THE INFLUENCE OF SCOTT ON BYRON.

-- By --

JAMES THOMAS HULME, B.A. (Man. 1926).



Being a Thesis submitted to the Department of
English of the University of Manitoba, in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA.
April, 1928.

CONTENTS.

											•							Pages.
Introduc	tion	•	• •	• •	•	• •	•	•	•	• •	• •	•	•	•	•	•	•	1
Chapter	I.		In	flue	nce	of	Sc	ott	¹ s	Per	. 60 87	na]	Lit	у				
			on	Вуг	on	• •	•	• •	•	• •	• •	•	•	•	•	•	•	3
Chapter	II.		In	flue	nce	of	Sc	ott	¹ s	Soc	ial	L	Att	it	ud	e	•	12
Chapter	III.		In	flue	nce	of	Sc	ott	18	Poe	etr	y -	•.	•	•	•	•	22
Chapter	IV.		In	flue	nce	of	Sc	ott	¹ s	Pro	se	•	•	•	•	•	•	36
Chapter	٧.		In	flue	nce	of	Sc	ott	1 S	Fan	16	•	•	•	•	•	•	46
Conclusi	ion •	•	• •		•		•		•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	57
Bibliogs	caphy	_							•								• *	59

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT ON BYRON.

INTRODUCTION.

"And like the 'ARIOSTO OF THE NORTH'
Sang lady-love and war, romance and knightly worth."
Childe Harold, Canto IV, St.XL.

The most powerful effect of one mind on another is the internal compulsion to action arising from personal conviction that the character viewed is worthy of emulation; and that the other's course of action merits imitation. This influence is mostly of the unconscious variety, and depends on the training of the one, influenced, for its effect. It is hard to tell whence it comes, and whither it goes; and to attempt to measure it seems like trying to measure the immaterial with the material; the infinite with the finite; for to <u>Influence</u> there is no limit. This, Tennyson expresses in his song, <u>The Splendour Falls</u>:

"Our echoes roll from soul to soul,

And grow for ever, and for ever." (The Princess, IV)

Our humanity has very narrow limitations, and it is with the knowledge of how often human power is incommensurate with Will that the writer approaches his subject.

Our sources of information must be the Letters,

Journals, and Detached Thoughts in connection with Byron's poetry, as these express Byron's mind; also the references in the <u>Eife of Sir</u>

Walter Scott, by Lockhart, to Scott's association with Byron in 1815.

Unfortunately, the <u>Memoirs</u>, written by Byron on this most important period, were for obvious reasons destroyed by the Byrons, for which

Moore, to whom they were entrusted for publication, was much to blame. Therefore, in this most important part of our subject, our internal evidence is lacking, except, in a few letters, that Byron wrote; for Byron trusted to his Memoirs being published.

The writer will endeavour to show that Byron was so influenced by the romantic spirit, the genius, and kindliness of Scott that he gave him the highest title his genius could conceive,—
The Ariosto of the North.

Chapter I.

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT'S PERSONALITY.

To have a beneficial influence, personality must appeal to some bond of sympathy. Byron, though born at London on Jan. 22, 1788, was reared in Aberdeen until he was ten years of age, and thus acquired a love of Scottish scenery. His mother, Catherine Gordon, was a descendent of the Earl of Huntley, and Lady Stewart, daughter of James VI of Scotland, afterwards James I of England; thus, Byron prided himself on his Scottish royal descent. On the other hand, Scott was thorough Scotch on both sides of the house, and was a direct descendent of Walter Scott of Harden, who married Mary Scott, the "Flower of Yarrow," and from the Lord of Branksome; thus both had a bond of pride in their lineage, and in their love of Scottish history and scenery.

This bond of sympathy was increased by similar physical deformity and a similar love of sport. Scott, in fnfancy, had a teething fever which paralyzed, then stunted, the growth of his right leg. Byron, through infantile paralysis, had contraction of the back sinews in both feet, though only the right foot was very noticeable. Both had a passion for sport and excelled in many games; in cricket, another boy would do the running. Byron's greatest boast was that he had swum the Hellespont; "It was a title to his love that a boy was like himself lame."

Scott was 16 years and 8 months the senior of

Byron; just enough seniority to be regarded as a model and not too

old to be out of touch with younger life. Byron was seven years old,

^{1.} Byron, 1824-1924. Lecture by H. W. Garrod ..

when Scott wrote Lenore, and fourteen years old when Scott issued his Minstrelsy of the Border in 1802. Byron was then at Harrow public school preparing for Cambridge, and we may assume that, interested as he was in poetry, he read the poems concerning the romance of the land of his youth. At the age of 19, this romantic poetry would appeal to him, and when two years later this romanticism took a more definite story form in the new irregular ballad metre, it might safely be assumed that the writer of Hours of Idleness, two years later, would be interested in this new poetry that took such a hold of English society.

Then followed the criticism of Hours of Idleness in the Edinburgh Review, and Lord Byron's angry retort in English

Bards and Scotch Reviewers. In this satire, Byron attacks Scott and Wordsworth particularly, and without cause. Neither had attacked him, and Wordsworth in speaking of the reviewers said: "They put me out of patience. Here is a young man who has written a volume of poetry; and these fellows just because he is a lord set upon him.

The young man will do something, if he goes on as he has begun, but these reviewers seem to think that nobody may write poetry unless he lives in a garret." Later Byron went to a dinner where

Wordsworth was and he said he had but one feeling from the beginning of the visit to the end,- Reverence. Byron had made a mistake, and he tried to remedy it by stopping the printing of any further edition of the poem. He later apologized to Sir Walter Scott in the following letter written five years later:

"I have just been honoured with your letter - I

^{1.} Byron, by Brecknock - p.60.

feel sorry that you should have thought it worth while to notice the evil works of my nonage as the thing is suppressed voluntarily and your explanation is too kind not to give me pain. The Satire was written, when I was very young, and very angry, and bent on displaying my wrath and my wit and now I am haunted by the ghosts of my wholesale assertions." Also "Like Ishmael my hand was against all men and all men anent me; "2 and "I have already done all in my power by the suppression of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."

The kindly spirit and magnanimity of Scott and Wordsworth served to temper somewhat the Ishmaelitish spirit of Byron, and throughout his later life he had a kindly feeling for Scott and for Wordsworth, whom he had abused.

It is true that Walter Scott was piqued, when he first read the satire at Buchanan. In a letter to Southey written in August 1809 he says: "If I were once in possession of my reversionary income, I would do nothing, but what I pleased, which might be another phrase for doing very little. I was always an admirer of the modest wish of a retainer in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays:

*I would not be a serving man to carry the cloak bag still,

Nor would I be a falconer the greedy hawks to fill,

But I would be a good house and have a good master too

For I would eat and drink of the best and no work would I do. In the meantime, it is funny enough to see a whelp of a young Lord Byron abusing me, of whose circumstances he knows nothing, for endeavoring to scratch out a living with my pen. God help the bear, if having little else to eat, he must not even suck his own paws. I

^{1.} Letter 241, July 6, 1812, in Vol. II of Letters, p.131.

^{2.} Vol. II, p.330 - Letter 409.

can assure the noble imp of fame, it is not my fault, that I was not born in a park and £5000 a year, as it is not his Lordship's merit, although it may be his great good fortune, that he was not born to live by his literary talents or success. In fact, it was the only attack that seemed to have caused Scott any irritation, and it seems to have rankled in his mind until Byron's return to England, and the publication of Childe Harold I and II in 1812.

In a letter to Joanna Baillie on Childe Harold

I and II Scott says: "It is I think a very clever poem, but gives
no good symptom of the writer's heart or morals. Although there is
a caution against it in the preface, you cannot for your soul
avoid concluding that the author, as he gives an account of his own
travels, is also doing so in his own character. Now really this is
too bad, vice ought to be a little more modest, and it must require
impudence at least equal to the noble Lord's other powers to claim
sympathy chiefly for the ennui arising from his being tired of his
wanderings and paramours. Yet, with all this conceit and assurance,
there is much poetical merit in the book and I wish you could read
it." A month later, May 12, 1812, he wrote in a similar strain to
Morritt, but concludes thus: "This is upon the whole a piece of
most extraordinary power and may rank its author with our first
poets." 3

Scott needed not the voice of public approval of Byron's CHILDE HAROLD to rank Byron as a great poet. He himself did not quarrel with the general verdict of superiority. On the contrary, he frankly avowed Byron's superiority in poetical genius.

^{1.} Life of Sir Walter Scott, by J.G.Lockhart, Condensed ed. of 1848, Vol. I, p.192.

^{2.} Life of Sir Walter Scott, by J.G.Lockhart, Abridged 2 Vol. ed., 1848, p.211.

^{3.} Ibid. p.212.

Later, after the publication of the <u>Giaour</u>, he said to Ballantyne,

"James! Byron hits the mark where I don't even pretend to fledge

my arrow."

He felt that Byron had beaten him in his own field and

he turned to prose. The gradual decline of popularity in acceptance

of <u>Lord of the Isles</u>, <u>Rokeby</u> and <u>Bride of Triermain</u> confirmed him

in his conviction, and after <u>Harold the Dauntless</u> in 1817, he left

the field of poetry to his rival.²

admit or at least show any jealousy. Byron with equal modesty avowed his opinion of Scott's preeminence, and notwithstanding the popularity of his own poems declared that the day would come when the public would return to its first love. He had sent Scott the copy of the Giaour above referred to with an inscription on the fly leaf that it was "an offering to the Monarch of Parnassus from one of his subjects", the reference to which gave rise to the above-mentioned expression of Byron's superiority.

had just been brought about. Shortly after Byron's return to England, the publication of Childe Harold and Byron's famous speech in the House of Lords Feb. 27, 1812, "Mr. Murray the publisher of the Romaunt on hearing on the 29th of June, Lord Byron's account of his introduction to His Royal Highness conceived that by communicating it to Scott he might afford the opportunity of such a personal explanation between the two poetical friends as should obliterate whatever painful feelings had survived the allusions to Marmion in English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, and this good step had the desired consequences. Scott felt, as the senior and the offended

^{1.} Life of Sir Walter Scott, By J. G. Lockhart, Abridged 2 Vol. ed., 1848. p.250.

^{2.} See Introduction to 1830 Edition of Rokeby for Scott's statement of Byron's superiority.

^{3.} Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, p.212.

party, that he should take the initiative and wrote his first letter to Byron. He said, - "The poem my Lord was not written upon contract for a sum of money - though it is too true that it was sold and published in a very unfinished state(which I have since regretted) to enable me to extricate myself from some engagements, which suddenly fell upon me by the unexpected misfortunes of a very near relation As for my attachment to literature, I sacrificed for the pleasures of pursuing it very fair chances of opulence and professional honours, at a time of life when I fully knew their value, and I am not ashamed to say that in deriving advantages in compensation from the partial favour of the public I have added some comforts and elegancies to a bare independence. I am sure your Lordship's good sense will easily put this unimportant egotism to the right account for - though I do not know the motive would make me enter this controversy with a fair or an unfair literary critic -I may be well excused for a wish to clear my personal character from any tinge of mercenary or sordid feeling in the eyes of a contemporary genius. etc."1

July 6, lamenting "the evil works of his nonage," already quoted with reference to his satire. In which letter, also, he gives an account of his conversation with the Regent as follows: "He talked to me of your immortalities, he preferred you to every Bard, past and present, and asked which of your works pleased me most. It was a difficult question. I answered, I thought the 'Lay.' He said his own opinion was nearly similar. In speaking of the others, I told

^{1.} Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, p.212.

they never appeared more fascinating than in Marmion and the Lady of the Lake. He was pleased to coincide, and to dwell on the description of your Jameses as no less royal than poetical. He spoke alternately of Homer and yourself, and seemed well acquainted with both. I defy Murray to have exaggerated his Royal Highness's opinion of your powers." etc.

Scott immediately rejoined(July 16) in terms of frank kindness inviting Byron to visit him at Abbotsford where he had now established himself. He says: "I am living in a gardener's hut, and although the adjacent ruins of Melrose have little to tempt one, who has seen those of Athens yet, should you take a tour which is so fashionable at this season, I should be very happy to have an opportunity of introducing you to anything remarkable in my fatherland."²

The correspondence and friendship, thus begun, continued throughout the following twelve years of the life of Byron. It is true that, morally, their lives were so diametrically opposite, they could never be bosom friends; still there was always loving respect, almost reverence, on the part of Byron, and kindly loving sympathy on the part of Scott for the moral weakness of his contemporary genius. Scott seemed to regard Byron as two personalities, and while he hated the immoral personality of Byron in society, he loved his personality in his purer poetry.

As yet the poets had not met, but in March 1815
Scott paid a visit to London, and for two months they met almost
daily in Mr. Murray's drawing room, and found a great deal to say to
each other that no doubt influenced very considerably each other's

^{1. &}quot;Life of Sir Walter Scott, by Lockhart (Abridged Vol. 1, p.213)

^{2.} Ibid.

character. Scott says to Moore: "I had the advantage of a considerable intimacy with that distinguished individual. Our sentiments agreed a good deal except upon the subjects of religion and politics, upon neither of which I was inclined to believe that Lord Byron entertained very fixed opinions. I remember saying to him that I really thought that if he lived a few years, he would alter his sentiments. He answered rather sharply - 'I suppose you are one of those, who prophesy I shall turn Methodist. - I replied - "No, I don't expect your conversion to be of such an ordinary kind. I would rather look to see you retreat upon the Catholic faith and distinguish yourself by the austerity of your penances. He smiled gravely and seemed to allow I might be right. On politics he used sometimes to express a high strain of what is now called Liberalism, but it appeared to me that the pleasure it afforded him as a vehicle of displaying his wit and satire against individuals in office was at the bottom of this habit of thinking rather than any real conviction of the political principles on which he talked. He was certainly proud of his rank and ancient family and in that respect was as much an aristocrat as was consistent with good sense and good breeding. #1 Further, in his recollections, Scott says: "Byron's reading did not appear to me to have been very extensive either in poetry or history I was sometimes able to put under his eye objects, which had for him the interests of nevelty. I remember particularly repeating to him the fine poem of Hardycanute, an imitation of the old Scotch Ballad with which he was so much affected that someone, who was in the same apartment, asked me what I could possibly have been telling Byron, by which he was so much agitated. Like the old heroes in

^{1.} Letters and Journals, Vol. III, p.412.

Homer, we exchanged gifts. I gave Byron a beautiful dagger mounted with gold which had been the property of the redoubted Elfi Bays. But I was to play the part of Diomed in the Iliad for Byron sent me some time after a large sepulchral vase of silver. It was full of dead men's bones and had inscriptions on two sides of the urn.......

There was a letter with the vase more valuable to me than the gift itself from the kindness with which the donor expressed himself towards me. I left it naturally in the urn with the bones, but it is now missing. As the theft was not of a nature to be practised by a domestic, I am compelled to suspect the inhospitality of some individual of higher station most gratuitously exercised since after what I have said no one will probably choose to boast of possessing this literary curiosity." The rest of the extract shows very intimate relations, and should be read in full.

on Sept. 14, 1815, Scott had his last meeting with Byron. He took his young friend Gala to call on Lord Byron, who agreed to dine with them at their hotel. There he met Charles Mathews and Daniel Terry. Gala has recorded it in his notebook as the most interesting day he ever spent. "How I did stare," he says, "at Byron's beautiful pale face, like a Spirit - good or evil. But he was bitter - what a contrast to Scott!" etc. They parted then for ever but their further correspondence shows the influence that Scott's friendship had on Byron's life.

^{1.} Life of Sir Walter Scott, by Lockhart. Vol. II, p.253.

^{2.} Ibid. p.476.

Chapter II.

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT'S SOCIAL ATTITUDE.

We have seen how the kindliness and magnanimity of Scott tempered the cynicism of Byron and how the personal contact of Scott with Byron produced in Byron a deep personal regard for Scott's high moral character that could not fail to have its effect on Byron's life. During his four years' stay in England, there seemed to be a marked improvement in his moral life, and had it not been for the disastrous separation with its accompanying scandal, Hord Byron might have developed under good influences into an eminent and honoured moral personage. Scott's genial treatment of everyone seemed to have a great effect for good on Byron.

They were both on common ground in pride of lineage, and love of ancestral homes. Scott's pride was in Abbotsford, and in being its laird; he liked the people to think that the money came from land rather than from his writings; while Byron's boast was in Newstead Abbey and his title. Byron professed to scorn poetry, and scornfully gave away the first money that he received for his writings. In the following letter to Thos. Moore, dated Feb. 17, 1814, Byron says: "Whenever I avail myself of any profit arising from my pen depend upon it, it is not for my own convenience, at least it never has been so, and I hope never will. I have never yet received a farthing for anything. Mr. Murray offered me a thousand guineas for the Giacur and the Bride of Abydos, which I said was too much, and that, if he could afford it at the end of six months, I would then direct how it might be disposed of, but neither then or at any other period have I ever availed myself of

the profits on my own account. For the republication of the Satire, I refused 400 guineas; and for the previous editions I never asked or received a sous nor for any writing whatever." In another letter he scorns an offer of pounds instead of fashionable guineas. Would it not have been better to have accepted pay and to have preserved Newstead Abbey?

No wonder that Scott, with an almost similar pride, for eight years concealed his authorship of the Waverley Novels. Scott had no free gift of park, ancestral home, and £5000 pounds a year; but he had to found a home, maintain it, and in addition meet a liability of £120,000 and interest all by the profits of his pen. No other writer has ever accomplished so gigantic a task, and his pride would not permit him to allow anyone else to assist him. He faced alone the burden that society had imposed on him; not with the rebellious Byronic spirit; but with the calm determined resignation that characterized Scott.

Byron, on the other hand, did not bear his troubles quietly. In fact Scott compared him to a peacock parted from the hen and lifting up his voice to tell the world about it, which simile is a good criticism on the noble bard's whole life. Byron when ostracized by society rebelled, and his hand seemed to be almost against every man, except a few literary friends such as Scott and Moore. He seemed to affect a kind of diabolism, and used persistent efforts to blacken his own character, and shock his friends. In his calmer moments, he writes: "Upon what grounds the public formed their opinions I was not aware, but it was general and it was decisive. Of me and of mine they knew little except that

^{1.} Letter 412, Vol. III, p.42.

I had written poetry, was a nobleman, had married, became a father, and was involved in difficulties with my wife and relations. No one knew why, because the persons complaining refused to state their grievances. My name, which had been a knightly or a noble one since my father helped to conquer the kingdom for William the Norman, was tainted. I felt that if what was whispered and muttered was true I was unfit for England, if false, England was unfit for me so I withdrew." Though Byron sympathized with Scott in his financial embarrassment and admired the way in which he struggled with his adversity, it is not recorded that he learned to accept his trouble with society with like fortitude; but how far can we measure the spirit of influence or the power of example: Time may just as easily be credited with the calming of his spirit.

The foregoing respective conflicts with society did not appear to have much bearing on each other, yet out of these arose the literature that has made each author famous. Scott sent out <u>Waverley</u>, <u>Guy Mannering</u>, and <u>Antiquary</u> in quick succession while Byron put out his Canto III of <u>Childe Harold</u>, <u>Prisoner of Chillon</u> and <u>The Dream</u>. An artifle was written by Scott anonymously in the <u>Quarterly Review</u> in praise of Byron's poems, and this article was acknowledged by Byron in the following letter: "The temptations to take another and less favorable view of the question have been so great and numerous that what with public opinion, politics, etc., he must be a gallant as well as a good man who has ventured in that place and in this time to write such an article even anonymously. Such things, however, are their own reward and I even flatter myself that the writer, whoever he may be(and I have

^{1.} Byron, the Last Phase, p.316.

no guess) will not regret that the perusal of this has given me as much gratification as any composition of that nature could give and more than any other has ever given - and I have had a good many in my time of one kind or the other. It is not the mere praise, but there is a tact and a delicacy throughout not only with regard to me, but to others which as it had not been observed elsewhere I had still now doubted whether it could have been observed anywhere. Perhaps, some day or other, you will know or tell me the writer's name. Be assured had the article been a harsh one, I should not have asked it."

has sent me the Quarterly Review and the Edinburgh. When I tell you that Walter Scott is the writer of the article in the former, you will agree with me that such an article is still more honorable to him than to myself."²

Again, in a letter to John Murray, he writes:
"Tell me Walter Scott is better. I would not have him ill for the world. I suppose it was by sympathy, that I had my fever at the same time."3

To one who understands Byron's ostracism by aristocratic society, and who realizes the danger, that Scott incurred of losing social prestige, by defending this outcast of the social set, the noble and magnanimous character of Scott is shown in all its unselfishness and grandeur. All the letters show clearly the influence of the altruistic spirit of Scott on Byron. Who can say it had not an influence for good and produced good in

^{1. 1817} March 3 Letter 632 to John Murray, Vol. IV, p.63.

^{2.} Letter 635, Vol. IV.

^{3.} Letter 641, Vol. IV.

the life of the man, who had helped to outcast himself from society?

He could see that Scott at least understood him, could admire the good in him and lament the evil in his weakness.

Again in a letter to J. D'Israeli he writes with reference to the article in the Quarterly: "It was written at a time when a selfish man would not and a timid man dared not have said a word in favour of either; it was written by one to whom temporary public opinion had elevated me to the rank of a rival - a proud distinction unmerited, but which has not prevented me from feeling as a friend, nor him from more than corresponding to that sentiment. The article in question was written upon the Third Canto of Childe Harold, and after many observations which it would as ill become me to repeat as to forget concluded with a hope that I might yet return to England. How this expression was received in England itself I am not acquainted, but it gave great offence at Rome to the respectable ten or twenty thousand English travellers then and there assembled."

No one was more pleased than Byron when on April 1st, 1820, Scott's knighthood was published in the <u>Gazette</u>. He writes to John Murray: "My love to Scott, I shall think higher of knighthood ever after his being dubbed. By the way he is the first poet titled for his talent in Britain; it has happened abroad before now, but on the continent titles are universal and worthless. Why don't you send me <u>Ivanhoe</u> and the <u>Monastery</u>? I have never written to Sir Walter(Probably meant since leaving England) for I know he has a thousand things and I have a thousand nothings to do, but I hope to see him at Abbotsford before very long and I will

^{1. 1820,} Mar. 15. Byron's reply to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in letter to J. D'Israeli, Vol. IV, p.480.

sweat his claret for him though my Italian abstemiousness has made my brain but a shilpit concern for a Scotch sitting I love Scott and Moore and all the better brethren, but I hate and abhor that puddle of water-worms whom you have taken into your troop, in the history line I see."

This new bond of nobility did not draw the two poets together on politics, for it made Sir Walter Scott more aristocratic, while Byron, though aristocratic in sentiment, was becoming more democratic in opinion. Though Scott could write with heartfelt sympathy of the poor people like Effic and Jeanie Deans, and of Old Mortality just as though he were a Covenanter, his interest was in the aristocracy and in being Laird of Abbotsford. Moreover, he was a member of the Church of England. Byron, on the other hand, was a Lord and with the Lords yet not, in heart, of them. Though, no one was more proud of his lineage than Byron; yet his heart was really democratic, and he was not bound by any form of religion.

Byron later said of Scott "Of his politics, I have nothing to do."

It is interesting to note their relation to democratic movements. Scott with his study of law and his life-delight in the history of the past, adorning the past with the romance of the present, stood closely for precedent, while Byron with his excessive individualism rebelled against precedent. His sympathies were ever with the oppressed. In his Speech to the House of Lords, Feb. 12, 1812, in defence of the rioters or Luddites who had destroyed the stocking frames and which crime was a capital offence, he spoke as follows on the "Frame Work Bill": "You call

^{1. 1820,} Ap. 23, Letter 794, Vol. V, p.17.

^{2. 1823,} May 29, Letter 1089 to Henri Boyle (Stendhal) Vol. VI, p.220.

these men a mob. desperate, dangerous, and ignorant and seem to think the only way to quiet them is to lop off a few of the superfluous heads. But even a mob may better be reduced to reason by a mixture of reconciliation and firmness, than by additional irritation and redoubled penalties. Are we aware of our obligation to a mob? It is the mob that labour in your fields and serve in your houses, that man your navy and recruit your army, that have enabled you to defy the world and can also defy you, when neglect and calamity have driven them to despair. You may call the people a mob, but do not forget that mob too often speaks the sentiments of the people." He said he had been in Turkey, but never once had he seen under the most despotic of Infidels such squalid wretchedness as in the heart of this Christian country. He goes on further to say: "Suppose this man, and there are ten thousand such from whom you may select your victims, dragged into court to be tried for this new offence by this new law: still there are two things wanting to convict and condemn him and these are - twelve butchers for a Jury and Jeffreys for a Judge." We can fancy the noble Lord's amazement and indignation. Here was a champion for the common people, who is known to have been prouder of his pedigree than of his poetry.

Nineteen years later, we find Scott, who was always at home with humble people, and, who knew the very soul of the class in which he was born, the kindly genial charitable Laird of Abbotsford voting against the Second Reform Bill when the Lords rejected it in 1831; but because he really thought it was in the interests of all the people. He thought that the people by their excesses, even massacreing Lord William Graham the Tory candidate

^{1.} Letters and Journals of Byron, ed. by R. E. Prothero, Vol. II, appendix pp.424-30.

for Dumbartonshire, showed they should not be trusted with too much power in the government. Had they not gone to excess, Scott might have gone in favour of the Bill even against his party. He closed his last speech to the people with the words Moriturus vos Salute, which was certainly metaphorically and literally true.

each other in politics; yet one in democratic spirit, as we shall see in a view of their writings. Both, though literary men, were practical men of the world. Byron says in his Detached Thoughts:
"In general I do not draw well with literary men, not that I dislike them; but I never know what to say to them after I have praised their last publication. There are several exceptions to be sure; but they have either been men of the world such as Scott and Moore, etc., or visionaries out of it such as Shelley, etc.; but your literary every day man and I never went well in company especially your foreigner, whom I never could abide."

strain to John Murray as follows: "Some weeks ago I wrote to you my acknowledgments of W(alter) S(cott)'s article. Now, I know it to be his, it cannot add to my good opinion of him, but it adds to that of myself. He, and Gifford and Moore are the only regulars I ever knew who had nothing of the Garrison about their manner; no nonsense or affectation: look you! As for the rest when I have known there was always more or less of the author about them - the pen peeping from behind the ear and the thumbs a little inky or so."²

It was only the great poets, as Scott, Moore, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley who appreciated Byron - the mass

^{1. 1821-22} Thoughts 53, Vol. V, p.435.

^{2. 1817,} Mar. 25, Letter 639, Vol. IV, p.85.

of literary men attacked him as hounds from leash attack a noble quarry. No wonder this man of Ishmaelitish spirit did not at first trouble to distinguish friends from foes. At the first malicious criticism he turned like a stag at bay against them all. It is doubtful that a high spirited combative, morose, and cynical nature would have been tempered by time; but for the kind, sympathetic treatment of Scott, Moore, and Wordsworth. In another letter to John Murray, Byron writes: "You have received my letter(open) through Mr. Kennard, and so pray send me no more reviews of any kind. I will read no more of evil or good in that line. Walter Scott has not read a review of himself for thirteen years."

Thus we see the influence of Scott, in 1817; he had uplifted the spirit of Byron to a better opinion of himself which would increase his self respect; and the example of Scott not only influenced him to read no more reviews of his works; but lifted him above the carping criticism of the time. Scott's attitude to society tempered the cynicism of Byron, and imbued in him a kindlier spirit. If he had any ideal, it was Scott; if he had any companion, it was Scott in his works; if there was anyone he unconsciously copied, it was Scott. No wonder he wrote the following letter to Henri Boyle in defence of Walter Scott: "There is one part of your observation in the pamphlet which I shall venture to remark upon; it regards Walter Scott. You say that 'his character is little worthy of enthusiasm,' at the same time you mention his productions in the manner they deserve. I have known Walter Scott long and well, and in occasional situations, which call forth the real character - and I can assure you that his

^{1. 1821,} Nov. 3, Letter 954, Vol. V, p.472.

character is worthy of admiration - that of all men he is the most open, the most honourable, the most amiable. With his politics, I have nothing to do; they differ from mine, which renders it difficult for me to speak of them. But he is perfectly sincere in them, and sincerity may be humble, but she cannot be servile. I pray you, therefore, to correct or soften that passage. You may attribute this officiousness of mine to a false affectation of candour, as I happen to be a writer also. Attribute it to what motive you please, but believe the truth. I say that Walter Scott is as nearly a thorough good man as man can be, because I know it by experience to be the case."

We have seen the gradual increasing friendship of the two poets, the initiative being on the part of the senior and injured party, the influence of Scott's personality in the close contact with Byron throughout the London visit, and the effect of Scott's attitude to others as tending to temper the acerbity, so natural to Byron's cynical disposition. Many more illustrations could be given, and there is no doubt that had not his Memoirs to the end of 1816 been destroyed, we should have a great many specific illustrations of the deeper feelings of the heart, that would disclose to us the influence that Walter Scott had in the uplifting of Byron's character. For the further effect on Byron's life and works, we must turn to the view of the poetry of Sir Walter Scott.

^{1. 1823,} May 29. Letter 1089, Vol. VI, p.220.

Chapter III.

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT'S POETRY.

"Ladies and Knights and Arms and Love's fair flame
Deeds of emprise and courtesy I sing." - Walter Scott.

"The verse-romance of Scott is a great achievement, and a delightful possession; it has had extraordinary influence on English literature from the work of Byron, which it directly produced, and which pretty certainly never would have been produced without it, to that of Mr. William Morris, which may not impossibly be its last echo."2

Many such critics and historians have discussed the charms of Scott's verse and the characteristics of his style. The charms appear to be in the simplicity of his diction, in his vigorous movement, in the clearness of his conception and description, in his sympathy with nature and in the melody of his verse. In his style he aimed at clearness and interest. He had a story to tell in verse, and he told it in a simple and striking manner. He had little psychological interest, philosophy or metaphysics. He dealt with exteriors and rarely reached the heart of man. Thus, his poetry lacks the deeply imaginative and suggestive qualities, which make a poem an enduring work. We read it for its vivid pictures, its heroic characters, and its interesting story rather than for its poetic excellence.

Probably no person was so interested in or read so much of Scott's works as Byron. The <u>Lay</u> was the first long

^{1.} Fragment from Ariosto (Orlando Furioso) tr. by Sir Walter Scott.

^{2.} Famous Scots, by G. Saintsbury, Sir Walter Scott, p.151.

story in verse since Milton's Samson Agonistes in 1671, and it bpened out an avenue of adventure for Byron. No person was more unconsciously influenced by The Minstrelsy of the Border than Byron; although he repeatedly denies it himself. He at times spoke rather disparagingly of the metre and variety of verse, that Scott used, and that he himself copied so much. He thought that to copy Scott meant simply copying the verse-form or octosyllabled verse, which is only one point and not the most important one. He says: "And Scott I no further meant to follow than in his lyric measure, which is Gray's, Milton's and anyone who likes it." Also in a letter to Murray he writes: "The S - Review is very civil - but what do they mean by Childe Harold resembling Marmion? and the next two G(iaour) and B(ride) not resembling Scott! I certainly never intended to copy him, but, if there is any copyism it must be in the two poems, where the same versification is adopted. However, they exempt the Corsair from all resemblance to anything though I rather wonder at his escape."2 Byron did not allow for unconscious influence. Where did he get his idea of a long story in verse? He was not an admirer of Chaucer. Shakespeare or Milton. Pope, Burns, and Scott were his favourite poets. Had it not been for Scott, he might have written some prose, for the couplet of Pope or the stanza form of Spenser would not have suited all his narratives. The variations of verse he copied and he did not know it.

In the introduction to the <u>Corsair</u>, Byron says:
"I have attempted not the most difficult, but perhaps the best

^{1.} Letter 343, Oct. 12, Vol. II, p.276.

^{2.} Letter 442, Ap. 26, Vol. III, p.76.

adapted measure in our language, the good old and now neglected heroic couplet. The stanza of Spenser is perhaps too slow and dignified for narrative, though, I confess it is the measure most after my own heart. Scott alone, of the present generation, has hitherto triumphed over the fatal facility of the octosyllabic verse, and this is not the least victory of his fertile and mighty genius."

Let us now consider this form of poetry, that seemed such a contention of plagiarism. It was the rising rhythm of the octosyllabic verse with four stresses, or Iambic Tetrameter with its variations of equivalence, the old ballad style, but having the length of the verse suited to the thought. The metre previously used had been the Iambic Pentameter couplet as used by Pope, in Essay on Criticism, e.g.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast

Man never is but always to be blest."

and occasionally Iambic Tetrameter Couplet as in <u>Hudibras</u> by

Samuel Butler, e.g.

"For he was of that stubborn crew,

Of errant saints whom all men grant,

To be the true Church Militant."

But all were in the couplet form and the people were sick of it. The sing song of the couplet led even to aversion against rhyme, and some abortive attempts had been made by Gray and Collins to break away from the monotony; but had been beaten by the sing song of the ballad. It was Coleridge, who in the few lines of Christabel conceived the idea of letting time be the measure of the foot rather than quantity of syllable, and the use of equivalence using an anapaest instead of an iamb but preserving regular time recurrence of the stress.

Scott heard Christabel recited from memory by Stottard, who thought it would be a good metre for the story of the Goblin which developed into the Lay. Scott more than made the loan his own by the variations he made, viz .- Using lines irregular in length, some containing only two stressed syllables; using some stanzas equally irregular; and in the Lady of the Lake opening each Canto with a Spenserian stanza, of eight iambic pentameter lines with the closing line an Alexandrine of six accents. Scott varied with equivalence to excess, sometimes making the reader gallop to get it in to time, for the stresses must be given in regular time. As Coleridge only used the variation in the few lines of the unfinished Christabel, and did not publish even that fraction until 1816, ever ten years after the Lay, and might not even have published it then if Scott had not got some fame by using the variation of metre, he, Coleridge, had not really much right to, let alone, the monopoly. Moreover, Coleridge had not as much claim as he thought. double dimeter of the Anglo Saxon with its stressed alliterative asyllabic rhythm, and the variations caused by the change into quantitative exactly syllabic metre of later English was not a great deal unlike the metre Coleridge used. Milton used Iambic Tetrameter in L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and in the songs to Echo and to Sabrina in Comus, and at times with some variation of line, as in truncated line:

"Stooping through a fleecy cloud."2

Scott frankly admitted, years before Coleridge knew of it, that he was indebted to the recitation of Christabel

^{1.} Canto II, St. XIII.

^{2.} Il Penseroso.

for the idea of the metre; in fact he was the very last man to steal another's work. The idea, that had been lying dead for ten years was so slight compared with the changes Scott made in varying the rhymes and fitting the stress, metre, and stanza to suit the sense that he is certainly obligated to Coleridge very, very little.

As Byron put it: Scott triumphed "over the fatal facility of the octosyllabic verse." He enriched it with every variety of rhythm and proved that no metre yet devised was better adapted to every variety of subject, to fiery rapidity and force of action, to vivid and truthful delineation of character, to noble sentiment, to exquisite tenderness, and to the deepest pathos. The English had always been ballad singers, and they had always had trouble in expressing the thought within the four lined stanza of alternate four stresses and three stresses thus occasioning the necessity of carrying the thought into another verse. But in the Lay, was a metre with stanzas of varying length to suit the thought, and their favourite Iambic feet interspersed with Anapaest and Trochee kept in harmony by the strict time of the stress, that relieved the simple lines of sing song. People went along the streets lilting:

"The way was long the wind was cold."2
and later the boys recited with enthusiasm:

"Ill fared it then with Roderick Dhu

That on the field his targe he threw."3

However, as successful as it was in the Lay of the Last Minstrel

^{1.} Introduction to The Corsair - Byron.

^{2.} Lay of the Last Minstrel, Intro.

^{3.} Lady of the Lake, Canto V, St. 15.

and Lady of the Lake, Scott only used it to any extent in one subsequent poem - The Bridal of Trierman. Later he discarded it altogether. It ran its course, and the people tired of it.

the Christabel. safe and am glad to see it in such progress, surely a little effort would complete the poem. On your question with W. Scott(i.e. a question of plagiarism raised by the obligations of The Lay of the Last Minstrel to Christabel, which latter poem though not published till 1816 was repeated to Scott in 1802) I know not how to speak. He is a friend of mine and though I cannot contradict your statement I must look to the most favorable side of it. All I have ever seen of him has been frank, fair and warm in regard towards you and when he repeated this very production, it was with such mention as it deserves, and that would not be faint praise. **1

How much was Byron himself indebted to this verse form: "He used it throughout the Giaour, a great portion of The Bride of Abydos, and, though in the Carsair he adopted the ten syllable couplet, he returned to it in his subsequent works of Parisina, The Prisoner of Chillon, The Siege of Corinth and Mazeppa. Therefore, he may fairly be supposed to have been in practical agreement with Scott, as to its superiority alike for pictures of the most vehement action, and of the most impassioned tenderness." He realized, too, its adaptability to continuous narrative, and used the art of Scott in the irregularity of stanza. Byron was such an admirer of Pope, that had it not been for Scott's leadership, he might not have broken away from the quantitative

^{1. &}lt;u>Letter 555</u>, Vol. III, p.228.

^{2.} Scott, by C. D. Yonge.

exactly syllabled couplet, which would have cramped his genius: in fact might have spoiled the popularity of many of his poems.

It is almost universally admitted, that Byron copied the irregular ballad metre with all its variations, not-withstanding the fact that he disclaimed it, and even called Scott's system an erroneous system, as follows: "His poetry is as good as any - if not better(only on an erroneous system), and only ceased to be popular because the vulgar-learned were tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, and Scott the Best, and ostracized him. "Again Ariosto is an octava stanza, and Scott's anything but a stanza." Also, "I see the Lady of the Lake advertized. Of course, it is in his old ballad style, and pretty. After all, Scott is the best of them. The end of all scribblement is to amuse, and he certainly succeeds there." 3

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead

Who never to himself has said

This is my own my native land."

writes Scott, while Byron writes:

"Adieu, adieu my native shore

Fades o'er the waters blue;

The night-winds sigh the breakers rear,

And shrieks the wild sea-mew.

You sun that sets upon the sea

We follow in its flight;

Farewell awhile to him and thee

My native land - Good Night!"5

^{1. 1821,} Jan. 12. Extracts from Diary, Vol. V, p.167.

Letter 674, Vol. IV.
 Letter 148 to Francis Hodgson from Patras, Morea, Oct. 3, 1810.

^{4.} Lay, Canto VI, St. 1. 5. Childe Harold, Canto I, St. XIII.

both Scott and Byron were patriotic and Scott's great work was in glorifying the history of Scotland and painting word pictures of her scenery, while Byron's work was painting word pictures of Europe. Had Byron not been so harshly treated by English society we should have found him more patriotic. The scenery of Scotland was the scenery of his childhood to ten years of age, and he loved to read the beautiful descriptions of scenes well known to him. He never visited Scotland after he left it as a boy, but if he had lived a few years it is very probable he would have paid the long intended visit to Abbotsford. No wonder with his romantic spirit and love of colour, he loved to read of romance in the beautiful highlands of Scotland. Note also in the selection how Byron falls into the Ballad form even when the rest of the poem is Spenserian, when he wants to express deep feeling. See also the poem to loved one in Iambic Tetrameter:

"I send the lilies given to me

Though long before the hand they touch," etc.

He himself replied, "I don't know from whom I inherit my versemaking, probably the wild scenery of Morven and Lochingar and the banks of Dee were the parent of my poetical vein." Byron spoke of Ariosto as

"The Southern Scott, the minstrel, who called forth

A new creation, with his magic line."3

and had he not also Scott the Ariosto of the North in mind with
the magic line into which he always fell to express deep sentiment,
and tender feeling of patriotism and love!

^{1.} Childe Harold, Vanto II, LV.

^{2.} Byron, by Bracknoch. Ch. II, p.23.

^{3.} Childe Harold, Canto IV, St. XL.

The only religious drama that he completed was Cain, which he dedicated to "Sir Walter Scott, Bart., by his obliged friend and faithful servant," with Sir Walter's consent.

No objection has been raised to the morality of this drama, and its purity is a tribute to the esteem in which Byron held the high moral character of Sir Walter Scott. He could not sully this drama with anything to which Sir Walter would object, and we probably owe the purity of this drama to the influence of Scott. The oratorical nature of this drama required the blank verse, and there is no song of love to lighten its gloom or Byron might have used the octosyllabic verse.

the Romance in his verse than for his metre. From Scott he seems to have learned his story-telling in verse, and his description of mountain scenery. The adventure in story satisfies the curiesity, and the description in scenery appeals to the love of beauty. Now curiosity and love of beauty are essentials of romanticism. Byron was wholly romantic without a touch of classicism; his poems express that melancholy mood and aspiration that are essential to Romanticism. We have Subjectivity, Love of the Picturesque and the Revolutionary Spirit. We have love of Nature; the nobleness of Man; and the value of the Individual. To Scott's grandeur of the mountains, the beauty of the lake and emotional spirit of the river, Byron added sublimity of the ocean - It was the awakening of the literature of Chaucer, Shakespeare and Spencer after the sleep of centuries.

Scott's predecessors in the field of Romanticism, into which he led Byron, ranged from Chaucer to Burns. The liberalism in poetry expressed by Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare was crushed by the bigotry of the Puritans. Though Milton's great epic placed

him among the Classicists; still to the 18th Century his message was Romantic. He was the apostle of Freedom, and he was copied by all revolutionary spirits in thought and language. His <u>Il Penseroso</u> with its love of meditation and melancholy had the greatest effect on the Romantic spirit. Following Milton, we have Parnell, Hamilton, Ramsey, Gray, Thomson and Cowper.

These last named poets strove to break down the formalism of the classicism of the restoration, which had been introduced from France. They strove to express emotion and individualism. Thomson, in the Castle of Indolence and The Seasons was the first to write of nature as he loved it, and he might be called the Pioneer of the new movement, in which Wordsworth followed. Burns combined Nature and Man; and Burns and Blake followed no man's lead. Scott, following close upon the footsteps of his countryman Burns, by the novelty and originality of his style, the manly vigour, energy and Homeric fire, took the world by storm. He was in turn followed by the greater passion and revolutionary spirit of the greater poet Byron. Burns, Scott and Byron, unlike their predecessors, were understood. The poetry of Scott was the poetry of the past, while the poetry of Burns and Byron was the poetry of the present, and the past must always bow to the present; so the poetry of Byron supplanted the poetry of Scott. Men felt that the chivalry of life was at their door, and true romance was experienced in present humble every-day life. Feudalism, Chivalry and Nature seem to be dominant notes in both Scott and Byron; Abbotsford and Newstead, Love and Beauty of Woman, and love of outdoor life with all its sports appear to be expressions respectively of these characteristics.

A chivalrous gentleman is known by the kindness shown in his treatment of those persons who are placed socially in a lower station of life, and it was in their treatment of poor people

that both Scott and Byron showed their chivalrous natures. It is probably impossible to find among the great peers of England or Knights of Scotland one more solicitous concerning the welfare of their dependents and servants; their largeness of heart included great love for their dogs. A short essay such as the present one could be filled with instances that illustrate these characteristics which they held in common. The author of Waverley was recognized by his love of dogs that induced him to use them in The Lady of the Lake, in Waverley and in the Talisman; and Byron has rendered Boatswain immortal in verse. It surely may be a pardoned digression from our subject to mention these common characteristics of chivalry.

No point is more indispensable to the lasting fame of a poet as a pervading sense of the respect and reverence due to the female character. Homer, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Dante, Burns, Scott and Byron have immortalised respectively Helen, Antigone, Portia, Beatrice, Highland Mary, Jennie Deans, and Ada. Virgil, and Dryden, though they had not this respect, owe their fame to other reasons, but the lack of this chivalry mars their works. Burns and Byron have both been charged with lack of morality and respect for women; but it is, by men, who have not studied their lives.

Re. the charge of immorality, Byron, certainly, by his reported harem at Venice, by his relations for years to
Teresa Guiccoli, and by the birth of his illegitimate daughter Allegra of Claire Clairmont, justified the charge; but let us weigh against these references the customs of Italy at the time, the tears shed by Guiccoli over his grave 46 years after his death, and the fact that he publicly owned his daughter Allegra, loved her, cared for her, educated her and mourned her early death; also that he maintained and cared for the mother, though he would never again trust himself in her company. Often in the heights of his perversities, when he

tried to maintain an affected pose of a sensationally picturesquely wicked Englishman, he would pass into strains of surpassing sweetness, when his thoughts turned to his daughter Augusta Ada, or to his half-sister Augusta. The pictures he gives us of feminine charm, purity and grace, are among our treasures of literature.

"Is thy face like thy mother's my fair child!

Ada! sole daughter of my house and heart!" also

"My sister! my sweet sister! if a name

Dearer and purer were, it should be thine."

His dying words: "Augusta - Ada - my sister - my child" show the tender nature of his heart.

Scott's mind was cast in the best mould of the ancient chivalry and his deference to women was that of the perfect knight supported by the purity of his life. The study of Scott's works and the example of his life, probably had much to do in making the great change in Byron's moral life.

Their love of nature is shown in their descriptions of mountains and country in all its rugged grandeur. Scott writes:

"It was a barren scene and wild,

Where naked rocks were rudely piled;

But ever and anon between

Lay velvet tufts of loveliest green;

And well the lonely infant knew

Recesses where the wall flower grew,

And honeysuckle loved to crawl

Up the low crag and ruined wall.

I deemed such nocks the sweetest shade

The sun in all its round surveyed;"

^{1.} Marmion, Canto II.

Also he writes:

"Here Vennachar in silver flows,

There ridge on ridge Benledi rose" etc.

While Byron writes: 2

"The stars are forth, the moon above the tops

Of the snow-shining mountains, Beautiful!

I linger yet with Nature for the night

Hath been to me a more familiar face

Than that of man; and in her starry shade

Of dim and solitary loveliness

I learned the language of another world."

And also in Childe Harold:3

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,

There is a rapture on the lonely shore,

There is a society where none intrudes,

By the deep sea and music in its roar

I love not man the less, but Nature more."

It would be too much to claim that in all their similarities Byron was influenced by Scott, and it would be equally erroneous to say the influence of Scott had nothing to do in forming these similarities. A child has not the characteristics of its parent solely from its inherent nature. We cannot limit influence.

These similarities give rise to positive inferences, while dissimilarities may suggest negative inferences. Scott is noted for his lack of philosophy, and so is Byron. It is true, there may be slight touches here and there in the writings of both; but Scott was not philosophically bent, so he could not influence Byron into

^{1.} The Lady of the Lake, Canto III.

^{2.} Manfred, Act III, Sc. IV.

^{3.} Canto IV, St. 178.

philosophizing.

Scott's greatest works were his Novels, while

Byron only attempted one novel, the <u>Vampire</u>, and this novel he did

not finish; so we must now consider how Scott's novels influenced

Byron's life and his Poetry.

Chapter IV.

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT'S PROSE.

Shepherd of Kingdom Come tells of the influence of Sir Walter Scott's novels on the lives of two boys. There have been many instances in real life, where boys have been made more chivalrous by the reading of the <u>Waverley</u> novels, and where many men like the schoolmaster Caleb Hazel have learned the lesson of chivalry, to render to society the best service that is in them. Was Byron influenced by this spirit of chivalry, that pervades Sir Walter Scott's novels!

On July 24th, 1814, in a letter to John Murray,

Byron writes: "Waverley is the best and most interesting novel I have

redde since - I don't know when. I like it as much as I hate

Patronage, and Wanderer, and O'Donnell(i.e. Lady Morgan's O'Donnell),

and all the feminine trash of the last four months. Besides, it is

all easy to me, because I have been in Scotland so much (though then

young enough too), and feel at home with the people, Lowland and

Gael."1

When Scott's supremacy as a popular poet was threatened by a mighty and unexpected rival in the author of the first two cantos of Childe Harold; and when he was perhaps weary himself of his verse form, he found a fragment of Waverley, started some time before, and he thought he could by this make a new bid for public favour. In the introduction to the 1830 edition of Rokeby, he gives the defence of his "failure" (as he termed it) and his reason for entering the lists as a prose writer. He admits, that in poetry,

^{1.} Letter 477, July 24, Vol. III, p.110.

there would have been little wisdom in measuring his force with "so formidable an antagonist," and he would not play second fiddle; so he wrote Waverley anonymously, and published it on July 7th, 1814.

Byron did not know Walter Scott was the author of Waverley, though he suspected it was Scott. On Feb. 26th, in a letter to William Bankes, he writes: "I have more of Scott's novels(for surely they are Scott's) since we met and am more and more delighted. I think I even prefer them to the poetry which(by the way) I redde for the first time in my life in your rooms in Trinity College. 1

Again in a letter to Sir Walter Scott himself, dated Jan. 12th, 1822, he writes as follows: "I don't like to bore you about the Scotch novels(as they call them, though two of them are wholly English, and the rest half so), but, nothing can or could ever persuade me, since I was the first ten minutes in your company, that you are not the man. To me these novels have so much of 'Auld Lang Syne'(I was bred a canny Scott until I was ten years old), that I never move without them; and when I removed from Ravenna to Pisa the other day and sent on my library before, they were the only books that I kept by me, although I already have them by heart."²

that Byron read the first seventeen, as <u>The Pirate</u> is mentioned in the continuing portion of the letter just referred to. "Mr. Kinnaird found him reading <u>Quentin Durward</u> and as usual in high spirits." These were not simply read, but were lived in, making them part of his life. On Jan. 5th, 1821, he enters in his Diary the following: "Read the conclusion for the fiftieth time(I have read all of W. Scott's

^{1.} Letter 776, Vol. IV, p.411.

^{2. &}lt;u>Letter</u> 969, Vol. VI , p.4.

^{3.} Recollections of Lord Byron, by Countess Guiccoli.

novels at least fifty times), of the third series of <u>Tales of my</u>

<u>Landlord</u> - grand work - Scotch Fielding, as well as great English

poet - wonderful man! I long to get drunk with him."

Other extracts from the same Diary may be cited as: "Read the fourth vol. of W. Scott's second series of <u>Tales of my Landlord."</u> "Before dinner read Walter Scott's <u>Rob Roy.</u> At nine went out - at eleven returned. Beat the crow for stealing the falcon's victuals. Read <u>Tales of my Landlord</u> - wrote a letter - and mixed a moderate beaker of water with other ingredients."

He also writes to John Murray as follows:

"Give my love to Sir W. Scott and tell him to write more novels;

pray send out <u>Waverley</u> and the <u>Guy M.</u>, and the <u>Antiquary</u>. It is five

years since I have had a copy. I have read all the others forty times."

Many more references to his love for Scott's novels, and how they made part of Byron's life could be cited, but they can be followed out at leisure in the Letters and Diary collected by Prothero. The references, cited, serve to show he read the novels as he read the poetry, incessantly, all even forty or fifty times, until he knew them all by heart. He mays: "I like no reading so well." Also, "Scott is the most wonderful writer of the day I know no reading to which I fall with such alacrity as a work of W. Scott's." The intense desire for the novels was not a mere passing fancy, for after persistent efforts to get the Monastery sent out to him(a failure we cannot understand in our day of good and certain communication), he

^{1.} Extracts from a Diary, Vol. V, p.151.

^{2. 1821,} Jan. 7, Vol. V, p.157.

^{3.} Vol. V, p.160.

^{4.} Vol. V, p.203.

^{5. 1821,} March 1, Letter 876, Vol. V, p.255.

^{6. &}lt;u>Letter</u> 778, Vol. IV, p.415.

^{7.} Diary, Vol. V, p.167.

writes: "W. Scott's Monastery just arrived; many thanks for that Grand Desiratum of the last six months."1

Did the chivalry and romance in these poems simply appeal to, and satisfy the chivalrous and romantic nature of Byron? Did the high respect for the purity of woman in the novels do no more than call forth the assent of Byron's better nature? Without reading a word of Scott, Byron might still have brought the Commendant from the assassins into his house at the risk of his life; he might still have been a member of the Carbonari and have stacked arms in his house at Ravenna, and he might still, with his pistol, have compelled the Turks to release the woman they were going to consign in a sack to death in the Bosphorus. Byron was chivalrous, was quixotic; but it is hard to say how much was due to his reading.

When Mazzini was imprisoned at Savona, the governor of the prison allowed him to read the Bible, Byron and Tacitus thinking they contained no revolutionary matter; yet out of these and Dante arose Young Italy. Joseph Mazzini has also said:
"Democracy will one remember all it owes to Byron." How far Byron was influenced to give his last years of work, his wealth and even life itself in the cause of freedom, by the reading of Scott's novels is an insoluble problem. Yet all of Scott's novels and poems, however, mediaeval they may be in subject, glow with the light of freedom. No one could read Scott as zealously as Byron did without feeling sympathy for the collared-Gurth, and for Roderick Dhu dispossessed by the Saxon of:

"Those fertile plains and soften'd vale," that "Were once the birthright of the Gael." No one can read of Scott's defence

^{1.}To John Murray, 1820, Nov. 4, Letter 843, Vol. V, p.109.

^{2.}Byron - Brecknock, p.181.

^{3.} Lady of the Lake, V, 7.

of the Covenanters in <u>Old Mortality</u> and of persecuted Rebecca in <u>Ivanhoe</u>, without being impressed with the brotherhood of man, which teaches that <u>all</u>, even the then despised Jew, should have freedom of religious opinion and equal rights, which a universal brotherhood should give.

Byron, a friend of the oppressed, a member of the Carbonari writes of down-trodden Italia:

"Yet Italy! through every other land

Thy wrongs shall wring, and shall from side to side.

Europe repentant of her parricide

Shall yet redeem thee, and, all backward driven

Roll the barbarian back and sue to be forgiven."

Ever he sings:

"Of Freedom which their fathers fought for and,

Bequeathed - a heritage of heart and blood better be

Where the extinguished Spartans still are free,

In their proud charnel of Thermopylae,

Than stagnate in our marsh."²

To the Greeks he gave his last efforts to arouse them:

"You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone:

Of two such lessons, why forget

The nobler and the manlier one."3

The keynote of Byron's character was Revolt; Liberty was the goal of his efforts, and who can forget that those efforts won for us the wider liberty we now enjoy?

^{1.} Childe Harold, Canto IV, St. 47.

^{2.} Ode to Venice.

^{3.} Don Juan, Canto III, St. 86.

Another influence that Scott appears to have had on Byron is in the search for themes on which to write. Scott travelled about in Scotland and picked up his themes of Old Mortality from the person who went about renovating the tombstones of the old Covenanters; and the story of Jeanie Deans of the Heart of Midlothian from the story of Helen Walker. Byron travelled about Europe, and picked up his themes as The Bride of Abydos, Lara and The Giacur from actual incidents that furnished at least the idea.

Both Scott and Byron wrote many melodies that have been set to music. Byron wrote his Maid of Athens before Scott wrote his Maid of Isla and probably Scott was in this case influenced by Byron as he certainly was induced to start his Diary after reading with great interest Byron's Diary written while at Ravenna. This shows how one's mind influences that of another. But Scott wrote Rebecca's lament:

"When Israel of the Lord Beloved
Out of the land of bondage came,"
before Byron wrote for Mr. Kinnaird the Hebrew Melodies.

Byron was an excellent letter writer and might, if he had lived much longer, have written much prose; but he only made one abortive attempt at writing a novel already mentioned as the <u>Vampire</u>. Did he realize the fact that he could not match Scott? He himself says: "To withdraw from myself has ever been my sole, my entire, my sincere motive in scribbling at all." Poetry affords escape in action from a mind which else recoils on itself." Also - "In rhyme, I can always keep more away from facts, but the thought



^{1.} Ivanhoe.

^{2.} Letters, II, p.351.

^{3.} Byron, 1824-1924, H. W. Garrod.

always runs through, through ...yes, yes, through. He could never keep away from himself in spite of endeavors, and in prose he seemed to be self-assertive. We cannot say that he got this egoism or individualistic tendency from Scott, for Scott never paraded himself; but it serves to show that Byron could see his inferiority to Scott in writing prose.

Byron would be much interested, and probably influenced by the songs and other poems, interspersed throughout Scott's novels. The constant resort to poetry showed how Scott kept fresh his poetic spirit, and this would strengthen the bond between the two bards.

*Any new piece put out by Byron was sure to be read by Scott the Sunday evening afterwards, and that with such delighted emphasis as shewed how completely the elder bard had kept up all his enthusiasm for poetry at the pitch of youth, all his admiration of genius, free, pure, and unstained by the least drop of literary jealousy. ** No wonder Scott from his vast storehouse of knowledge found such appropriate poetical preludes to his chapters, so ably describing the central thought of the chapter; and no wonder that Byron so loved to read, and memoraze those remances set in poetical frame.

Whether any of these poetical flights in the novels influenced Byron to write any poems it is only for us to surmise. Rebecca's prayer, already referred to, written in Iambic Tetrameter may have influenced Byron in writing the Hebrew Melodies,

^{1.} Letters II, p.351.

^{2.} Scott, by Lockhart. Vol. II, p.310.

and at the same time have influenced his moral character. No one could learn by heart as he did the following lines without being a better man after it:

"Be Thou long-suffering slow to wrath
A burning and a shining light."

No characters in those novels would interest Byron so much as the women. He could not help but be influenced for Good, by the purity of the heroines that Scott portrays. It is true, that some like Rebecca were unsuccessful in their love, though nobly fulfilling some of the highest duties of woman as nurses; some like Rowena successful yet having no mark of character; mediaeval puppets moving when they were moved, only successful because of the position birth has given, and by reason of the beauty of countenance with which Nature has endowed them; some like Jennie Deans successful, because of the God-given sterling qualities of soul, that moves woman to self-sacrifice and makes a plain face shine with the light of heaven. Surely the reading of these pure characters forty or fifty times until he knew all about them by heart would influence Byron for Good in his self-exile at Venice. When in revolt against society, and when in defiance of all the proprieties he had surrendered his soul to the loose moral life of Venice, the form of Rebecca at prayer in her distress would come before his mind's eye and direct him to a source of help; or the sturdy brave form of Jennie in her plaid would arise as she stood with her plea before the Duke of Argyle.

Why did he suddenly leave Venice and its beauties and have no more intercourse with any of the women there!

^{1.} Ivanhoe - Rebecca's Prayer.

He moved to Ravenna, and if Venice with its harem(as was claimed) had been his moral ruin; Ravenna was his salvation. Many will question this statement and point to his life with the Gamba family and the Countess Guiccioli; but let those who do study the life of Byron at Ravenna, and also the character of the Countess, before they condemn either. To enter into this controversy or into any other moral controversy as Astarte, is beyond the province of this paper; but it may be in order to say that for the love this woman had for Byron, she sacrificed her splendid home, her husband and his great wealth. Her husband was an old man, and she was barely twenty, and he took exception to her intimacy with the poet - a foreigner, a heretic, and Englishman, and what was worse to him, a Liberal. Her family, who were also Liberal and Carbonari, suffered from the Count's anger, and Byron ultimately had to smuggle her out of Ravenna to Pisa to save her from being immured in a convent. Being Liberals, they were moved out by the authorities, and the family of Gamba, with Byron, took refuge in Genoa, and later he went from there to work for the freedom of Greece.

Byron's letters and his diary at Ravenna show a great change of character. Some of the change would come from increase of age and experience, for he was 34 years of age; some would come from his association with Guiccoli; but I believe the most of the great change in his life was due to the purity of female influence through his sister, who never lost her hold on him, and through the influence of those women with whom he spent so many of his silent, thoughtful hours, the high souled women in the novels of Sir Walter Scott.

We have seen the effect on Byron of Scott's personality, of his attitude to others, and of his genius in poetry and prose, and we shall now consider in our final chapter the

garan kanan dan merupakan dan beranggalan dan beranggalan dan beranggalan beranggalan beranggalan beranggalan

iling of the configuration of the second second

and the control of th

influence of Scott's fame on the life of Byron.

Chapter V.

INFLUENCE OF SCOTT'S FAME.

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights and live laborious days;"

Lycidas, John Miltone

Byron, in a letter to William Bankes, said:

"Poetic fame is by no means the achme of my wishes." He had

published in January his first collection, Poems on Various Occasions.

In the following June, he published his Hours of Idleness, which

produced such an adverse criticism from Lord Brougham in the Edinburgh

Review, to which Byron replied in 1808, by the satire, English Bards

and Scotch Reviewers. This shows that he felt very keenly any

unjust criticism. Some features of this attack we have already taken

up.

Cantos I and II of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, and, in 1812, he awoke one morning to find himself famous. He flashed into the poetic field like a meteor on a starlight night. Scott was eclipsed, and had to seek a greater fame in prose. Byron had caught the spirit of the age, and wrote with a spirited abandon, and energy. Radicalism was at that time in the air and he suited the times. Much of his poetry was written for the fashion of the times, that of course fails now in its appeal. His cynicism was often tedious, and his sincerity sometimes doubtful, yet he was the free-necked Englishman, and represented the reaction against cant and hypocrisy in society,

^{1.} Letter 67, Mar. 6, 1807.

religion and politics. He was famous, yet the reviewers, and some of the poets attacked him, whenever they cou.d

However, on Nov. 3, 1821, in a letter to Mr. Murray, he wrote: "You have received my letter(open) through Mr. Kinnaird, and so pray send me no more reviews of any kind. I will read no more of evil or good in that line. Walter Scott has not read a review of himself for thirteen years." Yet the following year brought his famous satire The Vision of Judgment in answer to the attack from his enemy Southey. No language seemed to be too strong to use against Southey, and Byron had good cause for his anger.

It wounded the feelings of some of his friends that Byron should debase his talents by an immoral strain that would injure his fame, and they would often remonstrate with him. While he was of a very combative spirit and instead of fretting under criticism as Keats did, would resent with all the energy of his nature any attack, he was tender hearted and was amenable to any reasonable reproof. When he published his first flight in 1806 entitled Fugitive Pieces, the Rev. John Beecher, his friend and adviser, wrote the following:

> "Say Byron! why compel me to deplore Talent, designed for choice poetic lore; Deigning to varnish scenes that shun the day, With guilty lustre, and with amorous lay. Forbear to taunt the Virgin's spotless mind. In Power though mighty be in mercy kind; Bid the chaste Muse diffuse her hallowed light, So shall the page enkindle pure delight. Enhance thy native work, and proudly twine With Britain's honour those that are divine."2

Letters 954, Vol. V, p472.
 Letter 94, Feb. 26, 1808.

Byron rebuked stopped the whole edition, recalled all he could, and only four copies are in existence.

The opinions of his dear friends and of the "better brethren" as he termed his brother poets affected him deeply, and he certainly thought of fame, though he disclaims the fact. Regarding a little joke he had on the Italians he said: "He stared when I told him that I was the real Simon Pure. You see what fame is! how accurate! how boundless! I don't know how others feel, but I am always the lighter and the better looked on when I have got rid of mine, it sits on me like armour on the Lord Mayor's champion, and I got rid of all the attendant babble by answering that I had not translated Tasso, but a namesake had and by the blessing of Heaven, I looked so little like a poet that everybody believed me."

Scott, whom he had supplanted was the only living poet whose fame he could look up to, and Scott's fame was increasing with every novel issued; the novels lent an additional glamour to the poetry. He writes as follows: "George Ellis and Murray have been talking about Scott and me 'George pro Scott' and very right too. If they want to depose him, I only wish they would not set me up rather as a competitor."2 And further, on Nov. 24, he writes: "He is undoubtedly the Monarch of Parnassus and the most English of bards. I should place Rogers next in the living list(I value him more as the last of the best school) Moore and Campbell both tied, then Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge." This triangular or pyramidal representation with Scott on the summit, and The Many at the base, he amused himself by constructing. We can only imagine his thoughts, while he was doing He would estimate the abilities of each and decide that Scott was

Journal, Nov. 20, 1823, Vol. IV, p.312.
 1813, Nov. 17, Journal, Vol. II, p.322.

the most famous and while he might not be envying Scott's fame, or thinking he has deposed him, still we do know that he sought fame and Scott's position influenced him. He knew, too, as many others did that Scott was the author of Waverley, though in deference to the Author's wish to remain unknown he had to pretend he did not know. Scott was thus increasing his fame as a writer, and Byron who said that every poem would be his last, was urged to put out with great rapidity before the age of 36 years poems equal in volume to the long life's work of Wordsworth, or Tennyson, or Browning. Did he try to emulate Scott's rapid work, when he wrote The Bride of Abydos in four nights? Scott is the best of them(the poets or writers) was his repeated expressed opinion. Scott was to Byron, what Keats was to Shelley: his constant companion, and his constant study. Scott's literary influence was always with him. Without the influence of Scott we should not have had as much of Byron.

Byron always, with sincere modesty, acknowledged the preeminence of Scott, and when he sent him a copy of The Giaour, he inscribed on the fly-leaf: "An offering to the Monarch of Parnassus from one of his subjects," and every mention made of Scott, in his letters and journal, was with profound respect to his older contemporary. This was returned with equal modesty by Scott, though Scott's nature did not permit him to show it as much.

One day at Mr. Hume Drummond's he exclaimed:

"As for poets, I have seen the best that this country has produced,
and although Burns had the finest eyes that can be imagined, I never
thought that any men except Byron could give an artist the exact
idea of a poet. His portraits do not do him the least justice; the
varnish is there, but the ray of sunshine is wanting to light them up.

The beauty of Byron," he added, "is one which makes one dream." He said again, "there is no picture like him." Each poet had a high regard for the fame of the other and neither would detract the fame of the other. Scott was so financially embarrassed that he had to write for money and the need of money was the chief incentive to his prodigious labour. But why the money when he could easily have shielded himself honourably by paying a moitie of what he did pay? This course would not have been consistent with his ideals of honour and fame. In assuming the whole of the debt of £120,000, he has secured imperishable fame not only as an author but as an honourable gentleman. No wonder he felt hurt at Byron's allusion to him in his satire on English Bards as Apollo's venal son. And no wonder that Byron when he knew the circumstances apologised so sincerely. It was fame that led them both on, though Byron was not as ready to admit it.

But, then, except in his private letters and in his unguarded moments, was he ever ready to admit his true nature? His whole life shows him to be possessed with a spirit of diabolism to put himself in false positions until his friends, who were used to the general tendency of society to pretensions of morality and religion believed that Byron was even worse than Byron, incensed at their cant, pretended to be. Byron thus had to win fame against the prejudice and antagonism of society, that remorsely pursued him, biding their time for a lull in his popularity to overwhelm him.

We see Scott rising in defence of the absent poet, and Byron writes his appreciative letter from Pisa: "I owe you far more than the usual obligations for the courtesies of literature and common friendship, for you went out of your way in 1817 to do me a

^{1.} Recollections of Lord Byron, p.66.

service, when it required not only kindness but courage to do so.

To have been mentioned by you in such a manner would have been a proud memorial to any time, but at such a time, 'when all the world and his wife,' as the proverb goes, were trying to trample upon me, was still more complimentary to my self-esteem," etc. No one knew better than Byron the risk of reputation and fame that Scott took in taking the part of Byron against the decision of aristocratic society.

No influence was so strong in England as the influence of public opinion. A servant leaving a situation without a recommendation would be reduced to beggary. The constant threat of a mistress was not to give the servant a recommendation, and we have a remonstrance from Lord Byron in a letter to his mother against her action in refusing to give a recommendation to Mrs. Fletcher. This phenomenon of so terrible a character is almost peculiar to England; but there it has decreased much since the Great War, while in the colonies it is gaining ground as people form cliques of society. Some brave spirits risked the ostracism of the social set as Lady Jersey and Miss Mercer, who made a farewell party to Byron, but others only made feeble attempts to protect Lord Byron from the stupid calumnies, then lost courage to declare their belief. All sympathy was with Lady Byron who, as patroness of the Charity Ball, incited Byron to write the poem:

"What matter the pangs of a husband and father,

If his sorrows in exile be great or be small;

So the Pharisee's glories around her she gather

And the Saint patronizes her 'Charity Ball.'"

^{1.} Recollections of Lord Byron, p.247.

The leaders of the social set had decided against him and everybody followed.

"Madame de Stael said to me in Switzerland - 'You should not have warred with the world - it will not do - it is too strong always for any individual. I myself once tried it in early life, but it will not do.' I perfectly acquiesce in the truth of this remark."

In answer to the tirade against <u>Don Juan</u> by the religious people and smug society of England, Scott was bold enough to write: "Byron had embraced every string of the divine harp from its slightest to its most powerful and heart astounding tones."²

Others as Marie Corelli praised the poetry of Byron. The common people, who loved a fight, sided with Byron and in spite of the ostracism of so-called "Society," Byron was famous. He had caught the public in his spirited satire in his first fight with the Scotch Reviewers, and prepared another satire Hints from Horace, a paraphrase of Horace's Art of Poetry which he judged would be a good finish to English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. He evidently promised himself additional fame from it as he thought his forte was satire. Dallas was not satisfied with it, and asked him if he had nothing else and Byron replied that he had written a great many stanzas relative to the countries he had visited; "They are not worth troubling you with, but you shall have them all with you if you like." He said they had been read but by one person who had found very little to commend and much to condemn. 3

Miller refused to publish Childe Harold because of the stanzas maligning Lord Elgin for taking away the marbles

^{1. 1820,} Mar. 15, Letter to J. D! Israeli, Vol. IV, p.480. See p.387, Confessions of Lord Byron.

^{2.} Byron, by Brecknock, p.69.

^{3.} Correspondence of Lord Byron, p.125.

of the Parthenon. Byron had doubts concerning the value of the poem, and his repeated expressions that the publication would injure his fame almost prevented his giving permission to Dallas to publish the poem. Thus, fame did not come the way Byron expected it. Murray urged him to write more: "With the fiat of such a judge (Mr. Gifford), will not your muse be kindled to the completion of a work that would if completed, irrevocably fix your fame?"

The magnificent reception which Scott received on his visit to London and to Paris, by high society and by the Regent, was a good object lesson to Byron. It was a few months after Byron's marriage and trouble with financial worry had made Byron very melancholy, and he began to realize that even a famous poet cannot ignore the conventions of society. For two months Byron enjoyed the company of the remarkable Scott and must have benefited much from the wider reading of his brother poet.

Byron thought so much of Scott's opinion that he asked Murray to find out if Scott liked to be termed the Ariosto of the North before he printed Childe Harold he also writes again:

"With regard to the 'Ariosto of the North, surely their themes Chivalry, War, and Love were as like as can be and as to the compliment, if you knew what the Italians think of Ariosto you would not hesitate about that. Scott knew the value of Ariosto. In his early college days he had learned Italian, becoming so enamoured of that rich and melodious language to maintain in an essay the superiority of Ariosto to Homer to the indignation of the Greek professor, supporting his heresy to quote his own words in

^{1.} Correspondence, p.156.

^{2.} Letter 667, Vol. IV, Aug. 12, 1817.

after life "by a profusion of bad reading and flimsy argument."

Byron was always glad to learn of any honour

conferred on Scott, as in the case of his knighthood he wrote:

"My love to Scott; I shall think higher of knighthood ever after his being dubbed."

Scott said: "What I like about him(Byron) is his utter contempt of all the affectations of literature: - He never soars over people's heads. It is because he is understood too well that his critics are so numerous." 2

Why is it that Byron has always been treated much better abroad, in fact is still more famous abroad than in his own country? The answer is probably to be that his writings of freedom and of war against conventionalities appealed to them. His defence of Napoleon, his sympathy with the struggle for Italian freedom and his assistance to the Greeks all appealed to them. He was there not in conflict with the snobbishmess of English society, and the loose morals of his early life were only what the continentals were accustomed to. Moreover, he wrote about their countries, and induced other tourists to come. He also spent most of his active manhood in their service.

When Byron died, on April 19th, 1824, in the service of the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks for independence, the government embalmed his body, preserving separately the brain, heart, etc.; the lungs they buried in Messolonghi at the request of the citizens. On the remains being conveyed to England, some conservative dignitaries refused permission for the remains to be laid there. The ostensible reason was

^{1. 1820,} Ap. 23, Letter 794 to J.M., Vol. V, p.17.

^{2.} Brecknock, p.68.

the immorality of his writings. But as Dean Stanley said: "If Byron was turned away from the door many a one so questionable as Byron has been admitted. Close above the monument of the devoted Granville Sharpe is the monument of the Epicurean St. Euremond. Close behind the tablet of the blameless Warton lies the licentious Congreve." The real reasons for refusal of the appeal of some persons to inter the body in Westminster were that he offended the Conservative party by his Liberal opinions and by his opposition to the War against Napoleon. Any pro-Boer in the time of the Boer War or pro-German in the time of the Great War would certainly not have been buried in Westminster. He also offended the aristocracy by his poem The Age of Bronze, and offended Royalty by his poem, Weeping Daughter of a Royal Line. His Vision of Judgment was also Lese Majeste against Geo. III and Geo. IV, and he was regarded as one who had disgraced his noble rank. He also offended the Scotch by his invectives against Lord Elgin. He had warred against the world, and against the aristocracy; and they warred against him after he was dead. They tried to justify themselves by disparaging his works when his keen satirical tongue was stilled.

The body was laid to rest in the family vault of Hucknall Church beside his mother and ancestors, and later the daughter he loved was laid beside him in accordance to her special request. The honour refused by Westminster is now possessed by the little church of Hucknall. Hundreds of tourists visit his grave, for his fame is world-wide. The fame he thirsted for; the fame he worked for; the fame his genius and self sacrifice merited he

^{1.} Byron, Brecknock, p.225.

has got. There is no doubt that in his search for fame that Sir Walter Scott was his guiding star, and had great influence on Byron in the attainment of that fame.

Byron has left with us the memories of a stormtost life, handicapped by hereditary tendencies and by unwise
early training, yet notwithstanding these adverse influences, a
very great improvement on his parents; a life that improved with
age, and would probably have been considered of a highly redeemed
moral character, had it lasted the average span of life; a life,
which ended in a noble self-sacrifice.

We have the memory of a man, who in social life was gentle, patient, magnanimous, and generous; also a fighter against all social injustice, cant, pride and hypocrisy. We remember a man, who was loved by servants and friends, as few men are loved; and future years will more and more disclose the noble heart of Byron.

As the years go on and the love of Brotherhood increases, the idea of Nationality becomes more general, and the rule of Democracy becomes world-wide, Byron will be seen in England as he is now seen on the continent of Europe to represent the rights of man, perhaps too individualistic, but in view of his life service will teach that greatest lesson of all, the lesson of unselfish service to others.

Sir Walter Scott's self-sacrifice to the principle of honourable regard for what was right caused him years of labour, that would have been avoided by the average man must have had a great influence on the life of Byron.

CONCLUSION.

The history of civilization would be very much changed if the influence of a few individuals was left out, and the growth of literature which is an index of that civilization would present a different aspect if the influence of Scott on Byron was eliminated. Byron lived at a time when all Europe rose in a revolt against privilege of aristocracy, in favour of democracy. In England, Richard Carlile suffered persecution for the right to express his belief in a free press. This freedom of the press was necessary to obtain the Great Reform Bill for even large meetings were suppressed. The government of the day thanked the magistrates and the soldiers for the splendid performance of their duty in dispersing the mass reform meeting at Peterloo Square in Manchester, in which eleven inoffensive people were killed, and over four hundred other persons were wounded. Byron, one of their owk Lords, was in the interest of reform. No wonder the royalty and aristocracy hated him, and sought every means to vilify him. With smug hypocritical self-righteousness, they ostracised him on the ostensible ground of immorality. It was easy to take the side of the self-righteous pharisee of a wife, and build themselves up on moral pedestals by the slandering of this young man, though based on their immoral living in youthful days. They knew from experience what form of lie or innuendo to invent, and Byron, unwisely by his usual habit of condemning himself and delight in shocking the proprieties, played into their hands.

After a hundred years, we are removed by time from local prejudice, and we can view all the relations as we find them with calm impartiality. The more we study Byron, with due regard to the circumstances of his life and times, and the more

we place his opponents under the criticism which their meagre lives afford, the more we are convinced that Byron was much the victim of social prejudice and of his own self condemnatory nature. Compare the work of his life to his 37th year with that of any of his contemporaries; or even the whole moral tenor of his life with that of the average of those, who exalted themselves on his condemnation, and we must admit that Byron compares very favourably for the better. Had Byron lived another 36 years, his younger excesses would have been forgotten, and his later life would have made him famous for morality; for whatever Byron did, he did with passion and intensity, and he never used half measures.

Scott, to whom Byron was indebted so much. lived until eight years after the death of Byron, and received great honour from people and royalty. At the coronation of Geo. IV, an officer cried out "Make room men for Sir Walter Scott our illustrious countryman," and the men answered: "Sir Walter Scott! God bless him!" The Ministry offered Scott a seat in the Privy Council, and when he was sick the King placed a warship at his disposal for a cruise in the Mediterranean. Scott was deeply mourned at his death, and like Byron was buried in the family vault. To Dryburgh and to Hucknall flows every year the stream of literary devotees of Scott and Byron, the two contemporary geniuses; the former of Scotland and England, and the latter of England and Europe. number of the pilgrims to Byron's shrine are from Republican France, from redeemed Italy, and from emancipated Greece, the last home of some of his remains; these countries date the growth of their democratic literature from Ariosto of Italy and Byron of England. while they all acknowledge the strong influence on Byron of Sir Walter Scott, the "Ariosto of the North."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. WORKS OF SCOTT AND BYRON:

SCOTT.

(1) Poetry:

- * Poetical Works of Scott, Routledge & Sons, New York, 553 pp.
 - Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., with illustrations.

 This edn. contains Introductions and Notes to all poems including Contributions to Minstrelsy of the Scottish

 Border. Ed. and pub. by Richard Butterworth & Co., Ltd.

 Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode, both of London, 1903.

 Price 2s.
- * Scott's Poetical Works. Ed. with critical memoir by Rossetti,

 W. H., London, pub. as Moxon's Popular Poets by Ward Lock

 & Co., 1903. Prices 5s. to 15s.
- * Scott's Poetical Works. Ed. by Palgrave, F. T., The Globe Edition, 1866.
- Scott's Poetical Works. Ed. by Lockhart, J. G., 12 vols.
 Edinburgh, J. Murray, 1833-4.
- Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (1803) Ed. by Noyes, A., Edinburgh, 1908.
 - Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel with Notes. Ed. by Marshal, F., London. Oxford and Cambridge Series. George Gill & Sons, 1910.
- Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, (1805). Ed. by Morrison, James, London and Glasgow. William Collins Sons & Co. 1878.
- * Scott's Marmion. (1808). Ed. by Morris, Ed. E., London, Longmans Green & Co., 1869.
 - Scott's Marmion. (1808). Ed. and pub., Philadelphia, Henry Altemus Co.
 - Scott's Lady of the Lake. (1810). Ed. by Stuart, G. H., London, Macmillan & Co., 1891.
 - Scott's Rokeby. (1813) with introduction by author, also notes, London. Richard Butterworth & Co., Ltd. 1903.
 - Scott's The Lord of the Isles. (1815). Ed. by Cotterill, H. B., London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1903.
- * I have not had the opportunity of consulting books so marked.

(2) Novels:

Novels by Sir Walter Scott, 25 vols. Black, Adam and Charles, Edinburgh, 1887.

Time	of	George II,	1745.
Time	of	George III,	1760.
Time	of	George III,	1798.
Time	of	Charles II,	1679.
Time	of	Anne,	1708.
Time	of	George I,	1715.
1818)	81	George II,	1736.
1819)	**	William III,	1700.
819)	**	Charles I,	1644.
Time	of	Richard I,	1194.
Time	of	Elizabeth,	1559•
Time	of	Elizabeth,	1570.
Time	of	Elizabeth,	1575.
Time	of	William III,	1700.
22) "	**	James I,	1620.
"	f 1	Charles II,	1660.
Time	of	Edward IV,	1470.
	Time Time Time Time 1818) 1819) Time Time Time Time Time	Time of Time of Time of Time of Time of 1818) 1819) Time of Time of Time of Time of Time of Time of	William III, Sl9) " Charles I, Time of Richard I, Time of Elizabeth, Time of Elizabeth, Time of Elizabeth, Time of William III, 22) " James I,

BYRON.

Poetical Works, Letters and Journals:

The Works of Lord Byron, Ed. by Coleridge, E. H., 7 vols., London, John Murray 1903.

Letters and Journals, Ed. by Prothero, R. E., 6 vols., London, J. Murray, 1902.

The Confessions of Lord Byron, Ed. by Bettany, Lewis, London, J. Murray, 1905.

Correspondence with a Friend, Ed. by Dallas, R. C., Philadelphia, Carey, H. G., and Lea, I. (200 pages including Byron's letters to his mother) 1825.

Works of Lord Byron, Letters, Ed. by Henley, W. E., London, W. Heineman, 1897.

- Byron, Ed. by Henson, H. H., Cambridge University Press, 1924.
- With Byron in Italy, Ed. by McMahan, Anna B., London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1907.
- Ed. by Murray, John, London, J. Murray, 1840.
- Byron, Ed. by Mustey, D. S., Oxford, Clarendon Press, Price 1s. 6d.
- * Poetical Works of Lord Byron, Ed. by Scott, William. 3 vols., London, Routledge, N. G. Dutton.
- * Poetical Works of Lord Byron, with introduction by Leighton,
 A., London, Charles Griffin & Co. (undated).
- * The Works of Lord Byron, with his Letters and Journals and his Life, Ed. by Moore, Thomas, 17 vols., London, J. Murray, 1832.
 - Byron's Life, Letters and Journals, Ed. by Moore, T., in one vol., London, John Murray, 1860.
 - The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, with Introductions (The People's Standard Library), London, Ward Lock & Co. (undated).
- Byron's Poetical Works, Ed. with critical memoir by Rossetti, W. H., (Moson's Popular Poets) compiled from copyright work, London, Ward Lock & Co. Printer, S. Cowan & Co., Perth(undated).

II. BIOGRAPHIES OF SCOTT AND BYRON:

SCOTT.

- Lockhart, J. G.: <u>Life of Sir Walter Scott</u>, 2 vols., Edinburgh condensed edn. of 1848 re-edited by Scott, J. R. Hope, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1871.
- * Lockhart, J. G.: Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott,

 Bart. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1837-8. 10 vols. Edinburgh

 1839 and later editions. Abridged edn. 1871. Edn. de
 luxe Edinburgh, 1899.
- * MacCunn, F. A.: Sir Walter Scott's Friends, Edinburgh 1909 and later editions.
 - Saintsbury, George: Sir Walter Scott (Famous Scots Series) one vol., Edinburgh, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897.
- * I have not had the opportunity of consulting books so marked.

- Castelar, Emilie: The Life of Lord Byron and Others, London, Tinsley Bros., 1875.
- Clinton, George: Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Byron, London, James Robins & Co. 1825 and 1827.
- Ex Dallas, R. C. (ed.): Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron from the Year 1808 to the end of 1814. 1824.
 - Galt, John: The Life of Lord Byron, London, Colburn and Bentley, 1830.
 - Guiccioli, Countess(nee Gamba, Teresa): My Recollections of Lord Byron and those of eye witnesses of his Life, New York, Harper and Bros., 1858 and 1869.
 - Mayne, Ethel C.: Byron, 2 vols. New York, Chas. Scribners Sons, 1913.
- Moel, Robert: Life of Byron, Bibliography by Anderson, J.P., London, 1890.
- * Parry, W.: Last Days of Lord Byron(1824). 1824.
- watkins, Dr. John: Memoirs of the Life and Writings...Lord
 Byron, 1822.

III. BOOKS ON SCOTT AND BYRON:

- * Arnold, M.: Essays on Criticism, (Eversley Series) London, 1911.
- * Bowring, Dr.: <u>Byroniana</u> (Bibliography <u>Byron</u>, Brecknock, A.), 1834.
 - Brecknock, Albert: Byron: a study of the poet in the light of new discoveries, with bibliography, London, Cecil Palmer, 1926.
- Chew, Sam. C.: The Dramas of Lord Byron, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1915.
- * Chew, Sam. C.: Eyron in England, his fame and afterfame.

 London, J. Murray, price 21s.
 - Dawson, W. J.: The Makers of English Poetry, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press. 1918.
 - Dick, W.: Byron and his Poetry (Poetry and Life Series), London, Harrop, 1913.

^{*} I have not had the opportunity of consulting books so marked.

^{1.} Date 1822 is copied from authorities p. 905 Byron, Encyclopaedia Britannica. If date is correct, the Memoirs would be published two years before Byron's death.

- Edgecumbe, Richard: Byron the last phase, New York, Chas. Scribners' Sons, 1909. Review, Spec. 103: 645-6, Oct. 23, 1909.
- Garrod, A. W.: Byron, 1824-1924 a lecture at Oxford on the centenary of Byron's death. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924.
- * Gordon, A.E.: Allegra Story of Byron and Mrs. Clairmont, London, Methuen, 1927.
- * Graham, William: Last Links with Byron, London, Leonard Smithers Co., 1898 and 1909.
- * Grierson, H. J. C.: <u>Poems of Lord Byron</u>, (Selected and arranged in chronological order) Chatto and Windus price 16s.
- * Gribble, F. N.: Love Affairs of Lord Byron, New York, Scribners' Sons, 1910(See Articles).
- * Jeaffreson, John Cordy: The Real Lord Byron, 2 vols.
 London, Hurst and Blackatt, 1883.
- * Leigh, E. Medora: Medora Leigh, a History and Autobiography
 Ed. Mackay, C. 1869.
 - Macaulay, Thos. B.: Essays (Byron) i 311-352; London, Methuen Co., 1843.
- * Mather, J. N.: Byron the Pessimist, 19th Cent. Poets, London. F. Warne & Co., 1893.
 - Milbanke, Ralph: Astarte A Fragment of Truth. London, Christophers, price 18s., 1926.
- * Murray, John: Lord Byron and His Detractors, London, J. Murray, 1906.
- * Nicholson, Harold: The Last Journey (Byron) London, Constable, Price 12s., 1924.
- Robertson, John C.: Recollections of a Long Life by Lord Broughton, New York, Scribners' Sons, 1809.
- * Sinon, J. D.: Byron in Perspective, London, Seeker, price 12s. 1924.
- * Symons, Arthur: Lord Byron of Romantic Movement, London, N. G. Dutton.
- * I have not had the opportunity of consulting books so marked.

IV. ARTICLES ON BYRON: /

- Bellamy, R. L.: Kegan, Paul, Times, June 12, 1924.
- Chew, Sam. C.: The Pamphlet of the Byron Separation, Mod. Lang. Notes, XXXIV, 3; 155-161.
- Collins, Churton: "Works of Byron," Quar. 202: 429-57, Ap. 1905.
- Collins, Churton: "Poetry of Byron," Cur. Lit, 39:36; July, 1905.
- Ernle, Lord: "New Letters of Byron chiefly to Lady Melbourne,"

 Quarterly R., Vol. 237, No. 471, pp. 430-50, Ap. 1922.
- Ernle, Lord: "The End of the Byron Mystery," XIX Century 1890; pp. 207-218, Aug. 1921.
- Gribble, F. N.: "Love Affairs of Lord Byron," Bookman 32: 413-7, Dec. 1910.
- Hancock, A. S.: "Byron in Fr. Rev.," Eng. Poets, pp. 78-118 New York, 1909.
- Hewitt, : "New Byron Letters," Fortn,,118: pp. 76-9, Nov. 1902.
- Hodgkins, Louise M.: "Biography of Older Articles, etc., in Byron," XIX Cent. Authors, 38-40.
- Lawrence, C. L.: "The Personality of Lord Byron," Edinburgh
 Review 239: 342 Ap. 1924.
- Mayne, Ethel C.: "Byron," Nation 96: 476-7, May 8, 1913.
- MacMahon, Anna B.: "Byron Confessions," Dial 39, 235-6, Oct. 1905.
- Morley, John: "Byron," <u>Critical Miscellanies</u>, Vol. 1, Macmillan.
- Payne, A. M.: "Personality and Work of Byron," Greater English
 Poets of 19th Century, pp. 64-95.
- Pyre, J. F. A.: "Byron in Our Day," Atlantis 99: 542, Ap. 1907.
- Reid, Whitelaw: "Byron," Fortn. Rev. pp. 129-143, Jan. 1911.
- Scott, M. A.: "Mary Chaworth's Daughter": Nation 70: 144. Feb. 22, 1900.
- Schauffer, R.: "Two New Byron Letters," Bk. Buyer; 24: 199-200, Ap. 1902.
- Strahan, J. A.: "Byron in Italy," a review of Astarte: Edin. R. 235: 76-89, Jan. 1922.
- / This list is copied from various bibliographies as likely to bear on the social relations of Byron, and I have not had time or opportunity to consult them.

Woodberry, G. E.: "Byron's Centenary," Makers of Literature, pp. 371-385, Macmillan.

Roxburgh Club: "Lord Byron and His Detractors." London, 1916. (In answer to Milbanke's Astarte, 1915).

V. GENERAL REFERENCES TO SCOTT AND BYRON:

Cambridge History of Literature: Cambridge U.P.

Chambers Biographical Dictionary: Patrick, David(LL.D.), London, W. K. R. Chambers, Ltd. 1907.

Encyclopaedic Dictionary: London, Greig & Co., 1896.

The International Cyclopedia: Greene, Richard Gleason, (Vols. iii and xiii, Byron, Scott), New York, Dodd Mead & Co., 1889.

The Nineteenth Century Series (26 vols.): McCarthy, Justin, (Vol. ii), London, W. and R. Chambers.

Ridpath Library of Universal Knowledge: Ridpath, John Clark, New York, Fifth Ave., Library Society, 1906.