now contending that we should weigh our poets in balance of sanctuary, and to estimate their moral and religious significance. So "between the press and the pulpit" more knowledge was spread of him "causing a stimulated interest in his poetry." Just as the inexperienced boy finds what is forbidden to be attractive, so, it seems, did Byron's waywardness and irreligion fascinate unsophisticated and self-conscious Americans of earlier days.

There was much that was conflicting in Byron's personality. He was never what we might call "religious" and constantly fought the Calvinistic creed in which he had been educated at Aberdeen and under his mother. But before we proceed we find it necessary to make a few statements about the Evangelical Christianity that was the greatest moral and religious power in the 18th and 19th centuries. It propounded two things: (a) the need of the individual soul for more than a secular and sceptical view of human life, (b) a great sympathy with the poor and suffering in an age when the masses

49. Ibid.
were ignorant and brutalized.

Byron was encompassed in this religious sweep in his early life, because when a child he had been brought up, not in aristocratic circles, but among pious middle-class people. Naturally he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the Bible, and his mind had become saturated with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. His mental makeup forced him to licentious ideals contrary to those in which he had been tutored. The constant protest of his better nature, however, was not a strong enough force to dominate his passions. That he was in constant conflict against was the decree that makes many the victims of inherited passions and then adjudges the victim as being alone and entirely responsible. He tells us in his own words in Childe Harold why he chooses this course of action.

"To fly, need not be to hate, mankind; All are not fit with them to stir and toil, Nor is it discontent to keep the mind Deep in its fountain, lest it overboil In the hot throng, where we become the spoils Of our infection, till too late and long We may deplore and struggle with the coil, In wretched interchange of wrong for wrong Amidst a contentious world, striving where none are strong." 51

50. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron and English Society," Byron, the Poet, pp. 70-74

51. Childe Harold, C.III, s.69, l:1-9
Byron was no atheist as some suppose. He was, however, no hypocrite. Adamant in his belief that human nature is weak in the hands of the destiny that moulds it, he had no confidence in human nature or in man's power to work out his own destiny.

Byron's personal life is not one exemplary to follow, but is it possible to justify that criticism that recommends a casting aside of Byron lest the frankness of expression cause corruption of morals? He is, nevertheless, an inspired poet, and he rose to great heights. His heroes are born of his own personality. They are not chastened by suffering. "They stand solitary in the midst of the sufferings of the world in their own woes, silent, defiant until the last."  

Our poet wrote "from the necessity of self-expression;" not to do good, or ill. He professed to hate humanity as much as others professed to love it. But Byron was never indifferent to the doings of others despite his half-amusing hatreds.

His ideal of freedom was perhaps largely a concept of personal license. We record his own opinions on existing governments. He says, "I have simplified my own politics

52. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron and English Society," Byron, the Poet, p. 68

53. J.V. Nash, "Byron--After One Hundred Years," Open Court, 38:405

54. Campbell and Pyre, Great English Poets, p. 400
into an utter detestation of all existing governments.”

Perhaps it was his lack of constructive social faith such as inspired others that tarnished his reputation in the eyes of some critics.

Byron earned himself a lasting reputation with Americans for his enthusiasm for Greek independence. He was a kindred soul to American orators and writers with their idealistic aspirations and supreme confidence for America's future. W.C. Bryant was not able to escape the influence of Byron during the 1820's, and many times echoes Byron in his cry for Greek freedom. To Bryant and other Americans, his aspirations were those of a good man, even though his actions fell short of them. The Americans saw him as their poet of freedom, because it was the age when liberty was beginning to flutter her weak wings.

America had given him acclaim and he did not hesitate to give praise to her writers. He praised H.H. Brackenridge's "Daniel Boone" included in his Views on Louisiana that had been published in England. Knickerbocker had delighted him, and he announced that he "knew the Sketch Book by heart."

55. J.V. Nash, "Byron--After One Hundred Years," Open Court, 38:405
56. P.H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 277
57. W. Reid, American and English Studies vol. II, p. 42
Perhaps we should note the criticism that some feel that "Byron admired America or thought he did; perhaps what he really admired was American admiration of himself." No one can question the sincerity of his admiration for Washington. In Don Juan he declares that Washington's battlefields, like those of Leonidas are holy ground, for they "breathe of nations saved, not worlds undone."

Americans were gratified by the noble poet's republicanism, although they seem to have been aware of the obvious fact that, "he wore his tri-color cockade with a difference." He was no "social leveller." His political republicanism was sincere, however, and it was his hearty detestation of tyrants, foreign or domestic, dynastic or parvenu, that led him to turn toward the new world. Byron was a man of action as well as song. He wanted not only to write poems about Freedom but also to live a heroic life and be in the thick of the fray.

Faced with the realization that his life in Italy was leading him to degradation and ruin, he was determined to lift

60. W. Reid, American and English Studies, vol. II, p. 47
62. J.V. Nash, "Byron--After One Hundred Years," Open Court, 38:395
himself from the depths into which he had fallen. His life in Italy had not been entirely without its good points. He had stored ammunition in the cellar of his home in preparation for participation in the liberation of Italy from Austrian domination. Indeed, in his conversation with the American George Bancroft at Monte Nero in 1822, Byron had deplored the success of the Austrians in putting down the Neapolitan revolution. Had the Neapolitans fought well, Byron would have given them aid. He had expressed hope for the future of Italy, saying:

"The young men of Italy are in a fair way. They long for liberty; let them secure that and afterward study politics and learn how to govern." 64

But feeling the inadequacy of his efforts, he had in mind the idea of making a change either to Greece or to South America, where he could find something to interest himself.

In the meantime (1809-1811) the Greeks, whose land Childe Harold had visited in earlier years, had risen against their oppressors, and because of the number of important successes made, a great part of Greece was practically free of the Turks. Byron had followed with interest, we are told, the fortunes of "his old friends, the Greeks." Many were the letters passed among Murray, Hobhouse and himself concerning

63. T. Moore, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, p. 752

64. G. Bancroft, The Battle of Lake Erie, p. 204

65. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron in Greece," Byron, the Poet, p. 136
the Greek situation. He was strengthened in his desire to go to Greece when he was informed by Hobhouse that a committee had been formed in England to aid the Greeks.

A member of the Committee shortly afterward called on Byron and enlisted his enthusiastic support for what proved his last and most glorious adventure. At the time his support had been subscribed, Byron bore neither love nor any great enthusiasm for the Greeks themselves. He was acting in accordance with his beliefs and ideals, so he contributed his efforts to the cause of liberty. He gave freely of his money to this cause. The demands of Byron to extract more money from Murray his publisher became louder because he wanted as much as he could get to promote this noble cause. We can note at this point that Byron would have willingly made the same sacrifices and engaged in any fight for liberty be it in America, Spain, or Ireland, because he was the poet of rebellion from bondage.

Lord Lovelace, a grandson of Byron, contends that Byron had constantly mentioned "his calm conviction of the worthlessness of the people whom he proposed to emancipate," but that

66. V.H. Collins, Lord Byron in His Letters, p. 192
67. J.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron in Greece," Byron, the Poet, p. 138
"he hated oppressors more than he loved the oppressed." Byron was, however, fully aware of the destruction of Greek virtue that the years of slavery had caused this race of people, and hopefully believed that liberty would again restore them to a more worthy life.

There is an important point to be considered about Byron's honorable response to the Greek call for help to regain freedom. The Greeks were divided into individual quibbling political factions, and each flirted for Byron's aid and quarrelled with one another. Byron sternly informed them that he had enlisted his efforts to help a nation, not single parties. He further urged them to compose their differences for the furtherance of the good of all. When he cries out:

"Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"

he is merely voicing his dispassionate cry against tyranny and subjection, and hopes to impart to the Greek people themselves some of the fire that burned in his soul and caused him to defy established opinions and institutions for the liberty to be master of himself.

68. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron in Greece," Byron, the Poet, p. 138
69. Ibid., p. 137
70. Childe Harold, Canto II, st. 76
In Missolonghi, suffering conditions that might easily have discouraged people of greater perseverance, Byron remained true to his promise to see the cause to which he had dedicated all his possessions and himself, triumph. Ignoring the pleas of his friends, Colonel Stanhope and others, to leave Missolonghi, he informed them that he "had never been so happy as he was there." All the aspects in favor and disfavor of his surroundings and situation were cited: the scarcity of food ("There is nothing to eat in Greece but tough Billy Goats."), the "rocks, robbers, and vermin," and "the poisonous swamps," but Byron remained.

The Greeks considered his death as the greatest of calamities. It was his wise judgment, his shining examples of courage in the face of adversity, his wealth, and above all, his very presence that were the greatest inspirations to the Greeks. He died from a fever that set in after he had been caught in a heavy storm. We are told, "The news of Byron's heroic death at Missolonghi caused a sensation in America, as in Europe." American newspapers and magazines published countless monodies and reviews of his poems. Indeed, this homage to a great English man of letters was "very unusual."

71. W.A. Briscoe, ed., "Byron in Greece," Byron, the Poet, p. 142
72. Ibid.
73. S.C. Chew, "Byron in America," American Mercury, 1:335
Most articles and notices were concerned chiefly with his life. "That he was a nobleman, an Anglo-Greek Washington and a poet to boot, seem to have been for the moment uppermost in the public mind."

Mr. Edgcumbe tells us that in 1875, after half a century had elapsed since Byron's death, Disraeli delivered a brilliant speech in support of the poet's claim to national distinction. The poet's cause became a subject of interest in other lands. "America was swift to show her appreciation of the genius of the 'pilgrim of eternity'. Men like Longfellow, Bryant, and Winthrop, formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of co-operating in a simple act of justice." The outcome of this was a statue of Byron which was put in Hyde Park.

In 1924, a century after Byron's death, the mental prospect of Mr. Symon is: "Before the present century is much older, Byron's directness, and above all, his enthusiasm for liberty may make a new appeal to an age that has seen the end of tyrannies, and professes itself pledged to the cause of the fullest freedom for mankind of all classes."

We are told that after one hundred years, large numbers of visitors always go to see the collection of Byron's

74. J.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 33

75. R. Edgcumbe, The History of the Byron Memorial, pp. 10-12

76. J.D. Symon, Byron in Perspective, pp. 226-227
Manuscripts at No. 50 Albemarle Street, London. Among these visitors is found a large and devoted number of Americans. The writer, Mr. Murray, makes note of the fact that these visitors do not come from mere curiosity but show a real interest in Byron and much knowledge of his works.

Chapter IV

Byron is the Widespread Inspiration of Americans
Byron's works were the events of a literary world, and the chief among them were translated into French, German, Italian, Danish, Polish, Russian, and Spanish. He has no relation to the masters whose works reflect a nation or an era, and who keep their own secrets. He is a representative of two orders of society, because he is a peer with democratic ideas. As critic and author he is the spokesman of two ages, because he professed admiration for the Classicists, but definitely belongs to the Romanticists. In his verse and prose we find his life's story. The inequalities of his career, the meteoric rise to popularity and the complete disregard by the critics, are paralleled in his style when he gives us, mixed with some of his sublime verse, the errors in grammar and the forced rhymes.

We have pointed out in the foregoing chapter those of the characteristics that appealed to the American people, especially in the 1815-1860 years. He, among other moderns, painted Nature in her simple, broad, manifestations,—the sea, the mountains, the sky,—the awful and the wonderful that bespoke man's limitations. The Americans allied this spirit with their own emotions. Restless and anxious to "speak," because of the urge of the human necessity for utterance, the Americans naturally adopted as guide this spontaneous poet. His poetry might well be classified as subjective, because it
was the poetry of self-expression. It is perhaps the cry of adolescence and even femininity, but above all, it is the resource of a sensitive nature. Subjective poetry, when it is the yield of a lofty nature is so inspiring that many times it is imitated by minor poets who try in an artistic way to create the natural spontaneity of their models and become simply poor imitators.

In 1820, Sidney Smith had asked the question in the *Edinburgh Review*, "Who reads an American book?" Apparently the "feeble twitterings" of American writers were beginning to create somewhat of a stir abroad. Even though some critics contend that "Byron's praise depended on fancy, rather than reason," he was at least good enough to pass complimentary judgment. The spirit of the new English poetry, then, had fallen upon us. The thrilling stories of adventure and the love of distant ages and places became American themes. Maidens in distress, hermits with a past, and a touch of the supernatural were elements of the Romanticism of Wordsworth, Scott, and Byron that were being utilized for poetic purposes.

It is perhaps true that, as yet, America did not have

1. F.L. Fatee, *Century Readings in American Literature*, p. 184
2. C.F. Richardson, *American Literature*, p. 34
anything to offer along literary lines, but the impulse given
to poetry increased because of the appearance of early poets
who were seeking after literary fame. Their acclaim was not
immediate but these "blazers" were sowing good seed for future
harvest. In the East we have Neal and Lunt; in regions
further south Simms, and in New York, we have Willis. In New
York there was a variety of song-makers like Hoffman and
Morris; of writers like Willis and Tuckerman; of editors and
contributors like Verplanck, the Duyckincks, and Griswold; of
lyric writers, males and females. There was much that promised
to be good; there was much that was high-sounding and eloquent
and promised to die out. No matter how crude or ill-regulated
their rhymes, these people were determined in their pursuit
to be heard in the world of letters. There is no question,
even though some of our poets openly "deplore the morbid
influence of Byron," that in their "susceptible" and perhaps
adolescent state, much in American poetry was modelled on
Byron.

The most ardent admirer of Byron and the one American who
was a worthy representative of the popular English Romanticists
was Fitz-Greene Halleck. He expressed his feelings with much

4. J.C. Lawton, A Study of American
   Literature, p. 201

5. P.H. Boynton, Literature and American
   Life, p. 212
vigour and naturalness and his *Wyoming* is written in the Spenserian stanza form employed by Byron. His sincerity can be discerned in lines from *Wyoming* when he says:

"I then but dreamed; thou art before me now,
In life, a vision of the brain no more
I've stood upon the wooded mountain's brow
That beetles high thy river's greenest shore."

He echoes Byron's enthusiasm for Greek freedom in the poem *Marco Bozzaris* which is still popular with the schoolboy. His spirited

"Strike--till the last armed foe expires;
Strike--for your altars and your fires;
Strike--for the green graves of your sires;
God--and your native land!"

easily moves us to think nobly about our own country. In 1827 appeared his *Alnwick Castle* and several other poems in which he affects the grave and gay and whimsical manner of Byron after he had devoted himself to the worthy cause of liberty. Even though Halleck's work is in the prevailing English mode, his sentiment was American. The selection from *Alnwick Castle*,

"These are not the romantic times
So beautiful in Spencer's rhymes,
So dazzling to the dreaming boy:
Ours are the days of fact, not fable,
Of Knights, but not of the Round Table
Of Bailie Jarvie, not Rob Roy:
'Tis what "Our President," Monroe,
Has called "the era of good feeling:"

makes this fact very evident. We can easily call him a

7. *Marco Bozzaris*, st. iii, 1:11-14
8. *Alnwick Castle*, st. viii, 1:1-8
national poet. Imitating Byron, Halleck tried his hand at social satire. Fanny is about a "flashy" New Yorker and his fashionable daughter, and is interspersed with politics, European and American, and like Don Juan has many digressions. In its day (1814) Fanny was immediately popular and remained so for a generation, helping to "foster and stimulate American Byronism." Indeed, Byron, whose works Halleck later edited, was his most kindred spirit.

The ringing verses of Scott and Byron were most successful in depicting wild and romantic scenery. Most of the major American poets of the 19th century were essentially "landscape artists in their best verse." William Cullen Bryant, considered the "high priest of nature in her elemental types, has a feeling for the magnificence of the scene and treats his material with a penetrating sympathy, and more reflective power than we can find in the other poets. In his early boyhood environment he was in close communion with nature. Although he is the poet of the elements, of "the earth, the air, the deep," he did not disdain to mention the concrete details of nature. In this point he is akin to Wordsworth.

10. Ibid., p. 309
12. E.C. Stedman, Poets of America, p. 46
Because of his power of description of the external world, he comes justly by his renown as a "poet of nature." Byron's voice is heard in the Spenserian stanzas and subject matter of the Phi Beta Kappa poems of 1821. In his In the Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus, we hear Bryant echoing the Romantic argument against reason which held such a high place with the Classicists. He says:

... ... ... "I would make
Reason my guide, but she should sometimes sit
Patiently by the wayside, while I traced
The mazes of the pleasant wilderness
Around me. She should be my counsellor,
But not my tyrant. For the spirit needs 13
Impulses from a deeper source than hers."

He lacks Byron's fire, but voices his thoughts when he says:

... ... ... ... "Men shall wear softer hearts,
And shudder at the butcheries of war," 14

We hear the Byron echo for Greek freedom in the lines:

"Hapless Greece!
Enough of blood has wet thy rocks, and stained
The rivers; deep enough thy chains have worn
Their links into thy flesh;" 15

and Byron's hope that Greece will again be free to reestablish herself among nations in the lines:

"Thou shalt rise from midst the dust and sit
Again among the nations. Thine own arm
Shall yet redeem thee." 16

13. In the Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
Richard Henry Dana's *Buccaneer* (1827) is a mixture of outlawry, egoism, supernatural terror and praise of the simple life.

The hasty lines of the Connecticut poet, John G. C. Brainard, were lacking in greatness but were certainly marked by genuineness of feeling when he reflects on tyrants in his *The Death of Alexander of Russia*. He ends with a reference to Byron's favorite hero George Washington:

"But where is he
   Who, pure in life, majestic in his fall,
   Lay down beneath his native cedar tree?
   Potomac's wave, Mount Vernon's grassy pall,
   That wraps his relics round, O! thou art
   Worth them all."17

Grenville Mellen's *The Martyr's Triumph* is Byronic. The introductory motto to Canto II is from *Manfred*. The story of the oppressed Christian is treated with Byronic eloquence, but 18 is unbyronic in orthodoxy.

"He had seen sorrow, not that long decay
   . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
   O'er sea and hill and valley he had fled, 20
   Long days and nights, a sad and weary way:"

In his long *Ode to Byron*, written shortly after the poet's death, we have the "hero-worshipper" treatment:

18. Ibid., p. 47
20. Ibid., C.II, st.ii, 1:1-2
"'Tis done! the Pilgrimage is o'er,
And Harold sinks to rest;" 21

and sympathy in:

"Who bade thee to this thankless world?
Thou hast not own'd the power! 22

And from her pride that Genius hurl'd,
Had made idolaters to thee--
The bard whose music drown'd the world! 23

More social satires are attempted by our literary men.

In 1855 George Lunt wrote his Julia in which he combines
Byronic gloom with sentimentality. This was written in the
ottava rima.

The Battle of Niagara is a vigorous and spontaneous
selection by John Neal (1793-1876) that shows the obvious
influence of Byron in diction, verse, and general manner.

"'Tis a helmeted band! from the hills they descend
Like the monarchs of storm, when the forest trees band.
No scimitars swing as they gallop along:
No clattering hoof falls sudden and strong:
No trumpet is filled, and no bugle is blown:
No banners abroad on the wind are thrown..." 24

In this poem of five cantos which was published anonymously
in 1818, but has been attributed to John Neal, we are told, by
the author in his Introduction, that he attempted to do justice
to the American scenery and American character. It was written
when he was a prisoner and felt the victories of his countrymen.

21. Ode to Byron, st.i, 1:1-2
22. Ibid., st. vi, 1:1-2
23. Ibid., st. viii, 1:7-9
24. The Battle of Niagara, c. i
"My country! my home! sunny land of my fathers!
Where empires unknown in bright solitudes lie;
Where Nature, august in serenity, gathers
The wonders of mountain, and ocean, and sky:
Where the blue dome of heaven scarce bounds her
dominion:
Where man is as free as the creatures of air;
As thine Eagle--of fleet, uncontrollable pinion;
The gallant gray Bard of the Winds! that is
there." 24 a

Here we have the dramatic, Byronic description of the greatness of nature.

It appears to be characteristic even of American critics either to overlook entirely the fact that many of our early literary men were influenced by Byron, or to treat the fact, when they can overlook it no longer, as though it were a catastrophe. Samuel Goodrich, the critic, thought that Percival "had been deeply injured....ruined by the reading of 25 Byron's works." Yet Samuel Goodrich himself, in writing his poem The Outcast, commits "Byronism." He recalls "his boyhood of nature by the sea," and we get a drift of the Byronic tone as he says:

"Such was the madness of my brain 27
That I was fain to seek the throng."

24a. The Battle of Niagara, Introduction


26. Ibid., 1:337

27. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 56
James Gates Percival's material is unclarified, uncontrolled, and in general, unorganized. But this is undoubtedly due to the fact that he imitated half a dozen of the English Romantic poets of his time so that his works reflect the merged personalities of Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Moore, and at times, the American Bryant. He found themes everywhere—in nature, in ancient history, and in modern episode. In New England he imitates the sublime in nature and of history that is in Byron in the lines:

"We love thy rude and rocky shore,
And here we stand:
Let foreign navies hasten o'er,
And on our heads their fury pour,
And peal their cannon's loudest roar,
And storm our land;"

His Prometheus is permeated with Byronic gloom. His heroes spend much time in lonely contemplation. Mr. Leonard tells us that "all Byronic imitations and pilferings of Percival would require a separate volume."

Edgar Allan Poe, whose life was a "Byronic" example of genius misled, and whose history is the saddest in the pages of American literature, was influenced by the personality of

28. C.F. Richardson, American Literature, pp. 29-30
29. New England, st. vi, 1:1-4
30. W.C. Bronson, A Short Story of American Literature, p. 172
31. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 52
Byron. The characteristics exhibited in his early life were similar to those exhibited by Byron. Poe was a good sportsman; he hunted, he rode, he fenced, he swam. Graceful, handsome, charming, this leader of other young boys had many talents. He could draw, he was devoted to music, he could write. Byron was the favorite poet of Poe and all the Virginia young men. The profound appeal of Byron might have been the reason for Poe's drawing illustrations for Byron and creating through the imagination a legend about his life, because he felt he must be a romantic hero. He talked about traveling after the manner of Byron. His, too, was a brief and sad life. Tamerlane, Poe's poem, reflects the Byron gloom and pride.

William Gilmore Simms, whose life in South Carolina was full of obstacles, found time to write well enough to win himself an honorable place in American literature. He was a prolific writer but his poetry is almost completely forgotten. This might perhaps be due to the fact that he lacked the patience and the power of self-criticism. His earlier volumes are imitative of Byron and Moore and consist mostly of poems on nature, love and Indian life. He insisted, however, upon native themes for his work.

In his Donna Florida, Simms made an attempt to imitate

the wit of Don Juan without including the indecency. In the Preface to Donna Florida we are told that this poem was begun but not finished at a time when the "too famous production of Lord Byron, Don Juan, then of recent publication, was a subject of constant remark and criticism...." We are further informed that he was naturally drawn to the subject. "The perusal of a favorite poet, as naturally excites in every youthful rhymester, a desire to echo the strains which he hears..." This early poem of Simms was brought forth because, "the mere personal and political matter of Don Juan, weighs like lead upon its vital merits..." According to Simms not many will care to read through the cantos of Don Juan in years to come just to find the sections of good poetry! Simms does not have the many digressions that we find in Byron's Don Juan. He describes his heroine,

"Young was she--scarce sixteen--yet tall and bending Graceful as any willow by the wave;"

From Donna Florida we read the lines, reminiscent of the lines from Byron's farewell to England:

"Farewell! farewell! I had not thought to leave, Sweet country, in the mellowness of life, Thy shores of sunny verdure; nor to grieve When launching on a world of newer strife;"

33. Donna Florida-A Tale, Preface, p.1
34. Ibid., C.I, st. xxii, 1:1-2
35. Ibid., C.III, st. viii, 1:1-4
Samuel Griswold Goodrich, in his Lake Superior writes of his lake:

"Roll on, thou element of blue."

whereas Byron cries:

"Roll on, thou dark and deep blue ocean—roll!"

It is apparent that even critics are not above imitating!

Nathaniel Parker Willis modelled his Lady Jane and Melanie after Byron's Tales. These works only too well illustrate the potent influence of Byron on our American poets. Willis is unable to cope with the octave and so shortens the stanza to six lines. In Lady Jane (1844) Willis has harmonized his temperament with the frivolous moods of Byron and we get from this novel in rhyme:

"Some men, 'tis said, prefer a woman fat— Lord Byron did. Some like her very spare."

At times we have him greatly daring, risking "infrequent racy passages."

In Melanie we have the most complete imitation of the Tales. Here is a good example of the most melodramatic artificial Byronism. We are conscious of the movement of Chillon and the Byronic manner of narration carried to the

36. Lake Superior, st. ix, 1:3
37. Childe Harold, C. IV, s:179, 1:1
38. Lady Jane, st. xix, 1:1-2
point of artificiality when Melanie's brother holds our attention with:

"The heart transfix'd--worn out with grief--Will turn the arrow for relief.  
The painter was a child of shame!  
It stirr'd my pride to know it first,  
For I had question'd but his name,  
And thought, alas! I knew the worst,  
Believing him unknown and poor." 40

Then, when the drama of the situation is brought to a climax and the nun cries out:

"The bridegroom is thy blood--thy brother,  
Rodolph de Brevern wronged his mother!" 41

we have real melodrama!

_Cabiro_, by George Henry Calvert, has a strong narrative strain and much more intellectual quality than other works of this Byronic period. The passages on social satire are fairly good. He affects the Byron negligence when he says:

"I will build no story, have no plot."

The publication of the juvenile pieces of the versatile writer, Bayard Taylor, who was born to honest poverty, and who was largely self-educated by his omnivorous reading, grew out of his desire to see the world. He says in _A Paean to the Dawn_:

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40. Melanie, st.v, 1:9-15
41. W.E. Leonard, _Byron and Byronism in America_, p. 57
42. S.C. Chew, "Byron in America," _American Mercury_, 1:337
43. W.E. Leonard, _Byron and Byronism in America_, p. 60
"The world's false life, that follows still
Has ceased its chain to tighten,
And over the blue Ionian hill
I see the sunrise brighten!" 44

A little book, Ximena, which was dedicated to Griswold, in
gratitude for his "kind encouragement," shows the course of
Taylor's early readings. Byron, Scott, Moore, Bryant, and
Mrs. Hemans, are echoed here and there. He adopted the Byron
classic of using the names of historic persons and
places. He had the Byronic sympathy with any land to which
he came in his travels. His Ode to Shelley reminds us of
that poet's influence on Taylor, but the best work of his
lyrical period is pervaded by a vividness, spontaneity and
harmoniousness of tone. The appeal of the Orient touches his
nature; the sound and color of his Eastern poems is languorous
and rich. His sonnet interprets Nubia, the land of dreams
and sleep:

"Hush! for she does but sleep; she is not dead:
Action and Toil have made the world their own,
But she hath built an altar to Repose." 47

This poem is in the manner of Byron. His eloquence and
imagination and perceptive sense went into the making of lyrics
free from moralizing. This type of poetry was found appealing

44. A Paean to the Dawn, Part V
45. E.C. Stedman, Poets of America, p. 399
46. Ibid., p. 406
47. Nubia, 1:12-14
to the stay-at-home public. The Byronic poems, we will recall, had been accepted by a similar public with the same amount of enthusiasm. The general range of Taylor's poetry was ethnical and secular, because like Byron, he had as the objects of his regard nations, eras, races, the past, and future of mankind. One of his dominant qualities was a sense of rhythm that we find in his Byronic description of women:

"Her hair was braided darkness, but the glance
Of lightning eyes shot from her countenance,
And showed her neck, that like an ivory tower
Rose o'er the twin domes of her marble breast."

and from his rhyming lines from Amran's Wooing that are very free from any moralizing tones:

"And she shall share,
I vowed, my passion and my fate,
Or both shall fail me, soon or late,
In the vain effort to possess;
For life lives only in success.
I could not, in her father's sight,
Purchase the hand which was his right;".

We find that Taylor, the most accomplished American master of the purely lyrical art since Poe, brought back in the manner of Byron, some ballad or other lyric or "Parnassian" thought from his field of travel.


49. The Temptation of Hassen Ben Khaled, st. viii

50. Amran's Wooing, st. v

51. E.F. Richardson, American Literature, pp. 246-247
George H. Boker, known for his dramatic work, started early in the eager hope of a real theatrical career. Although the American writers were catering to the patriotic tastes at home, his subjects were drawn from Spain, and his drama Calaynos was popular in Spain; perhaps more so than here at home. He had earned the title "Byron Boker" not so much for the fact that he is one of the Don Juan imitators, but that he was the son of a rich banker, and in many ways affected the Byronic pose.

Richard Henry Stoddard is one of the few Americans who could write blank verse. American writers of literature, in recognizing this poet's natural spontaneity and imaginative music, say they "cannot follow Stoddard in his evident preference for his song on Asian themes;" nor can they praise "the too numerous, pessimistic and aging strains betokening overmuch a sense of life's weariness and uncertain skies." The Byronic gloom had appealed to this American, and we find a heavy trace of this in these lines:

"But buried hopes no more will bloom
As in the days of old,
My youth is lying in the tomb 55
My heart is dead and cold;"...

52. W.C. Lawton, A Study of American Literature, p. 341
53. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 63
54. C.F. Richardson, American Literature, p. 253
55. Byron and Byronism in America, p. 64
We get the Oriental touch in the manner of Byron in:

"Turkanna! in my sleep
I saw thee, and was blest;
I kissed thy scented hair,
I laid upon thy breast!
Shall it be, or only seem?
Pray expound that happy dream,
Beautiful Turkanna!" 56

The Byron love of adventure is paralleled when Stoddard's Greek leader tells his nephew to:

"Fetch a priest to confess me
While I am still alive.
Thirty years a soldier,
A robber twenty-five." 57

Another example of the Byronic gloom is affected when he tells us:

"When I was young I suffered
But I was happier, wiser then;
I lived my life like other men,
I have the burdens that they bore."

William Winter's extreme poetic temperament and loyalty to an ideal is an example of the juvenile appeal for the saturnine quality in Byron. He imitates Byron's sorrow when he says:

"Pride wastes affection—what is wisdom's state?
The soul is void—the heart is desolate." 60

56. Persian Songs
57. A Greek Song, st.iv
58. What Shall I Do to Live Aright?, st. ii
59. E.C. Stedman, Poets of America, p. 440
60. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, pp. 64-65
There has not been another English writer (except Shakespeare) about whom so much has been said. Some people have been attracted to Byron: others have turned away from him. But many have imitated him. The growth of comment, criticism, and imitation "has been continuous throughout a century." Byron's popularity has never actually waned. There was a constant demand for all editions of his books. By 1870, a printer of a series of one-volume collected editions of our poets said that judging from the sales, "the order of popularity was, Shakespeare, Longfellow, and Byron." This is the place Byron occupied among the "best-sellers." Professor Jones feels that much of the denunciation of Byron comes from the fact that "most British criticism is not criticism at all." Most British still seem to be concerned far more with Byron's reputation than with his ideas.

Even when the American pioneers moved out on the vast prairies and built their rough log cabins, they took with them their harps and the poems of Byron, for the reputation of the poet had travelled to even the farthest frontiers.


62. Ibid., 56:389


Though these people were roughly dressed in the manner that suited the life that obliged every man to be his own carpenter, butcher and plowman, some of them were well educated and all had high aspirations for their country and a deep respect for the freedom it privileged them. "Byronism appeared in America at an early date and struck root in the rank romantic soil."

Mrs. E. Anne Lewis, the most prolific of all those who supplied the country with the narrative-romantic Byronism, pilfered freely from Byron. She depicts the Indian chief (who is none other than the Byron hero without the Moslem saber) daubed with warpaint, festooned with feathers, and playing the villain part. American natural opportunities are exploited by Mrs. Lewis who uses Goat Island for the Isle of Greece, and Niagara serves for a good enough body of water that well affords the hero an opportunity to dispose of himself.

In 1825 Edward Coate Pinkney published a little volume that showed the very definite influence of Byron, especially in the selections Italy and Rodelph. In Italy, the Byron enthusiasm for the "romance" associated with foreign lands is

shown when Pinkney says:

"Know'st thou the land which lovers ought to choose?"

He echoes in the Byron manner a cry for Greek freedom in the Prologue to his address delivered at the Greek Benefit in Baltimore in 1823:

"When time and sudden health his strength repair, Springs jocund to his feet, and walks the air; So Greece, through centuries a prostrate land At length starts up--forever may she stand!"

In the manner of Don Juan, Pinkney relates the condition of his hero:

"Hot fever raged in Rodolph's brain, Till tortured reason fled, And madness a delirious reign Asserted in its stead."

Mrs. S. Anna Lewis' hero, modelled on Byron's Corsair, reflects the Byronic bitterness toward society when he relates:

"I am a Captive on a hostile shore, Caged, like the falcon from his native skies, And doomed my agonizing grief to pour In futile lamentations, tears, and sighs, And feed the gaze of fools whom I despise Daily they taunt my heart with bitter sneers-- They prate of Liberty--deeds, great and wise And fill the air with patriotic cheers, While human shackles, clank around the listless ears."

We get more of the Byronic point of view in:

67. Italy, st.i, 1:1
68. Prologue, st.i, 1:3-6
69. Rodolph, Part II, st.vi, 1:104
70. Lament of La Vega, st. 1
"My soul, appalled, shrinks from Hypocrisy,  
And whatsoever bears Deception's name--  
Under thy banner--heaven-born Liberty!" 71

Zamen's history is given in Child of the Sea after the manner of Don Juan and incidents of Byron's own life are related.

"Born to rank and high estate;  
Kept of these titles, helpless, desolate--  
Within its clay-built prison mewed his soul,  
That pants and pines for Love and Glory's goal,"72

and some of Zamen's suffering is told later:

"My tongue lay parched and palsied on my lips--  
Slow stole upon my sight a dark eclipse--  
And went and came, like shadows o'er the sun--  
A start--a gasp--a sigh--and sense was gone." 73

J.G. Whittier began his verse writing at an early age and reflected Byron, Scott, and others whose works he had read in the county newspapers. As he grew older, he, too, was "to carry the torch" for the oppressed. In Snowbound he cries against slavery:

"The cruel lie of caste refute,  
Old forms remold, and substitute  
For Slavery's lash the freeman's will." 74

The "lady Byrons" of this period certainly had their followings. Mrs. Helen Truesdell's Poems ran into a twelfth edition. The lyric of gloom is very prominent throughout. In her volume Poems is a piece entitled Apostrophe to the Missis-

71. Lament of La Vega, st. iii  
72. Child of the Sea, C.I, st.vi, 1:3-6  
73. Ibid., C.III, st. xi, (last 4 lines)  
74. Snowbound, 1:497-499
Mississippi that is apparently inscribed to Mrs. Truesdell (after the death of her husband.) It is signed "Byrona" and runs:

"As on thy waters now I gaze,
Another by my side
Follows, with sad and tearful eye,
Thy dark and turbid tide." 75

Mrs. Truesdell answers "Byrona":

"How shall I thank thee? not with words;--
These burning tears can speak,--
This bitter agony of heart,--
This blanching of the cheek." 76

Byron's passion for freedom had led him to believe and proclaim that Democracy was the most powerful force of the time and that it finally would prevail. Mrs. Truesdell takes up this cry in behalf of the Irish during the famine in Ireland:

"Oh! take the bauble from thy brow,--
Yes, lift it from thy head,--
And sell those costly gems of thine,
And buy thy people bread!" 78

In another stanza the cry for liberty is taken up:

"In aiding them, thou too mayst save
Thy valued crown to thee;
For even now the cry is heard,
'Make way for liberty!'" 79

American admirers fit Byron's giaours, corsairs and

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75. Apostrophe to the Mississippi, st. i
76. Reply to Byrona, st. i
78. An Appeal to Queen Victoria, st. i
79. Ibid., st. viii
pirates into their own native elements by introducing Indian chiefs who take the place of the corsair, synthesized with the influence of other romantic writers. However, "the American hero always leaves behind him at home a dear old mother who prays for her wayward son." In this we definitely have an American addition!

In character with the American personality and temperament was the far-sightedness of our literary men who were patiently laying the foundation for an American literature. What they themselves were not yet prepared to write, they were ready to print. Mr. Boynton points out, "In Philadelphia, Mathew Carey, writer and publisher, had set the stage." Carey, the editor and founder of the American Museum had maintained an independent stand in political controversies, and his magazine had, for this reason, a very extensive circulation. The reading public was rapidly increasing because Americans had more time to devote to cultural advancement. The publishers handled the flood of English works by negotiating for advance copies of "every work of popularity and particularly those of Lord Byron and Scott."

Perhaps something should be said here about the literary


81. P.H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 256
ethics of that day. There were no copyright laws and publishers borrowed and reprinted freely the works of English authors that were most appealing to the American public. It was much cheaper for producers simply to import European plays rather than to pay American writers for their work.

As early as 1811, when the American periodicals borrowed most of their reviews from the English magazines, a twelve-page original notice of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* in the *Portfolio of Philadelphia* offered a very good indication of the interest that was being taken in this country in Byron's career, then just opening. In 1813 there appeared a reprint of Byron's *English Bards* in America. When Byron was in "exile" an American showed him one of these reprints, and he said that the sight of it gave him "a kind of posthumous feel." It is to be remembered that in those days, publishers in America were unhindered by copyright laws. Many Americans, so impressed with this selection in later years, tried their hand at satire with the *Bards* as model. These show Byron's sub-literary influence.

The American imitations are the following:

82. H.M. Paull, *Literary Ethics*, p. 56
84. Ibid.
Solyman Brown's Essay on American Poetry, 1817; J. L. Martin's Native Bards, 1831; Miss A.C. Ritchie's Reviewers Reviewed; L.A. Wilmer's The Quacks of Helicon, 1841; The Poets and Poetry of America, 1847 (under the pseudonym Levante); Augustine Duganne's Parnassus in Pillory, 1851; and Peter Pindar, Jr.'s Parnassus in Philadelphia, 1854.

In these selections we have a variety of approaches by our budding young Byrons. One eulogistically implies his debt to the poet by writing about Byron's domestic problems. Another counsels his countrymen (who have adopted the open collar, curls, and lowered looks--outward manifestations of the Byronic vogue), "to leave such antics and go plough your fields." Miss Ritchie feels dissatisfied with the public's reception of her poetic utterances so she assumes the Byronic impulse and seeks to avenge herself on them. So impressed were they with the Bards that we have a progression from inspiration to imitation, from imitation to filching, and from filching to the end product,--plagiarism. Interesting to note is the fact that Byron's other satires, Hints from Horace and The Age of Bronze, superior in type, "awoke no echo in the United States," --not even to inspire!

86. Ibid., 1:337
87. Ibid., 1:339
Much of the work by minor literary men appeared under pseudonyms. In 1831, in Charleston, South Carolina, was published *The Pilgrimage of Ormond*, or *Childe Harold in the New World*. This is apparently a "hybrid" continuation of *Childe Harold*. It is written in Spenserian stanzas and in the manner of *Don Juan*. The Childe has become thoroughly reformed and comes to America, visiting widely through the southern states. The Georgia congressman and state attorney-general, Richard H. Wilde, wrote *Hesperia* (1862) much in the manner of *Childe Harold* and describes American scenes with much vigour and poetic glamour.

There have been twenty-nine attempts to carry on the work of Byron's unfinished poem, *Don Juan*, and of these, four are continuations by Americans. The two that Mr. Leonard does not mention will be given here. In 1846, Henry Morford wrote *The Rest of Don Juan* and ascribed it "To the Shade of Byron." The Seventeenth Canto, published by Richard Hovey in his volume *To the End of the Trail* (1908) is the most convincing reproduction of the spirit of the movement of Byron's verse. Byron is supposed to have written this in Hades.

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See also: W.D. Leonard, *Byron and Byronism in America*, p. 93
Many of our outstanding men visited Europe and met Byron personally. Among them were several young Harvard graduates, George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and George Bancroft, who later became eminent scholars and contributed to the development of early American learning. George Ticknor first met Lord Byron in London. He "told him about his love affairs," the story of his life, and gave him a letter to Ali Pasha, his great friend, in case Ticknor might want to visit Greece. Byron also gave him a beautiful copy of Don Juan. Most interesting and perhaps rather amusing is the fact that Byron gave Ticknor a splendidly mounted pistol in case he might have to defend himself while there. Later, Ticknor met Byron again at a villa near Venice and told him of the high opinion Goethe had of him.

Edward Everett had met Byron in London, too. Byron had given Everett letters and advice concerning his proposed trip to Greece. When Everett did visit Greece, he presented Byron's letter and "was received and passed on, from one official to another," as if he were a diplomat already. Edward Everett

92. O.W. Long, Literary Pioneers, p.33
became professor of Greek at Harvard and stirred his students with his eloquent lectures and praises of Scott and Byron whose poems and dramas everyone was talking about.

George Bancroft was twenty-two, when, in the spring of 1822, he had his "memorable visit" at Monte Nero with Lord Byron. An American naval squadron was in the harbor, and when Commodore Jones heard that Byron wished to see an American frigate, he was invited aboard the Constitution. There were many Americans in the several vessels and Byron's manner was "easy, frank, and cheerful" to all. The story is told that one lady took a rose which he had in the button-hole of his frock-coat, saying, "When I return to Philadelphia, my friends will ask for some token that I have spoken to Lord Byron." Byron is said to have been pleased with her "unaffected boldness," and sent her a note and a copy of Outlines to Faust the next day. Byron spent the morning with the officers, and thoroughly examined the ship whose history he knew well. Later on he went to the Ontario. A salute was fired, yards were manned and "three cheers given with glorious heartiness and union" when he left the vessel. Later on, Byron's comment was that he was "received with the greatest kindness, and rather

94. Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, p. 515
95. O.W. Long, Literary Pioneers, p. 139
96. G. Bancroft, The History of the Battle of Lake Erie, p. 191-193
Byron's conversation with Bancroft began with a discussion of the American squadron, and other ships of war. Byron seemed to be well-informed about American battles at sea, knowing some names of the combatants and causes of the quarrels. In the course of the conversation, he expressed his sympathy for the Democratic Party. He spoke of Edward Everett and George Ticknor with respect and praised the American favourite, Washington Irving. When Bancroft later wrote his book, he said of Byron:

"Though he called himself a misanthrope, he melted at the sight of distress, and was ever ready to help the poor and the suffering with his purse and with his sympathy, and spoke and acted and died for the liberties of mankind."

Byron's generosity and sympathy were singular qualities which appealed greatly to the Americans. Again, Bancroft says:

"In America his popularity has declined less than in England..."

George Bancroft eventually became a member of President Polk's cabinet. When Mexico was causing trouble to the United States, President Polk had informed his cabinet that he believed it was his duty to send the war message to Congress. All except Bancroft, who thought that war should not be


declared until Mexico committed some definite act of hostility, agreed. He firmly believed that the Democrats represented the cause for which the Revolution had been fought. Byron had sided with the Democrats! Byron's fire for democracy had certainly planted itself strongly in Bancroft.

When Joseph G. Cogswell, teacher, editor, and librarian, went abroad to study in his younger days, he met Goethe. When Cogswell wrote of this visit to his friend Bancroft, he records that "Goethe said Lord Byron was the greatest and indeed the only living poet and you will readily imagine how much I was pleased to have my opinion confirmed by such authority."

Wendell Phillips, T. G. Appleton, and John Lothrop Motley were friends as boys. In their childhood they were much taken with Byron's heroes. On Saturday afternoons in the garret of Motley's house, the three friends, dressed in cloaks and doublets, had acted impromptu melodramas. Pretending that they were bandits and heroes of Byron, they spouted scraps of his poetry to one another. Wendell was later to join the abolition cause. Because he was true to his principles of democracy, he was black-balled at clubs and forsaken by friends.

101. O. W. Long, Literary Pioneers, p. 88
103. Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, p. 527
In 1831, when in his senior year at Harvard, Motley delivered at a college exhibition an essay on "The Genius and Character of Goethe." In the essay he speaks of Byron as being the "most splendid poet of modern times." In an account of Motley's studies in Germany, we read that in 1833, Motley affected, in accordance with the custom of many young Englishmen and Americans of that period, the Byronic cynicism and turned collar." Motley met and became friends with Bismarck at this time. Later on Bismarck stated of his young friend that he was an enthusiastic admirer of Shakespeare, Byron, and Goethe, and "used to spic his conversation abundantly with quotations from these, his favorite authors. From all these remarks we can deduce that Byron's influence stayed with John Lothrop Motley, historian and cosmopolitan, for a long time.

Another American, who seems to have been greatly influenced by Byron, was Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe. He was "one of the most ardent defenders of the Greek cause in America." Among other things, which had stirred Howe to throw himself into the Philhellenic movement in America, were the sentiments

104. O.W. Long, Literary Pioneers, p. 201
105. Ibid., p. 208
106. Ibid., p. 210
"aroused by the burning lyre of Byron." He arrived in Greece a few days after Byron's death (1824) to offer his services to the Hellenic cause. Grief-stricken that he would never see Byron, he stayed in Greece and worked as Surgeon-in-Chief to the Greek army for six years. When Howe returned home, he began his ambitious plans for the education of the blind in America. With him he had brought a helmet which Byron had worn in Greece. Mrs. Elliott, Dr. Howe's daughter, writes that her father had bought Lord Byron's helmet at a sale of the poet's possessions at Poros. She continues:

"We know also that tradition says that the treacherous Trelawny sold Byron's effects after his death." 109

It is plain that Dr. Howe's respect and admiration for Byron had been transmitted to his daughter.

In 1821 a young Bostonian admirer of Byron visited him in Ravenna. He told Byron that he had purchased in Rome a replica of Thorwaldsen's famous bust. "I confess," says Byron, "I was more flattered by this....than if they had decreed me a statue in the Paris Pantheon. I would not pay the price of a Thorwaldsen bust for any human head and shoulders except


109. M.H. Elliott, Lord Byron's Helmet, p. 23
except Napoleon's or my children's, or some absurd woman-kind's."

A certain Mr. Bruen of New York, representing the Metropolitan admirers of the poet, in 1822 asked Byron in behalf of the Academy of Fine Arts in New York, to sit for his portrait to the celebrated American artist, William Edward West, who was travelling in Italy at that time. The poet was very much flattered and consented, though he said he had "resolved to sit for no more such vanities." Perhaps we should point out that Byron's attitude toward and consideration of the Americans was a kindly one. West has left an "attractive record of the sittings." He states that La Guiccioli was there and that he was glad of her presence because the "playful manner" which Byron assumed towards her made him "a much better sitter."

In America, there were various incidents and situations which proved that people were more than a little aware of Byron. He received "flattering testimonials" from America and numerous editions of his works were being published.


111. J. Drinkwater, The Pilgrim of Eternity, p. 324


113. J. Drinkwater, The Pilgrim of Eternity, p. 324
Brook Farm, the Transcendental community, was a New England product of the intellectuals' method of escaping the new industrial order. Their minds were not entirely taken up with the thoughts of a new Utopia for we read:

"There were many merry dances every night, picnics on Cow Island or in the grove, boating parties on the Charles, close by, Shakespeare's readings, Elizabethan pageants, tableaux, charades, plays, and scenes from Byron's Corsair..." 114

All the works of the "twin giants of the day," Scott and Byron were reviewed, many dramatized and some parodied. Byron's popularity is evident from the fact that even the steamers traveling up and down the rivers were provided with romantic names taken from the most popular poetry of the day. The Corsair, Mazappa, Fedora, Ellen Douglas, and The Lady of the Lake were yours to sail on!

In 1836 Washington Irving contributed An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron to The Gift, a magazine for Christmas and New Year's presents. Irving began by saying he believed the reading world "had become possessed of nearly every scrap of poetry and romance ever written by Lord Byron." He says that Captain Medwin had told him that at one time Shelley, because he was unable to read Spanish, had given Lord Byron the Spanish drama, Embozado of Cordora, from which Byron had taken

115. P.H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 598
116. Ibid.
the idea for a dramatic poem. The poem was never written, so Irving gave the sketch of the plot to the public in the hope that some poet or dramatist of the Byron School might utilize it.

Besides the literary imitators, we have in America, those to whom Byron's personal characteristics appealed. We have treated this subject from a broad and general point of view in Chapter III. The examples given here will show that Byron's appeal was felt by all types of people. We have classified these admirers of Byron's personal characteristics as, the Byron-worshippers.

An extreme of this phase of Byronism meets us in the person of M'Donald Clarke who was "Byron-mad" to the extent that he imitated Byron's pose and dress. Indeed, the portrait of Clarke, by Peter Maverick, which appears on the first page of his Poems, seems to be indistinguishable from one of Byron—hair, collar, turn of head—all are Byronic! In the Introduction to his Poems, Clarke imitates the Byronic disdain:

"It has long been the fashion to abuse me—I don't expect much else among mortals....Posterity will put us in our proper places."119

117. W. Irving, An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron

118. See Poems of M'Donald Clarke, New York, 1836

119. Ibid., Introduction
In a poem of sixteen stanzas, Clarke tries to interpret the feelings of Byron after "he first beheld the sneer of Fame." In another poem addressed to Byron's daughter Ada, Clarke tries to imitate the Byronic expression of deep feeling:

"And he, whose burning blood now sweeps through that warm English heart, whose memory makes the pulse of mine, like an earthquake's spasm, start." 121

He speaks of Byron's fame:

"In America--the mighty--my own wild native land, I've seen his name carved on our trees, and sketched upon our sand, by plough-boys who would cock their caps, and look at, quite unawed, some peacock of a Lady, or puppy of a Lord." 122

Byron died when Harriet Beecher Stowe was twelve years old. After hearing of his death, she relates to Lady Byron in later years:

"I had been affected by the news of his death, giving up all my plays, and going off to a lonely hillside, where I spent the afternoon thinking of him." 123

The enthusiasm and fire of Byron's feeling had greatly impressed all the Beechers, who "felt the Calvinistic intensity in him." Harriet had thought The Corsair wonderful,
She had even "perpetrated" a sequel to Cain. Apparently Byron was a very romantic figure to the schoolgirls of the day, because each was sure "she would never have let Byron go." The estimable Lyman Beecher publically expressed his regret that the poet had not come under his own particular surveillance and "been led thereby to salvation."

Hugh Swinton Legare of South Carolina, jurist and scholar, who in 1840 had addressed an audience for two hours and a half in an effort to inspire prospective voters for the next election, returned from Edinburgh and told many anecdotes of the "dark sublime Lord Byron," whose fame, like Napoleon's, was associated with the Alps, and who, despite his immorality, "had impressed the imagination as no one else." The two essays Legare wrote on Byron were among the finest of their kind. These will be considered later.

Francis Parkman early showed the same restlessness of Byron. An avid reader, fascinated by Byron, Scott, and Cooper, he had crossed the plains on the Oregon Trail when it was dangerous to do so. He was impressed with Byron's wanderers and was always off in the woods or riding wild horses without

125. J. Nichol, Byron, p. 178
saddles or stirrups. His adventure stories were boyishly vigorous and frank.

The tributes in verse to the dead poet were almost innumerable. For example, Grenville Mellen's Ode to Byron is that of an ardent admirer:

"'Tis done, the pilgrimage is o'er,
And Harold sinks to rest." 130

McDonald Clarke, who idolized Byron, wrote:

"Poor Byron! When his soul was placed
In its fair frame of kindled clay,
With an Archangel's genius graced,
To hold o'er Time tremendous sway,
Had he not scorned Love's quiet hearth,
Had been throned the Poet of the earth!" 131

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

"Centuries will weep above his grave,
And Fame blush when she points his place,
For he was Luxury's helpless slave,
Toss'd like a corpse upon a wave,
And Nature sorrowed that she gave
His spirit to the human race." 132

In later years, while visiting Lord Byron's tomb,
"Joaquin" Miller was genuinely moved to write these lines:


130. Ode to Byron, st.1, 1:1-2

131. Lord Byron, st. vi

132. Lord Byron, st. xix
"In men whom men condemn as ill
I find so much of goodness still,
In men whom men pronounce divine
I find so much of sin and blot
I do not dare to draw a line
Between the two, where God has not."

He closes with:

"Secure in the eternal fame,
And blended pity and respect,
He does not feel the cold neglect,
And England does not feel the shame!"

A drama by F.H. Lea in 1936 might be classified as a tribute to the poet since the title of it is Byron's own motto, Crede Byron. It consists of two acts and has characters and scenes from Byron's life.

In a rather recent book, Literary Criticism in America, (1931) the author, Mr. DeMille, remarks in perspective under a section on the North American Review, that the opinions of the founders of the Review were marked by one set of attitudes, opinions, prejudices and judgments. The critics were very sure of themselves. According to them, there were exactly four great living English poets—Byron, Campbell, Wordsworth, and Scott—Byron is generally the favorite for first place.

It seems that Edwin Percy Whipple, more than any other man, "gave the critical pitch of the Review during the 40's."

He is given a place in the history of American literary

133. Byron, st. iii
134. Byron, st. xii
135. F.H. Lea, Crede Byron
136. G.E. DeMille, Literary Criticism in America, p. 22
criticism because with him criticism in America first became self-conscious. He appreciated all writers—from Byron to Sydney Smith—who were "mentally alive and wrote in a living style." He had the added advantage of seeing writers against a background. But even though earlier critics were unanimous in their opinions that "Byron was a great poet and a bad man," it was Byron the revolutionary to whom Whipple's "heart went out." Throughout his essays he emphasizes the personality of the poet and not the quality of his poetry.

Hugh Swinton Legare's essays on Byron appeared in the Southern Review after the two volumes by Moore (Life and Letters of Lord Byron), were reprinted in America. In Lord Byron's Character and Writings, he evaluates Byron:

"His greatest rival, however, was himself. We throw down his book dissatisfied. Every page reveals powers which might have done so much more for art--for glory--and for virtue!"

And yet, it had not been so long ago that Legare had thought of Byron as an "ideal being." It seems that Don Juan had broken the spell of enchantment. In Byron's Literary Opinions, Legare speaks of Byron's letters as "models of epistolary

137. G.E. DeMille, Literary Criticism in America, pp. 38-43
139. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 104
style," and although perhaps "not so exquisite as some," still well worth a perusal. On the whole, Legare's criticism is tempered with understanding. He says that throughout Byron's voluminous letters and compilations "we see nothing to make us think differently of his principles or his ruling passions—the things by which a man's conduct in life will, in the long run, be determined."

In 1848 Henry T. Tuckerman records that, "Three thousand copies of Byron's poems were sold annually in this country."

His essay is keenly penetrating and understanding:

"The poetry of Byron is the result of passion and reflection. He is not so much a creator as a painter, and his pictures are drawn from feeling and thought rather than nicety of observation."

Of the character of Byron's poetry, he speaks with great feeling and insight:

"The eloquent complaints of Byron have brought home to countless hearts a deeper conviction of the absolute need of truth and self-respect than any logical argument.....If a few shallow imitators are silly enough to turn down their collars and drink gin, there is another class who mentally exclaim as they read Byron—'What infinite longings are these, what sensibility to beauty, what capacities of suffering!'"

140. H.S. Legare, The Writings of Hugh Swinton Legare, vol. II, p. 412
141. Ibid., p. 448
142. H.T. Tuckerman, Thoughts on the Poets, p. 164
143. Ibid., p. 174
Margaret Fuller's opinion is far different from that of her contemporary Tuckerman. She talks of Byron's works and poems in this manner:

"Historically these poems are valuable as records of that strange malady, that sickness of the soul, which has, in our day cankered so visibly the rose of youth." 144

It was perhaps natural that the calm Transcendentalist should consign Byron's passionate and eloquent spirit to comparative obscurity. Miss Fuller wrote:

"As a poet, I believe posterity will assign him no obscure place, though he will probably be classed far beneath some who have exercised a less obvious or immediate influence on our own times." 145

In this analysis one senses contempt for Byron's restless spirit, contempt, perhaps because he was weak enough to express what he actually felt.

Mr. DeMille, whom we mentioned before in connection with the North American Review, speaks of Margaret Fuller "as a liberalizing force in American literary opinion...She goes out of her way to defend authors under the New England ban.....Byron, Shelley, Moore, all betes noires of contemporary moralists, she contrived to discuss with commendable detachment, praising and blaming on literary grounds alone." 146

144. S.M. Fuller, Literature and Art, vol. I, p. 76

145. Ibid., p. 78

146. G.E. De Mille, Literary Criticism in America, p. 129
Byron, who concerned himself mostly with ideas and not poetic nicety, was bound to be the loser here.

James Russell Lowell, who in 1857 founded the Atlantic Monthly as an organ of protest against the conservatism of the North American Review, wrote in the introduction to a volume of the poems of Keats:

"Wordsworth was the deepest thinker, Keats the most essentially a poet, and Byron the most keenly intellectual of the three." 147

We find that Edgar Allan Poe, in reviewing Horne's Orion, an epic poem, is rather noncommittal:

"Nor, if the passionate poems of Byron excite more intensely a greater number of readers than either Oerione or The Sensitive Plant, does this indisputable fact prove anything more than the majority of mankind are more susceptible to impulses of passion than to impressions of beauty." 148

Mrs. Stowe, who had been an admirer of Byron, is responsible for the marked change of feeling of the public toward Byron. Several years before the death of Lady Byron, Mrs. Stowe had made her acquaintance. They became friends. The death of Lady Byron in 1860 caused a renewed interest and avid discussion of the "Byron Mystery." The denunciations of Lady Byron, for having ruined her husband's life, aroused Mrs. Stowe's sympathy for her friend and she published her

147. G.E. De Mille, Literary Criticism in America, p. 57

148. E.A. Poe, Literary Criticism, p. 476
True Story of Lady Byron's Life in The Atlantic. In the introduction of the book she later published she explained her reasons for making the supposed disclosure:

"Because I considered it my duty to make it." 149

Despite his faults Byron had many loyal supporters in America, and hundreds of readers of The Atlantic, in which the article appeared, were very indignant about the publication. Though the incident almost wrecked the magazine, the editor, Howells, was rather happy because he felt that this incident had put an end to the glamour of Byron, and marked a turning point in the feeling of New England.

The attack by the public against Mrs. Stowe must have been rather severe, because in her book she says:

"My fellow-country men of America, men of the press, I have done you one act of justice,—of all your bitter articles, I have read not one." 150

She goes on:

"I was astonished and incredulous at what I heard of the course of the American press—-and was silent....from grief and shame." 151

Some thirty years later, J.W. Dawson discusses the distinctive features of Byron's poetry:

149. H.B. Stowe, History of the Byron Controversy, Introduction, p. i

150. Van Wyck Brooks, New England Indian Summer, p. 239

151. H.B. Stowe, History of the Byron Controversy, Introduction, p. i l i
"They are superb force and imaginative daring, a masculine strength of style, an intensity of conception and vigour of execution." 152

And Byron, the man:

"He was not a thinker, but he insensibly perceived and absorbed the new thought of his day, and gave it courageous expression." 153

However, the thought of Byron, endowed with such consciousness and feeling, as "insensibly" perceiving the thought of his day, sounds incongruous.

More and more, we find that time has mellowed the opinions of American critics as far as Byron is concerned. We find critics with understanding and sympathy trying to reconcile Byron, the man and Byron, the poet. But some go too far and submerge all of Byron's irregularities and perversities in a consideration of his poetry. Others satisfy themselves with a superficial second-hand analysis of his character.

The essays of two American critics, W.P. Trent and P.E. More, that appeared just before the turn of the century, treat Byron and his poetry from the point of view of a revival.

Professor William Trent wrote in his essay that Byron may come once more into favor "when anarchy ends among the critics." This seems to be a distant prospect when we


153. Ibid., p. 42

154. Trent, "The Byron Revival," The Authority of Criticism, p. 217
consider the diversified opinions of the American critics, and favorable opinions of Continental critics, and the usually unfavorable English criticism which labels Byron as a "tawdry pseudo-poet." Professor Trent believed that there would probably be no genuine revival of Byron for a long time because we have become too sophisticated in our tastes; we prefer the carefully worked out poem to the one "thrown off in white heat." Until something "stirs us up as a race, Byron is likely to be a favorite only with youths who are naturally passionate and with disillusioned men who can get pleasure out of satire. But Professor Trent thought that even though Byron's life in many ways was unworthy and low and his writings often impure, much extenuation could be found for his conduct and the impurity of his writings. He concluded:

"Nor should an age that admires brilliant achievements of all kinds long withhold its praise from that wonderfully passionate, strong, and sincere soul which, after uttering itself in the poetry of a tremendous epoch, gave itself up in the willing sacrifice to the cause of human freedom in the total marshes of Missolonghi." 157

P.E. More, editor, essayist and critic, commented in his essay about the simultaneous appearance of two sumptuous

156. Ibid., p. 215
157. Ibid., p. 236
editions of Byron from the presses of Messrs. Murray and Macmillan, that they must have had a puzzling effect on certain critics and readers of poetry. He attributed the effect to the fact that a great amount of material had been written about Wordsworth and Shelley, and that Byron, their "quondam rival," had been treated with such contemptuous silence, that "the disdainers of Byron had begun to feel that the ground was entirely their own. More cited an experiment by Franklin which had been undertaken to prove that form perception is remembered more clearly than color perception. Drawing upon such conclusions as had been reached, More stated:

"There are descriptions in Byron of gorgeous coloring, notably in certain stanzas of the Haidee episode; but even here the colors are sharply defined, and there is little of the blending, iridescent light of romance, ................. and in general, Byron dwells on form and action in his presentation of nature." 160

More believed that even though Byron lacked the dramatic art, the personal experiences of his vigorous life enabled him to "accomplish more than most others whose sympathies might be wider." Although Byron's range is not universal, he draws masterly pictures of hate, patriotism, honor, disdain, sarcasm, revenge, remorse, despair, awe and mockery. Byron


160. Ibid., 82:806
has a sense of communion with the outlying world and a genuine human interest, which distinguishes him from the pseudo-classical writers. "At bottom, Byron's sympathy is not with nature, but with man."

According to More, Byron ranks high in English literature. He has given him this place largely for the poet's power to express the great depths of human feeling common to most men. No excuse is made for the irregularities of his life; rather, we sense More's understanding for this man who lived so intensely and recorded so fully his tumultuous thoughts and experiences.

"I hardly know where in English literature, outside of Shakespeare, one is to find the great passions of men set forth so directly and powerfully as in Byron, and on this must rest his final claim to serious consideration."


162. Ibid., 82:807
Chapter V

An Evaluation of Byron's Appeal on American Thought and Literature
Chapter 1

AN EXTRACTION OF SIGNALS FROM NOISE

Introduction and Description
The appeal of Byron in America, lasting or temporary, is undeniable. Byron, who got his passionate temper from his aristocratic ancestors, his ideas from the French Revolution, and his satirical instrument from Pope, was the embodiment of the dissatisfaction of his times. He belonged to the generation that reached manhood near the end of the Napoleonic Wars, when the reaction following the revolutionary order of the last decade of the eighteenth century had set in, drawing into conservatism the first generation of romantic poets. Byron scorned these poets gone conservative and Tory. For him, there was no compromise—certainly not with the Congress of Vienna and its Tory principles. There seemed left to him only anti-social revolt, fierce because impotent. Disillusion, scorn and remorse blended in a pose behind and beneath which was the inevitable conflict between his own ideals and things as they are. He used his brilliant satire to defend the romantic position in a world of common sense, for all the armory of logic is powerless against it.

Thus it can be seen that Byron was a spirit in revolt. The American spirit, too, was in revolt before, during, and shortly after Byron's lifetime. The healthy restlessness of

the American masses made itself manifest in the breakdown and creation of religions, in the fight for status and in the westward expansion of the country. The seething intensity of American democracy of that age was a living challenge to old world conservatism. Young and idealistic America was eager to prove to doubting nations that republicanism and democracy were successful.

Americans in this frame of mind snatched up the derisive Byron's flaying criticism of the prostitution of ideals and principles. Childishly eager for a hero, and fascinated by his unusual and romantic qualities, they accepted his idealism and his love of liberty, enjoyed his roguish and cosmopolitan nature, and adored him sentimentally. Even though, or perhaps because, their pulpits rang with denunciations of his "licentious" and decadent character, immature and impressionable America imitated his pose, dress and manner.

It is not so difficult to understand why Byron, the sophisticated poet, was so popular in our unsophisticated society. Most Americans stayed at home in the early days. The romance and mystery of Byron's exotic poetry made rustic Americans dream of far-off lands. They were attracted by the force, sweep, and eloquence of much of his poetry. There were countless attempts at direct imitation of and even plagiarism of his works. Even the errors in Byron's technique were copied by would-be poets who were as yet ignorant of the fine art of poetry. His melancholia and saturnine romantic
qualities were most imitated. Most of these imitators used American scenes and American terminology. Therefore, though they poorly fulfilled their purpose, they were at least useful in formulating a groundwork in the evolution of a new national poetry of America. Because American society was healthy "at the core," Byron exerted no great social influence as he did on the Continent. As we have seen his appeal was personal and literary.

Some critics seem to have seen in the vogue of Byron no more than the spirit of the times and the silliness of mankind. The Byronic hero is now banished as a literary type, but not so Byron himself with his keen insight into human nature. There is in Byron the despair and defiance that are permanent possessions of the human mind. An anonymous critic says:

"Byron sowed the spirit of questioning and the courage of denial, deep in the hearts of men. .........He is our deputy rebel, and he has this advantage, that he speaks........with incomparable strength of utterance, as a man who had seen the kingdoms of the world and their glory." 3

Byron's verse has to its credit the fact that it at least began to weaken old convention and much of the old political and social order. Whether or not he sought or foresaw the real results, we at least know that he did his part in making them

2. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 110
4. T. Reid, American and English Studies, p. 189
possible.

Though Byron may be "less revolutionary than popularly supposed," his "acquired sympathy with democratic ideals, especially those in America, became a liberalizing force that can hardly be over-praised and should never be forgotten." In America, we overlook Byron's failings in the light of his achievements. Americans are more sympathetic than the English for the limitations of Byron because we do not forget his sympathy with our struggle for the rights of Englishmen, or his quick recognition of our foremost man. Americans will not too soon forget the tribute he paid Washington:

"Deep in the unpruned forest, 'midst the roar
Of cataracts, where nursing Nature smiled
On infant Washington? Has Earth no more
Such seeds within her breast, or Europe no such shore?"

and in the closing lines of his Ode to Napoleon Buonoparte:

"Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the Great:
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?
Yes--one--the first--the last--the best--
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,

5. W.E. Leonard, Byron and Byronism in America, p. 110
9. Childs Harold, C:IV, s:96, 1:6-9
Bequeath'd the name of Washington
To make man blush there was but one!"10

In the following splendid tribute to freedom, Byron displays "a perfect genius hardly equalled in a century:"

"The mountains look on Marathon--
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dreamed that Greece might still
be free. "11

This is Byron at his most sincere and sublime...and this is the way many Americans have chosen and choose to remember him.

Whether or not there will be a revival of Byron in America will depend upon the ability of men to realize that Byron recorded powerfully and truthfully the deepest and most passionate feelings of mankind.

10. Ode to Napoleon Buonoparte,
1:163-171

11. Isles of Greece
In the introductory chapter, a review is given of the history of the United States during the 1815-1860 years in order to establish a relation between the temper of the times in America and the spirit of Byron. It is pointed out that Byron's qualities were in accord with America's "era of good feelings" and her "age of the rise of the common man." The "era of good feelings," which followed the War of 1812, was marked by a restlessness the basis of which was bright hope and new spirit, not disillusion and defeat. Young America tried to justify herself in the eyes of the other nations and to prove herself worthy of her new victory. Inexperienced and prosaic, she longed for the applause of her worldly sisters.

On the heels of the 1820's came America's "age of the rise of the common man." Her new republicanism and democracy, which had been in the pioneering stage, proved successful. The common man had security and comfort such as he had not known for a long time. Americans were full of bounce and bluster, contemptuous of old world monarchies. Avid of praise, she resented criticism. The American character was balanced by the excess of its reverse. American life had a peculiar gusto which came from the fun of building, inventing, and creating in a land where there was room for all and equal opportunities for all. It was an exuberant, dynamic age,
and an impressionable one.

Chapter II is concerned with the mental, physical, moral, and environmental conditions that helped formulate the Byron character which is reflected in his work. Byron's hereditary background was one of wildness and irregularity. There was nothing in his upbringing that even suggested training in self-control. By nature an impressionable child, he became defiant and mocking in retaliation for his ill-disciplined mother's bad temper and unreasonable moods. Although Byron had ability, beauty and genius, he had a deformed foot, an uncurbed temper and an egotistic temperament.

From an early age, his thoughts were colored with discontent and bitterness about finances, social position and rank. Always sensitive of his lameness, he was more so about his relative poverty and was ever watchful for signs of affront to his rank and personality. A sublime egoist, he was, nevertheless, interested in others. Reared to place great emphasis upon rank, he was, therefore, responsive to the ideals of honorable and manly behavior befitting his station in life. The conflicting elements in his diversified character, therefore, make for his different personality.

The personal characteristics of Byron, that is, his qualities and ideals, which appealed to young America, are considered in Chapter III. The vogue of Byron in America is explained partly by his being in accord with the stormy
and restless spirit of the times, and partly by the willingness of the people of a sentimental era to imitate any extraordinary person. Lord Byron appealed to Americans because he was a leader, and had the added qualities of beauty, romance, and eccentricity. Stay-at-home Americans felt an attraction for the glamour, mystery, and daring of Byron's heroes and of Byron himself. Byron's "grand, eloquent ethical note" delighted idealistic Americans. The splendid force and passion of much of his poetry expressed for America what she felt but could not say.

Americans saw in Byron a poet of freedom. He had dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the cause of Greek liberty, a cause which American orators and statesmen championed, too. For this, Byron earned himself a lasting reputation in America.

Chapter IV is concerned with Byron as the widespread inspiration of Americans. Much attention is paid to the literary appeal of Byron. Although some of our poets "deplore the morbid influence of Byron," much in American poetry was modelled on his style. Many parallels of Byronism in America are given. These are of various Byronic themes,—Greek freedom, satire, nature, passion, and melancholia. It is pointed out that these prolific imitators pilfered freely from every known work of Byron. A great many of these "would-be" poets made use of American scenes and characters.

Many outstanding Americans visited Europe and met Byron personally. Among these were George Ticknor, George Bancroft,
and Edward Everett. The apparent influence that Byron exerted upon these men is discussed. The influence of Byron upon other notable men, such as Samuel Gridley Howe, is also discussed. A few of the Byron-worshippers, those to whom the poet's personal characteristics appealed, are treated to show the various types of people whom Byron affected in one way or another.

Several of Byron's American critics are discussed, and an example is given of their criticism. It is interesting to note how later critics are inclined to submerge Byron's irregularities and irreligion in a consideration of his poetry. The latest critical essays commented upon appeared just before the turn of the century. They appear to be careful, thorough analyses, and are marked by obvious sympathy for and understanding of the poet and the man.

Chapter V is an evaluation of Byron's appeal on American thought and literature. It is pointed out that whereas Byron exerted a great social and political influence on the Continent, his effect was not so far-reaching in America. This is explained by America's healthy and hopeful society in contrast to the disillusioned and defeated peoples on the Continent. It is pointed out that America looked upon Byron as a hero, and was fascinated by his unusual and romantic qualities. Unsophisticated Americans were thrilled by Byron's poems of love and adventure. "Would-be" Byrons imitated and plagiarized all of Byron's works.
It is stated that Americans are inclined to overlook Byron's failings in the light of his achievements. Byron is remembered as the poet of Freedom and several of his tributes of our Washington are cited.
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