

THE GOTHIC BALLAD IN
BRITISH ROMANTIC LITERATURE

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Chapter III

The Translations and Adaptations
of Bürger's Lenore

As should be obvious by now, the single most important event in the history of the English Gothic ballad was the importation to England of Gottfried August Bürger's Lenore, several versions of which appeared in 1796. In Germany the original had first been printed in the Göttinger Musenalmanach for 1774 (a volume that had actually been published in 1773), and the poem's success was immediate. It was an early example of the "Schauerballade" (or "horror ballad"), which in its more refined form is generally traced to certain of Ludwig Hölz's lyric romances of the 1770's.¹ But Lenore achieved a level of artistic perfection beyond that attained by previous German balladry and managed to fulfill the esthetic hopes of the Sturm und Drang theorist Herder, whose ideas on the "folk spirit" Bürger was quite familiar with:

It was Herder's charge that folk lyric should be purified, revitalized, and raised from the low state of comic vulgarity into which it had long since fallen. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry and Ossian hovered before Herder's inner eye, and he hoped for a similar development in Germany. Perhaps no one among Herder's readers at that particular moment was in a better position [than Bürger] to fulfill the mission he outlined.²

Lenore quickly achieved a significant place among the works of the Sturm und Drang; that it took so many years for a poem that had gained almost immediate celebrity in Germany to become at all familiar to the literate Englishman may at first seem

incongruous. There was, however, comparatively little curiosity among the English about the literary endeavors of the Germans during most of the eighteenth century, and only toward the century's end did German language and literature become directly known to more than a handful of Englishmen. In Violet Stockley's study of the familiarity of the English with German literature from 1750-1830, she lists two translations of German works during the 1750's, eleven during the 1760's, fourteen during the 1770's, twelve during the 1780's, and approximately seventy during the 1790's.³ And of those Englishmen who showed an early and persistent interest in German writings and who helped to produce the vogue for German works that occurred in the 1790's, the place of greatest importance is almost universally given to William Taylor of Norwich, the first of the translators of Lenore.⁴ P. W. Stokoe writes of him that "In the years between 1788 and 1818 he is almost the only reviewer of German works who is at all extensively acquainted with German literature."⁵

Taylor, who was born in 1765, was educated to take care of the numerous foreign business dealings of his father's manufacturing firm and for that reason received intensive training in Continental languages. The most important part of his education in England was handled at the school of Rochemont Barbauld, where he became a student in 1774 and where he came under the influence of Rochemont's wife, Anna Letitia Barbauld. Taylor later referred to Mrs. Barbauld as "the mother of his mind," and if the ideas

expressed by Mrs. Barbauld's brother, John Aikin, in the previously cited "On the Pleasures Derived from Objects of Terror" (part of their co-authored Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose) are any indication of her own critical inclinations, Taylor's later interest in Lenore is hardly surprising. But Taylor's acquaintance with John himself, whom he apparently met through Anna Letitia, obviates any need to resort to an indirect influence, and as we shall soon see, both brother and sister were to perform important functions in the popularizing of the Gothic ballads. During these years at the Barbauld school, too, Taylor met and befriended Frank L. Sayers, eventual author of Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology (1790), one of the more important antiquarian works that immediately preceded and helped prepare the way for Gothic balladry.

Taylor left school in 1779 and went to Italy, France, and Holland, where he spent sixteen months polishing his language skills. In 1781, he again left England and this time travelled to Belgium and Germany. This particular journey lasted seventeen months, during which he apparently met Goethe, and before returning home, his life-long admiration for German literature, and especially for German poetry, had taken hold.⁶

Taylor's translation of Bürger's Lenore (see Section C) had been completed by 1790 but was circulated only in manuscript for the next several years. Among the first to see it — and certainly the first to be directly influenced by it — was John Aikin, whose poem "Arthur and Matilda" (Section C) is based on the Taylor

translation. A note appended to the poem acknowledges that "The idea of this Piece was taken from a ballad translated by an ingenious friend from the German of Bürger." [sic.]⁷ But as John William Ruff has suggested, the terrors of Lenore are somewhat toned down in Aikin's variant, and the convincing supernaturalism of Bürger's poem becomes an evanescent "Vision" in Aikin's. According to Ruff, "Aikin, in places seems to be writing a sentimental ballad about two lovers who happen to be separated..."⁸ an opinion that can be supported by pointing out the spiritual affinity between "Arthur and Matilda" and the immediately preceding poem in Aikin's volume, the previously mentioned "Susanna's Vigil" — clearly a ballad of pathos — and by noticing, too, the lover-duo title so typical of the sentimental tradition. From what has already been said about Lenore's and Gothic balladry's close connection to sentimentalism, however, the fact that "Arthur and Matilda" allies itself so closely to the poetry of sensibility should come as no great surprise.⁹

Mrs. Barbauld also seems to have seen Taylor's translation at an early date, and an often repeated story concerns her spirited reading of the poem before a group of Edinburgh intellectuals at the home of Dugald Stewart during the summer of 1794. The poem produced an immediate stir among the guests, one of whom — either Stewart's brother-in-law, a Mr. Cranstoun, or Mr. Cranstoun's sister — told young Walter Scott of the excitement the poem had caused and repeated two of its lines for him:

Tramp! tramp! along the land they rode,
 Splasht splasht along the sea!

Scott, who had somewhat earlier begun studying German, immediately attempted to get hold of Bürger's works but found that they were unavailable in England. Fortunately, a German relation, Mrs. Scott of Harden, was able to get the elusive volume from Hamburg, and at the urging of a friend, Scott made his own translation of Lenore, retaining the two lines quoted to him from Taylor's version. That poem, along with Scott's translation of another of Bürger's ballads, soon afterward became Scott's first published work.¹⁰

Having already had an impact on British literary life, then, Taylor's translation was finally published in the March, 1796, issue of the Monthly Magazine, a periodical "recently founded" by John Aikin "with the understanding that Taylor should cooperate."¹¹ The same issue included an article by Taylor entitled "Some Account of the Poems of G. A. Bürger," in which Taylor wrote that

Bürger is everywhere distinguished for manly sentiment and force of style. His extraordinary powers of language are founded on a rejection of the conventional paraséology of regular poetry, in favor of popular forms of expression, caught by the listening artist from the voice of agitated nature. Imitative harmony he pursues almost to excess: the onomatopoeia is his prevailing figure; the interjection, his favorite part of speech: arrangement, rhythm, sound, rhyme, are always with him an echo to the sense. The hurrying vigour of his impetuous diction is unrivaled; yet it is so natural, even in its sublimity, that his poetry is singularly fitted to become national popular song. 12

Three more of Taylor's translations from Bürger (none of which, however, is a Gothic ballad) were published in the magazine's next two issues.¹³

In later issues, the magazine also carried a pair of letters claiming to have found the source of Bürger's poem. The first, appearing in the number of September, 1796, suggests that Bürger had made use of "The Suffolk Miracle" from a ballad collection of 1723.¹⁴ A letter from J. Francis Cordes in the issue of September, 1799, however, notes Bürger's own claim that "an old Low-Dutch ballad furnished him with the idea of that piece...." Cordes then describes a German folk tale he had recently heard while abroad and points out its closeness to Lenore. But he also mentions that

...Leonora's frantic anguish when she does not meet her lover among the returning warriors — the language of comfort of her mother — her contempt of the sacrament, and her incredulity in its virtues, which motives the apparition — are not to be met with in the oral tradition. 15

What appears to be true is that "The Suffolk Miracle," Lenore, and the tale heard by Cordes are simply variants on the same wide-spread folk motif, shortened manifestations of which are "Fair Margaret and Sweet William" and the ballads of pathos. Bürger's version retains the basic outline of the folk original but adapts it to his own particular literary milieu by intensifying its touches of horror and by adding moral and sentimental embellishments.

Although Taylor's appears to be the first of the translations of Lenore to have been completed, it was not the first one published. That honor belongs to John Thomas Stanley's "Leonora," which was printed in booklet form in February of 1796 (and which

was favorably reviewed in the March, 1796, Monthly Mirror.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Stanley himself was not primarily a man of letters but was "a member of parliament, a fellow of the Royal Societies of England and Scotland," who had been "long acquainted with German and German literature."¹⁷ In August, 1781, he had resided in Brunswick and had again lived in Germany later in the decade. An earlier publication than "Leonora" had gained him admission to the two Royal Societies, but rather than a literary work, that publication had been an account of a scientific expedition to Iceland that he had taken part in in 1789.

Like Taylor's translation, Stanley's was at first seen only in manuscript, and it, too, inspired a rival version. Maria Josepha Holroyd, the future Mrs. Stanley, tells the story in a letter of February 22, 1796:

He lent his Translation to Lady D. Beauclerk, who took advantage of it to make beautiful drawings from it, and Mr. Spencer, her nephew I think, undertook to improve the Translation, and meant to publish it with Engravings from Lady Diana's Drawings. Mr. Stanley did not intend to publish, but hearing of this he was affronted, and had his Translation printed in hot haste. 18

C. F. Emerson suggests a date no earlier than October 29, 1795, for the loan of the manuscript to Lady Beauclerk, niece of one of Stanley's former political colleagues.¹⁹

Stanley's "Leonora" was apparently quite successful, and by April of 1796, a second and third edition were necessary. The second was the first to bear Stanley's name, and the third included a revised opening and conclusion and a trio of

illustrations by William Blake. Stanley's additions were intended to give the poem an undeniable moral purpose, as the new introduction makes clear:

Does not the ideas of a God include
The notion of beneficent and good;
Of one to mercy, not revenge inclin'd,
Able and willing to relieve mankind? 20.

And his new conclusion (see Section C) is even more blatantly didactic.²¹ As O. F. Emerson states, Stanley "was no child of the new romanticism."²² His alterations are very much in keeping with the tendency earlier in the century to give "the supernatural human validity," and his sudden dismissal of the poem's supernatural machinery, a tactic similar to what Aikin had done in "Arthur and Matilda," is typical of the older poetic ways.

We would, of course, expect Blake's contributions to the volume to be more consistent with the new literature than with the old, but the head-piece and tail-piece that Blake designed hardly seem avant-garde. Emerson describes the head-piece as follows:

The head-piece represents the return of the soldiers from the war. At the right a husband and wife are clasped in each other's arms, a child also clinging to the father's leg. Two grenadiers with their sweethearts are in the center, "their helms bedecked with oaken boughs," and before them three youths, one blowing a reed instrument, and one with a drum. At the right Lenore and her mother look on, taking no part in the joyous return.

The tail-piece is equally bland:

The tail-piece contains three figures. Lenore is starting from her couch, as if waking from a dream. William, with arms outstretched, is rushing toward her, followed by the mother close behind.

But the frontispiece is considerably more daring:

It portrays a greatly elongated horse plunging in the air, breathing out flame, and spurning the earth with a similar display of fireworks. On its back is William, clutched around the waist by the terrified Lenore, William waving to an "airy crew" of creatures, mainly heads, which show joy and terror. Below are human figures, half sunk in the earth and locking up with amazement, while a naked "ghostly crew" of three men and two women dance frantically across the face of the full moon just above the horizon.

The illustration is potentially an expressive representation of poetic transcendence, and one wonders whether Blake identified himself with the William of his engraving.

Also, a redoing of several lines from Young's "Night Thoughts" appears under the frontispiece:

Of how I dreamt of things impossible!
Of Death affecting Forms least like himself;
I've seen, or dreamt I saw the Tyrant dress,
Lay by his Horrors, and put on his Smiles;
Treach'rous he came an unexpected Guest,
Nay, though invited by the loudest Calls
Of blind Imprudence, unexpected still;
And then he dropt his Mask.

Emerson points out that these lines were likely put together by Blake himself, since they were part of the frontispiece plate and since Blake was engraving illustrations for the "Night Thoughts" at about this time. They are reworked from lines in several stanzas of "Night V,"²⁴ and although they can hardly be called original poetry, they are skillfully enough put together to deserve more attention from the editors of Blake than they have been given.

After Stanley had published his translation and Taylor, in reaction to Stanley's, had published his, Henry J. Pye, poet-

laureate from 1790-1813, became the third published translator when his version (see Section C) appeared, probably at the beginning of April, 1796. He refers to the poem as "an object of curiosity, but...by no means...a pattern for imitation,"²⁵ and after making obsequious reference to the yet-to-be-published Spencer translation, he claims for his attempt the virtue of nearly literal accuracy:

This attempt would not have appeared, to anticipate a promised translation of the same Tale by the pen of a young poet of illustrious birth, with ornaments by the pencil of elegance and beauty, had there not been one already published. Between that publication and this there can be no competition, as that is a free paraphrase, and this a translation line by line, and as near the original as the restraints of versification, and the idiom and genius of the different languages would admit. A closer version would, in some places, have been ridiculous, and in others profane. 26

But however accurate Pye may have been, his translation has never been noted for its poetic beauty and is perhaps the least important of these earliest English renderings of Lenore.²⁷

William Robert Spencer, who "was the friend of statesmen like Pitt and Fox and Sheridan, as he was later to be the friend of Byron and Moore and the London representatives of the new literature"²⁸ and who chose the life of a town wit and minor versifier over the loftier possibilities available to a man with his aristocratic and politically influential connections, was the next to publish a version of Lenore (Section C). His attempt was favorably treated in a notice in the Critical Review of July, 1796, and was successful enough to be reprinted in 1799 and 1809.

Admiring remarks are also to be found in Mme. De Stael's De l'Allemagne (1813) and, more contemporaneously, in letters of July 19 and December 17, 1796, from Anna Seward to a Miss Wingfield and a Miss Arden. The December letter is especially noteworthy for its description of the general excitement Bürger's poem was giving rise to in England.²⁹

After Spencer's poem had appeared, Walter Scott became the last of the early translators to have his version of Lenore published when The Chase and William and Helen was issued by Mundell and Miller some time between August and November of 1796.³⁰ "The Chase" (later retitled "The Wild Huntsman") was a translation of Bürger's Der Wilde Jäger and will be discussed in the next chapter. "William and Helen" (Section C), his rendering of Lenore, is the only one of the early translations of Bürger's poem that is still frequently anthologized, but its immediate reception was less than overwhelming. The May, 1797, Monthly Review praised it, and we again encounter a letter from Anna Seward (of February, 1797, to Lady Eleanor Butler) that included flattering remarks in its favor,³¹ but the profusion of translations that preceded it appear to have limited its success. Scott's own remarks tell the tale best:

The fate of this, my first publication, was by no means flattering. I distributed so many copies among my friends as, according to the booksellers, materially to interfere with the sale; and the number of translations which appeared in England about the same time, including that of Mr. Taylor, to which I had been so much indebted, and which was published in 'The Monthly Magazine,' were sufficient to exclude a provincial writer from competition. However different my success might have been, had I been fortunate enough to have led the way in the general scramble for precedence, my efforts

sunk unnoticed when launched at the same time with those of Mr. Taylor...; of my ingenious and amiable friend of many years, William Robert Spencer; of Mr. Fye, the laureate of the day, and many others besides. In a word, my adventure, where so many pushed off to sea, proved a dead loss, and a great part of the edition was condemned to the service of the trunkmaker.

Rather than discouraging him, however, Scott tells us that the experience made him feel "more bent to show the world that it had neglected something worth notice" than "affronted by its indifference."³²

Although Scott's was the last of the direct translations of Lenore to appear in the crowded year 1796, one other poem ought to be mentioned before we proceed. Matthew Gregory Lewis's The Monk, which was published on March 12, 1796,³³ and which — along with the Lenore translations — brought the spirit of the German Sturm und Drang to England, contained several inset poems including a Lenore imitation entitled "Alonzo the Brave and Fair-Imogene" (Section C). Like Taylor, Lewis had spent considerable time in Germany familiarizing himself with its language and literature, and The Monk gives evidence of this preoccupation throughout. "Alonzo the Brave" is probably the result of Lewis's direct familiarity with Bürger's poem in the original German. According to André Parreaux in his study of the publication of Lewis's novel, the poetry of The Monk was generally well received:

The contemporary critics might be divided in their appreciation of the new novel, and most of them might look, as they did, rather unfavorably on it, yet even its most severe censors bestowed unstinted and unqualified praise of the poetry of The Monk. 34

And "'Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogen'" itself "took England by storm."³⁵ Parreaux cites ten reprintings of the poem by the end of 1797.³⁶

The popularity of "Alonzo the Brave" may be difficult for the modern reader to comprehend, but certain characteristics of the poem do suggest an explanation of its appeal. Even more than do the direct translations of Lenore, "Alonzo the Brave" fits in among the ballads of pathos. Its title is typical of that genre, and its tale of love betrayed is extremely close in plot to a number of the sentimental ballads. The first few stanzas of the poem introduce us to Alonzo in a way that we are never introduced to the William of Lenore. As a result, Imogen's crime against love is less easy to dismiss than it might otherwise be, and Alonzo's return in death is more chilling. And to a situation already emotionally charged, the horror associated with the dead is a potent addition. The lines Lewis uses to convey this horror, such lines as "The lights in the chamber burned blue!" and "The worms they crept in, and the worms they crept out./And sported his eyes and his temples about," may not now sound especially effective, but in 1796, they apparently accomplished their purpose. Our taste in rhyme and meter is also considerably different from that of Lewis's contemporaries, and the rhythmic and metric precision that makes "Alonzo the Brave" so monotonously sing-song to a modern ear was much admired in Lewis's own time. Walter Scott, for one, was much taken with Lewis's prosodic craftsmanship.

And since "Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogen" and the direct translations of Lenore are so closely related, similar — though not identical — reasons can be given for the popularity of the latter poems. As has already been discussed, they, too, resemble the ballads of pathos and elicit a sentimental response from the reader. They obviously also make use of the same mixture of love's attraction and death's horror to intensify their effect. And finally, they employ, with unequal success, devices of rhyme, meter, and sound to give proper expression to the story they contain.

But if Lewis's composition and the Lenore translations are all poems of sentiment, the latter differ from the former in where they place the center of emotional conflict. "Alonzo the Brave" is a straightforward tale of earthly love betrayed, and as such, the presence in the poem of the living male lover is essential. We hear him pledge love to Imogen, we hear her reciprocate, and we witness her faithlessness and final punishment. In Lenore, on the other hand, the living William is an unnecessary character because the conflict is not between lover and lover but between Imogen and God. The external world has broken in on her relationship with William, and he has dutifully gone to war — and ultimately to death. As a result, Imogen curses God and draws God's wrath upon her head. Her mother, lacking her passion and her destructive individuality, tries to restrain her but fails. Imogen wishes for nothing except union with William, and her wish is ironically granted.

And in keeping with their differences in theme, Lewis's poem of a woman's betrayal of an earthly love is less powerful in its plot and imagery than Bürger's poem of a woman's spurning of the love of God. Lewis has nothing to match the break-neck midnight ride of Lenore and the graveside terrors of that poem's conclusion. His poem is too short for the gradual building up of horrors that makes Lenore so effective, and his use of Gothic paraphernalia is too conventional and too consciously intended to produce a stock response for the poem to remain vital after nearly two hundred years.

Nor can Lewis's strict rhyme and meter be favorably compared to the careful matching of sound and sense of perhaps the best — and certainly the most influential — of the Lenore translations, William Taylor's "Lenora." Taylor's note on Bürger in the March, 1796, issue of the Monthly Magazine indicates his awareness of the intricate manipulations of sound in Bürger's original, and he attempts similar manipulations in his English version. He adopts the quatrain in place of Bürger's eight-line stanza and alternates rhymed iambic trimeter in lines two and four with unrhymed iambic tetrameter in lines one and three. This quatrain arrangement allows for a quick narrative pace especially appropriate in the midnight ride sequence and is essentially identical to the quatrain used by Coleridge — and almost certainly derived from Taylor — in The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. Taylor also makes frequent

use of internal rhyme, alliteration, and onomatopoeia to give as faithful a sense as possible in English of what the German original is like.

But the Lenore translations themselves, including Taylor's, are less readable now than they once were, and though they remain more substantial literary accomplishments than "Alonzo the Brave," they seem of small significance when compared to the Romantic poets' achievements in the writing of verses of the supernatural. But without Lenore and without the experiments in horror poetry that succeeded the Lenore translations, much of what is most fanciful in English Romanticism might never have been attempted. When Charles Lamb, in a letter of July 17, 1796, writes to Coleridge

Have you read a ballad called "Leonora" in the second number of the "Monthly Magazine"? If you have!!!!!!!!!!!!!! 37

he expresses the fascination of a good many other English men of letters. And when Robert Southey exclaims, "I shall hardly be satisfied till I have got a ballad as good as 'Lenora,'"³⁸ he sums up the ambition of a surprising number of his fellow poets.³⁹

NOTES

1. William A. Little, Gottfried August Bürger, Twayne's World Authors Series: A Survey of the World's Literature, No. 270 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), p.94.

2. Little, p.97.

3. V[iole] Stockley, German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830 (London: Routledge, 1929), pp.324-326.

4. The final phrase here should, perhaps, read "the earliest of the confirmed translators of Lenore." O. F. Emerson (on pp.37-38 of "The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's Lenore," Western Reserve Studies, (No.1 (May, 1915))) mentions a reference in the Tableau de l'Allemagne et de la littérature allemande, par un Anglois à Berlin pour ses amis à Londres (1752), to a much earlier translation. Emerson speculates that this might be the one by the Rev. Benjamin Beresford (a copy of which I've been unable to obtain) that appeared in his A Collection of German Ballads and Songs (1799).

Furthermore, I've found a reference by James R. Foster (on p.199 of his History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in England, The Modern Language Association Monograph Series, Vol.17 (Baltimore: The Waverly Press, 1949)) to "an imitation of Bürger's Lenore..." in Sir Herbert Cross's Love and Madness (1780). This may be the earliest of all English translations or adaptations of Lenore, but again I've failed to find a copy of the work in question.

5. F. W. Stokoe, German Influence in the English Romantic Period: 1788-1818 (1926; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), p.38.

6. Most of the biographical information above is from Alexander Gordon, "William Taylor," The Dictionary of National Biography (1917; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

7. John Aikin, Poems (London: J. Johnson, 1791), p.44.

8. John William Ruff, "A Study of Walter Scott's Apology for Tales of Terror," Diss. Yale 1930, p.116. Ruff's discussion of Aikin's poem extends from p.109 to p.117 and includes remarks about "Susanna's Vigil" that agree with mine. He concludes by saying

Aikin, in this ballad, tried to combine the virtue of the sentimental ballad to which he was accustomed, with the startling new ballad from Germany.

9. One wonders, too, whether Aikin was familiar with some version of "The Daemon Lover" (Section A) or with Grainger's "Bryan and Pereene" (again, Section A). And more importantly, one wonders whether Coleridge had read "Arthur and Matilda" before writing The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. The approach of the ship of Death and Life-in-Death may owe something to the approach of Matilda's boat to the ship carrying Arthur.

10. For one version of the story see p.36 ff. of Vol.IV of Sir Walter Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ed. T. F. Henderson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

11. Oliver Farrar Emerson, "The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's Lenore: A Study in English and German Romanticism," Western Reserve Studies, 1, No.1 (May, 1915), p.29.

12. The quote is to be found on p.118.

13. The April issue contained the already mentioned "The Laes of Fair Wone" (pp.223-224) and the May issue "The Menagerie of the Gods" and "Pro Patria Mori" (p.313).

14. The letter is dated September 3, 1796, and is signed "B." (Although the above claim of Bürger's indebtedness to "The Suffolk Miracle" appears to be mistaken, Taylor, the translator, is certainly indebted to a previous ballad. As Robert Scutney pointed out in a letter of July 31, 1796, [see Emerson, p.33], lines 133-140 of Taylor's translation are derived from "Sweet William's Ghost," a poem related to "Fair Margaret and Sweet William.")

15. p.603.

16. Emerson, pp.15-16. Emerson also mentions (p.18) the misdating of the preface to the third edition ("Feb. 8, 1786" instead of 1796) that has resulted in several subsequent bibliographic errors.

17. Emerson, p.11.

18. Emerson, p.11. Emerson quotes the letter (addressed to Sarah Martha Holroyd) from J. H. Adeane, The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd (London, 1896), p.368.

19. Emerson, p.15.

20. Emerson, p.19.

21. Emerson (p.22) refers to an unfavorable review of the new conclusion in the July, 1796, Critical Review.

22. Emerson, p.21.

23. This and the two preceding passages are from Emerson, "The Earliest Translations of Bürger's Lenore," p.19.

24. This information and the preceding quote are from Emerson, p.19.

25. The quote and the preceding date are from Emerson, p.39.

26. Emerson, p.37.

27. Emerson (p.40) gives essentially this opinion.

28. Emerson, p.41.

29. Emerson, pp.44-45 and 62.

30. Ruff, p.149.

Emerson (p.61) claims that William Erskine and Miss Cranstoun helped get a few copies of "William and Helen" out as early as April. (One further point: note again the typical ballad of pathos title that Scott uses.)

31. Emerson, pp.57-58.

32. Sir Walter Scott, The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, ed. J. Logie Robertson (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp.651-652. (Footnote covers this and the preceding passage.)

33. André Parreaux, The Publication of the Mork: A Literary Event, 1796-1798, Études de Littérature Étrangère et Comparée, No.41 (Didier: Paris, 1960), p.19.

34. Parreaux, p.49.

35. Parreaux, p.50.

36. Parreaux (p.184) lists the following appearances:

The Morning Chronicle, July 26, 1796.

The Star, August 19, 1796.

The Lady's Magazine, XXVII (August, 1796).

The Gentleman's Magazine, LVI, Pt.II (September, 1796).

The Free-Mason's Magazine, VII (October, 1796).

The Scot's Magazine, LVIII (October, 1796).

Walker's Hibernian Magazine, Pt.II (November, 1796).

The Annual Register, XXXIX.

The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1797, I.

Poetry Original and Selected, II (Glasgow: Brash & Reid, 1797).

37. Emerson, "The Earliest Translations of Bürger's Lenore," p.32.

38. Ruff, p.124.

39. For the fullest account available of Lenore's career in England see Evelyn B. Jolles, Die Rezeption von G. A. Bürger's Ballade "Lenore" in England, Sprache und Literatur, Regensburger Arbeiten zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 7 (Nürnberg: Hans Carl, 1974). The concluding bibliographic references are especially helpful in revealing the vitality of Lenore in England throughout the nineteenth century.