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Lehigh University, Ph.D., 1961
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CHAUCER TRANSLATION IN THE ROMANTIC ERA

by
Minotte McIntosh Chatfield

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate Faculty

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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1961

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Preface

As will be evident to him who turns the pages of this study, the project undertaken herein, of listing, describing, and evaluating the translations of Chaucer belonging to the Romantic Era, has been a lengthy and multifarious one. Lengthy and multifarious, too, was the search for the materials that preceded the writing. In conducting this search, I found myself walking in ways that had not been greatly frequented. To those who have frequented them, however, I owe an especial debt. First, there is Carolyn F. E. Spurgeon, whose book, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, provided me with numerous references to particular items of translation, as well as with a year-by-year presentation of the general Chaucer criticism throughout the period of my concern. I am indebted also to her analysis of the development of Chaucer studies, presented in her Introduction. Eleanor Prescott Hammond's Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual has been highly useful also. Few critics have turned their attention to the Chaucer translations of the Romantic Era, but to those who have I owe much. Chief among these is T. R. Lounsbury, who surveyed the subject in Volume III of his Studies in Chaucer. Alfred Tobler's inaugural dissertation, Geoffrey Chaucer's Influence on English Literature, presented in 1903 to the University of Zurich, has been useful also. Basic

to my whole subject, of course, is the matter of the text of the original Chaucer. Here I have found myself continually indebted to F. N. Robinson and his modern edition, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd ed., 1957), cited herein as "Robinson." The text itself has provided me with a steady point of reference, and the notes have again and again provided light at critical points. In a similar way, for basic texts of many pseudo-Chaucerian items, I am indebted to Chaucerian and Other Studies, W. W. Skeat's supplementary volume to his edition of the works. Nor should I wish to neglect to mention the earlier editions of Chaucer, those which were actually known to the Romantics: Tyrwhitt's (1775-78), for the Canterbury Tales, and, for the works as a whole, Stow's (1561), Speght's (1687), Urry's (1721), Bell's (1782-83), Anderson's (1795), and Chalmers' (1810).

It is with especial pleasure that I acknowledge my debt to the libraries in which my research has been conducted and to those which have served me from afar, through the inter-library loan program. My experience has been universally pleasant. I wish first of all to express my gratitude to Mr. James D. Mack and the entire staff of the Lehigh University Library. Lehigh's Rare Book collection and collections of eighteenth and nineteenth-century periodicals have provided me with much of my basic material. My research of course has led me to many other libraries as well. I am under great debt to the Library Company of

Philadelphia, and especially to Mrs. Lillian Tonkin, for courteously extending to me, over the course of many a visit, the privilege of examining the Ogle and Lipscomb translations and other important items. I am grateful, too, to the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, for the use of its many facilities. The Libraries of Muhlenberg College, Lafayette College, and Swarthmore College, the latter especially for its fine Wells Collection of Wordsworth material, have been extremely helpful to me. Finally, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Rosenwald Galleries of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, for permitting me to examine the Blake items connected with my study.

My work, both from its size and nature, has made it necessary for me to call for considerable assistance in the typing of drafts. I hereby express my gratitude to all who have so kindly offered their services in this task. For their work on preliminary drafts I am under especial debt to Mrs. May Manning, formerly of Muhlenberg College, whose hungry typewriter pushed me ever forward in my own composition, and to Mrs. Joyce Coover and Miss Roma Ziegler, of Muhlenberg College, who typed considerable portions of my roughly written draft. The help of my daughter Elizabeth, who has spent many an hour at her typewriter, I gratefully acknowledge. In the preparation of the final manuscript, I wish to express my very great gratitude to Mrs. Margaret Fistner and to Mrs. Elizabeth Salay, of Lehigh University,

for their unstinted efforts in my behalf.

My research has been conducted under the kindly and patient but firm eye of Professor J. Burke Severs, whose advice and encouragement have helped me to surmount many a critical obstacle. It is with the deepest gratitude and sincerest pleasure that I acknowledge the guidance that he has afforded me.

I wish finally to express my appreciation for the help of my wife. Not only has she assisted me with many a collation and typed many a draft, but at times when the way ahead seemed impossibly long and arduous, her faith in me and her encouragement kept me moving forward.

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Chaucer Translation in the Romantic Era.

Minotte McIntosh Chatfield

Abstract of Dissertation

The writer has sought to list, describe, and evaluate the translations of Chaucer into modern English, written or published in Britain or by British writers during the Romantic Era, defined herein as the period 1792-1841. The translations have been examined for the presence of a trend and for whatever light might be thrown on Chaucer's place among the Romantics, as well as on the nature of the Era itself. Translation, defined as the attempt to give a true rendering of Chaucer in modern English, is seen as embracing paraphrase, the attempt to retain only the matter and spirit of the original Chaucer, and modernization, the attempt to retain as much as possible of Chaucer's diction, meter, and rhyme, as well as matter and spirit.

After Chapter I, definitions, and Chapter II, a survey of Chaucer interest in the eighteenth century, the translations are organized in a chronological list of thirty items, in three chapters: III -- Old Paraphrase and New Modernization, 1792-1814; IV -- New Modernization and Old Chaucer, 1815-1836; and V -- "The Last of the Modernizations," 1837-1841. Two major works of translation, together forming a kind of frame for this study, are No. 4, William Lipscomb's, The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer; Completed in a Modern Version, 3 vols., 1795, and No. 28, R. H. Horne's The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized, 1841. The chief literary figures represented are Wordsworth and Leigh Hunt. Translations of spurious works are included provided they were regarded as genuine by the Romantics.

Translations of an earlier era and simply republished in the Romantic Era have been excluded, except when in a special context. The author has sought to describe each item fully and to evaluate such matters as its integrity and its language and prosody. Every practical attempt has been made to establish, for purposes of comparison, the basic text used by the translator. The most pertinent criticism, authorial or otherwise, is considered; however, an exhaustive study of the related criticism has not been attempted. Each item is considered, too, for the light it may shed on the ways of the Romantics, especially in such areas as antiquarianism, morality, and pietism.

Chapter VI presents the author's major conclusions. Until the Romantic Era all Chaucer translation had been paraphrase. In 1800 this mode was challenged by the first known modernization, and the new mode rapidly achieved predominance, the process being abetted by the Romantics' love of the antique. Even so, no really clear-cut pattern of development is discernible, as paraphrase retains followers to the end of the Era.

The fact that most of the translations are fragmentary in character designates this as an era of sudden enthusiasms for Chaucer rather than of steady and settled interest. The hodgepodge character of Horne's Chaucer, Modernized and the shoddy translation turned out by the "Persone of a Toun," in the last year of this study, are seen as marking the end to an age of the dilettante in Chaucerian matters. Even so, the Romantic Era is praised for its enthusiasm, by reason of which interest in Chaucer was quickened and extended.

Chapter I: Introduction

In this book I have undertaken to list, describe, and evaluate translations of Chaucer done by British writers of the Romantic Era.

Translation is regarded herein as an attempt to re-English Chaucer for contemporary readers. Springing from the desire to render one's author truly, it is thus to be distinguished from imitation, which involves the presentation of new matter, however imitative it may be in spirit, style, and language. Later in this introductory chapter, a closer look will be taken at translation and what it involves.

For the purposes of this study, the Romantic Era is regarded as somewhat extended beyond its usual bounds. Traditionally acceptable termini are 1798, the year of first publication of Lyrical Ballads, and 1832, the year of Scott's death, or perhaps 1837, the year in which Victoria ascended the throne. However, to encompass two important compilations to which the Era has a genuine claim, I have extended these limits to 1792 and 1841. The earlier compilation, that of William Lipscomb, bears the date 1795. The first two of its three volumes contain reprints of versions put out by Ogle in 1745 and include even some of Dryden's work. Though Lipscomb himself did all but one of the translations in the third volume, admittedly the work as a whole belongs in the Dryden-Pope and Augustan tradition. It is fitting to include

the work in my study, however, because of its evident influence on the Romantics and because of its marking the end of the long period dominated by the Dryden-Pope doctrine in Chaucer translation. The reason for selecting 1792 as starting date, instead of 1795, will appear. Though the later compilation, that of R. H. Horne, came out in 1841, it seems right to regard this work as belonging to the Romantic Era. In the first place, the eminent Romantics William Wordsworth and Leigh Hunt were the most prominent contributors, and the editor himself, Richard Henry (or Hengist) Horne, though a bit late even to be considered a second-generation Romantic (he was born in 1803), is far more Romantic than Victorian, as a glance at his biography will soon indicate. The book itself, which Caroline Spurgeon calls a "literary curiosity,"[1] is an effusion that seems typical of the Romantic spirit, particularly when somewhat overspent. Conceived of a noble desire to bring Chaucer to a wider audience of readers, it was born a concoction of widely disparate matter from Chaucer, "modernised" by a wide variety of hands, and, except that the General Prologue is placed rightfully at the beginning, haphazardly arranged. So quixotic a production belongs more in the afterglow of the Romantic Era than it does in the early morning light of the age that produced Furnivall and Skeat. Four years later, in 1845, Saunders was to produce a set of Chaucer translations actuated by a generous amount of what we moderns might call the scientific spirit; however disappointingly uneven or unnatural the results, the work

belongs more to the new age.[2] Thus 1841 seems a suitable stopping place. However, I shall endeavor to deal with or at least mention the whole of a translator's work, even when, as in Leigh Hunt's case, some of it was written or was first published after 1841. These time limitations have no bearing on pertinent criticism, which will be referred to and used no matter what its date.

This study is planned as follows. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the considerations and various hazards involved in the criticism of Chaucer translation. Chapter II is devoted to a review of the Chaucer material which the Romantics had inherited from their predecessors. This material, presented chronologically by date of publication, includes editions, translations, biography, sections in histories of literature, encyclopedia articles, and occasional criticism. This survey is intended to provide the reader with a view of what the Romantics knew about Chaucer and to give the reader a basis for the better understanding of the main body of the study that follows.

Chapters III to V, constituting the body of my study, are devoted to a listing, description, and evaluation of the translations themselves. I have endeavored to make the list complete; it includes, to the best of my knowledge, every re-Englishing of Chaucer made during the 1792-1841 period by British writers. Eleanor Prescott Hammond's Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual[3] and Miss Spurgeon's Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion were indispensable

to me in making this compilation; so thoroughgoing were these two works that despite my pains I was able to add but few items gleaned from other sources. With one or two exceptions, to be explained in the proper place, I have been able to locate the translations and examine them at first hand.

A word about the ordering and grouping of items in Chapters III to V. The basic order is chronological by date of publication. Departures are made from this scheme on some occasions. When an item has remained in manuscript or when there was a long period between the date of composition of an item and its publication, I have generally used the date of composition insofar as it could be determined. Wordsworth, for example, wrote all his translations of Chaucer in 1801, but the first of them was not published until 1820; two more appeared for the first time in 1841; and the last was not published during his lifetime. The desirability of presenting Wordsworth's work as a whole seemed to outweigh the desirability of preserving the strict ordering of items by publication date; therefore I have treated Wordsworth's translations as a group, placing them in 1801, when they were written. Similarly, the considerable number of translations by Leigh Hunt, though published at varying intervals from 1815 to 1859, are here presented together under the early date. For the most part, however, my basic scheme suits the selective and scattered production of Chaucer translation in the Romantic Era.

For convenience' sake, the period 1792-1841 is divided

into three parts -- early, middle, and late -- with a chapter devoted to each. The early part is 1792 to 1814; the middle, 1815 to 1836; the late, 1837 to 1841. This division is largely arbitrary, although some attempt has been made to provide a thematic basis. The division has been affected also by a desire to apportion major translation efforts more or less evenly among the three parts. The major figures thus fall out: Lipscomb and Wordsworth are in the early part, Hunt and Charles Cowden Clarke in the middle, and R. H. Horne in the late.

The reader will recognize that many other methods of classifying and ordering this body of translations exist and that in many points they would enjoy advantages over the method I have chosen. I am well aware, for example, that my method generally precludes the possibility of treating together all the versions of a given Chaucerian piece. Versions of the Portrait of the Parson, for instance, appear frequently throughout the Era, and it would be convenient to treat them all together. It is hoped that the disadvantage arising from my not having been able so to treat them has in part been overcome by the use of cross reference and comparative comment. Tempting also was a thematic arrangement, with a basic division of the translations into two groups: one containing those which follow in the Dryden-Pope tradition of free paraphrase, the other containing those in which minimal changes have been made in order that as much as possible of Chaucer's own style and versification might be retained. This division is the more tempting as a

basis for arranging the translations, as it reflects an opposition that is peculiar to, or at least largely confined to, the Romantic Era. The Dryden-Pope type of translation, shortly to be described, dominates the entire eighteenth century to the virtual exclusion of the other type, preferably called modernization. After the Romantic Age, the tables are turned, and the modernization eclipses the paraphrase. In the Romantic Age itself, the two groups in both pronouncement and practice show themselves to be aware of each other, but the productions of the Era are altogether too selective and fragmentary and too much the result of isolated, spasmodic effort to be thought of in terms of two strong rival schools. However, it did seem desirable to assign to a translator his place in the rivalry. This I have endeavored to do wherever possible. But the plan chosen recommended itself ultimately for its simplicity and breadth, two weighty considerations when one is dealing with the Romantic Era; furthermore, though perhaps not the most flexible of plans, it was flexible enough to permit some adjustment and modification. Finally, the plan made for clear-cut exposition of individual translations, and for ready cross-reference, comparison, and comment.

The treatment accorded the translations listed in Chapters III, IV, and V will be as follows. First, the translation will be described, with the purpose of making clear how the translation differs from the original -- in

matter and organization, in diction and imagery, in grammar, and in versification. Passages will be quoted and comparisons with other translations drawn wherever the description may thereby be made clearer and more meaningful. With some exceptions, this treatment will be accorded each translation. Some limitation must be imposed, however, else this study would be tediously large. In Lipscomb's and in Clarke's works, which cover extensive amounts of Chaucer's work, I shall, after listing all items, take only the most representative and significant for full description. Finally, when I have listed and described an item, I shall evaluate it.

In discharging the first two phases of my task, I have done my best to make the list complete and the descriptions accurate. These phases, being in the main objective, involve little risk beyond the possibility of oversight or inaccuracy. But the third phase, evaluation, is full of hazards, and they are the more perilous and may inflict the more damage in that the critic, well though he know them in their general image, may fall victim to them when they assume particular shape, without even being aware of his embarrassment. Even so, a hazard pointed to may be the better avoided. Thus it is the purpose of the remainder of this introductory chapter to identify the hazards that lie in our path and to discuss such other considerations as belong to evaluation.

I shall deal first with hazards involved in all translation and next with those peculiar to the translation of Chaucer, with particular reference of course to the Romantic Era.

The translator of a great work of literary art performs a task beset with obstacles and pitfalls. He may take some comfort perhaps from the fact that his difficulties and dangers are in part shared by critics of his work. To illustrate: from one point of view it can be argued that the prime duty of the translator is to capture and transmit the essence of the original. But the translator, however skilful, however conscientious in his endeavor to perform this duty, is inescapably a child of his own time and place and may easily miss the essence of a writer who lived earlier and elsewhere. Missing the essence, he mistranslates. Plainly, the critic can as readily fall into a like pit, and for the same reason. Though he have the benefit of a hundred or so additional years of criticism, he, no less than the translator, must read his original through glasses clouded by his own times. Thus he too may miss the essence of the original and misjudge. This is a defect in the vision of the critic which he can never quite remove; it is enough that he be aware that it may affect his judgment.

Another danger which the critic must try to avoid is that of expecting too much of a translation. Picking up a translation, the critic who has the original well in mind

is bound to find himself frequently saying, "This man simply does not understand Virgil," or, "Chaucer said it far better"; when he has finished reading, he will no doubt think that the translation does not at all accord with his own "true" idea of the original. Of course from time to time a translator may strike off some particularly happy phrasing, but a sense of realism tells us that for one who knows the original the disappointments in a translation are quite likely to outnumber the delights. No doubt the highest ideal of a translator is to create an image of the original in which its essence sparkles even brighter and its beauty is made yet more beautiful. When the critic sees such an ideal achieved, then indeed might he admire and speak as one who said, "Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated."

To be sure, translators have sometimes been able to achieve the ideal, although such success usually involves the translation of a work from one medium into another -- it is not difficult to cite an instance of the translation of an indifferent book into a good motion picture. But when translation from one language into another, or, still more, the translation from an earlier into a later form of the same language, is involved, it is unreasonable to expect the translation to transcend, or even equal, the original. Dr. Johnson recognized this fact, saying that "we would not be at the trouble to learn a language, if we could have all that is written in it just as well in a translation."[4]

Dr. Johnson's comment suggests another point which it is well for the critic to bear in mind as he prepares to show what he considers the ineptness with which a great original has been transmitted. In his criticism he is likely to judge as though the translation had been done expressly for him and for other scholars and critics. In so doing he overlooks the fact that the translation is most likely intended, not for those who know the original, but for those who do not. This fact should have no bearing on the translator's duty to translate faithfully, except to make integrity yet more deserving, and it should have no bearing on the critic's duty to compare the translation with the original and show the faults as he finds them. But an awareness of the impossibility of finding perfection should provide the critic with a wholesome humility as he faces his task. He will be less quick to condemn, reminding himself that a bit of translation which may appear to him to fall miserably short of the original may actually work well with readers who do not know the original. Thus the critic ought to try to approach the impossible and read a translation both as one who is familiar with the original and as one who is not. This is bound to take the jaundice from the eye, and the critic may then avoid the pitfall of being unjustly severe.

There is yet another hazard common to the criticism of all translation, except when only brief pieces are concerned. Judging a translation is like judging a dictionary: for any

opinion one may form of the work, one can usually find the evidence to support it. For instance, one may easily show the "superiority" of Dictionary A over Dictionary B by citing an impressive selection of definitions wherein the superiority of Dictionary A is patent. But one may as easily show the opposite by citing another but equally impressive set of definitions wherein Dictionary B is superior. So it is with any work whose overall success is determined to no small extent by the consistent, successful handling of innumerable details, and so it is with translation. Though a translation exceeds being a mere sum of its parts by a far greater margin than a dictionary does, still it is difficult to conceive of a translation successful as a whole that does not achieve consistent success in the handling of detail. But a translator, like anyone else who must handle a great number of details, is not going to be able to translate every line of his original with equal success. He is bound to slip, the good translator less frequently than the bad; yet even the good translator will slip frequently enough to allow the critic to support an unfavorable opinion with convincing evidence. In the same way, one might "prove" a bad translation to be a good one. The problem is epitomized in the old saying: "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." But I speak not of negligent or unscrupulous critics. Good critics acting in the best faith, in forming their own opinion of a translation and in transmitting that opinion to others, may fasten with unwitting readiness upon details

that are not truly representative. This is a risk which the critic must undergo; for, unless he is dealing with the translation of brief works, he cannot, for sheer lack of time, compare a translation with its original, detail for detail, from beginning to end. He must select, both for his own sake and for that of his readers, but in selecting from so many details -- details of form and of matter, details of word, phrase, and sentence, of figure and of image, and, in poetry, of versification -- the critic may readily err. To prevent his making judgments which are based on sparse or unrepresentative evidence, the critic of translations must be ever on his guard.

So much for the hazards that all critics of translation must guard against. Now to speak of hazards that are the particular concern of the critic of Chaucer translation. He is dealing with translation, not from one language into another, but from one form into a later form of the same language. The matter becomes rather subtle. Though English has undergone considerable change since Chaucer's day, it is still in most essentials the same language; its form and much of its vocabulary have changed little. The difficulty lies in determining just what happens when one translates Chaucer. The critic who proceeds to judge any Chaucer translation without first addressing himself to this difficulty is embarking upon a perilous journey. Such a one is likely to find himself committing the critical fault of

examining a bush and then saying it is a bad bush because it is not a tree. In the field of our present study, such a critic would examine a translation of Chaucer of the type put out in the Augustan Era and say it was bad because it was not of the type which a modern translator like J. U. Nicolson would produce. I exaggerate the case, no doubt, but it seems to me that the very nature of the problem of Chaucer translation enjoins an especial wariness upon the critic, particularly when he would compare the merits of a certain bush with those of a certain tree. It seems to me that criticism may properly proceed only when based on a study of the kinds of Chaucer translation and what they purport to accomplish. Therefore I present here a brief glance at the ways in which Chaucer may be translated.

We begin by listening to Dryden in his Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles. He is not thinking particularly of Chaucer. All translation, he supposes, may be reduced to three heads: "First, that of metaphrase, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. . . . The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered. . . . The third way is that of imitation, where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty,

not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and, taking only some general hints from the original, to run divisions on the groundwork, as he pleases."[5] However, when one turns to Chaucer translation, Dryden's terminology seems insufficient, at least to judge from the variety of terms used to describe the process. Dorothy Wordsworth speaks of her brother's "alterations" of Chaucer. R. H. Horne, in the introduction to the 1841 volume, calls the process "translation or transfusion." Others speak of "modernizations." The proliferation of terms indicates perhaps an uncertainty as to the real nature of the change that has been worked in Chaucer. Dryden's terms may be reduced simply by striking out "imitation" (indeed, Dryden all but does so himself), for my study is concerned only with attempts to render Chaucer's matter truly. That leaves us with two types of translation: metaphrase and paraphrase.

In 1845, writing in his first volume of Canterbury Tales from Chaucer, Saunders distinguished three types of translation. The first type is a modernizing of Chaucer's poetry: that is, he explains, it has been rewritten, as poetry. This type is Dryden's "paraphrase." It is the method which Dryden and Pope themselves chiefly employed and which dominates the entire eighteenth century, including Lipscomb's three-volume offering of 1795. The second type, according to Saunders, is the transformation of Chaucer's poetry into

modern prose. He points out that this has the advantage of freeing the story "from the difficulties and hindrances caused by antiquated words or pronunciations," the disadvantage being that "it has necessarily been relieved at the same time from all the subtler elements of the poetry" (Spurgeon, II, 264). The third method is the presentation of Chaucer's poetry "in its own proper form, with a modernized spelling, and an accented pronunciation" (Spurgeon, II, 265). Though Dryden himself did this very thing from time to time, adopting whole lines from Chaucer virtually unchanged, it was contrary to his regular practice, nor did he to my knowledge accord it explicit recognition as a method. This is not quite the same as the method Dryden calls "metaphrase," although it is closely allied, bearing perhaps the same relation to Chaucer translation in general as metaphrase does to all translation from one language into another.

I should like to offer a third breakdown. Although it does not differ greatly from either of the foregoing, it is the division that will be consistently used throughout this book and therefore demands presentation here. The term translation will be regarded as the generic term for all attempts to render Chaucer truly in English which one's contemporaries will readily understand. The intention of the writer is the final test of whether a work belongs in this category or not. For instance, a writer may intend using the original merely as a source of inspiration or as

a basis for his own variations and departures. Works of this kind, so often produced by Chaucer himself, cannot properly be labeled translations: we could not call the Knight's Tale a translation of Boccaccio's Il Teseida.[6] As already stated, imitations, or attempts to copy the manner but not the matter, must also be excluded from this category. Nor may we include those efforts which might be called "corrections" of Chaucer, for no matter how weird the result they are really editions, provided that the maker's purpose is to produce a text that presents what he believes Chaucer actually wrote, that is, before the scribes corrupted the text. It is a bit difficult to classify as editor one who "improves" Chaucer by producing a text which represents what Chaucer should have done, or would have done had he had the knowledge and refinement "of this enlightened age." By what he intended to do, John Urry, whose edition appeared in 1721, should be classed among the editors. But his text was so full of arbitrary alterations in spelling and contained so many changes in wording, all to make Chaucer's verse "metrical," that in fact (though not in intention) he should be classed among the "improvers", whose habitation is a kind of no man's land between editing and translating. Tyrwhitt's edition of The Canterbury Tales, 1775-1778, did much to put the editing of Chaucer on the right course. One last point with regard to my use of the term translation: it is to be understood that in this study the term

is limited to the re-Englishing of Chaucer and does not include the translation of Chaucer into foreign languages.

So much for the genus. Now for the species, of which I see only two: paraphrase and modernization. In the paraphrase, Chaucer's matter and spirit are transmitted, but with little correspondence in language. I follow Dryden in this. I include in this category, however, all prose translations of Chaucer's poetry instead of setting up a separate category for them as Saunders does. Paraphrases may vary from the very close to the very free rendering of the original. It must be admitted that sometimes the paraphraser carries his freedom rather far. Dryden, for example, will take a word from Chaucer and elaborate it in several lines. This may be thought to stretch the notion of a paraphrase. But here again I should take the translator's intention into account. If it is a case of large-scale, intentional departure from the matter and meaning of the original, then it is not paraphrase, nor even translation. If, however, it is an elaboration that stays within the spirit and general structure of the original, and the translator has intended to be essentially faithful, I should call it a paraphrase still. It will be recalled that Dryden makes this distinction: the paraphraser may amplify, but not alter. Pope has defined the paraphraser's difficulty in this matter, as well as the limits within which paraphrase may still be called paraphrase: "No literal

translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language: but it is a great mistake to imagine (as many have done) that a rash paraphrase can make amends for this general defect."[7]

The other species of translation is termed modernization in this study. Though not specifically given in Dryden's analysis, it is included in Saunders'. To this category belong all attempts to render Chaucer by keeping as much of Chaucer's own language and versification as becomes the audience's understanding, with alterations confined largely to modernizing spelling and making grammar and diction conform, by minimal changes, to current usage.

Usually, a translation of the Romantic Era, at least in the author's intention if not always in his performance, can be clearly assigned to one category or the other. As I take up each translation, it seems to me that my criticism of it will proceed more fairly if I first determine what kind of translation it is. Classification will not always be clear-cut, however. What does one do with the paraphraser who lapses more than occasionally into modernization, because, perhaps, he finds that the path of least resistance? Or what of the modernizer who paraphrases more than the text requires? The evenness of the performance, especially in the translation of long works like the Knight's Tale, will have to be taken into consideration here. Then there is the modernizer who really wants to "antiquarianize" --

that is, he seeks to modernize Chaucer to the extent to which he must in order that his readers may understand, yet at the same time to retain as much as he can of Chaucer's "antique" flavor. Another sort of modernizer is the one who cannot bear to modernize the broad passages, fearing to hurt the refined and the innocent or, even more perhaps, to offend the prudish. The result is that he modernizes up to the broad passage and then not only stops modernizing, but does not even paraphrase. Instead he bowdlerizes, even to the extent, in one case, of reconstructing the tale.

We shall meet all these at first hand in Chapter III, IV, and V.

I come now to a second hazard facing the critic of Chaucer translation: this is the question of the canon. The question is of course not peculiar to the study of translation; rather it has a place in the entire field of Chaucer studies and is especially critical in the study of all eras up to and including the Romantic. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Furnivall, Skeat, and other scholars, with the support of the Early English Text Society and the Chaucer Society, established the Chaucer canon on a sound basis. They expelled many works, such as <u>The Flower and the Leaf</u>, that the Romantics had unquestioningly regarded as Chaucer's. Volume VII of the Oxford <u>Chaucer</u>, edited by Skeat, is entitled <u>Chaucerian and Other Pieces</u>. It contains twenty-nine pieces some time or other "appended to Chaucer's

works" which Skeat felt should be excluded from the canon.[8] Of these, most can be found in Urry's edition of 1721; and John Bell in 1782 and Anderson in 1795, who relied on Urry for the text of all pieces other than the Canterbury Tales, printed many of them.[9] These were virtually the only editions of Chaucer, that is, of his entire works, available to the general reader at the beginning of the Romantic period. Since they contained so many spurious works, the Romantics quite unwittingly received a somewhat distorted notion of Chaucer and his writing.[10] Of the scholarly work known to the Romantics, certainly Tyrwhitt's could be commended for thoroughness, accuracy, and soundness, but his valuable work on the canon did not have a broad effect, inasmuch as his editing was confined to the Canterbury Tales,[11] whose canon, even before Tyrwhitt, did not stand in the same parlous condition as did the canon of the rest of Chaucer's works. The Romantics, taking all on faith, were thus led to think many works Chaucer's which were in fact the work of Lydgate, Clanvowe, and others. We recall how much Keats delighted in The Flower and the Leaf and how he loved Chaucer the more for it. The translators of the Era were of course the victims of the same ignorance. Wordsworth translated The Cuckoo and the Nightingale (1801); Thurlow, The Flower and the Leaf (1822); and Tytler, The Tale of Gamelyn (1828), none of them being aware that he was translating something that Chaucer did not write. Robinson

(p. xxviii) says that anyone studying Chaucer in connection with pre-modern eras must take these and similar pieces into account. I certainly mean to do so here. However, in deliberating how to treat the non-Chaucer pieces in this study, I came to feel that the essential point was, not whether they were Chaucer's, but whether the Romantics regarded them as Chaucer's. Therefore I decided to accord the translation of a spurious piece about the same treatment as I would the translation of a genuine piece, so long as the spurious piece was regarded as Chaucer's by the Romantics. The Romantics themselves knew no distinction; for me to establish one ex post facto and exclude or demote the translation of any piece simply because it has subsequently been dropped from the canon would be to make my subject quite artificial. I regard my duty to the reader discharged when I have informed him of the spuriousness of an item; then he may adjust his own ideas accordingly.

We come now to a third hazard which, though it has general application throughout all literary criticism, has peculiar implications for the translation of Chaucer in the Romantic Era. This is the hazard of how to weigh and deal with the personal elements connected with a translation: who wrote it? -- why did he write it? -- what audience did he write it for -- and so on. The New Critics would perhaps abjure such questions, but though I shall make a Ding an sich approach to a translation, I shall not leave it with-

out giving some attention to the personal elements and circumstances of publication. If to do so does not help us to a greater appreciation of the item itself, it should provide us with at least a little light on, or at least a reflection of, the Romantic Era itself, a result which is intended to be part of the object of this study.

Of first interest, then, will be to determine the purposes which the translators of Chaucer had in mind when they set to work. Together they constitute a kind of summary of the nature of the entire era. The love of the antique, a delight in the discovery, publication, and interpretation of recondite worth, the urge to improve morals, the desire to please and be self-pleased through the performance of a challenging task, the desire to train one's own poetic powers: all these motives find expression in the Chaucer translation of the era, and they seem a reflection of the whole era, which is so much characterized by a kind of messianic zeal, actuated not so much by the ideal of selfless service, as by an inner force crying for expression. It will be my task to develop these various motives in connection with the particular translations that express and illustrate them.

A concomitant consideration is that of the audience to which the translator or, in two cases, the compiler, directed his work. From the small, private audience for which Wordsworth wrote his "alterations," through the audience of young

people for which Clarke did his modernizations and through that of the ladies for which Angelica Kaufmann included in her Ladies Book a part of Ogle's Gualtherus and Griselda, to the wide, general audience which Horne had in mind for his Poems of Chaucer, Modernised, all sizes and shapes of audience were held in view by the translators of the period.

As we look at the individual translator's product, we shall also cast a glance in the direction of the translator himself. A translation of Chaucer is perforce an interpretation of Chaucer. And, in translating, and consequently interpreting, no translator can really escape his own nature. It is safe to say that with such as Dryden one is likely to find a placid or delicate passage in the original coming out fiery and strong in the translation. Thus it will be helpful to know something of the translator when we read his work: to know something of his background and education and of the skill he brings to the task. There is no room in this present work for an extensive investigation into matters of personal character, ability, and background, but I shall make observations whenever they seem to me to be valid and pertinent.

A substantial effort will be devoted herein to determine how Chaucer fared at the hands of each translator. Many things make Chaucer what he is, a poet combining virtuoso metrical skill with great narrative, descriptive, and dramatic powers. No translator, however skilled, will

capture and transmit his man intact; something will be lost. Even if one modernizes Chaucer rather than paraphrases him, he will still have to give up a goodly share of Chaucer's diction, just for the sake of intelligibility. But there are the characteristic expressions and turns of phrase, the images and figures, the allusions. How have they been handled by our translators of the Romantic Era? Have they been preserved, or altered, or replaced? Topical allusions pose a problem for the translator of any era. What did "Trinitarius" do, for example, with the reference in the Character of a Good Parson to the selfish practice that many of the post-plague priests of Chaucer's day acquired, of running off to St. Paul's in London to make big money chanting masses for the departed? Then there is the matter of Chaucer's prosody, his rimes and meters, his stanzaic patterns. We shall find that the tendency of the Augustans to turn everything into heroic couplets persists in some translations of the Romantic Era side by side with translations showing the desire to duplicate or transmit the very patterns of Chaucer's verse.

So much for the considerations to be borne in mind and the hazards to be overcome or avoided in the evaluations of translation of the Romantic Era that complete the business of Chapters III, IV, and V of this study. Many of the translations, unlike those of Wordsworth and Hunt, have been subjected to little criticism beyond that of the contemporary

reviews. This fact imposes an especial obligation on the present critic. Wordsworth and Hunt already have both defenders and detractors aplenty to counterbalance what might be my too sharp attack or my too indulgent praise, but for the relative unknowns among the subjects of this study, there is little or no counterbalance to the critic's excesses. Such to prevent or curb, this critic has continually exercised his most vigilant and diligent efforts.

Notes to Chapter I.

[1]Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, "Introduction," Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357-1900, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1925), Vol. I, p. lix. Hereafter Miss Spurgeon's work will be referred to as Spurgeon and citations will be to part (in upper case Roman) and page (in Arabic). Citation will not be made according to volume number except in the case of the Introduction, when, as in the present instance, "Vol." will precede the Roman numeral.

[2]John Saunders, Canterbury Tales from Chaucer, 2 vols. (London, 1845-47). See the presentation of this item in Spurgeon, II, 264-266, and in Alfred Tobler, Geoffrey Chaucer's Influence on English Literature (inaugural diss. Zurich, 1905), p. 111.

[3]New York: Macmillan, 1908. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Hammond.

[4]Boswell's Life of Johnson (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), p. 742. Subsequent references to the Life will be to this one-volume edition.

[5]The Works of John Dryden, ed. Sir Walter Scott, rev. & corr. George Saintsbury, 18 vols. (New York: Croscup & Sterling Company [1882]), XII, 16.

[6]See F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), pp. 4-5, 669-670. Hereafter this edition will be referred to as Robinson.

[7]Pope's Preface to his translation of The Iliad, in The Complete Poetical Works of Pope, ed. Henry W. Boynton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931), p. 257.

[8]Walter W. Skeat, ed., Chaucerian and Other Pieces: Vol. VII (1897) of The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Skeat, 7 vols. (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1894-97), pp. ix, xvii-xviii. Hereafter the edition as a whole will be referred to as Skeat; Vol VII only, as Chaucerian.

[9]The edition of Chaucer usually called Anderson's is contained in Vol. I of The Works of the British Poets. With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Robert Anderson, M.D., 12 vols. (London, 1795). Preceding the proper title page is an engraved title page bearing a different title: A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain. Of this Anderson explains in his Preface that it was "improperly copied by the proprietors, in the first volume, from Mr. Bell's edition, and retained in the subsequent volumes, for the sake of uniformity" (Vol. I, p. 5 [the Preface, of 8 pp., having separate paging]). The Chaucer matter follows the general

Preface, occupying pp. i-viii, 1-587, with a Glossary, pp. 669-724. It has its own title page, which reads The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Edinburgh, 1793) and is therefore indicative of separate and earlier publication. On pp. iii-viii, there is printed "The Life of Chaucer," presumably by Anderson, inasmuch as he says in his Preface that he is responsible for the "Biographical and Critical Prefaces" (pp. 4 and 5). In this "Life" we are told that the "present edition of the Canterbury Tales is printed from Tyrwhitt's incomparable edition" and that "his learned and valuable Glossary is copied with little variation, except in the omission of the numerical references" (I, vi). We are further told that the "genuine miscellaneous pieces of Chaucer are printed from Urry's edition" (vi). This of course included many items -- such as "La Belle Dame Sans Mercy," "Chaucer's Dreame," and "Of the Cuckowe and the Nightingale" -- which subsequent scholars have excluded from the canon. Presumably also printed from Urry's edition were the Plowman's Tale, Tale of Gamelyn, Adventure of Pardoner and Tapester, and Merchant's Second Tale; the writer warns, however, that "all evidence, internal and external, is against the supposition of their being the production of Chaucer" (vi). From the general Preface, it is clear that Anderson can hardly be said to have edited the Chaucer, for he says:

> The recommendation of the proper editions of the works to be reprinted, belonged to the editor; with the exception of the works of Chaucer, . . . in which he had no concern.
>
> For the correctness of the text, he is not answerable, as he had no concern in the revision of any part of these volumes, except the Biographical and Critical Prefaces, and occasionally some additions, notes, and illustrations in the course of the work. (P. 5.)

This edition has been described in detail because of its importance to this study, having been the one used by Wordsworth and presumably by other translators of the Era also. Notwithstanding the disclaimer of editorial responsibility above, this edition will be referred to hereafter as Anderson. When citations from this text are made, line numbers, which Anderson does not supply, will be supplied, insofar as feasible, from Robinson's or some other appropriate text.

The editions of Urry and Bell will be described below, in Chapter II.

[10]For an interesting exposition of this notion, see Francis W. Bonner's article, "Chaucer's Reputation during the Romantic Period," in Furman Studies, XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1951), 1-21.

[11]Tyrwhitt's edition will be described below, in Chapter II.

Chapter II. What the 1790's Knew about Chaucer -- A Survey

This chapter will survey the question of what was generally known about Chaucer at the outset of the Romantic Era. In 1790, a person of education would have acquired some knowledge of Chaucer through the various editions, translations, essays, and miscellaneous bits that had appeared from time to time during the century. From 1790 on, through the period my study concentrates upon, much more material of similar kinds would appear. The survey that makes up this chapter is the outcome of a belief that the translations to be dealt with in the following chapters ought to be seen against the background of the Romantics' general understanding of Chaucer. Necessarily selective, this survey includes what I take to be the major contributions of the eighteenth century to the understanding of Chaucer -- contributions that had both a wide and an enduring influence. I shall take them up in chronological order, beginning with that of Dryden, in 1700.

In drawing up this survey, I have referred continually to Miss Hammond's Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual and to Miss Spurgeon's Chaucer Criticism and Allusion. I have acknowledged specific debts wherever feasible, but I recognize I have received assistance from the descriptions and

criticisms in these works beyond my power to identify that assistance on every occasion. It is hoped that through this general, but quite grateful, acknowledgment both my debt to these two scholars and my responsibility to the reader may be discharged.

Dryden, Pope, Urry, Morell, Ogle, Johnson, Thomas Warton, Tyrwhitt, and John Bell, as well as the anonymous writers of the Chaucer articles in the Biographia Britannica and the Encyclopaedia Britannica: these are the chief men of letters from whom the well-read person of the early 1790's is likely to have derived his notion of Chaucer. Taken together, the works produced by these men covered most fields of Chaucer study: editions, translations, biography, etymology and philology, literary history and criticism.

We begin with the Fables Ancient and Modern of Dryden, put out in 1700, the very year of his death.[1] Of the Chaucer translations in this volume, there is place here for only the briefest comment. Though Dryden would on occasion adopt a Chaucer line as it came to him, his translations must in the main be called paraphrases. The paraphrasing is conducted with great energy and freedom, so that the result is often far from the original. Dryden embellishes and adds, and he freely substitutes his own imagery for Chaucer's. In "The character of a Good Parson" he introduces topical allusions. (Scott ed., X, 398 n.) The result of this method of translating is that his versions tend to run longer than the

originals. Here are the line counts, per the Scott-Saintsbury edition, with the line counts of the originals beside them in parentheses: "Palamon and Arcite," 2430 lines (2350 lines); "The Cock and the Fox," 821 lines (626 lines); "The Flower and the Leaf," 618 lines (595 lines); "The Wife of Bath her Tale," 546 lines (408 lines); and "The Character of the Good Parson," 140 lines (52 lines). Regarding the versification of these translations, everything that may be said about Dryden's versification generally is true here. The heroic couplet is the basic measure, with occasional triplets and alexandrines for variety's sake. The variety and the regularity are both well illustrated in the following triplet from "The Wife of Bath her Tale," lines 46-48 (Scott-Saintsbury ed., XI, 399):

> It so befell in this King Arthur's reign,
> A lusty knight was pricking o'er the plain;
> A bachelor he was, and of the courtly train.

In each of the first two lines the caesura falls directly after the fourth syllable. Dryden, like the other Augustans, achieved considerable variety of musical effect by altering the position of the caesura from line to line. The third line above is an alexandrine. It has its caesura precisely in the middle, with the thought of the line balanced evenly upon it. Often Dryden will make the two halves of such a line antithetical. The prosodic aspects of this triplet, particularly the fact that it ends in an alexandrine, are quite typical of Dryden, not only throughout these transla-

tions, but in his work generally.

In the "Preface" to his Fables, Dryden made a number of highly influential pronouncements about Chaucer and his work. On the one hand, Dryden praises Chaucer as a refiner of the English language (Works, Scott-Saintsbury ed., XI, 211); he says that the "purity of the English tongue" (XI, 218) took its origin from Chaucer, who (and Dryden admits to following Thomas Rymer in this) "first adorned and amplified our barren tongue from the Provençal, which was then the most polished of all the modern languages" (XI, 212). But Dryden makes it quite clear that Chaucer's "purity" falls far short of the modern standard:

> The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us; but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was auribus istius temporis accomodata. They who lived with him, and some time after him, thought it musical; and it continues so, even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries: -- there is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect. It is true, I cannot go so far as he who published the last edition of him; for he would make us believe the fault is in our ears, and that there were really ten syllables in a verse where we find but nine: but this opinion is not worth confuting; it is so gross and obvious an error, that common sense (which is a rule in everything but matters of faith and revelation) must convince the reader, that equality of numbers, in every verse which we call heroic, was either not known, or not always practiced, in Chaucer's age. It were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his verses, which are lame for want of half a foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise. We can only say, that he lived in the infancy of our poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the first. We must be children before we grow men. (XI, 224-226)

Backed by all the authority of Dryden's reputation, this charge that Chaucer had neglected numbers carried tremendous weight throughout the new century and into the next. We find Tyrwhitt in 1778 (see p. 57 , below) and Horne in 1841 (p. xxxvii ff.) vigorously defending Chaucer's versification against it.

But Dryden's veneration of Chaucer was clear and outspoken. In these few words, "Chaucer followed nature everywhere" (XI, 224), Dryden struck the keynote of praise for his own era and for posterity.

Following hard upon Dryden and selecting for translation, as it were by design, the very sort of Tales which the old master had eschewed translating, comes the young poet Pope.[2] Whereas the former had done "Palamon and Arcite," a tale of high romance, the latter did "January and May," a fabliau; whereas Dryden had done "The Wife of Bath Her Tale," Pope did "The Wife of Bath Her Prologue." Pope's pieces, like Dryden's, were paraphrases, but, unlike Dryden's they were considerably shorter than the originals: "January and May" runs to 820 lines against 1174 for the original, and "The Wife of Bath Her Prologue" runs to 439 lines against 828. Prosodically, the pieces "follow the footing of Dryden's feet" (to adapt a phrase from Spenser), for Pope uses the heroic verse, with occasional triplets and alexandrines for variation. Consider, for example, the following triplet, taken from "January and May" from a passage (ll. 797-806)

the lines of which, according to Tillotsen (p. 54n.), "are strongly reminiscent of Dryden":

> Thus when from Sleep we first our Eyes display,
> The Balls are wounded with the piercing Ray,
> And dusky Vapors rise, and intercept the Day.

Pope, however, tends to be more sparing in his use of triplets and alexandrines than is Dryden.

Pope's quite youthful piece called "Chaucer," which appears in the group Imitations of the English Poets, was an independent composition so far as content was concerned, only the style being imitative of Chaucer. Also classifiable as imitation, though in a different way, is his The Temple of Fame, since Pope takes only a part of Chaucer's House of Fame for his basic material and then deals freely with that. (Tillotsen, pp. 209 and 216.)

There is one more piece of actual translation, however, though it is but a couplet. In Eloisa to Abelard, ll. 75-76, one comes across the following:

> Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
> Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.
> (Tillotsen, p. 305)

These lines are a paraphrase, close insofar as the burden and the basic image are concerned, of the Franklin's Tale, F, 764-766.

Needless to say, in the immense popularity that Pope's poetry enjoyed generally throughout the rest of the century (his poetical works were republished in 1751 by Warburton and in 1797 by Joseph Warton and others and were also

printed in such collections of British poetry as Bell's, Vols. LXXVI-LXXIX, 1787-88, though date varies, and Anderson's, 1795), these Chaucer pieces had a share.

The year 1721 was marked by the appearance, in a single folio volume, of John Urry's edition of the works of Chaucer.[3] It was the only edition of the full Chaucer (not to mention spurious items) between the third edition of Speght, 1687, and John Bell's The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, in fourteen volumes, 1782-83. The edition was an ambitious one, and Urry did not live to see it published. When he died in 1715, he had completed the text, but the extensive apparatus was supplied by other hands: namely, those of John Dart, who wrote the "Life"; of William Thomas, who revised Dart's work; and of Timothy Thomas, William's brother, who contributed the Preface and the Glossary (Spurgeon, I, 354.) Besides, there were included upward of fifty "Testimonies" by encomiasts and critics from Gower to Dryden.

The text itself has had little praise and much condemnation -- and with reason. Spurgeon puts the matter with finality: "This edition is, from the point of view of the text, the worst ever issued" (I, 353). At first glance, one may wonder what would occasion such severe criticism: the volume, at least in its "large" printing (Spurgeon, I, 334), is physically impressive, the copy at Lehigh University measuring 45 cm. in height. The text alone runs to 626 pages. The introductory material requires about 58 pages, and the

Glossary, 81 pages. There is evidence, besides that of the physical extent, that work, plenty of it (whether good or bad), went into the making of this book. The title alone reveals that pains were taken to compare this edition "with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS." The last page of the book carries a long list of errata, a fact which does not so much annoy or disconcert the reader -- one must expect errors in a work of such size -- as, by evidencing editorial concern, it increases his confidence in the work as a whole. It is indeed a careful text.

It is also a full text, containing everything that had been received as Chaucer's in the earlier editions. This means of course that it contained many pieces not now admitte to the canon -- such as The Floure and the Leafe, The Court of Love, The Ploughman's Tale, The Cuckoo and the Nightingale Chaucer's Dreame, and The Testament of Love. Also included in the text were pieces even then known to be by other authors, which had come by tradition to be associated with Chaucer's work -- such as The Floure of Courtesie, made by John Lidgate ("In Feverier, when that the frostie Mone"), The Letter of Cupide, John Gower, unto the noble King Henry IV, and A Balade of gode counseile translated . . . by dan Ihon Lidgat . . . ("Consydir well evèry circumstance"), all of which are to be found as well in the edition immediately preceding Urry's (Speght's, 1687). Finally, Urry took pains to discover and add other pieces which he thought Chaucer's,

but which have also been rejected by later scholars. These are The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn and The Merchant's second Tale, or the History of Beryn, together with the latter's prologue, The Prologue, Or, the mery adventure of the Pardonere and Tapster at the Inn at Canterbury. Whatever else this edition may lack, it does not lack amplitude.

But the text, though true and consistent according to its own lights, is hardly acceptable. Living in an age when regularity and "perfection" of poetic numbers was all, Urry had the notion that Chaucer's numbers in their original form did indeed have the kind of regularity demanded of Augustan poetry. He felt that scribes and early editors had through their careless errors and alterations transmitted Chaucer's text in the "imperfect" state in which it might be found in the Speght editions. Thus he felt it his duty to "restore" Chaucer to his pristine form. No fault could be found with his purpose, nor with his belief that Chaucer was not crude and unmetrical. His fault lay rather in his assumption that Chaucer's pristine form must have been very much like the best poetic form of his own day. Acting on this assumption, he respelt words and even added some of his own, these being for the most part expletives, so that Chaucer's lines would read with more of Augustan regularity. One practice of Urry's, for which I am aware of no consistent philological or textual justification, is the respelling of -ed, -en, -er, -eth endings on all oc-

casions when the reader is meant to pronounce them as separate syllables, as -id, -in, -ir, -ith. Urry's edition has, in this matter, at least the virtue of consistency, and this virtue has its usefulness: one cannot read a quotation from his text or any portion of a text which is a reprint or an adoption from Urry's, without recognizing almost instantly the hand of Mr. Urry. The opening lines from the pseudo-Chaucerian Gamelyn (Urry, p. 36) will provide a sufficient example:

> Now lithin, and listinith, and
> Herkinith you aright.

To make such changes in verbs is bad enough, but Urry gives his page a strange appearance when he stretches his procedure to include the nouns and other parts of speech. We find such anomalies as "Three sonnis this knight had" (line 9), "fadir" (line 13), "brothir" (line 177) (all in Gamelyn) and "rivir" (in The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, line 65), and one will not need to look far to find an "othir," "nevir," or "rathir."

Another arbitrary practice of Urry's is to form the possessive singular of all nouns -- of whatever gender -- as though it were formed by a contraction of the noun (in its uninflected state) and the possessive pronoun his, and to distinguish it from other -is endings, by means of an apostrophe. An example is found in the second stanza of Gamelyn:

> Sir Johan of Boundis clepid was
> This ilkè knight'is name.

In the Preface (Sign. i-4), T. Thomas, though his wording is a bit ambiguous, seems to advise the reader not to regard this strange practice as proceeding from ignorance on Urry's part of the Saxon background of the possessive forms. This practice may not be a fault, insofar as the end coincides in most cases with the pronunciation modern scholars would give nouns ending in -es, but expressions like "nec'is case" and "upon his death'is bedde" can be a bit confusing to a modern reader who comes upon them unforewarned. A final e that Urry intended should receive separate pronunciation is printed with an accent grave above it, as "ilkè" in the passage quoted above.

But these changes -- the most unfortunate result of them is that they tend to fix readings which if left as good textual authority had them would remain charmingly amenable to the reader's own sense of the prosody -- these changes are but mild compared to Urry's arbitrary insertion of words to make the meter what he deemed it ought to be. Tyrwhitt's report will suffice: "The strange licence, in which Mr. Urry appears to have indulged himself, of lengthening and shortening Chaucer's words according to his own fancy, and of even adding words of his own, without giving his readers the least notice,[4] has made the text of Chaucer in his Edition by far the worst that was ever published" (Tyrwhitt [1830 ed.], I, xxiv).

All these faults were recognized and reported in the

Preface written by Timothy Thomas.

Good or bad, Urry's edition was an important one. As the first "white letter" Chaucer, it must have immediately thrust the last edition, the black-letter Speght of 1687, into the limbo of antiquity.[5] Then it held the field virtually unchallenged until the arrival of Tyrwhitt's edition of The Canterbury Tales in 1775. Johnson quoted from Urry's edition in the Preface to the Dictionary, 1755; and in the Chaucer chapters of his great History of English Poetry, 1784, Thomas Warton quoted extensive passages from it. And after 1775, though superseded by Tyrwhitt with respect to the Canterbury Tales, Urry was left in full command of the field of the miscellaneous pieces. Both Bell in 1782-83 and Anderson in 1795 reprinted the latter from Urry's edition, thus preserving and disseminating anew the arbitrary editing of Chaucer done by John Urry.[6]

Despite the obloquy it has received, Urry's book must be regarded as an interesting one, and we must not forget that in Timothy Thomas's Preface and Glossary and, to a less extent, in John Dart's Life, there is merit. Above all, for our study of translations, Urry's edition has a great deal of significance: directly or indirectly, it was the basis for many of the translations made by the Romantics of the miscellaneous Chaucerian pieces.

In 1737 appeared an edition of the General Prologue and the Knight's Tale together with translations of these

same pieces. The editor was Thomas Morell,[7] a careful, conscientious scholar, who, had he completed and published an edition of the entire Canterbury Tales, might well have rendered Tyrwhitt's efforts in this direction superfluous, or at least only supplementary. Inasmuch as a rather comprehensive description of Morell's book may be had by consulting Hammond, pp. 204-205, and Spurgeon, I, 381-382, I shall devote my attention to a few particulars only.

Morell's Preface (pp. xxi-xxxvi) is given mainly to discussion of Chaucer's meter and language. In discussing meter, Morell concentrates on the controversy over whether Chaucer made the meter of his verses exact (pp. xxiv-xxviii), that is, in the Augustan sense. Here his position is in general agreement with Dryden's, that his meter was not exact, although Morell does not stint or qualify his praise for Chaucer's peculiar prosody. Directing critical fire rather at Urry, Morell castigates him, not so much for believing that Chaucer had written in exact meter as for acting on that principle to produce an edition with lines Procrusteanized into Augustan regularity, in utter disregard of MS. and textual authority. One point made rather wittily by Morell deserves special mention. It occurs on p. xxvi, on the heels of a passage quoted by Spurgeon (I, 382). Speaking of verses that "fail of a Syllable" (to quote Chaucer's own words in HF, Bk. III, l. 8, from a passage used by Morell, p. xxv, to show that Chaucer himself had "put the Matter out

of Dispute"), Morell observes that when such a case arises, it is

> generally at the Beginning of a Verse, when a Pause is to be made, or rather two Times to be given to the first Syllable, as v. 368 [KnT, A, 1226].
>
> Not in Purgatory, but in Hell.
>
> Mr. Urry, to make out his ten Syllables, reads it, right in Hell, which right, tho' I am no great Admirer of a Pun, is wrong, as it renders the Verse very harsh and dissonant: But this is only one Verse among hundreds that are false accented in Mr. Urry's Edition.

It is clear from the Preface that this volume was to be followed by others, probably to the extent of a full edition, at least of the Canterbury Tales. But only this volume, containing The Prolog and The Knyghtes Tale, appeared. What Morell has given us, however, is thoroughly done. Vocabulary is glossed at the foot of each page, and there is a sizable Appendix that includes "Annotations Chiefly Relating to Antiquities" (pp. 349-424) and a section (pp. 425-443) of "various readings," chiefly from Urry among the editions, and from MSS.

Morell's comment on the translations in his book is as follows:

> And lest some should still disrelish our Author in his ancient Garb, by the Assistance of the most eminent Hands, I have prepared him a modern one, which cannot but please the nicest Taste; for as I have but little Hand in them myself, I may venture to say, that some of these Poems, so modernized, are the noblest and most finished Pieces we have extant in our Language.
> (P. xxxv.)

The second of these, inasmuch as it is Dryden's "Palamon and

Arcite: Or, the Knight's Tale" (pp. 247-348), requires no further comment, except that Morell has printed Dryden's text without its usual division into Parts I, II, and III. The first translation (pp. 209-246) will receive more attention. The half-title (p. 207) reads "Chaucer's Characters: or, the Introduction to the Canterbury Tales. By Mr. Betterton." Despite this ascription, however, not all parts of the Prologue were done by Betterton. Morell himself contributed something, as we learn from his statement above. The two passages that are surely his, being designated as "by T. M.," are (1) 18 lines devoted to the Five Guildsmen, pp. 223-224, plus 8 lines devoted to the Cook, p. 224, and (2) 106 lines following the portrait of the Pardoner and headed "The Prologue continued by T. M." It is also probable that Morell contributed the two lines at the end of the Prioress's portrait which mention the second nun and the priests:

> Attendant on this Prioress there rides
> A Nun, her Chaplain, and three Priests besides.
> (P. 216.)

At least this is my inference from the fact that whereas the 40 lines of the portrait itself (in the translation) agree with those found in Ogle's 1741 translations, wherein the Prioress's portrait is expressly ascribed to Betterton in the table of contents, these two lines do not agree with their counterparts in Ogle. I assume that Morell and Ogle have each translated them.

For the portrait of the Parson, Morell used Dryden's, here headed "The Parson, imitated and enlarged by Mr. Dryden" (pp. 229-235) and reading normally, except that the last 4 lines are enclosed in brackets, probably because in them Dryden says that, in deference to the virtues of the Parson, he will "forbear/ To shew you what the rest in Orders were." After all, Morell's text was carrying on, not forbearing to tell what the rest (whether or not in Orders) were.

So far then, of those who prepared these modern versions, only three have been identified: Betterton, Dryden, and Morell himself. But the main title page reads: "The Canterbury Tales . . . as they are Turn'd into Modern Language by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Pope, and Other Eminent Hands." What parts, necessarily of the Prologue, may have been contributed by Pope, no one can say with assurance. But this mention of Pope lends further corroboration to the statement made in 1797 by Joseph Warton, in his edition of Pope's works:

> Mr. Harte assured me, that he was convinced by some circumstances which Fenton his friend communicated to him, that Pope wrote the characters that make the introduction to the Canterbury Tales, published under the name of Betterton.
> (Vol. II, p. 166 -- here quoted from Spurgeon, I, 500.)

Though Morell published no more Chaucer, this single volume made its mark. It attracted favorable notice from Tyrwhitt, who in the account of former editions that forms part of the Appendix to the Preface of his Chaucer edition describes the volume briefly and says that its editor "ap-

pears to have set out upon the only rational plan of publishing Chaucer, by collating the best Mss. and selecting from them the genuine readings [Tyrwhitt's own method]; and accordingly his edition, as far as it goes, is infinitely preferable to any of those which preceded it" (1775 ed., I, xx-xxi).

As late as 1826, a second edition (published 1740) of Morell (Hammond, p. 205) fell into the hands of one reviewing various editions of Chaucer in the Retrospective Review, XIV, 305-357. Devoting several pages (306-313) to a consideration of Morell's book, the anonymous reviewer adverts briefly to Tyrwhitt's praise of the editing and adds his own (306-307), but directs much the greater part of his attention to the translations in the volume. Except for Dryden's contributions -- and even they do not altogether escape censure -- these come off rather badly under the criticism. The translations, including Dryden's, are disapproved, as giving "not only very imperfect, but in many instances very unfaithful representations of the manners which Chaucer with such mastery of touch had sketched and coloured" and as sometimes even inverting the characteristics of the Pilgrims. "Of some at least of the Pilgrims, new dressed by Messrs. Betterton and Co., it may with truth be said, that they are no longer the Pilgrims of Chaucer." (308) This is an indictment that Messrs. Betterton and Co. would not have understood at all.

Under this indictment, Thomas Morell, though he makes a nominal escape by reason of the fact that the reviewer took "T.M." to mean "Thomas Markland,"[8] receives more than his share of particular attention. The reviewer points out how the five "fair burgesses" of Chaucer are turned out with all the attributes "of the capitalists, or money-dealers of a new era," and how "their spouses, the city madams of the fourteenth century, are paraded to the theatres, which, for a century and a half after their date of being, had no existence" (309).

Though Morell's anonymity protected him from this writer's blame in the matter of translating, it prevented him from getting credit, by name at least for his editing. Had Morell attached his full name to his book, he would have become far better known, for, from all indications, his book had a fair degree of currency and influence throughout the rest of his own century and into the next.

A 1771 letter indicates that Morell had done much more of the Chaucer than, because of the expense, he had been able to publish. Furthermore, we learn that, despite the decades that had passed, he had not altogether abandoned the notion of completing his work, for he writes his correspondent:

> . . . being at the Museum the other day, I observ'd a Gentleman collating Chaucer; I took no notice of it, but it reminded me of my own former Labour, which being unwilling to lose, I intend to continue ere long, some way to reassume the Work, and hope to get the start of him, as there is one Volume already printed.
> (Spurgeon, I, 436.)

The "Gentleman" can have been none other than Tyrwhitt.

The work of George Ogle deserves brief mention. In 1739, Ogle's Gualtherus and Griselda, a translation of the Clerk's Tale, appeared.[9] Prefixed to the work was "A Letter to a Friend," in which Ogle praises Chaucer for improving upon Boccaccio's and Petrarch's versions of the tale and for his great skill in drawing his characters (Spurgeon, I, 385) and in giving them dramatic integrity and scope (I, 385-386). Significant for this study is his remark: "I hold Mr. DRYDEN to have been the first Who put the Merit of CHAUCER into its full and true Light, by Turning Some of the Canterbury Tales into our Language, as it is now refin'd, or rather as He himself refin'd it . . . ." (I, 385.) But far more significant to our study are the three volumes entitled The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer published by Ogle in 1741.[10] The set included John Dart's "Life of Chaucer," reprinted from Urry's edition, and Ogle's "A Letter to a Friend." Eleven of the tales "modernis'd by several hands" (i.e., those of Betterton, Ogle himself, Dryden, Cobb, Pope, Markland, Grosvenor, Boyse, and Brooke) appear, with modernizations of the prologues to the respective tales and a modernization of the General Prologue. Dryden's portrait of the Parson is included, as well as Pope's Merchant's Tale and Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale. Cobb, Brook, Markland, and Grosvenor contribute but one tale each, and Boyse, but two -- The Cook's Tale and The Squire's Tale. Betterton has "modern-

is'd" The Reeve's Tale and some of the characters from the General Prologue. But Ogle's contribution is the most extensive, particularly in the matter of completing the General Prologue and doing the Prologues to all the separate tales, except that he did but the latter part of the Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale, most of which was Pope's. Thus did Ogle give to the Canterbury Tales some of the form and continuity enjoyed in the editions. Fifty-four years later, in 1795, William Lipscomb reprinted almost all of these and added some of his own in a three-volume work that is to provide my study with its foundation. These versions, both as found in the original edition of Ogle and as perpetuated in Lipscomb, will receive more detailed attention when we examine Lipscomb.

In 1778 there was published the second volume of Biographia Britannica, containing a life of Chaucer.[11] The article is furnished with copious explanatory footnotes, and citations of sources appear in the margins. In the second edition of Biographia Britannica, brought out by Andrew Kippis "with the assistance," the title page records, "of the Rev. Joseph Towers, LL.D. and other Gentlemen," the Chaucer article of the first edition was reprinted in Volume III, published 1784.[12] The article itself was not changed, but to it was appended a long note, signed "K" (undoubtedly for "Kippis" [see Ency Brit, 9th ed., XIV, 95]), in which the whole of Tyrwhitt's "Essay on the Language and Versification

of Chaucer" and the whole of his "Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales" are reprinted, minus the notes, from Volume IV of that scholar's 1775 edition of the Canterbury Tales. Numerous additional references are made to Tyrwhitt's edition, and Volume I of Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry is also discussed and quoted from. The original article, with its notes, was reprinted again, in 1795, as part of the introductory matter in Volume I of Lipscomb's translations. (See below, Item No. 4.) Finally, Footnote "[P]," found on pp. 1303-04 in the original article, contains a basic text and a translation of Truth which were reprinted in the Monthly Repository, X (1815), 309. These will be treated below under Item No. 15.

Few surveys having anything to do with eighteenth-century literature could omit the next figure, nor will mine. Dr. Samuel Johnson did not say much about Chaucer, though he intended once to do an edition of his works,[13] but what he did say gained a great currency. In his Dictionary, first published in 1755, he included a "History of the English Language," devoting therein a number of folio pages to Chaucer. He may perhaps "be stiled the first of our versifyers who wrote poetically," said Dr. Johnson, but added that Chaucer does not "appear to have deserved all the praise which he has received, or all the censure that he has suffered." Johnson says he must share with his contemporaries both the distinction, which Dryden has given him, of being the first

to provide English with "smooth numbers and easy rhymes," and the charge, laid upon him by Skinner, of "having vitiated his native speech by whole cartloads of foreign words." Johnson presents several passages of prose and verse as examples of Chaucer's work. All of these have been drawn from Urry.[14] His heading to a passage from the General Prologue, reading, "The Prologues of the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, from the MSS.," was perhaps based on a hasty and mistaken reading of Urry's title page, which says: "The Works . . ., Compared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS."[15]

The next figure of major importance is Thomas Warton. His The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century appeared in three volumes, Volume I in 1774, Volume II in 1778, and Volume III in 1781. The whole work teems with references to Chaucer, as Warton found frequent occasion to relate other authors to him, but it is in Sections 12 to 18 of Volume I that he concentrates upon our author.

We are not surprised to find at the outset of Section 12 a reference to the opinion of his admired friend, Dr. Johnson, drawn from the Dictionary. After a very brief recapitulation of the events of Chaucer's life, Warton proceeds to a consideration of his literary reputation. His method is to deal with the works individually, proceeding from those of grandeur and high romance to the comic. Warton

is particularly interested in the sources and analogues of Chaucer's poems; much of Section 12, for instance, is devoted to a discussion of the relations between The Knight's Tale and Boccaccio's Teseida, with especial attention paid to the character and quality of the changes made by Chaucer. (I, 357ff.) He is pleased with the Gothic vigor of Chaucer's imagination (360) and with his powers of "pathetic description" (365-367).

Warton's views of nature, as they transpire in the course of his discussion of Chaucer, are interesting. Sometimes he seems to lean backward toward the Augustan view of nature as universal order or reason, as when he discusses the scene in which Chaucer presents Troilus in the throes of young love. After quoting lines 359-365 in Book I (as Urry numbers them -- in Robinson the equivalent will be found at lines 358-364), Warton comments: "There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which follows" (385). More often Warton's references to nature look forward to the attitudes of the Romantic Era, in which interest was centered on external nature, as when the description of morning in the Knight's Tale is praised as a fine display of Chaucer's "talent at delineating the beauties of nature" (366).

Throughout the sections on Chaucer we find "specimens" -- passages from Chaucer and his literary relatives. Warton's work had frequent echoes in the Romantic Era, beginning in 1801 with the second edition of George Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets (to Which Is Prefixed An Historical

Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language).

Miss Spurgeon has divided her historical account of Chaucer criticism into six periods. The last of these is the period of modern scholarship. The preceding period, she finds, began with the Preface and modernizations in Dryden's Fables, 1700, and ended with the Horne volume of modernizations, 1841. We might therefore expect to find the sixth period beginning in 1841, where the fifth period ended, but such is not the case. Instead we find the sixth period overlapping the fifth by over sixty years. This is due to the fact that modern scholarship begins with Thomas Tyrwhitt. In 1775 he began the publication of his edition of The Canterbury Tales. Four volumes of the work were published in that year, and a fifth volume, containing the Glossary, appeared in 1778.[16]

A brief description of Tyrwhitt's work is in order. As the title indicates, it is an edition of the Canterbury Tales only. In the canon and in the order of the tales, Tyrwhitt's edition does not differ to any significant extent from an authoritative modern edition like Robinson's. Differences will be found, of course, as when one discovers that the Host's Stanza that follows the Clerk's Tale (Frag IV, 1212a-g), left in the text by Robinson, was relegated to the notes by Tyrwhitt. But such differences are minor and usually result, not from defects in scholarship, but from differences in

judgment. Allowances must be made, too, for the fact that Robinson could draw upon the work of 150 years of modern scholarship, including Tyrwhitt's. Comparing Tyrwhitt's Canterbury Tales with Urry's, we find that the latter includes and that the former has rejected The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn and The Merchant's Second Tale with its Prologue.

The text Tyrwhitt gives us is highly reliable. In his Preface we learn his purpose and method:

> The first object of this publication was to give the text of The Canterbury Tales as correct as the Mss. within the reach of the Editor would enable him to make it.
>
> The account of former Editions, in the Appendix to this Preface (A), will shew, that this object had hitherto been either entirely neglected, or at least very imperfectly pursued. The Editor therefore has proceeded as if his author had never been published before. He has formed the text throughout from the Mss. and has paid little regard to the readings of any edition, except the two by Caxton, each of which may now be considered as a Manuscript. (I, i.)

The "Appendix to the Preface" (I, vi-xxxviii) follows. It is in three parts: (A) "An Account of Former Editions of the Canterbury Tales" and (B) "A List of Mss. Collated, or Consulted, with the Abbreviations by Which They Are Cited," and (C) "An Abstract of the Historical Passages of the Life of Chaucer."

Recognition of the quality of Tyrwhitt's text came almost immediately, for it was adopted by John Bell for his edition of 1782, though without Tyrwhitt's knowledge and consent,[17] and by Anderson in his 1793/1795 editions. The Tyrwhitt edition was republished in 1798 and again in 1822

and in 1830. Chalmers used Tyrwhitt in his edition of the English poets, 1810, as did Singer (in the Chiswick ed.), 1822, and Moxon, beginning 1843. In short, Tyrwhitt's text, either directly or by way of Bell or Anderson, is the likely basis for almost all translations of The Canterbury Tales made during the Romantic Era.

Tyrwhitt's contribution to the understanding of Chaucer does not rest with the text alone. Not a great deal can be said for part (C) of the "Appendix to the Preface" entitled "An Abstract of the Historical Passages of the Life of Chaucer." Finding that he "coud add few facts to those, which have already appeared in several lives" of Chaucer (I, iv), Tyrwhitt chose to eschew a formal "life" and instead to write down the main facts as they were documented or might be readily inferred from references in the poetry. Unfortunately, some of the inferences, such as that Chaucer attended Cambridge,[18] are drawn from works no longer admitted to the canon. It is none the less a careful, conservative, responsible biographical work, accurate within the limitations imposed by its premises.

But a great deal can be said for the other editorial matter in the book. To make proper use of the manuscripts at his disposal and to prepare a satisfactory text, Tyrwhitt had to conduct considerable research into Chaucer's language and into his allusions "to a variety of forgotten books and obsolete customs" (I, ii). To give the reader the greatest

benefit from these researches, he added "An Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer," "An Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales," and "Notes on the Canterbury Tales." In the Notes, Tyrwhitt discusses the "most material various readings," presents "illustrations of particular passages," and explains the "most uncommon words and phrases, especially such as are omitted, or ill explained, in the Glossary to Urry's Edition" (I, iii). (It must be remembered that it was not until 1778 that Tyrwhitt added a regular glossary, as Volume V.) Tyrwhitt concludes his prefatory remarks by saying that, the corrections listed in the table of "Errata" (I, xxxvii-viii) having been made, "he does not recollect to have deviated from the Mss. (except, perhaps, by adding the final n to a very few words) in any one instance, of which the reader is not advertised in the notes" (I, v).

It is in the "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer" that the most striking contributions to scholarship are made. Tyrwhitt's major objective is to refute the charges that Chaucer had "corrupted and deformed the English idiom by an immoderate mixture of French words" (IV, 1) and that "he was either totally ignorant or negligent of metrical rules, and that his verses (if they may be so called) are frequently deficient, by a syllable or two, of their just measure" (IV, 3). To refute the first charge, Tyrwhitt shows how the mingling of English and French which we find in Chaucer

was not Chaucer's doing but the result of a long process that began before the Conquest. Tyrwhitt finds that the French words and phrases in Chaucer's writings were "only used after the example of his predecessors and in common with his contemporaries" (IV, 26, Part One, Sec. VIII). Tyrwhitt finishes this first part with an argument reductio ad absurdum that seems a final refutation of Skinner's charge:

> If we coud for a moment suppose . . . that the English idiom, in the age of Chaucer, remained pure and unmixed, as it was spoken in the courts of Alfred or Egbert, and that the French was still a foreign, or at least a separate language; I would ask, whether it is credible, that a Poet, writing in English upon the most familiar subjects, would stuff his compositions with French words and phrases, which (upon the above supposition) must have been unintelligible to the greatest part of his readers; or, if he had been so very absurd, is it conceivable, that he should have immediately become, not only the most admired, but also the most popular writer of his time and country? (IV, 27-28.)

In Part II of the "Essay," following a grammatical method in which he goes through the parts of speech, Tyrwhitt deals with the actual state of the English language in Chaucer's time. First he considers "the remains of the antient Saxon mass, however defaced or disguised by various accidents" (II, 30, Sec. II) and then points out "the nature and effects of the accessions, which, in the course of near three centuries, it had received from Normandy" (ibid.). In Part III, however, Tyrwhitt renders a particularly vital service to Chaucer, vindicating him of the charge that he was a crude or negligent prosodist. He credits Chaucer with the introduction of Heroic Meter into English poetry. (IV, 84, Sec.

IX.) Proceeding on the basis that one cannot fairly judge Chaucer's prosody until one has determined how the language was pronounced, Tyrwhitt takes up the matter of syllabication and accentuation in Chaucer's verse (IV, 88-102, Secs. X-XVI), showing that the -es ending to nouns in the genitive singular or in the plural, as well as the -ed ending of verbs in the past tense and of past participles, was likely to demand pronunciation as a separate syllable, as in shoures or croppes, perced or loved. (IV, 94-95.) He shows also the likelihood that the final e on words was pronounced like the final e on French words. (IV, 96-102, Sec. XVI.) He observes that "we are not to expect from Chaucer that regularity in the disposition of his accents, which the practice of our greatest Poets in the last and present century has taught us to consider as essential to harmonious versification" (IV, 104-105, Sec. XVII), and by referring to the practice of Chaucer's French and Italian masters and, in a footnote, to that of Milton, Tyrwhitt implies that Augustan harmony is not the only acceptable harmony: it is surprising, he observes, that without such rules as the Augustans enjoyed, Chaucer "has so seldom failed to place his accents in such a manner, as to produce the cadence best suited to the nature of his verse" (IV, 105-106). Tyrwhitt concludes Part III, and the whole "Essay," with a "Grammatical and Metrical Analysis" of the first eighteen lines of the General Prologue. (IV, 106-111.)

Pages 112-189 of Volume IV are devoted to "An Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales." Herein Tyrwhitt takes up the general plan of the Canterbury Tales, including such matters as the order of the tales, the number of pilgrims, and the time scheme; and he comments upon the tales individually, dealing especially with the question of Chaucer's use of sources.

The text of the Canterbury Tales and the notes complete Tyrwhitt's work as it stood in 1775. In 1778, however, the edition was augmented by a Glossary, contained in Volume V. The Glossary is the product of the same sort of scholarly pains that marked the previous work. It is prefaced by an "Advertisement," in which we learn that the Glossary is intended for use, not alone with the Canterbury Tales, but with the other compositions which he considered to be genuinely Chaucer's. He acknowledges that his own glossary is founded upon that of Timothy Thomas in Urry's edition, and that he has followed and tried to improve on Thomas's example, by citing passages where one may find in use the word or phrase explained. Parts of speech are marked, and homonymous words are treated in separate entries. Though avoiding etymological "digressions," the Glossary indicates the language from which the term is derived. It also includes proper names. (V, i-vi.) In view of his intention of glossing all of Chaucer's work, Tyrwhitt has included "An Account of the Works of Chaucer to Which This Glossary

Is Adapted; and of Those Other Pieces Which Have Been Improperly Intermixed with His in the Editions" (V, vii-xxiii). In the "Account," some works are considered genuine, or probably genuine, which later scholarship, particularly that of the mid-nineteenth century and after, has excluded. Because these continued to share with the genuine pieces the responsibility for shaping the Romantics' understanding of Chaucer, I name them here: The Court of Love, The Complaint of the Black Knight, Chaucer's Dreme, The Flour and the Lefe, The Cuckow and the Nightingale (though [V, xiii] he does not accept the "Ballade of three Stanzas with an Envoye" that stands at the end of the latter poem in the editions), and The Testament of Love. Tyrwhitt's "Account" closes with a brief discussion of the works known not to be Chaucer's.

Skeat does not approve of Tyrwhitt's method of producing a canon (though he acknowledges that Tyrwhitt's purpose was after all not to create a canon, but only to draw up a list of works to which the Glossary would apply), but he does praise Tyrwhitt for his success in one aspect of the process. He says of Tyrwhitt: "Considering that he had only his own acumen to guide him, and had no access to linguistic or grammatical tests . . . it is wonderful how well he did his work. In the matter of rejection, he did not make a single mistake" (Chaucerian, p. lxxiii).

One cannot examine Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer with-

out being struck by its integrity.

The year 1778 witnessed the appearance of another work on Chaucer besides Tyrwhitt's Glossary. This work, important not in itself but for its putting Chaucer information before a much broader group of readers, was the anonymous article that appeared in Volume III of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, second edition. The first edition, 1771, carried no Chaucer article (Spurgeon, I, 452). The first part of the article is devoted to a brief biographical account and to a description of Chaucer's tomb in Westminster Abbey; the remainder, to a listing of editions of his works and to a discussion of his literary reputation. In the latter, the reader is told: "Chaucer was not only the first, but one of the best poets which these kingdoms ever produced. He was equally great in every species of poetry which he attempted; and his poems in general possess every kind of excellence, even to a modern reader, except melody and accuracy of measure; defects which are to be attributed to the imperfect state of our language, and the infancy of the art in this kingdom at the time when he wrote." Praises are quoted from Dryden and Dr. Johnson, and the article closes by jumping into the argument on Chaucer's introduction of foreign words, averring that Chaucer "had also the merit of improving our language considerably, by the introduction and naturalisation of words from the Provençal, at that time the most polished dialect in Europe" (Spurgeon, I, 454). This article must be con-

sidered the more important as we learn that it was reprinted in the next three editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (dated 1797, 1810, 1817) and in other encyclopedias as well (I, 452). In the seventh edition, of 1842, appeared a new Chaucer article. This was signed "C.C.C.," and Miss Spurgeon believes that Charles Cowden Clarke was the author. (I, 452.)

We come to the last major contribution to Chaucer knowledge published before 1792, the first year of the period to be covered in the present study. This was an edition of Chaucer's complete works. The Poetical Works of Geoff. Chaucer appeared in 1782, in fourteen volumes, as part of a 109-volume edition of poetical work entitled Bell's Edition [of] The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill, Edinburgh.[19] As far as the editing was concerned, Bell's labor was quickly over: the edition, together with its apparatus, is a congeries of the work of the past. The Canterbury Tales are from Tyrwhitt's edition, and the miscellaneous pieces are from Urry's. In Volume I are collected 249 pages of allusive and critical material from former editions. After opening "testimonies" from Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, Spenser, and others, which appear on the title page and added title page (pp. i and iii), we find "The Life of Chaucer" (pp. vii-lxv), as taken from the Biographia Britannica (1748); we find also practically all of Tyrwhitt's introductory and critical material, including his "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer" and

"Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales" (pp. xciv-clxx, clxxi-ccxxii), plus an "Extract From Mr. Timothy Thomas's Preface to Ed. Urry 1721" and some items traceable to Speght's edition of 1602 (Spurgeon, I, 465). The text itself occupies Volumes II-XIII, the closing pages of XIII being devoted to more "testimonies" -- fifty extracts, from Occleve to Hayley. Volume XIV then presents Tyrwhitt's glossary together with its accompanying "Advertisement" (pp. 5-8) and "Account of the Works of Chaucer" (pp. 9-20).

In "A letter to a friend" (cited in Note 17, this chapter), Tyrwhitt reveals his just annoyance with Bell for printing his work without first having gained Tyrwhitt's consent and given him an opportunity to revise the copy. As for going to law for the sake of his property, Tyrwhitt only comments: " . . . for my own part I shall be contented, if my book shall prove just as lucrative to Mr. Bell, as it has been to me."[20]

With Bell, this survey of Chaucer material current and effective in the early 1790's comes to a close. The Augustan and post-Augustan eras had produced editions (Urry, Tyrwhitt, and Bell), translations and modernizations (Dryden, Pope, and Ogle), biographies (Dart), encyclopedic articles (Encyclopaedia Britannica), general historical, literary, and critical studies that included Chaucer, usually with "specimens" (Thomas Warton), and scholarly and critical prefaces touching text, language, versification, and other

Chaucer matters (Dryden, Timothy Thomas, Johnson, and Tyrwhitt): all of this material was available to the Romantics. During the Era they added to this material in all its aspects; furthermore, they made the lecture and the magazine article important as sources of information on Chaucer. This Era, perhaps more than the preceding, was marked by the continual appearance of the ana of littérateurs and antiquaries. As we turn now to our main concern, the study of the Chaucer translations of the period 1792-1841, we shall deal with other contemporary Chaucer material only where it impinges upon the translations.

Notes to Chapter II.

[1]John Dryden, Fables Ancient and Modern; Translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer: with Original Poems (London: Jacob Tonson, 1700). The Chaucer matter in the volume consists of references in the "Preface" and in the translations: "Palamon and Arcite; or, the Knight's Tale" (pp. 1-90), "The Cock and the Fox; or, the Tale of the Nun's Priest" (pp. 223-253), "The Flower and the Leaf; or, the Lady in the Arbour" [pseudo-Chaucerian] (pp. 383-405), "The Wife of Bath her Tale" (pp. 479-499), and "The Character of a Good Parson" (pp. 531-536). Dryden also printed these poems, excepting "Good Parson," in their original form (pp. 567-646).

Most of my references to these items will be to one or the other of two later editions: (1) The Works of John Dryden, Now First Collected in Eighteen Volumes, ed. Walter Scott (London: William Miller, 1808), XI, 205-399, and (2) a revised and corrected edition, in eighteen volumes of these same Works, by George Saintsbury (New York: Croscup and Sterling Co., [1882], XI, 208-422. The first will be referred to as "Works, Scott ed."; the second, as "Works, Scott-Saintsbury ed." Scott's edition is important because it gives us Dryden as Dryden was given to the Romantic Era. Scott's notes are often helpful too. Line numbering is supplied by the Scott-Saintsbury edition.

[2]Attention is called to the Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope. All the Chaucer matter of Pope except his early Imitation, "Chaucer," is found in Vol. II of this edition: The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, ed. Geoffrey Tillotsen (London: Methuen, 1954). The texts are supported by helpful introductions and by notes that include parallel passages from the original Chaucer as well as references to the influence of Dryden's Chaucer matter. I am indebted to this material for much of my comment here, including the statement to which this note is appended. (See Tillotsen, p. 5.)

Tillotsen provides the following information on the dates of first publication of Pope's major Chaucer items. "January and May" was published in Dryden's Poetical Miscellanies: The Sixth Part . . . , 1709, by Jacob Tonson; "The Wife of Bath Her Prologue," in Steele's Poetical Miscellanies, Consisting of Original Poems and Translations, By the best Hands, December 29, 1713, but bearing a 1714 dating, also by Tonson. (Tillotson, pp. 14 and 58.) The Temple of Fame. Written in the Year 1711 seems to have made its first appearance on February 1, 1715, published by Bernard Lintott. (P. 237.)

[3] John Urry, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS. Out of which, Three Tales are added which were never before Printed (London: Bernard Lintot, 1721).

[4] An example will be found below, in the discussion of the work of the next editor, Thomas Morell. For another interesting example, see Spurgeon, I, 488-489.

[5] Alexander Chalmers, in the "Life" of Chaucer which he prefixed to his edition of Chaucer's works (Vol. I of The Works of the English Poets, 21 vols., London, 1810, hereafter to be referred to as Chalmers), says that Urry's Edition, "from its having been printed in the Roman letter, the copiousness of the glossary, and the ornaments, &c. continued to be the only one consulted, until the publication of the Canterbury Tales by Mr. Tyrwhitt" (p. xv). Another sort of evidence may be had when one peruses the entries in Part I of Spurgeon from 1721 on: one will find several references to Urry and almost none to Speght. On the other hand, however, it must not be thought that Speght was neglected entirely. Chatterton used Speght's Glossary (see Maurice Evan Hare, ed., The Rowley Poems, Oxford, 1911, p. xxxv), and there is evidence that, in the nineteenth century, the Romantics cherished their black-letter texts of Chaucer. We recall Keats' "huzza!" as he wrote Reynolds that he had acquired a "black-letter Chaucer printed in 1596" (Complete Poems and Selected Letters, ed. Clarence DeWitt Thorpe, New York, 1935, p. 557). Though the date given is in error, the edition must have been a Speght, probably that of 1598. The context, however, indicates that the antiqueness of the Speght was for Keats, as with other Romantics, its chief charm -- the very quality for which the eighteenth century tended to hold it in disregard.

[6] For his edition of 1810, Chalmer (see preceding note) followed the text of "the black letter editions, which, with all their faults, are more to be depended on than Urry's" (p. xv). This fact does not seem to have been widely remarked, despite the prominence of the edition itself, if we may judge from the statement by an anonymous but quite knowledgeable reviewer in the Retrospective Review, XIV (1826), 314, who says that those who wish to read Chaucer's works other than the Canterbury Tales but who for one reason or another cannot avail themselves of Chaucer in the MSS. and black-letter editions, "have no other resource but the perplexing, corrupted, and arbitrarily innovated edition of Mr. Urry."

[7] Morell, Thomas, ed., The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, in the Original, From the Most Authentic Manuscripts; And

as they are Turn'd into Modern Language by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Pope, and Other Eminent Hands. With References to Authors, Ancient and Modern; Various Readings, and Explanatory Notes (London: Printed for the Editor, 1737).

[8]The mistake is a natural one, inasmuch as the Ogle 1741 volumes of Chaucer translation, which are reviewed in this article, include a translation by Mr. Markland.

[9]George Ogle, Gualtherus and Griselda: or the Clerk of Oxford's Tale. From Boccace, Petrarch, and Chaucer. To which are added, A Letter to a Friend, with the Clerk of Oxford's Character, &c. The Clerk of Oxford's Prologue from Chaucer. The Clerk of Oxford's Conclusion, from Petrarch. The Declaration, or L'envoy de Chaucer a les Maris de notre Temps, from Chaucer. A letter in Latin, from Petrarch to Boccace (London: R. Dodsley, 1739). (This information has been drawn from Spurgeon, I, 384.)

[10]George Ogle et al., The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, Modernis'd by several Hands. Publish'd by Mr. Ogle, 3 vols. (London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson, 1741).

[11]"Chaucer (Geoffrey)," Biographia Britannica: Or, the Lives of the Most eminent Persons Who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, From the Earliest Ages, down to the present Times . . ., Vol. II (London: Printed for W. Innys et al., 1748), pp. 1293-1308. The author of the article is identified no further than by the signatural initial "E" at the end of the article. He is referred to in the note appended to the reprint of this article in the Second Edition (see Note 12, following) only as "our ingenious and learned predecessor" (p. 466).

[12]Vol. III (London: Printed for C. Bathurst et al., 1784), pp. 450-482. The signature at the end of the reprint of the original article is given, however, as "C," instead of "E," as in the first edition. Of the two, the probability is that "E" is the correct signature. In the first edition the Chaucer article ends at the bottom of page 1308, a verso, and the initial "E" appears obscurely at the end of the notes, at the very bottom of the page. On the recto opposite is an article on "Chauncy" that occupies but the top three quarters of the page. Because of typographical peculiarities, the article begins unobtrusively, so that one is almost led to regard it as the conclusion to the Chaucer article. At the end, however, where there is a break in the text before the next entry, the signature, a "C," strikes the eye vigorously. This could easily have been mistaken by transcriber or printer as the signature to the Chaucer article.

[13]A list of Johnson's literary schemes includes the following item: Chaucer, a new edition of him, from manuscripts and old editions, with various reading, conjectures, remarks on his language, and the changes it had undergone from the earliest time to his age, and from his to the present: with notes explanatory of customs, &c., and references to Boccace, and other authours from whom he has borrowed, with an account of the liberties he has taken in telling the stories; his life, and an exact etymological glossary." Boswell's Life of Johnson (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 1363-64n.

[14]W. B. C. Watkins, Johnson and English Poetry before 1660, Princeton Studies in English, No. 13 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1936), pp. 40, 92-93.

[15]My quotations are from the fourth edition of the Dictionary, revised by the author and published 1773.

[16]Thomas Tyrwhitt, The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer. To which are added, An Essay upon his Language and Versification; an Introductory Discourse; and Notes, 4 vols. (London: T. Payne, 1775). The title page of the fifth volume is identical except that the title, as given above, is followed by the words -- Vol. V, Containing a Glossary. -- and that the year of publication is given as 1778. A second edition, bearing "By the Late Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. F.R.S." on the title page, was issued in 1798 at Oxford by the Clarendon Press. This was in two quarto volumes. The edition of 1775-78 was reissued in four volumes in 1822, with the Glossary added in a fifth volume (Spurgeon, II, 136). In 1830 an edition was published in London by William Pickering. Though, like the original edition, it was in five volumes, the internal arrangement was altered, all the essay matter being placed in Vol. I and all the Notes, in Vol. IV. In my study, references to Tyrwhitt's Canterbury Tales of Chaucer will be either to the first edition, identified as Tyrwhitt 1775, or to the 1830 edition, identified as Tyrwhitt 1830.

[17]T[homas]. Tyrwhitt, "A Letter to a Friend . . .," Gentleman's Magazine, LIII (1783), 462.

[18]The inference is based on lines 912-913, "Philogenet I cald am fer and nere,/ Of Cambridge clerk . . ."(Chauceria, p. 433), of the apocryphal Court of Love. Even though Tyrwhitt accepts this work as genuine (1775, I, xxiv, and V, viii), he is dubious about the biographical conclusion:

> In his Court of Love, ver. 912. he [Chaucer] speaks of himself under the name and character of "Philogenet -- of Cambridge, Clerk." This is by no means a decisive proof that he was really educated at Cambridge; but it may be admitted, I think, as a strong argument that he was not educated at Oxford; as Leland has supposed, without the shadow of a proof. (I, xxiv.)

[19]The Poetical Works of Geoff. Chaucer. In Fourteen Volumes. The Miscellaneous Pieces From Urry's Edition 1721, The Canterbury Tales from Tyrwhitt's Edition 1775. Vol. I. Edinburg [sic]: At the Apollo Press, by the Martins. Anno 1782. [Title pages of the remaining volumes read the same, except for volume number, even to the year, 1782. These volumes form Vols. I-XVI in John] Bell's Edition, The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill. [109 vols. (London, 1777-87, according to L. C. Cat. The general publication and printing history of this edition is various and irregular. The Chaucer volumes are usually dated 1782-83, after the dates of printing, Aug. 1, 1782, to May 29, 1783, given in the volumes.)]

[20]Tyrwhitt, "A Letter to a Friend . . . ," 461.

Chapter III. Old Paraphrase and New Modernization, 1792-1814. Items No. 1 to No. 14.

We now begin our examination of the translations of the Romantic Era. Fourteen items, or nearly half of the total to be examined in this study, will engage our attention for the first part of the Era, 1792-1814. In the matter of present renown as general literary figures, the translators of this period range all the way from Wordsworth, as the most renowned poet of the entire Romantic Era, to the unnamed person who contributed a passage from the Legend of Ariadne to the Gentleman's Magazine in 1803. As to the size and comprehensiveness of the various translations, they range from Lipscomb's three volumes, including almost the whole of the Canterbury Tales, to parts of works, such as the passage from Ariadne just mentioned. Some of the translations are fresh work, such as that of "Trinitarius" in 1800; others are simply reissues of work done by other hands in earlier times. Some are published for their own (and Chaucer's) sake, like the translations in Lipscomb's volumes; others receive their chief significance only from the part they play in their context, as in the case of a 14-line passage Maria Edgeworth took from Ogle's version of the Clerk's Tale and utilized in the narration of her own novel. Another distinction arises with regard to the impact the various translations of this 1792-1814 period had upon their own

times. On the one hand, the Lipscomb work, published in 1795, received immediate if seemingly not very widespread or enduring attention. On the other hand, the translations of Wordsworth, written in 1801, had no impact at all in that year except on his immediate family, for not one of them was published until "The Prioress's Tale" appeared in 1820. Since then, Wordsworth's work in this area has received considerable attention, in considerable part, of course, because of the general weight of Wordsworth's reputation.

Each of the fourteen items will receive whatever treatment in these various respects that it merits. Prime attention, however, will be centered upon what kind of translation a piece may be classified as. The last decade of the century was, as we shall see, under the complete domination of the paraphrase as the proper method of translating Chaucer. Scarcely is the century out when, we shall find, the old method, established since Dryden, is challenged by the appearance of a newcomer: the modernization.

In drawing up the list of translations -- and this holds true not only of the present chapter but of the following two chapters as well -- I have excluded those pieces by Augustan writers which appeared in regular editions of their work. Dryden, Pope, and Walter Harte are the writers chiefly affected in this respect.[1] However, when an Augustan piece appears in a context in which it bears a particular relation to the Era of my study, I shall not hesitate to include it.

Thus, when "January and May," Pope's paraphrase of the Merchant's Tale, is reprinted by Lipscomb in 1795 as part of his three-volume set of Chaucer translations, it will be treated, or at least mentioned. When, however, the same tale is reprinted in 1797 in the edition of Pope's works put out by Joseph Warton and others, it will be passed over without mention. This principle has not in every case admitted of easy application. For instance, Walter Harte's "To My Soul. From Chaucer" (Truth), as the work of a known Augustan, seemed readily excludable from my list as merely one piece among other pieces by Harte, -- a known Augustan -- in Chalmers' great collection of 1810, The Works of the English Poets (XVI, 348). The question did not seem so clear-cut when I considered the appearance of Harte's poem on pp. 251-252 in a book edited by W. Mavor and S. J. Pratt and bearing a title that explains its purpose: Classical English Poetry, for the Use of Schools, and of Young Persons in General. Selected from the Works of The Most Favourite of Our National Poets, with Some Original Pieces (London, 1801). Inasmuch as the piece bears Harte's name and appears without discussion among other poetical works, I have not included it, despite the particularity of its context. In our study of the Chaucer translation of the Romantic Era, let us then be mindful of the effect of the continual republication, usually through editions devoted to the individual author or in great comprehensive editions like

Chalmers' and the Chiswick, of the important pieces of Augustan Chaucer translation. Otherwise, the list that I have prepared, particularly as we advance into the latter half of the Era, will have a one-sided effect that does not represent the true state of translation matters in the Romantic Era.

I have also excluded works that print only a line or two of translation here and there, and then only incidentally or to illustrate some point that has nothing to do with Chaucer translation. In this category I include such a work as Joseph Strutt's A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, 2 vols. (London: J. Edwards, 1796-99), wherein occasional lines cited from Chaucer are turned into prose for clarity's sake, Strutt's chief purpose being, of course, to illustrate his remarks on costume. In the same way, the brief quotations, usually from Dryden's modernizations, that appear passim in the novels of Sir Walter Scott are excluded.[2]

Two conventions adopted to make my treatment clearer need to be explained. When in this and the two following chapters I refer to an editor -- let us say, Ogle -- as a person, I shall not italicize his name; however, when I refer to the man's book, I shall regularly italicize the name -- Ogle. This does not usually apply in the case of modern texts or studies, which will appear as, for instance, "Robinson" or "Spurgeon," without italics, whether the

reference is to the maker himself or to his book. The second convention to be dealt with provides a means of distinguishing between the title of a given work in the original and the title of the same work in translation. When the name of a Chaucerian piece is italicized, the reference is to the original Chaucer, and, when it is in quotation marks, the reference is to the work as translated. It is hoped that these conventions, carried out with some degree of consistency, will enable the reader to avoid misunderstanding.

The question of which text of Chaucer to use when there are comparisons to be drawn between a translation and corresponding original has presented some problems. Ideally, the actual text that a given translator worked from should be cited. It has proved impractical, however, if not impossible, in most cases to determine the original text used. In a few cases, the ascription can be made with certainty or near certainty: all indications are that Wordsworth did his Chaucer translation from Anderson's text; the anonymous translator in Gentleman's Magazine, 1803, was thoughtful enough to tell the reader that he had used the Ariadne in Bell's edition of the British poets. (See Items No. 8 and 9.) Usually, however, the translator is silent about his text of the original, and rarely is help available from other external sources beyond the fact that the book or periodical in which the translation appears

provides us with a terminus ad quem. Thus one must usually fall back on internal evidence. In the case of paraphrases, identification of a translator's original text by means of collation is almost impossible, especially if the paraphrase is a very free one. With modernizations there is a better possibility, for one can often collate line by line and sometimes even word by word. But this leads to identification only of the basic edition, not of the particular re-edition or reprint. For instance, if, through the I. F. note to Yarrow Visited, we did not already know that Wordsworth used Anderson, careful collation might well establish that Wordsworth based his version of the Prioress's Tale on a Tyrwhitt text, but only the most thoroughgoing collation could hope to reveal the particular edition of Tyrwhitt used -- the first edition (1775), the second (1798), or either the Bell (1782-1783) or Anderson (1795) reprint. More likely, however, one would not be able to come to any certain conclusion. The chances improve, of course, when a translator has done more than one Chaucerian piece. For example, Wordsworth would have found no text of The Cuckoo and the Nightingale or of the stanzas from Troilus and Criseyde in Tyrwhitt: only the Urry, Bell, and Anderson editions would be plausible candidates, Speght (1687) being too remote. Putting all the evidence together, one might say that Wordsworth must have used either Bell or Anderson, because only therein would he have found the

originals of all the pieces he modernized, and that of those two Anderson is more likely the one he used. This all rests on the ground that, for Wordsworth, books were not easily come by, and that if he were to get any book or books of Chaucer at all, it would probably be only one edition and that more likely the one-volume Anderson than the fourteen-volume Bell. But there is no necessity in this conclusion, resting as it does on one challengeable assumption after another. If this is the case with a writer of wide reputation like Wordsworth and a writer who did four pieces, how uncertain are the results of applying the same process to an unknown like "Trinitarius" (1800), who did only one piece. (See Item No. 6.)

Even when a writer was so thoughtful as to provide us with a text of his translation as Hunt on occasion did (Item No. 16), the chances of absolute identification are slender. Whereas modern scholars are careful to transcribe a text accurately, the literary men of the Romantic Era were not meticulous about such matters. There is no guarantee that a passage cited by a Hazlitt or a Scott will agree perfectly with the passage in the text from which it was drawn. At the very least, practices with respect to capitalization and punctuation were changing rapidly during the Era (the most striking illustration -- the two versions of Wordsworth's Prelude), and a writer would therefore be expected to apply his notions in these two areas to a Chaucer

text which he was citing. But more often, I should say, the minds of the great Romantics, in their breadth and sweep, were simply not concerned with detail. The prime example of unreliability in Chaucer citation is provided by the greatest poet of the Era. When we read Sonnet No. 31 in Part II of Ecclesiastical Sonnets and find Wordsworth citing the line "Sweet is the holiness of youth" as from Chaucer's Prioress's Tale, we are a bit taken aback to discover not only that the line is from Wordsworth's modernization of the Tale rather than from the original, but that it is the one line in the modernization for which there is not even a counterpart in the original.

This then is a statement of the problem involved in identifying the particular text used by a translator when a definite statement or other proof is lacking. To reach a definite solution in each individual case is beyond the scope of this study. Since decisions of some kind had to be made, however, the problem has been resolved along the following lines.

The main and basic texts are for the most part determinable. As we saw in Chapter II, Tyrwhitt's text of the Canterbury Tales established itself directly, superseding Urry's, and maintained itself without challenge throughout the entire period of my study and even down to the appearance of Thomas Wright's edition in 1847-51. Thus it is highly likely that any translation of Chaucer's Canterbury

Tales made during the Romantic Era was based on a Tyrwhitt text. The regular editions of Tyrwhitt subsequent to the first (1775-78) were those of 1798, 1822, and 1830; and Tyrwhitt's work was reprinted in the great collections: Anderson's (1795), Chalmers' (1810), and the Chiswick (1822). For the non-Canterbury items, Urry held the field up to 1810. After that year, in which Chalmers went back to Speght's edition for the non-Canterbury matter in his edition, it is a matter of doubt as to whether a version of, let us say, Truth was based on Speght or on Urry.

With this broad pattern as a basis, I have used the following procedure in citing a Chaucer text for comparative purposes. Whenever the text used by the translator can be positively identified, I have used that text. In other cases, I have cited a text that the translator most likely did employ, or at least could have employed. Wherever feasible, I have used for the convenience of the reader, the line numbering as given in Robinson, using the Group (A, B, C, etc.) designation rather than the Fragment (I, II, III, etc.) designation, in order to avoid confusion of the latter with the volume numbers of books or periodicals that will be frequently cited herein. When citing Tyrwhitt, I have used his line numbering (recognized by the use of lower case v. or vv. before a figure) in addition to the Robinson numbering. When an item was pseudo-Chaucerian, while citing the text according to the principle enunciated

above, I have wherever possible endeavored to apply the line numbering given in some modern text wherein the item may be found, such as Skeat's. Thus the reader to whom the older texts may not be available may find references without difficulty. In certain minor matters, for convenience' sake I have cited Robinson instead of an older text. In each case of this kind wherein the question of differences in reading could be material, I have collated the Robinson text with an older text, or texts. In the absence of express comment, the reader is assured that no significant variants exist.

With regard to my difficulties in determining the texts of Chaucer used by the translators of the Era, there is some comfort to be found in the following colloquy quoted from Vol. I, Chap. II, of Richard Hengist Horne's Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne, ed. S. R. Townshend Mayer (London, 1877). The colloquy, between Horne and Elizabeth Barrett, taken from page 111, is in the form of notes written in the printer's proofs of the version of the Franklin's Tale Horne had prepared for Chaucer, Modernized (Item No. 28 of this study). Horne, Leigh Hunt, and Elizabeth Barrett had made a practice of exchanging proofs in order to have the benefit of each other's advice and criticism. The reference in the following colloquy is to the passage F, 764-766, one that had interested translators and critics from the time of Pope:

R.H. "Love will not be constrained by mastery.
When mastery cometh, the God of Love, anon
Beateth his wings -- and, farewell! he is gone."
E.B. In the second line "comes," says Chaucer, and more smoothly.
R.H. Yes, more smoothly, but not so Chaucerian in its variety of rhythm. Does your copy print it "comes"? What edition have you? Mine reads "cometh."

A similar question arises at the close of Horne's quotations from these notes:

E.B.B. Last line of all stands thus in my black letter,--
"He took his horse, and rode forth on his way."
R.H. Not so in mine. What is the date of yours-- and its pedigree?
(P. 114)

When we observe that two such contemporaries as these, preparing translations for the same book and being in continual communication with each other, turned up variants (or apparent variants)[3] and experienced some difficulty in identifying each other's texts, we are given an indication of the impracticability, if not the impossibility, of positively identifying the original text of every translation.

We proceed now with our examination of the individual translations made or presented 1792-1814.

Item No. 1 (1792). [Lipscomb, William]. Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale Modernized. [London?], 1792.

According to the catalogs, neither the British Museum nor the Library of Congress possesses this item, nor have I been able to find it elsewhere. Its existence is known only through contemporary reviews and through the statement of the author himself, William Lipscomb, made in the introduction to his 1795 edition of Chaucer translations, to be taken up below as Item No. 4.

The anonymous reviewer in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1792 (LXII, Pt. 2, p. 1022) indicates that this version of the Pardoner's Tale is the first published product of "a modest attempt to modernize those of Chaucer's tales which Dryden, Pope, and Ogle omitted." A quotation, apparently from the foreword to this "attempt," sketches the intention and make-up of the major work to follow. It was announced that the other tales were already finished and that the rest were to be completed "'in order to form, together with those already done, an entire version of the whole.'" The reviewer's criticism was brief, affirming that "the translator has done justice to his original," and concluding with an expression of hope that "he will accompany his complete work with notes and illustrations, to render this almost obsolete author more familiar to modern readers."

On the assumption that this version had undergone no changes upon its reappearance in 1795, in which form it is

available, it would be possible to discuss the item here; however, I prefer to take it up with the other tales translated by Lipscomb, published in 1795. We need pause only long enough to observe that in this one brief review the terms "modernize" and "translator" are used, apparently without discrimination. All such terminology, whether loosely or carefully used in the primary matter, will at the proper time be brought into relation with the definitions given above in Chapter I.

Item No. 2 (1794). [Ogle, George]. "Gualtherus and Griselda; or, Happiness Properly Estimated. A Tale." [Pp. 73-104, in] Angelica's Ladies Library; or, Parents and Guardians Present. With eight elegant Plates, designed by A[ngelica]. Kauffman, and H. Bunbury, Esq. Dedicated, by Permission, to Her Majesty. London: Printed for J. Hamilton and Co. at the Shakespeare Library, Beech-Street, near Finsbury-Square; and Mrs. Harlow, Bookseller to Her Majesty, Pall-Mall. M. DCC. XCIV.

The year 1794 saw the publication of modern versions of two of the Canterbury Tales: the Clerk's Tale and the Squire's Tale -- an early indication of a popularity which these tales were to enjoy throughout the Romantic Era.

Item No. 2 is a version of only part of the Clerk's Tale. As far as it goes, it is a reprint of a translation which for both its origin and its own nature belongs not to the Romantic but to the Augustan Age. George Ogle, the maker of the original translation, first published it in 1739, with the title Gualtherus and Griselda: or the Clerk of Oxford's Tale. From Boccace, Petrarch, and Chaucer (Spurgeon, I, 384). Just two years later it reappeared, in The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, modernis'd by several hands, a three-volume work which Ogle edited and published and to which he himself contributed several items besides the Gualtherus and Griselda. Dryden and Pope were also contributors. (Spurgeon, I, 389.)

Ogle's version of the Clerk's Tale suited Miss Angelica Kauffman's purposes admirably, up to a point, as she prepared her Angelica's Ladies Book. The book is full of matter designed for the moral refreshment of young ladies. The

"Advertisement" sets the tone, not only for the book itself, but for much of the literature and life of the whole nineteenth century:

> THERE cannot be a doubt that a book like this, purposely adapted for the use of the FEMALE SEX, by writers, whose characters are established without controversy, abounding with entertainment, and inculcating the purest principles of morality and religion, will not fail to contribute to the improvement of the rising generation, by infusing virtuous and liberal ideas into the minds of a class of readers, which must add inestimable happiness to thousands of worthy families, by forming and training the most beautiful part of the creation in the paths of virtue and true felicity; in filling up the various stations of this transitory life in that rank of society, which Providence in his infinite wisdom allots them, with credit to themselves, and satisfaction to those, who are interested in their present and future welfare.

Opening the book, we are not surprised to find such items as "Lady Pennington's Advice to her Daughter" and "Moore's Fables for the Female Sex." However, we may ask how it is that the editor is able to make the Clerk's Tale fit the plan of the volume. If the Clerk's Tale could be regarded only as a counsel of patience and submissiveness addressed to wives and prospective wives, only that and nothing more, then no one would raise a question of the fitness of the Clerk's Tale for inclusion in Angelica's Ladies Book. However, Griselda may be looked upon either as an admirably patient wife or as a ridiculously patient wife. Thus there is a certain ambivalence in the Tale which makes it desirable to raise the question of fitness. Furthermore, the Tale takes on additional dimensions when we consider the Clerk's remarks at the end of the tale proper. First he presents

the allegorical application:

> This story is seyd, nat for that wyves sholde
> Folwen Griselde as in humylitee,
> For it were inportable, though they wolde;
> But for that every wight, in his degree,
> Sholde be constant in adversitee
> As was Grisilde; therfore Petrak writeth
> This storie, which with heigh stile he enditeth.
> (E, 1142-48.)[4]

Then he shows men how foolish it were to take the tale literally and go about seeking such as Griselda (E, 1163-69). Finally there is "Lenvoy de Chaucer," which whether regarded as the caption of the Clerk or of Chaucer himself gives the Tale its ironical turn and makes it especially fitting as a part of the Marriage Group and as a part of the whole CT when viewed as an integrated drama. There is sarcasm if not irony in the Clerk's address to the Wife of Bath:

> For which heere, for the Wyves love of Bathe--
> Whos lyf and al hire secte God mayntene
> In heigh maistrie, and elles were it scathe.
> (E, 1170-72.)

These are at the very least the mordant tones of a man who, constrained to surrender, deplores the reality that he admits. "Lenvoy" is ostensibly a counsel of impatience, but, delivered in ironical, or at least sarcastic tones, it becomes a subtle rebuke to the Wife of Bath and all her tribe. Taken in its entirety, particularly if the clerk's or Chaucer's envoy to the wives be emphasized, the original Tale can hardly be counted upon to act upon young ladies as a counsel of patience. Indeed we shall below in Item

No. 11 be looking at evidence that the young ladies of this era were inclined to ridicule Griselda, not at all to emulate her. Actually these matters are academic, for Miss Kauffman has solved all problems by simply lopping off all of the story that comes after the birth of Griselda's first child. Thus Griselda is offered as a model of dutifulness and all other wifely virtue, as one rising from a poor but proud condition to that of wealth and gentility (though enjoyed with a proper humility). The truncation of the tale at the critical moment leaves this model wife in full possession of her glories.

Let us look more closely at this "Gualtherus and Griselda" as it appears in Angelica's Ladies Library. The piece is of 874 lines, all in heroic couplets. The whole of the Clerk's Tale in the textus receptus, excluding the Clerk's Prologue but including "Lenvoy de Chaucer," is 1156 lines; but only the first two parts (of the five into which the Tale is divided in the Robinson text) constitute an equivalent to "Gualtherus and Griselda," and they amount to only 392 lines. In short, under Ogle's hand, the poem has been doubled in length, and the rime royal of the original has been turned into heroic couplets. In "Gualtherus and Griselda," there is no division into parts and no regular stanzaic division; but the text is divided (by indentation of lines) into verse paragraphs. They are of various lengths, though each verse paragraph consists of an even number of

lines; to split a couplet between two verse paragraphs is not an Augustan practice, and Ogle will not be found indulging in it. The shortest verse paragraph is a single couplet (94:19-20 [the reference is to page and lines]), and the longest runs over two pages, amounting to 68 lines (87:19-90:2).

As might be inferred from the expansion of the translation to about double the number of lines in the original, the Angelica version of the Clerk's Tale is far from literal. Indeed, it can hardly be called a translation, even a free translation; for, although the fable follows the general lines of the original, there is no genuine attempt on the part of Ogle to render Chaucer truly. It would be more fitting to call the Angelica version "Ogle's variations on a theme by Chaucer." The essence of the disparateness is not in the Latinizing of the names of the hero and heroine, nor is it even in the additions and embellishments. Nor can we rightly expect this tale, abbreviated and isolated and out of context, to convey the subtle ironies of the original. Rather is the essence of the disparateness to be found in the recoloring of character -- especially that of Walter. To this must be added the fact of the truncation of the tale and its perversion to the services of the general end of the volume, which, the "Dedication" says, is to "point out whatever was desirable and just in forming and perfecting the virtues of the female

character, towards making it amiable in this world, and happy in the next" (pp. i-ii). It may be questioned whether the creator of the Wife of Bath expected, or even desired, his Clerk's Tale to conduce womenkind to Griseldan virtue. A moral force the tale has, no doubt, but its direction in Chaucer is not so readily determined as it is in the Angelica version.

A few details from the Angelica "Gualtherus and Griselda" will make these matters clear. The general lines of the story as contained in Parts I and II (E, 57-448) are followed. But Ogle loves to embellish.

The process of expansion begins at the outset. The exposition of place, for which Chaucer needs but one rime-royal stanza, is doubled to fourteen lines in Angelica, as follows:

> Down at the foot of Vesulus the cold,
> (Thus ancient bards this moral tale unfold)
> Where first, thro' subterraneous caverns led,
> The springs of Po expand their silver bed;
> And, Italy from Italy, divide;
> There lies a district, on the western side.
> Where rich in flock and herd, in fruit and grain
> Abundant, nature spreads an ample plain.
> Here, travel'd eyes the varied scene admire,
> The rounded turret, and the gradual spire;
> From towns and castles that aspiring rise,
> Proud of their wealthy feats, and claim the skies.
> At once for pleasure and for plenty fam'd,
> The country all around Saluzzo nam'd.

Here we note the obvious addition of the 2nd line, but also that the 3rd and 4th lines are an addition: Chaucer does not mention the river at all in the opening stanza. However,

Ogle's liberty is not out of keeping with the original. In the Prologue to the Clerk's Tale, Chaucer wrote:

> . . .of Mount Vesulus in special,
> Where as the Poo out of a welle smal
> Taketh his firste spryngyng and his sours,
> That estward ay encresseth in his cours
> To Emele-ward, to Ferrare, and Venyse.
> (E, 47-51.)

Surely it is an allowable freedom to incorporate some of this in the opening of the tale itself. (We must remember, besides, that Ogle's original title is followed by "From Boccace, Petrarch, and Chaucer.") So far then, according to the definitions enumerated in the first chapter, Ogle's work is translation; more particularly, it is paraphrase, relatively free paraphrase. This kind of freedom is frequently pushed to its limits, as when the simple explanation of how the people delivered their petition and the marquis received it, occupying but two lines in Chaucer (E, 141-142), is expanded to ten lines in Angelica (77: 17-26): we learn that their "honest plea" that he marry "touches [him] with paternal care," that he knows they are moved by "their reason and their duty" (≃E, 141); but, we are told, Gualtherus loves liberty more than life, that whereas he likes the thought of his power to ease his people, the manner by which this must be accomplished "leaves a sting behind"; finally, we learn, the "father" prevails over "the man," and the "public interest" over private interest. The Marquis' speech occupies the next 33 lines (E, 143-175)

in Chaucer, but, when embellished by Ogle, though the response with its conditions is substantially the same, the speech reaches a length of 68 lines (77:27-80:10).

Such liberties do not seem to me to disqualify a version from being termed a paraphrase, as we have defined it. But, in the additions that I am about to describe, the translator's license is exceeded. In themselves these additions are delightful. The first occurs at the point where the people are puzzled when, the wedding day arrived and full preparations made, no bride appears. This gives Ogle a great opportunity. Rumor, in the person of one of the court ladies, "Bauderia" (83:4) by name, speaks to this curious lack. She puts it out that she is privy to the council's secrets and knows what Gualtherus will do. Gualtherus, she says, is going to line up all the court ladies; then they will pass by him in review and he will choose one. This excites the ladies to hope for election, each pushed on by her "self-opinion" (84:4). Scandal and mutual blame ensue. Then comes the individual run-down, or running-down, of each individual beauty's worth. One by one the beauties are named, but it seems that each has one maiming fault. Daphne is handsome but too tall. Amynta has a beautiful voice, but her mouth gapes. And so it goes with Sylvia, Chloe, Amarillis, Flavia, and many another. In fact, the editor or printer by bounteous oversight has provided us with two Delias:[5] one,

> Delia, men say, is fashion'd for a wife;
> But sure it is a piece of mere still life!
> (84:15-16)

and the other:

> And Delia's only merit is her shape;
> But if you are not deaf you must escape.
> (85:9-10)

Finally there is Caelia, who is faultless seeming, but, underneath, "awry" (85:12). Indeed not one is worthy. This delightful interlude over, Ogle resumes Chaucer's account. The scene in which Griselda is stripped of her rags by the court ladies and re-arrayed is handled by Chaucer in two rime-royal stanzas (E, 372-385), and of this short passage the last three lines are devoted to a disclaimer of any need to go into detail:

> Of hire array what sholde I make a tale?
> Unnethe the peple hir knew for hire fairnesse,
> Whan she translated was in swich richesse.
> (E, 383-385.)

The equivalent passage in Angelica runs to 68 lines (96:25-99:8). Curious and envious, the court ladies flock in to dress Griselda. They have a most painful time touching her "course" garments. Also, so that they will seem to others to have polite sensibilities, they make a show of withdrawing the hand from Griselda or turning away the head, "as if infection the vile work attends." Dressing her in "rich apparel" was an easier charge;

> For now, more sumpt'ous cloaths th' attendants
> brought,
> In secret, by their lord's discretion, wrought;
> Shap'd to the fairest maiden of the court:
> (The measure gayly taken as in sport)

> [This comes from a brief statement made much earlier in Chaucer's story (E, 255-256): "And of hir clothying took he the measure/ By a mayde lyk to hire stature."]
> Caelia the maid; alike her turn and size.
> Such just observers still are lovers eyes!
> (98:15-20)

Then, as the ladies adjust Griselda's robe, they admire their product. "And oft the hand was stop't to feast the eye."

With the taking of such liberties, the bounds of paraphrase seem to me to have been exceeded. But the passages in question, extensive as they are, can still be classed as mere elaboration: it might be argued that they enhance the flavor without changing or spoiling the essences. But Ogle's changes do not end here, for they affect character. Chaucer's characters and the way he presented them are the very heart of his contribution to literature. Most of his characters are not bloodless abstractions, and though they may be typical and even symbolical, they stand before us as persons, individual, at once of that place and time and of all times and places. A translator of Chaucer who interferes with the nature of Chaucer's characters can no longer be considered a translator of Chaucer, for, with the essence gone, the rendering is no longer faithful. Let him embellish and elaborate to his heart's content: so long as he be faithful to Chaucer's essence, he is still a translator according to my definition. Dryden in his version of the Knight's Tale is in this regard still a translator, though his propensity for

elaboration is legendary; but I am afraid Ogle does not qualify.

Let us look first at Griselda. She is patient and virtuous in Ogle, and so of course is she in Chaucer. In Ogle, as in Chaucer, she is wise and beneficent in her dealings with her lord's subjects. In both, she is a loving mother. But we have about reached the limits of equation. Where will we look in Chaucer for a Griselda who consciously balances her way between two extremes of behavior? But we find such a Griselda in Ogle. Consider this summary of the passage which follows directly upon the dressing scene described above. While the ladies accomplish her transformation, Griselda sits patiently, wishing less pomp. Her mind steers carefully between vain elation over her change and mere ignorance of her fate (99:9-100:26). Furthermore, though she makes the same promise to her husband of absolute obedience, she comes much nearer to asserting a kind of independent judgment -- in fact, she gently crosses Gualtherus, but I defer this interesting development to the end of this discussion.

It is in Walter's character that the greatest changes occur. Ogle's Gualtherus, at least as far as he can be known in the Angelica edition, is an eighteenth-century gentleman. Although Chaucer has removed all ostensible evidence of Walter's folklore existence as an other-worldly creature[6] taking human form in order to test a mortal, he

has left him only partly rationalized, only partly affected with humanity. For instance, after Chaucer's Walter has announced that he must put away the daughter and has received Griselda's dutiful acquiescence, we learn that he is "glad . . . of hire answeryng" (E, 512); later when the sergeant reports that he has taken the child, we find that "somwhat this lord hadde routhe in his manere" (E, 579: in Urry, l. 1599, ending " . . . in this matere"). But such touches as these only slightly palliate the effect upon us of Walter's inhuman persistence in his tests of Griselda's fidelity.

How different is Ogle's Gualtherus. The account of how Gualtherus makes Griselda his choice, which in Chaucer (E, 232-245) precedes the account of the wedding day, is deferred by Ogle to the point where the procession has reached the village and Janicola and Griselda and their home life have been described (85:25-87:18). A recapitulation of the growth of Gualtherus' regard for the maid is then given. (87:19-90:2) We learn of his first sight of Griselda, of the "first dawn of passion" (87:19-24). We are told of his contriving, almost unconsciously, to get near her in the course of his hunting in the vicinity (87:25-88:16), and finally, so that he may talk to her and hear her charming voice the more, of his managing "occasions of delay," such as "loss of the sport! or failure of his horse!" We cannot imagine Chaucer's Walter seeking excuses and contrivances.

In just two stanzas, Chaucer tells us how Walter chose Grisilde:

> Upon Grisilde, this povre creature,
> Ful ofte sithe this markys sette his ye
> As he on huntyng rood paraventure;
> And whan it fil that he myghte hire espye,
> He noght with wantown lookyng of folye
> His eyen caste on hire, but in sad wyse
> Upon hir chiere he wolde hym ofte avyse,
>
> Commendynge in his herte hir wommanhede,
> And eek hir vertu, passynge any wight
> Of so yong age, as wel in chiere as dede.
> For thogh the peple have no greet insight
> In vertu, he considered ful right
> Hir bountee, and disposed that he wolde
> Wedde hire oonly, if evere he wedde sholde.
> (E, 232-245.)

This is a contemplative Walter, but not an irresolute one. With him it was a case of seeing the girl, considering her virtue, and determining that, <u>if he should wed</u>, then he would wed only Grisilde. There is a grandeur and a finality about Walter's decision, as though a god had made it. Ogle's Gualtherus acts like a young English squire who does not really want to get married but who has met a lady he likes and respects. Gualtherus' affair -- from his first sight of Griselda and the "first dawn of passion" to the point where, torn between "sense of love, and prejudice of mind," he finally decides he must wed Griselda, there being no stopping the rush of his love for her (90:3-14) -- takes 80 lines to describe, and much of this is devoted to Walter's see-saw debate with himself: if he must take a wife, then he will choose Griselda. But he fears marital bondage, and "what woman answers slavish life?" he asks. Bringing up

the charge that he is too proud to marry one of low birth, he quickly comes to his own defense, saying to himself that he is not guilty of having so much pride in "our ancient ancestry" that he would rather "torture nature" than "demean" his "race." No, this, he decides, is a groundless view of matters: with him, he feels, it is the essential goodness of a person that makes her wellborn (here echoing the statement of Chaucer's Walter, who says to his people [E, 155-158] that virtue is of God, not of one's birth). But these thoughts bring Gualtherus up short, for they lead him right into marriage -- and that is not to be, he says and therewith tries not to think about the matter. Chaucer's Walter spends little time in debating with himself or with anyone else.

Even less characteristic of Chaucer's Walter is the boyish, halting manner in which Gualtherus addresses Griselda, having arrived at her gate with the intention of asking Janicola for her hand. Struck by her beauty and innocence, he can but stammer like a Tarkington beau: "Say -- is -- Janicola --." To this, Griselda, who is depicted as holding a secret but chaste affection for the marquis, manages a reply loaded with trembling expectancy: "He -- is (she cries), he waits -- his lord's commands" (92:3-14). Nor is Janicola, whose part in Chaucer is but to hear and acquiesce, denied an active part in the melodrama. Taking the old man aside, Gualtherus announces his

claim to Griselda, not by force, but by right. Now comes the dramatic misunderstanding. His shocked virtue drawing itself up to its full height, the astonished rustic replies in a speech (93:1-26) worthy of a Victorian father: He is sure that "my ignorance mistakes your thought." No, Griselda would never "pass thro' infamy to fame." We may be poor, but we are proud, he continues, and we have sufficient. The speech concludes magnificently: "Bear her to court, you bear her to her tomb." But all is yet well. Pleased with Janicola's honest character, Gualtherus announces that his design is wedlock, to which the father, red with confusion, can only assent.

This is surely a pleasant scene, and it has value. Indeed the eighteenth century must have liked it, for it saw publication at least four times.[7] Indeed it is the type of scene that has a continuing appeal, as is witnessed by the recent popularity of Gigi. But the point is that such characters as these can no longer be considered the creations of Chaucer. Ogle is not trying to render Chaucer's creations truly and thus disqualifies himself as translator.

Free of this consideration and considered on its own merits, Ogle's making is certainly praiseworthy. He has created a readable story, and his verse is clear, sound, even with now and then a witty phrase, though it lacks Dryden's power and does not match Prior's verse in ease, or Pope's in elegance and precision. Some of the lines in the

following passages are very good, certainly better than the run of eighteenth-century verse.

> "Then, oh! reflect, (for here the danger lies!)
> "Reflect, that time with hasty pinions flies.
> "Time, ever on the wing, time stays for none;
> "Whether we sleep or wake, or stand or run.
> "Tho' blooming now thy youth, thy vigour green;
> "Age, silent as the night, creeps on unseen,
> "And threatens ev'ry sex, and ev'ry state.
> "No pow'r can shun the certain doom of fate.
> "Certain the doom that he must yield his breath!
> "Uncertain yet the day assign'd by death.
> (76:15-24)

From the point of view of our present business, this passage is yet more praiseworthy for its being a reasonably faithful paraphrase of its great original, which occurs in E, 116-126. Few will argue that it achieves the power of the original, but it does about all it is reasonable to expect a translation to do.

But now it is time to close our discussion of Item No. 2. We must remind ourselves that we are not dealing just with Ogle, but with Ogle as cut and presented in Angelica's Ladies Book in 1794. The young ladies who perused this enlightening volume were not likely[8] to be acquainted with Ogle's full-length version, as published in 1739 and 1741, much less with the original Clerk's Tale. Thus they must have been a bit nonplused by a certain parenthetical remark on page 100, with the end of the "Gualtherus and Griselda" version but four pages away. The account of the nuptial celebration is brought to a close with this couplet:

> In revel there the finish'd day he spends;
> Till down the western steeps the sun descends.
> (100:25-26)

This is followed by the parenthetical remark alluded to:

. . . . . (not to dwell too long,
Copious the remnant of our song.)

"Copious" it was, in the original Ogle. Chaucer at this point says only, "And shortly forth this tale for to chace" (E, 393: for "chace," Urry, l. 1423, reads "trace"), but even in Chaucer the tale has more than half its length to run. But in Angelica, the "copious remnant" amounts to only four pages. Here is how the version concludes. Her basic good character asserting itself, Griselda enjoys the acceptance and the praise, first of the Saluzzans, then even of people beyond Saluzzo's borders. Engaged in her Lord's affairs, she is just and prudent, judging such cases as come before her with wisdom. Thelord himself must own he did a good thing in choosing Griselda. Then a girl is born. Though of "inferior kind" (i.e., not a boy), the child is an earnest of better things to come, the possibility being proved.

So far, this is reasonably close to the original, to be found, roughly, in E, 394-441. But observe this development. Griselda insists on nursing the child herself. Gualtherus is most disturbed, feeling that the practice is unsuitable to nobility. But Griselda, asserting an independence one will not find in her prototype, answers with an argument from nature: if even the beasts nurse their young, it is all the more a shame when human beings do not. Gualtherus comes reluctantly around to her view.

Here the Angelica version ends, with no statement to explain that Chaucer wrote more -- that, in fact, the meat of the story lies ahead. If any fair reader, from the hint afforded by the "copious remnant" parenthesis just four pages back, suspected that she had been cheated of a considerable part of the story, she had but a year to wait, when Lipscomb's volumes would appear, containing the full Ogle version.

Item No. 3 (1794). Penn, John. The Squire's Tale, a Fragment from Chaucer in Poems. London, 1794, sig. B4-E1[b].

I am indebted to the British Museum for the microfilm of their copy of this item. Poems is a pamphlet (Spurgeon, I, 496) containing only three poems, each paged separately: An Imitation of the Sixth Satire of Persius, The Squire's Tale, and A Translation of the Twelfth Pythian of Pindar, in that order. On the title page of Poems is a note written, according to Miss Spurgeon (I, 496), in a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century hand, reading: "This Pamphlet was printed at the private press of the Author John Penn Esq. at Stoke Park near Windsor." Miss Spurgeon has printed the first 3½ lines of the Squire's Tale, beginning

> In Sarra's city once, in Tartary, reign'd
> A King who was with Russia's tribes maintain'd.

(In the second line, "was" is a misprint and should read "war.") The version of the Squire's Tale is the same as that which appears in a two-volume edition of this author's work, published in 1801 (except that the later text is full of typographical errors). Accordingly, I merely list and describe this item here, reserving discussion of John Penn and his work until in the course of this chapter we reach the 1801 edition, designated Item No. 7. It seems more appropriate to discuss the item in its 1801 context, inasmuch as it appears the circulation of the later edition must have been much wider.[9]

Item No. 4 (1795). [Lipscomb, William]. The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer; Completed in a Modern Version. In Three Volumes. Oxford: Printed for J. Cooke; and G. G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London. MDCCXCV.

By taking the translations that appeared in the Ogle volumes of 1741, excepting the portraits, prologues, and tales of the Miller and Reeve, and by adding translations of the rest of the Canterbury Tales, but excluding the Parson's Tale, William Lipscomb (1754-1842), an Anglican clergyman with a penchant for literary activity, created the only body of Chaucer translation to be found throughout the Romantic Era with a just claim to fullness. With the exceptions as noted, it translates, for the most part in free paraphrase, the whole of the Canterbury Tales. The other two works that might seem to challenge this claim -- Clarke's Tales from Chaucer in Prose (1833) and Horne's The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized (1841) -- do not approach Lipscomb in fullness. Although both of these works go beyond Lipscomb in that they include matter from the whole body of Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian work, not just from The Canterbury Tales, the former offers really no more than a selection -- indeed, it intends no more -- and the latter, with all its pretensions to fullness and comprehensiveness, is but a misbegotten hodgepodge.

The year 1795 was indeed an important one in Chaucer publication, for, besides the translations of Lipscomb, there

appeared the edition of Chaucer in Vol. I of Anderson's Works of the British Poets. It will be recalled that I antedated my study at 1792, chiefly because, so he himself tells us and reviews prove, Lipscomb anticipated his major work by publishing his translation of The Pardoner's Tale in that year. But 1795, because of Lipscomb's three-volume work, marks the effective boundary between the era of my study and the era that preceded it. In that it prints the work of the Augustans it looks backward to their age, with the Augustans' proud confidence in their language and with their unquestioning belief in their right to remake Chaucer in their own image; in that it reprints, in the introductory matter in Volume I, Tyrwhitt's scholarly Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales, it looks forward to the new century, during which pas de geant (in Spurgeon's phrase[10]) were made in Chaucer studies. In Lipscomb's own contributions, which comprise the bulk of Volume III, we observe this same ambivalence. Following the practice of his predecessors, he uses the heroic meter exclusively (except in The Tale of Melibeus, for which, following the original, he uses prose, and in The Tale of Sir Thopas). It is true that this is a fit meter for most of the tales he translates, but it is hardly suitable for The Prioress's Tale and The Monk's Tale, that is, from the modernizer's point of view. But if he looks backward for his manner, he looks forward in handling matter, exercising more of the kind of care for the

original which may be found in Wordsworth and most of the modern translators.

In describing the volumes and their contents, I shall first present the general design and then describe the volumes individually. The first two volumes are devoted to prefatory matter and the reprinting of the contents of Ogle's three volumes, excepting editorial matter, such as "A Letter to a Friend, with the Poem of Gualtherus and Griselda" (Ogle, III, v-xxviii) and the Miller-Reeve material. The third volume contains Boyse's Squire's Tale, also from Ogle, and the translations added by Lipscomb. Whereas the translations in Ogle are arranged in the same order in which the originals are found in Urry,[11] Lipscomb follows Tyrwhitt's order, which is essentially the same as the order found in Robinson. The difference in order is not great: if one takes the Squire group and the Merchant group as in Ogle (see note 11), transposes them, and then removes them to the end of the Clerk's Tale, one will have the Lipscomb order. This means that the Wife of Bath group, which in Ogle follows the Merchant's Tale, is found in Lipscomb directly after the Man of Law's Tale. These changes occasion some articulatory work by Lipscomb, to be explained below. Whether by design or by coincidence -- and this holds true no matter which order, Urry's or Tyrwhitt's, is applied -- the tales left untranslated in the Ogle volumes make up the last thirteen tales of the canon: FranklT,

PhysT, PardT, ShipT, PrT, Thop, Mel, MkT, NPT, SNT, CYT, MancT, and ParsT. His omission of Dryden's version of the Nun's Priest's Tale, which would have been well known to him, compels the belief that Ogle planned a fourth volume, in which translations of all these tales would be included. (See Lounsbury, III, 191.) In any case, what Ogle did not do, Lipscomb did. Except for the "Squire's Tale" of Boyse, the entire third volume is the work of Lipscomb, containing his translations of all the remaining tales listed above, except the Parson's Tale, which, he tells us in a "Postscript" to his Preface, he omitted because he had already provided the reader with a specimen of Chaucer's prose, in the Tale of Melibeus, and because he "did not wish to swell the work with what was dry and unentertaining," the "more curious reader" having access to it in the original (I, xi).

Turning to a description of the individual volumes, we note that on the title page of each volume there is a quotation on Chaucer by another poet. The title page of Volume I bears this quotation:

> Dan Chaucer, well of English undefil'd,
> On Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be fil'd.
>
> Dan Geffrey, in whose gentle spright
> The pure well-head of poetry did dwell.
>
> SPENSER.

These often quoted lines are from The Faerie Queene, Book IV, Canto 2, xxxi, and Book VII, Canto 7, ix. Page iii (the title page is page i) bears an inscription to Dr. Joseph

Warton, "Late Head-Master of Winchester School," reading: "In testimony no less of the gratitude of one, who feels every day how much he owes to his instructions, than of the respect which he, in common with all lovers of polite letters, bears necessarily to a writer who has exerted in their service so fine a fancy and so rare a taste, the following Version of the Canterbury Tales is inscribed. . . ." The effusion is signed by "His sincere admirer, and humble servant, W. Lipscomb."

In the Preface, which appears on pages v-x, Lipscomb gives his reasons for offering the translations, describes the manner of his own translation work, especially as regards questions of language, fidelity, and indelicacy, and then distinguishes his contribution from the work originating with others.

The Preface begins with a statement that this "collection of the Canterbury Tales, now first completed in a modern version, is offered to the public with the reasonable confidence, that the improved taste in poetry, and the extended cultivation of that, in common with all the other elegant arts, which so strongly characterizes the present day, will make the lovers of verse look up to the old Bard, the Father of English poetry, with a veneration proportioned to the improvements they have made in it."

The words of most significance in this opening statement are "the public" and the public's "improved taste," on

the one hand, and "the old Bard" and "veneration proportioned to the improvements they [the "lovers of verse"?] have made" in English poetry. In the attitude of superiority which the passage reveals, there is thus discovered the same ambivalence spoken about earlier: when he talks about "public" and "improved taste" he has the nineteenth century writer's sense of mission; it is a sense that implies, if it does not trumpet, a feeling on the part of the writer that he is addressing an inferior breed who by reason of the "extended cultivation" are now ready for more difficult fare. There is nothing in the tone of this Preface that would indicate Lipscomb considers himself to be addressing an audience of his peers. But when he talks about the "old Bard" and the "improvements" made in poetry since Chaucer's day, he reveals an attitude that goes back to Dryden.

Next is discussed the perishability of Chaucer's fame owing to the fact that Chaucer's language "hath decayed from under him." Only this reason, Lipscomb avers,

> can justify the attempt at exhibiting him in a modern dress; and though, with respect to translations in general, I assent to the position that they should be rather free than servile, yet in that part of the present work, which has fallen to my share to execute, I have endeavored to adhere to the great original the more faithfully, for the consideration that all those readers (a very numerous as well as a very respectable class) who have not given their time to the study of the old language, must either find a true likeness of Chaucer exhibited in this version, or they will find it no where else.

Here Lipscomb distinguishes the fate of Chaucer from that of

"the writers in the dead languages," finding that with the continued cultivation of those languages "the student of taste may have recourse to the original author, rather elucidated by criticism than impaired by time." But living tongues so change and progress that the "professed antiquary" is almost alone conversant with the ancient forms of them; hence, he says,

> I have imposed it on myself, as a duty somewhat sacred, to deviate from my original as little as possible in the sentiment, and have often in the language adopted his own expressions, the simplicity and effect of which have always forcibly struck me, whenever the terms he uses (and that happens not infrequently) are intelligible to modern ears.

This would indicate a rather sharp distinction in the execution between Lipscomb's own work and the work of the others, who, as we have already seen, especially in our study of that portion of Gualtherus and Griselda which appeared in Angelica, tended to make quite free with Chaucer. We shall have occasion to see whether Lipscomb squares his practice with his principle. In any event, we have here the earliest reference I know of to the modernizing theory, this being especially apparent in his admitting to have often adopted Chaucer's own expressions.

Ambivalence seems to be manifest once again, as Lipscomb immediately states that he has not in all parts of his transcript "thought himself tied down to the same fidelity." But this does not mean that Lipscomb is arrogating to himself a Dryden-like freedom to amend and embellish, for he

apparently intends only such changes in the "sentiment" as will effect the removal of what he regards as indelicate. We must have the matter in his own words:

> . . . the grossness and indelicacy of the times in which Chaucer lived extended their coarse influence to writers, we well know, much posterior to him; and therefore we cannot wonder, that the stream, which took such a length of time to depurate, should be turbid at its very source. But though we may excuse the writer, who in a work confessedly popular yields what may be hoped to have been his better judgment to the taste of the times he lives in; yet our veneration for his great and various excellencies is rather the more testified, by purging him from his impurities, and by exhibiting him to a more refined age a safe as well as a brilliant example of native genius.
>
> In the following copy of his, it is hoped, as it is believed, that the pruning away of his indelicacies will not be found to have robbed him of anything valuable, neither will the truth of the likeness appear to have been violated, since the exhibiting him free from stains has been effected scrupulously by the omission of the offensive passage, and not by the presumption to substitute fresh matter.

This is like Dryden in that the latter, in the Preface to Fables, was also sensitive to the matter of "delicacy,"[12] but altogether unlike him in that Dryden substituted fresh matter at will, the last half of his version of the Parson's portrait serving as the classic example.

In view of this purpose, Lipscomb explains that he has removed the "two most exceptionable" tales, those of the Miller and the Reeve, both "being highly indelicate, as well in the sentiments as in the language." With this done,

> the improper passages that remained occasionally interspersed in the other tales were comparatively very few; but few as they were, they operated as a just bar against their general reception: that bar, it is humbly hoped, will be found now to be removed,

> and readers of every denomination may have safe access to a writer, whom every successive British poet, of the first class and genius, hath looked up to with admiration.

Thus Lipscomb assumes the role of moral guardian of his readers. He does so, not just because he is a minister, and not at all because of any desire to be an arbitrary spoilsport, but because it is in accord with the temper of the times. There is a recognition here that these books will reach a wider reading public, that this public will include feminine readers and youthful readers, whose sensibilities he regards as delicate and violable, and that his duty is to protect such sensibilities. In our day, when the integrity of the author is held to be more to be respected than the sensibility of the reader, the attitude of the Reverend William Lipscomb engages little sympathy. It is perhaps even more difficult for us, altogether too painfully aware that all is not well with our world, to accept Lipscomb's smug characterization of his age as "more refined" when one glance at the Terror across the Channel might have conduced to a different opinion. In fact, he need not have looked further than the "refinements" being introduced in his own England by the new age of industrialization. But at his seat "in a remote village, near 250 miles from London," the Reverend William Lipscomb was unable to see so far. When we consider, however, the liberties which Lipscomb's predecessors took in translating Chaucer and those which his

contemporary Bowdler took in editing Shakespeare, and when we think of the monstrous growth of sanctimonious prudery and puritanical bigotry in the decades to come, we ought not to pass too severe a judgment upon Lipscomb.

Near the close of the Preface, Lipscomb explains the make-up of the volumes. All the tales up to the Franklin's were collected, he rightly says, by Ogle in 1741, "who himself translated many of them [see p. 475, n.11, below]. The Life of Chaucer, and the Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales, are taken from the valuable edition of his original works published by Mr. Tyrwhitt" (p. ix). Here Tyrwhitt is given the credit for a "Life" which does not belong to him at all, but which goes back ultimately to the anonymous Chaucer article in Biographia Britannica of 1748. Inasmuch as Tyrwhitt, it is pointed out by Spurgeon (I, 496), was only seventeen at that time, the article could hardly have been by him. Also noted by Spurgeon (I, cxlii) is the fact that it contains views that are quite opposed to Tyrwhitt's. One of these views has to do with the question of Chaucer's use of the Provençal. Lipscomb's mistake can hardly be otherwise explained than as a lack of watchful care on his part, coupled with a lack of materials. It is clear that he drew the Life, not directly from either the first (1748) edition or the second (1784) edition of the Biographia Britannica, but from Bell. The latter, while following the text of the 1748 Biographia Britannica, did

not reprint the long note that includes the text and paraphrase of "Gode counsaile of Chaucer" (Biog. Brit., II, 1304). Instead Bell gave a brief note, in which the title of the poem is mentioned and the reader is told that it "consists of no more than three stanzas" (I, xlvii). Lipscomb reprints the Bell treatment. How the Life came to be ascribed to Tyrwhitt is another question. Bell reprinted the Life without acknowledging the source. The next item in the Bell volume is Tyrwhitt's Abstract of Historical Passages of the Life of Chaucer (I, lxvii-lxxx). Since this item is stated to be from Tyrwhitt, Lipscomb probably assumed that the Life was Tyrwhitt's also. Had he examined Tyrwhitt's edition as closely as he ought to have done, he would never have made such an assumption. In any case the mistake is not so incredible as the oversight which he himself apologizes for in his Postscript, which we will presently examine.

The Franklin's Tale and all the tales following it, except the Pardoner's Tale, "which was printed in 1792" (see Item No. 1), are, he explains, appearing for the first time "in a modern dress" (p. ix). This statement is valid if only the Ogle volumes are considered, but there are actually a few isolated exceptions. The Pardoner's Tale, for instance, was done by a Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper in 1737 (Hammond, p. 224). The most notable exception, however, was the Nun's Priest's Tale, done by Dryden for his Fables,

1700. The question of why Lipscomb presented his own version of the tale will be dealt with shortly.

The Preface closes with an apology to those "respectable authorities both public as well as private" who had suggested he provide this work with fresh annotation. He explains that "though the version itself has been an agreeable and easy rural occupation, yet in a remote village, near 250 miles from London, the very books, trifling as they may seem, to which it would be necessary to refer, to illustrate the manners of the fourteenth century [the fact that many of the "manners" exhibited in the parts done by Ogle and the others are of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century, not of the fourteenth, does not seem to strike Lipscomb], were not to be procured." In the want of proper materials, he has "subjoined Mr. Tyrwhitt's strictures on each Tale, and such notes as I thought would be acceptable to the Reader from his valuable edition." The Preface is signed "W. L." and dated January 24, 1794. (Pp. ix-x.)

Seven months later, "the Tales being already almost printed off," Lipscomb takes a last occasion to make a postscriptive apology for having presented his own translation of the Nun's Priest's Tale instead of Dryden's:

> . . . the fact was, I did not know that Dryden's version existed; for, having undertaken to complete those of the Canterbury Tales which were wanting in Ogle's collection, and the Tale in question not being in that collection, I proceeded to supply it, having never, till very lately, strange as it may seem, seen the volume of Dryden's Fables, in which it may be found (p. xi).

This brief "Postscript" concluded with Lipscomb's reason for presenting "The Tale of Melibeus" ("as a specimen of Chaucer's manner in prose") and for excluding the Parson's Tale (not wishing "to swell the work with what was dry and unentertaining"). Again the initials "W. L." appear below; the date is August 25, 1794. (P. xi.)

Pages xiii-xiv present the table of contents of Volume I. After indicating that the "Life of Chaucer, by Mr. TYRWHITT" is to be found on p. 1 and the "Introductory Discourse, by the same," on p. 69, the table looks almost like a reprint of that in Vol. I of Ogle, except that Lipscomb's concludes with the Knight's Tale and except, of course, that the page numbers do not correspond. First there is the "Prologue to the Tales, by Mr. OGLE," and then follow "The Characters of the Pilgrims": The Knight, The Squire, The Squire's Yeoman, The Prioress, The Monk, The Fryar, The Merchant -- all "by Mr. BETTERTON"; "The Clerk, or Scholar of Oxford [Ogle has only "The Clerk of Oxford"], by Mr. OGLE"; The Man of Law, The Franklin -- by Betterton; The Haberdasher, The Weaver, The Carpenter, The Dyer, The Tap'stry-Merchant [Ogle has "Tap'stry-Maker"], The Cook -- by Ogle; The Shipman, or, Seaman, The Doctor of Physic, The Wife of Bath -- by Betterton; "The Parson, by Mr. DRYDEN"; The Plowman, The Manciple, or, Temple-Treasurer [Ogle has "Temple-Steward"], The Sumner, or, Apparitor, The Pardoner -- by Betterton. From this last group, Lipscomb has omitted

"The Miller" and "The Reve, or Country Steward," which in Ogle follow the Plowman and the Manciple, respectively. The table shows the volume closing with "Prologue to the Knight's Tale, by Mr. OGLE," p. 179, and "Palamon and Arcite: or, the Knight's Tale, by Mr. DRYDEN," p. 188. Ogle's first volume goes on to include the Prologue and Tale of the Miller and the Prologue and Tale of the Reeve, both of which we have already learned were omitted by Lipscomb.

The "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer," occupying pages 1-68, has already been sufficiently discussed. Nor need we be detained over "An Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales," found on pages 69-137.

The rest of the volume, pp. 139-289, is devoted to the text of the translations, as indicated in the table of contents. I see no traces of Lipscomb's hand in any of this except in his excision of the Miller-Reeve matter. The task of evaluation, which I shall undertake with each book as I go along, will be briefly discharged, inasmuch as the translators, all belonging to the Dryden-Pope era, lie outside the bounds of my study. But inasmuch as their work was selected for and published in a book that does fall within my era, it warrants some attention.

The translation of the General Prologue, though unified outwardly both metrically (in the omnipresent heroic couplet) and typographically, is indeed an uneven performance, as one

might expect it to be in view of the number of hands that made it. It is all paraphrase, however, most of it rather free than faithful. Sometimes Chaucer undergoes rather severe contraction, as for example in the portraits of the Knight, reduced from 36 to 28 lines, and of the Friar, reduced from 62 lines to 44. Sometimes the original portrait is considerably expanded. The outstanding instance is the Parson's portrait, expanded by Dryden from 52 lines to 140. The Clerk receives but 24 lines in the original, but Ogle devotes 48 lines to him, and the five Guildsmen, given 18 lines of collective treatment by Chaucer, get a total of 42 lines from Ogle, the first 10 of which provide each of the Guildsmen a couplet's worth of attention. Betterton's portraits on the whole run fairly close to the original in length.

To get some idea of the quality of this work as translation, we must look at actual lines. Let us begin by quoting the first 24 lines of the Prologue, done by Ogle from the first 18 lines of the original (Lipscomb, I, 139-140):

> WHEN April, soft'ning, sheds refreshing show'rs,
> And frees from droughty March the springing flow'rs;
> April! that bathes the teeming womb of earth,
> And gives to vegetation kindly birth: [4]
> When Zephyr breathes the gale that favours love,
> And cherishes the growth of ev'ry grove;
> Zephyr! that ministers, with genial breeze,
> Bloom to the shrubs, and verdure to the trees: [8]
> When youthful Phoebus half his course completes,
> Divides the Ram, and glows with temp'rate heats;
> Phoebus! our equal good, the live-long year,

Or should he take, or should he quit the sphere; [12]
  When Philomel enjoys the coming Spring,
And, feeling her approach, delights to sing;
Sweet Philomel! of all the birds that fly,
The sole to pass the night with sleepless eye: [16]
  Then pilgrims long to roam to foreign lands;
Then palmers pass, with branches in their hands;
The various vot'ries visit various climes;
Then sundry saints are fee'd for sundry crimes. [20]
  But not abroad our English zealots stroll;
To Canterbury tend the pious shoal.
There pay, and promise to the saint inshrin'd,
For ev'ry ail of body, and of mind. [24]

The studied regularity of these half-dozen verse paragraphs and especially the careful correspondence practised in the first four of them, may make pleasant reading for one who does not know Chaucer, although the critical reader would hardly be pleased by the repetition of "Then" in the fifth verse paragraph, and by the lip-fatiguing alliteration in line 19. The passage drips eighteenth-century poetic diction, and there is the inevitable rhyme castigated by Pope of "breeze" with "trees." With the possible exception of the first couplet, the rhyme is masculine, and with the additional exception of the fifth and the last couplets, monosyllabic. The eighth and the twelfth lines display the typical Augustan balanced construction, with caesura at the end of the fourth syllable, dividing the line into two balanced or antithetical parts.

There is obviously no real intent on Ogle's part to capture anything of Chaucer's manner. Line 16 catches a breath of it, though flatly, and, beyond a doubt, quite incidentally. As in the manner, so in the matter is it

clear that Ogle feels no obligation to maintain the integrity of the original. Zephirus in Chaucer breathes life to tender shoots, but does not concern himself with providing a "gale that favours love." Chaucer's "smale foweles" are metamorphosed by Ogle into a nightingale. The palmers and other folk from "every shires ende" in England are now denominated "English zealots" -- a quite different sort of folk from that depicted by Chaucer.

But at all this we must not be surprised, for we have already seen Mr. Ogle in action, and know what to expect of him.

For the most part, however, the additions we have just looked at are at least suggested by the original. But on occasion there are interpolations of material, especially references to affairs dating from post-Chaucer eras. In the portrait of the clerk (pp. 153-155), for instance, Ogle has introduced, at the end of the 24th line, an allusion to that infamous tergiversator, the Vicar of Bray, whose story is traditionally ascribed to the time of George I. If one regards the allusion as applicable to Simon Aleyn, Vicar of Bray in the sixteenth century (see Columbia Ency., 2d ed, 1956, under "Bray"), the allusion must still lack the authorization of the original text.

Betterton's way with Chaucer deserves our attention also. We recall the Knight's travel-soiled appearance, as Chaucer describes it (I cite the text of Speght 1687 as the

one most likely used, inasmuch as Betterton died in 1710, more than a decade before the publication of Urry):

> Of fustian he weared a gippon,
> All besmottred with his Haubergion:
> For he was late come fro his voyage,
> And went for to done his pilgrimage.

This description was too much for Betterton, who apparently could not conceive of a knight in rusty armor. Consequently, in his version we hear (p. 143):

> The arms he wore were bright, and free from stain;
> His habit serviceable, neat and plain:
> With grateful zeal, devoutly he was come
> To thank the saint, that brought him safely home.
> (Last 4 ll. of the portrait.)

Further points on which this version of the portraits is untrustworthy are given by Tobler.[13]

Before taking up the matter in Vol. I that follows the portraits, I should like to present Betterton's portrait of the Manciple in toto. It further exemplifies an execution that generally is not only free, but unfaithful; it will also provide the reader with an opportunity to compare Wordsworth's modernization of this same portrait, to be given later. Lipscomb prints the portrait on p. 174:

> THE MANCIPLE.
> Or, TEMPLE-TREASURER.
>
> A steward of the Temple next must come,
> A pattern for all caterers in town.
> The price of everything each market Had
> He knew, and nicely pick'd the good from bad.
> Sometimes he went on trust, and sometimes paid, [5]
> Yet none could over-reach him in his trade.
> Some wonder much, how an unletter'd man,
> Of such low, sordid education, can

(Who is but one to more than three times ten)
O'er-reach so many grave, wise, learned men. [10]
A practis'd lawyer all things understands:
Th' affairs of half the nation pass their hands.
We praise unjustly, partially condemn;
As they cheat others, others cozen them.
By various methods all professions live,
By their wise management he learn'd to thrive.
In life's long course such diff'rent ways we run,
Some to undo, but most to be undone. [18]

As the original portrait (A, 567-586) amounts to 20 lines, just two more than Betterton's, at first glance it would seem that Betterton's version had followed the original somewhat closely. For the first ten lines this is the case, although Betterton's lines 7-10 miss the gentle humor of Chaucer's lines (I cite the Speght 1687 text):

Now is not that of God a full faire grace,
That soch a leude mannes wit should pace
The wisedome of an heape of learned men?

How much that little word "heape" does to suggest that the wisdom of learned men is not always wise! Betterton either missed or disapproved the irony, and stuffed the learned men with gravity instead. But it is to the last 8 lines of the Betterton portrait that I wish to direct chief attention. In the original, the cleverness of the lawyers whom the Manciple serves is built up for one reason only -- that it may serve as a foil to the cleverness of the Manciple:

And yet the Manciple set all her cap.

For this punch-close, Betterton has provided us with a wring-your-hands epigram that has little to do with the portrait of the Manciple. The equivalent to Chaucer's close is found two lines earlier:

By their wise management he learn'd to thrive.

The effect is the reverse of that afforded us by Chaucer's line: Betterton has deprived the Manciple of his due and flattered the lawyers instead. This line and the lines in which Betterton attempts to engage our sympathy for the lawyers despite their cheating ways are fulsome, as though Betterton were trying not to offend the law. Certainly he is not trying to preserve Chaucer's integrity.

In the original, the close of the General Prologue takes the reader from the end of the individual portraits to the beginning of the first tale, which is the Knight's. It runs to 144 lines (A, 715-858). The equivalent passage in Lipscomb, written by Ogle, is separated from the Portraits and given the title, "Prologue to the Knight's Tale." Covering pages 179-187, it amounts to 208 lines, representing a considerable expansion of the original. I should like to select for comment but one passage, of some 28 lines (pp. 179-180), the equivalent, roughly, of A, 725-736, in which Chaucer the Pilgrim hopes readers will not ascribe to bad intentions his faithful report of the Pilgrims' words, even when spoken "rudeliche and large." Obviously Chaucer the poet inserted this bit as a gamesome way of preparing readers for the broad matter to come, especially the tales of the Miller and the Reeve. Now since the Reverend William Lipscomb has excluded such matter from the present work, or so he tells us, one might wonder why he did not elect to exclude this passage

also. Probably he did not consider the matter at all, but, if he did, he may have decided that, having done enough excising already, he ought to retain the passage, as harmless in itself, or perhaps as providing a margin of safety, a bit of insurance, in case some matter deemed to be broad had been overlooked and allowed to remain. I quote the closing lines of this passage, and ask the reader to note how Chaucer has become an eighteenth-century man of letters -- genteel, formal even to pompousness, and quite even-minded, with his everready appeal to "nature" (p. 180):

> All evidence is strict, all trial plain;
> A witness should repeat, but never feign.
> If new the conduct, or the language new,
> The stamp re-touch'd, the coinage is untrue.
> To this, whate'er the standard sense affords,
> Requires exact similitude of words.
> Apt words are shap'd fix'd objects to express,
> For language is no more than nature's dress.
> If some, that love's exalted colours wear,
> Capriciously offend the virtuous ear;
> Or heedlessly the virgin cheek inflame,
> 'Tis faulty modesty, mistaken shame.
> If right the loves that free-born tongues enslave,
> And force to veil what nature public gave,
> Then nature err'd, deform'd the human frame
> With parts dishonest, horrible to name!
> But that great nature err'd, who dares pretend?
> Why should the just description then offend?

Whether in Chaucer or in Ogle, the casuistry is delightful. From our point of view it is too bad that Lipscomb did not accede and print the broad tales that Ogle, just fifty years before, had deemed suitable for publication.

Palamon and Arcite: or, The Knight's Tale occupies the remainder of Volume I (pp. 188-289). It is Dryden's and as

such has received sufficient treatment in Chapter II. In Volume II, the title page carries the following quotation:

> Old Chaucer like the morning star
> To us discovers day from far;
> His light those mists and clouds dissolv'd,
> Which our dark nation long involv'd.
>
> DENHAM.

The only prefatory matter in the volume is the table of contents, which, since it provides a whole view of the structure of the volume, I give in full (pp. iii-iv):

Contents of Vol. II.

Prologue to the Cook's Tale, by Mr. Ogle..... 1
The Cook's Tale, by Mr. Boyse..... 5
Prologue to the Man of Law's Tale, by Mr. Ogle..... 9
Constantia: or, the Man of Law's Tale, by Mr. Brooke..... 15
Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale, by Mr. Pope.... 92
The Desire of Woman: or, the Wife of Bath's Tale, by Mr. Dryden.....113
Prologue to the Fryar's Tale, by Mr. Ogle.....136
The Sumner and the Devil: or, the Fryar's Tale, by Mr. Markland.....138
Prologue to the Sumner's Tale, by Mr. Ogle.....153
The Farmer and the Fryar: or, the Sumner's Tale, by Mr. Grosvenor.....157
Prologue to the Clerk of Oxford's Tale, by Mr. Ogle.167
Gualtherus and Griselda: or, the Clerk of Oxford's Tale, by Mr. Ogle.....171
Prologue to the Merchant's Tale, by Mr. Ogle.....274
January and May: or, the Merchant's Tale, by Mr. Pope.....277

For the most part, this volume is a reprint of the Ogle work, with the editorship of Lipscomb scarcely visible, except in the re-ordering of the Tales after Tyrwhitt and in the general reduction of the capitalizing of nouns. Despite his prefatory protestations in Vol. I, such indelicacies as may have been present in the modernizations of Pope, Ogle (in

the "Prologue to the Sumner's Tale"), and Grosvenor, have been allowed to remain.[14]

The heroic couplet is employed throughout the volume, with an occasional triplet, as in the work of Dryden. Any further attempt at an overview of the whole volume will be deferred to the end of the following discussion, in which we shall take up the pieces in order.

We begin by considering the first four pieces. These appear to correspond to the first four pieces in Ogle: the titles as given in the tables of contents are exactly the same, except that, in Ogle, the fourth reads only "The Man of Law's Tale, by Mr. Brooke." In Ogle, however, the piece designated "The Prologue to the Cook's Tale" is Ogle's translation of both The Cook's Prologue and The Cook's Tale as they appear in Robinson, and the piece called "The Cook's Tale" is Boyse's translation of the pseudo-Chaucerian Gamelyn. But Lipscomb did not reprint Boyse's Cook's Tale. Instead, he took Ogle's "The Prologue to the Cook's Tale" and divided it into Prologue and Tale, as it appears in modern texts. One can suppose that Boyse's name remained in Lipscomb's table of contents only by oversight.[15]

The volume begins then with the "Prologue to the Cook's Tale," occupying pages 1-4. Ogle has expanded the original 40 lines to 64, all of course in the heroic measure, with masculine, monosyllabic rhyme. I observed no triplets or alexandrines. The poem begins (p. 1):

> CLOSE by the Reve, the Cook of London rides,
> And claps him on the back, and bursts his sides.
> "Passion of Christ! (he cry'd, with laughter
> fraught)
> "Sir Reve, you ended with a humorous thought.
> "Was e'er so justly handled in the dark,
> Felonious Miller by lascivious Clerk?
> . . . . . .

At this point, those of Lipscomb's readers who had not read the introduction must have turned back to the end of Vol. I and then wondered why they did not find the tale so heartily praised by the Cook. It is perhaps to be wondered at, that the Reverend William Lipscomb, having removed the tales of the Miller and the Reve, did not remove the Cook's Prologue and Tale also. But he allowed them to remain, even to the swearing in the 3rd line, the use of the broad word "bum" in the 41st line of the Tale proper, and the delicate matter at the end of the Tale, so expressed in the translation, of which these are ll. 63-70 (Lipscomb, II, 7):

> To good not turn'd, he [Perkin] follows his
> delight,
> And revels at his will from morn to night;
> His little substance to a comrade sends;
> For vice, like virtue, is the tye of friends:
> One that had us'd the same ill course of life,
> With this addition blest, an handsome wife;
> Who kept a shop, for fear what folks might say,
> But kept herself a much genteeler way.

The expression too is "genteeler" than in the original Chaucer (Urry's text):

> And had a wife, that held for countinaunce
> A shop, and swifid for her sustinaunce.
> (Ll. 1313-14 [A, 4421-22].)

Here the original fragment ends, having totaled 58 lines. Ogle has expanded them to 70, but he does not stop there. A passage of twelve lines, in two verse paragraphs, follows, containing a bit of moral advice for youth, and an account of a fatal quarrel in which Perkin and his friend are involved. As a result, one ends in prison, and the other is executed for murder. The passage is concluded, and the Tale itself brought to a conclusion, with the following couplet (II, 8):

> Suffice it to have giv'n mine Host his cue,
> And where the game is left, let him pursue.

Again the rhyme throughout is predominantly masculine and monosyllabic, although one does come upon lines 45-48, with rhymes proceeding "civil . . . devil" and "tir'd . . . expir'd," and, at lines 77-78, "well-bred . . . for bread" -- this last a rare case, for Ogle as with other Augustans, of identical rhyme.

The "Prologue to the Man of Law's Tale," done by Ogle, follows. In 130 lines, it is the equivalent of what in both Urry and Robinson amounts to 98 lines, and is called in the former The Man of Lawes Prologue and in the latter the Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale. The rendering is as usual very free, especially the last 10 lines:

> 'A Man of Law with ease you will excuse,
> 'If rude his rhyme; Astraea is his muse.
> 'Little she knows to periods what belongs,
> 'Nor aims at strains as soft as Ovid's songs.
> 'Yet shall she try, no matter though she fail,
> 'To tell of love a not dishonest tale;

> 'So, as when Philomela leaves to sing,
> 'The Thrush presumes to hail the common Spring:'
> Then smiling on our Host, with sober cheer,
> He thus began, as you shall after hear.

A comparison of these with ll. 90-98 in Urry's text (B, 90-98 in Robinson) will indicate the extent and type of the liberties Ogle will take. Here, Astraea, Roman goddess of Justice, is substituted -- with a certain propriety, we might say, in view of the fact it is the lawyer who is speaking -- for the Pierides of Ovid's story, who competed with the Muses and were changed into magpies for their presumption. (Robinson, note to B, 92.) One wonders how the last two lines of the passage --

> And with that word he with a sobir chere
> Began his tale, as ye shull aftir here
> (Urry, ll. 97-98) --

appear so little changed in Ogle's version.

Lines B, 99-133, which Robinson prints as part of the Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale, but sub-titles "The prologue of the Mannes Tale of Lawe," are printed by Urry (and by Tyrwhitt as well) at the beginning of, and as an integral part of, the Tale itself. Those lines and the latter's 1029 lines amount to a total of 1064 lines, or 152 stanzas of rime royal. These, handled as a unit and called "Constantia: Or, The Man of Law's Tale," grow in Henry Brooke's treatment -- one can hardly call it a translation or even a free paraphrase -- to 1828 lines, in heroic couplets. Lounsbury and Tobler have each returned

an especially severe judgment on this performance. The former (III, 194-195) calls it "in parts a peculiarly impudent performance among performances all of which are impudent," and, speaking of the 168 lines that represent the 35 lines in which, at the outset, the ills of poverty were described, he feels it safe to say that "not one has anything but the remotest resemblance to what can be found in the original." Tobler (pp. 95-96), pointing out that the "simple, touching straightforwardness of Chaucer's Tale is painfully missed," illustrates the point by quoting a passage in the first part of the Tale. From this passage I need but give these lines as Ogle prints them (II, 114):

> The softer Sex her beauteous Body forms,
> But her bright Soul each manly Virtue warms;
> Youth without Folly, Greatness without Pride,
> And all that's firm, to all that's sweet ally'd.
> Rich as the Land by sacred Promise bless'd,
> Lies the fair Vale of her expanded Breast;
> Mild on a Parian Pillar turns her Head,
> Her Front, like Lebanon, divinely spred;
> There sit the Chaste, the Placid, and the Meek,
> And Morn smiles fresh upon her open Cheek.

These are the almost unrecognizable equivalent of Chaucer's lines descriptive of Constance: B, 157-163. It is clear that Brooke, like the others represented in the Ogle work, tended to be more interested in writing conventional contemporary verse than in translating Chaucer.

Next we come to the group of tales beginning with the "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale," by Pope, running through the Tales of the Friar and Summoner, modernized by Markland and Grosvenor, respectively, with Prologues by

Ogle, and concluding with Ogle's "Gualtherus and Griselda." This same group, with the same internal arrangement, is found in Ogle in Volume III, where it follows "The Merchant's Tale" (rather than "The Man of Law's Tale") and concludes both that volume and the entire work, whereas in Lipscomb the group is followed by the "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale." The change, due to the fact that Ogle had followed Urry's order and Lipscomb was following Tyrwhitt's, would seem to necessitate some alteration in the linkage. It shall now be our business to identify Lipscomb's hand wherever we find it at work making readjustments.

We begin by examining the linkage between Pope's "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale," the first item in the group, and the preceding tale. In Ogle, the preceding tale was "The Merchant's Tale," also by Pope. The leading Augustan did not write, nor did Ogle supply, any specific linkage here. Pope's version of MerchT ends (Ogle, III, 50):

> Thus ends our Tale, whose Moral next to make,
> Let all wise Husbands hence Example take;
> And pray, to crown the Pleasure of their Lives,
> To be so well deluded by their Wives.

And his version of WB Prol begins (III, 51):

> Behold the Woes of Matrimonial Life,
> And hear with Rev'rence an experienc'd Wife!
> To dear-bought Wisdom give the Credit due,
> And think, for once, a Woman tells you true.

There is thus no connection beyond a general harmony of subject matter. In Tyrwhitt's edition, in which the group

was put after MLT, there is no link given in the text (though Tyrwhitt prints a spurious link in his notes [v. 5583n]), and Lipscomb, obeying his authority, attempts no linkage. "Constantia: Or, The Man of Law's Tale" ends as follows (II, 91):

> Around the palace pour'd in wild delight,
> On thousands gath'ring thousands straight unite;
> With ceaseless clamours, and extended hands,
> Constantia's presence ev'ry voice demands;
> Constantia, Alla, and their lovely boy,
> They claim, the blooming pledge of future joy.
> Forth strait they come, conspicuous to the view,
> And greet with graceful mien th' applauding crew;
> In shouts to heav'n their exultations fly,
> And universal joy torments the sky.

Pope's "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale" begins directly on the next page.

Let us now examine the situation at the other end of this group of tales, where, in both Ogle and Lipscomb, we find Ogle's version of the Clerk's Tale. As this tale concludes Vol. III of Ogle, and the entire work of course as well, there is no linkage involved there. But in Lipscomb, the "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale" follows the Clerk's Tale. Let us see how matters stand at the end of the Clerk's Tale. We begin by looking at what in Ogle is called "The Conclusion to the Clerk of Oxford's Tale," Ogle himself being the translator. Occupying pages 264-271 in Ogle's Volume III, this piece runs to 140 lines, of which the first 114 are roughly equivalent to E, 1142-1212, and the last 26 to 1212^{a}-1212^{g}.

Line E, 1142, is the line at which, his tale proper

having come to an end, the Clerk begins to tell the moral of the story; he then says (in Urry's text):

> . . . that every wight, in his degre,
> Sholde be oonstaunt in alle adversite,
> As was Grisildis. (Ll. 2166-68 [E, 1145-47].)

According to Robinson, the rest of the talk, E, 1147-1212, in essence belongs to the Clerk. It is true that Robinson, following proper textual authority, breaks the text after line 1176 to print the heading "Lenvoy de Chaucer," but the concluding song, he points out in his note to line 1177, belongs dramatically to the Clerk. Ogle's handling is different in that he gives only the equivalent of E, 1142-62 to the Clerk, and then at that point, where Robinson shows the Clerk as pausing to say:

> But o word, lordynges, herkneth er I go,

Ogle has Chaucer interrupting as follows (this is at the 25th line of "The Conclusion . . .):

> Chaucer, who close attended, from the Ground
> His musing Eyes uprais'd, and look'd around.
> "Spare me (He cry'd) if not our Host oppose,
> "One word of Epilogue, before you close.

The "you" refers to the Clerk, of course. Chaucer the Pilgrim then carries on in Ogle's version in an epilogue that takes us through the reference to the Wife of Bath (occurring at E, 1170 in Robinson) and through the normal "Lenvoy" to its end (E, 1212). In Ogle this is lines 25-114 of the "Conclusion." Ogle does not stop here, however, but goes on for another 26 lines of what must be regarded

as a greatly expanded version of a rime royal stanza headed "Behoold the murye words of the Hoost" and printed by Robinson in brackets at the end of the Clerk's Tale. Robinson, assigning numbers 1212^{a-g} to its lines, observes that this stanza "seems to have been the original ending of the tale. It stands after the Envoy in most of the manuscripts which preserve it, but it may have been meant to follow l. 1162 [i.e., to precede l. 1163: "But o word, lordynges . . ."] or l. 1169 [i.e., to precede l. 1170: "For which heere, for the Wyves love of Bathe--"]." I know no textual authority for the peculiarities in Ogle's handling of the concluding elements of this Tale. Neither Speght's text nor Urry's could have provided a basis, for neither is substantially different, in these respects, from Robinson's. We are left with the conclusion that Ogle's departures are the result of arbitrary choice.

Let us see now what Lipscomb did. First a look at his original, Tyrwhitt. The latter, following the authority of the better part of the MSS., moved the Merchant's Tale to a position directly after the Clerk's Tale. The verses at this juncture stand in that edition as follows (Tyrwhitt 1775, II, 52-53); I give Tyrwhitt's line numbering, with the Robinson equivalent in brackets:

[last stanza of ClkT:]

If thou be faire, ther folk ben in presence
Shew thou thy visage, and thin apparaille:
If thou be foule, be free of thy dispence,

To get thee frendes ay do thy travaille:
Be ay of chere as light as lefe on linde,
And let him care, and wepe, and wringe, and
waille. (Vv. 9083-88 [E, 1207-12].)

THE MARCHANTES PROLOGUE.

WEPING and wailing, care and other sorwe
I have ynough, on even and on morwe,
Quod the marchant . . . .
(Vv. 9089-91 [E, 1213-15].)

The evidence in the reading itself -- that is, the repetition in v. 9089 of the key words in v. 9088 -- is enough to convince one that Chaucer meant the Merchant's Prologue and Tale to follow in just this way, but there is plenty of MS. evidence for interpolating here the "murye words" stanza, evidence which Tyrwhitt does not overlook. In a long note to v. 9088, Tyrwhitt prints the stanza and discusses it and other matters relating to the linkage following the Clerk's Tale.

We turn now to Lipscomb to observe the way in which he adapted old translation to new text. We begin at the point where Ogle's "The Conclusion to the Clerk of Oxford's Tale" begins. In Ogle, this point occurs on p. 264 of Vol. III, where we find the piece beginning on a page of its own and having a heading of its own. In Lipscomb, it comes at page 268 of Vol. II, and it has no page of its own to begin on, no heading, no indication of any kind of its earlier having been distinguished from the body of the text, except that there is the standard break for a verse

paragraph -- but this fact does not in any way distinguish the passage as a whole from the whole of the Tale, nor the verse paragraph that follows the break from any other verse paragraph.

From the point in question, the two texts are the same for 140 lines, not counting conventional differences in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Here Lipscomb stops, choosing not to include Ogle's 26-line embellishment of the Host stanza, and instead concluding the Clerk's Tale at the 140th line of what Ogle had called the "Conclusion" and going on directly to the "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale." I quote the last lines of the Clerk's Tale as they stand in Lipscomb's book. These form as well the concluding lines of the Envoy, explicitly assigned by translator Ogle to Chaucer (the Pilgrim):

> "But for the delicate, the weak in fight,
> "The rich, the great, the tender, the polite;
> "Be furious as a tiger; or if that
> "You cannot compass, vixen as a cat!
> "By tongue reclaim this rebel to your will,
> "Loud as the clapper of a drudging mill!
> "Fast as the flier of a well-order'd jack,
> "From morn to night keep one continu'd clack!
> "And went he twice as loud, and twice as fast,
> "Speak what he will, like echo speak the last."

We have looked at the ClkT side of the Clk-Merch linkage. Now let us look at the other side. In Ogle, this is the end of the work. Had Ogle produced a fourth volume, it would undoubtedly have begun with a translation of the Franklin's Tale, the tale that stands next to the

Clerk's in Urry. In Ogle 1741, The Merchant's Prologue and Tale head Volume III; they directly precede the WB group of tales instead of following it. We had occasion above to examine the linkage at that point, but found that no alterations by either translator were involved. But a comparison between the beginning of the "Merchant's Prologue" in Ogle and its counterpart in Lipscomb reveals a considerable difference.

In Ogle, "The Merchant's Prologue" is preceded by "The Squire's Tale," actually the concluding item in the preceding volume. Quite naturally Ogle, who himself composed "The Merchant's Prologue," began it with a reference to The Squire's Tale (Ogle, III, 1):

> WELL clos'd! (The Merchant thus applauds the Squire)
> Your Tale is full of Fancy and of Fire.
> You show, (He adds) to say no more than Truth,
> A most surprizing Genius, for a Youth.

The passage continues for eight more lines in high praise of the Squire, especially for his rhetorical skill. Like Shakespeare's Henry IV in contemplation of Hotspur's qualities, the Merchant seems to see in the virtues of the young Squire a reproval of his own son, for he continues at line 13 (III, 2):

> Now by the Holy Trinity I swear,
> Blest, cou'd I die this Hour in such an Heir.
> More Blest, than if this Hour I cou'd command
> Ten Thousand Marks a-year, in solid Land.
> Not that I want--some Fortune I have made--
> And all the World esteems me rich in Trade.

> But 'tis a Pain to live at large Expence,
> For One, that Spirit wants as well as Sense.
> Such is my Son! Whom, heartily I hate!
> What, is the Man, (quoth I) not what, is his
> Estate?

The attack on the son becomes particularly bitter at the 41st line (III, 3):

> Cot as I am, that Son I wou'd support.--
> But Mine, will drink with Footmen of the Court.
> With Knaves, at Dice, All I cou'd save, wou'd
> waste,
> Nor knows one Man of Sense, or Man of Taste.

None of this will be found in Lipscomb's "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale,"[16] but between the next lines of the 1741 version and the first line of the version as Lipscomb prints it, there is some correspondence. The 45th to 48th lines in Ogle read as follows (III, 3):

> I doubt, not much is gain'd, (returned our Host)
> By that same Sense, and Taste, tho' much is lost.
> But, Merchant, let me mind You of your Tale:
> My Bill is drawn on Sight! You will not fail?

And here are the first four lines of the "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale," as they stand in Lipscomb (II, 274):

> That you need never fear, replied our Host,
> For wives in scolding ever rule the roast:
> But, Merchant, let me mind you of your tale;
> My bill is drawn at sight; you must not fail.

The first two lines, in which the Host refers to what Chaucer the Pilgrim has just been saying in his envoy, are certainly Lipscomb's own, but the last two are taken from Ogle with but one word altered.

In his original work Ogle follows this brace of couplets with a passage of eight lines which Lipscomb has excluded

from his production. In this passage the Merchant returns to the unfavorable comparison of his son to the Squire, only to get a yet sharper reminder from the Host, in lines 53-56 (Ogle, III, 4):

> In that (rejoin'd our Host) the Man is right;
> But Cits grow tedious, as they appear Polite:
> The Twine will break, too nicely that you spin.
> Begin! Enough of this! Enough! Begin!--

From this point (at the 57th line in Ogle and the 5th line in Lipscomb) the original Ogle and Ogle as printed by Lipscomb are virtually identical. There is only one discrepancy, indicated by the fact that 58 lines remain in Ogle and only 56 in Lipscomb. This discrepancy is due to the fact that a couplet occurring at lines 71-72, of Ogle, has been omitted by Lipscomb. It reads (Ogle, III, 5):

> Yok'd to the Fiend, the Foremost to rebel;
> My Help-mate wou'd out-devil, the Devil in Hell.

Ironically these two lines are at once as good and as accurate a paraphrase of Chaucer as Ogle ever produces, as a look at the original Marchaunt's Prologue (in Urry's text) will readily verify:

> For though the fendè couplid to her were,
> She wold him ovirmatch I dare well swere.
> (Ll. 735-736 [E, 1219-20].)

The omission was due either to oversight or, more likely, to a certain squeamishness on Lipscomb's part over the violence of the language. This could well be one of those "indelicacies" which the Reverend referred to in his Preface as having been "pruned away."

In any event, the result of Lipscomb's operation on Ogle's text was a "Merchant's Prologue" of 60 lines instead of 114. This is still well above the 32 lines of Chaucer's own work. Nevertheless, with credit going to Tyrwhitt for his revision of the basic text and to Lipscomb for being guided by it, the "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale" as Lipscomb has presented it to us is much nearer Chaucer than it was when it left Ogle's hand. None of this doctoring is announced to the reader, however, who is only told, through the table of contents in Volume II, that this piece was "by Mr. OGLE."

Volume II of Lipscomb's edition is then concluded by Pope's "January or May: or, the Merchant's Tale," pages 277-312.

Before proceeding to a consideration of Volume III, wherein the bulk of Lipscomb's own contributions are to be found, I should like to make a few comments on specific matters in Volume II.

First a word about the WB Prologue. In Ogle 1741, the table of contents announces that this is by Pope and, further, that there is a continuation "by Mr. Ogle," In the text, at the point where Pope's work ends and Ogle's begins (III, 73), there is a footnote to indicate the fact. Lipscomb's table of contents for Vol. II is misleading in that it gives only "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale, by Mr. POPE" and does not there mention that the latter part of it is not by Pope,

but by Ogle. The text itself, however, follows Ogle in the matter. I give the last four lines of Pope's paraphrase and the first two lines of Ogle's continuation (the latter runs to a total of 36 lines) and the footnote (Lipscomb, II, 110):

> Now heav'n on all my husbands gone bestow
> Pleasures above, for tortures felt below:
> That rest, they wished for, grant them in the grave
> And bless those souls my conduct help'd to save.
>
> *The point thus settled, from objection clear,
> Now will I tell my tale, if you will hear.
>
> *Continued by Mr. Ogle.

The continuation was necessary, as including the brief unpleasantness between the Friar and Summoner -- necessary, because without it, the Friar's evident anger with the Summoner, as it appears in the "Prologue to the Fryar's Tale" translated by Ogle, would strike the reader strangely, for it would have no apparent motivation. Pope of course had brought his paraphrase down to D, 828, in the original, and there stopped, including the Wife's prayer (though broadened to include all her husbands instead of Jankyn only) but not "the wordes bitwene the Somonour and the Frere."

If Pope's work receives an addition, Dryden's is accorded the opposite treatment, for the last six lines of "The Wife of Bath's Tale" have been lopped off. As printed by Lipscomb, "The Desire of Woman: or, The Wife of Bath's Tale" ends on p. 135 with the following verse paragraph:

> Thus, long in mutual bliss they lay embrac'd,
> And their first love continu'd to the last:
> One sunshine was their life; no cloud between;
> Nor ever was a kinder couple seen.

In Ogle, however, the Dryden work is carried on to its proper conclusion six lines farther on (III, 104):

> And so may all our Lives like theirs be led;
> Heav'n send the Maids young Husbands, fresh in Bed.
> May Widows wed as often as they can,
> And ever for the better change their Man.
> And some devouring Plague pursue their Lives,
> Who will not well be govern'd by their Wives.

Two explanations may be offered for this omission. The first, in my opinion the more likely, is that it was due to someone's inadvertence. In Ogle, the first of the two passages just quoted, which itself bears a conclusive look, comes at the very bottom of the page (III, 103). The final six lines are found overleaf at the top, where they could very readily have been overlooked, when the poetry was being transcribed for the press. This explanation rests on the assumption that Lipscomb was using the original edition of Ogle (1741) and not some intermediary edition of Dryden's Fables.[17] Inasmuch as Ogle, 1741 was the only feasible source for most of the other material that Lipscomb borrowed, it is not very likely that he went elsewhere for the text of Dryden's version of WBT. Certain it is that he did not employ the original edition of the Fables, as he confesses in his "Postscript" that he had "never till very lately" seen a copy of Fables.[18]

The other explanation is that the Reverend found Dryden's

expression in those last lines a bit too rich for the supposedly delicate blood of his readers, and therefore omitted them on purpose. However, the Reverend has retained many a passage of as rich a nature -- in this very tale, for instance -- and indeed it seems unlikely that he would wittingly cut the work of so respected a master.

Moving on to the next piece, "Prologue to the Fryar's Tale," by Ogle (II, 136-137), we note that it amounts to only 42 lines against the 36 lines of the original Chaucer. Ogle for once has managed to control his penchant for expansion. The piece begins:

> Full on the Sumner lour'd the licenc'd Fryar,
> And, suffocating, boil'd and burn'd with ire.
> Yet, caution'd by our Host, nor rule he broke,
> Nor, till the Dame had finish'd, word he spoke.

Obviously the Friar's manner would be puzzling were it not for the outburst between the Friar and the Summoner that occurs at the end of the WB Prol. Pope had omitted this outburst from his paraphrase. It did not suit his purpose to include it, inasmuch as his interest lay in the Wife's remarks rather than in the dramatic position of her Prologue in the Canterbury Tales. Hence, to Ogle descended the task of translating the articulatory matter at the end of WB Prol.

The passage running from the 23rd to the 34th lines of the "Prologue to the Fryar's Tale" (II, 137) possesses the flavor that belongs to the eighteenth century and not to Chaucer. At the 28th line, we have one of the frequent

instances of strongish matter and language on which the Reverend has not exercised the censoring hand of moral guardianship:

> "Ev'n I myself a Sumner's story choose,
> "Not aiming to instruct you, but amuse.
> "Nam'd I a Sumner? be it understood,
> "I mean not of the man to say much good:
> "Like Tyburn Jack, you know him by his station:
> "A Sumner is a bawd for fornication!" [28]
> 'Hold! said our Host; a Churchman should be meek;
> 'A Christian you! and with such rancour speak?
> 'Be courteous, humble, as becomes a priest;
> 'Abuse no friend in company at least.
> 'This the forbearance of a Fryar profess'd?--
> 'Tell on your tale, and let the Sumner rest.'

The term "Tyburn Jack" has nothing to do with Chaucer. It probably means "hangman," the name "Tyburn" being associated with the gallows and "Jack" with the profession of hangman, a heritage from Jack Ketch, notorious executioner of the seventeenth century. Anachronistic references of that sort are frequent in eighteenth-century Chaucer translation. Notice also that the sixth line of the passage just cited has taken on a meaning not intended by its counterpart in the original (Urry's text):

> A Sompnour is a rennir up and doun
> With Maundements for fornicatioun.
> (Ll. 19-20 [D, 1283-84].)

An interesting feature of the punctuation is the use of double quotes for the first speaker, the Friar, and single quotes for the next speaker, the Host. This practice seems to be regular with Lipscomb. I do not recall having seen it elsewhere.

From the Fryar's Prologue we move on to the Tale itself. This piece, by Jeremiah Markland, is the only work from his pen either in Lipscomb or in the original Ogle.[19] I give the opening verse paragraph as a sample of his work, whose full title is "The Sumner and the Devil: or, The Fryar's Tale" (II, 138):

> A Rigorous Archdeacon whilom liv'd,
> From whom severest justice guilt received;
> Him no evasions ever could elude;
> Offending sinners strictly he pursu'd.
> But fornicators were in greatest awe:
> On them he always put the penal law.
> And they whose tythes were slow of coming-in,
> (To cheat the clergy is a crying sin!)
> Them oft with mulcts pecuniary he fin'd,
> Nor let them cheat the church, howe'er inclin'd.
> For ere the bishop caught them with his hook,
> They were first enter'd in th' archdeacon's book.

Markland does not indulge in free-wheeling embellishments of the Dryden type, but he does make changes. Notice how in the following passage descriptive of the meeting of the summoner and the "yeoman" -- D, 1375-83, in the original -- he provides details about the yeoman's horse, but omits details descriptive of the yeoman: the reader will seek in vain in Markland for the yeoman's "bowe" and his "arwes brighte and kene" (in Urry, "arrows bright and shene") and for his "courtepy ["Courtpie" in Urry] of grene" and his hat "with frenges blake." Here then are the 55th to 62nd lines in Markland's version (II, 140), equivalent to the 75th to 83rd lines in the original (D, 1375-83). Thus it will be seen that, like Pope's, Markland's tendency, at least in places, is to make his translation shorter than

the original.

> It so befel, that on a certain day,
> This Sumner, ever waiting for his prey,
> Tow'rds a poor widow's with a summons went;
> Whate'er the cause, a bribe was the intent.
> And riding gently by a forest-side,
> A jolly yeoman he before him spy'd;
> Whose dapple grey in haughty manner pranc'd,
> And to the music of his own hoofs danc'd.

Later, at the 93rd line (II, 142) at the point where in original, the summoner in the story just having asked his new friend where his home is, the yeoman replies:

> . . . . ferre in the North Contre,
> Where as I hope sometime I shall The se.
> (Urry, ll. 149-150 [D, 1413-14].)

Markland has seen fit to change cold to hot, probably on the principle -- a sound principle from the paraphraser's point of view, but an heretical one from the modernizer's -- that conventional notions of the location and character of the Devil's dwelling had changed and that to give his readers the same effect Chaucer gave his, the basic imagery would have to be changed accordingly. It is surprising how Robinson need give us but one brief note (i.e., to line 1413) in order for us to be able to remove from our minds the picture of Hell as a kind of blast furnace (working at 100% of capacity too) and substitute for it the fiend's chilling statement. Robinson's note alone could not do this: it is only the existence of a certain power inherent in Chaucer's expression that can fully account for the fact. But here is Markland:

He [the Fiend] answer'd, "Brother, hence far
low, I live,
"Where I to friends no cold reception give.
"But of the road I'll give you such a chart,
"You shall not miss the way--ere we depart."

One passage in Markland's version of the Friar's Tale is very close to the original, so close, in fact, that certain lines could be called modernization -- a rather rare instance, particularly for the part of the Lipscomb work which descended from Ogle. This passage, occurring on pp. 143-144, embraces lines 130-137 of the Markland piece.

"My name, the Yeoman, smiling, said, I'll tell;
"I am a fiend, my dwelling is in hell.
"And here I ride about, like you, in quest,
"As you yourself not long ago confess'd.
"My purchase[20] is th' effect of all my rent:
"And ride not you upon the same intent?
"You seek for lucre, never caring how:
"Just so, with such design, I travel now."

For comparison's sake, the reader is referred to the 147th to 155th lines of the original (D, 1447-55; in Urry, ll. 183-191).

"The Sumner and the Devil" ends on page 152, having amounted to 348 lines. Lipscomb's censoring hand has been at work, for the Markland version as it appeared in Ogle (III, 108-126) amounted to 352 lines. A signal of the cuts to come occurs at the 41st line. Here are the 39th to 42nd lines as Ogle printed them (III, 110):

He [the summoner of the tale] was (to give him
his undoubted Laud)
A downright Thief, a Sumner, and a Bawd.
Right true-bred Whores he always kept in Pay,
Who slily told if any went astray.

Apparently the word "Whores" was considered less delicate than the word Lipscomb substituted for it, as follows (II, 140):

He true-bred harlots always kept in pay.

When the naughty word occurs again (Ogle, III, 111, l. 55), Lipscomb excises the couplet it occurs in. Here are lines 53-56 as they appear in Lipscomb (II, 140), with the excised couplet shown in brackets:

Thus gravely poor delinquent would he fright,
Till a sufficient bribe set all things right.
[Thus did his Whores his heedless Neighbours treat,
Giving sour sauce--whatever was the Meat.]
It so befel, that on a certain Day,
This Sumner, ever waiting for his Prey,
. . . . . .

Thus two of the four lines of discrepancy are accounted for. The other two have been omitted from the concluding lines, which I now give (Lipscomb, II, 151-152, ll. 327-348):

Soon as the Fiend her hearty curses heard, [327]
He nearer drew, and asking, thus conferr'd;
"Tell me, my dearest mother, do you joke,
"Or is this kindly wish in earnest spoke?"
'I speak, said she, with bitterness of heart,
'The Devil take him hence before we part,
'My pan and all, except he doth repent.'
'Nay, quoth the Sumner, that's not my intent.
'This pan I'll never part with; 'tis my own:
'Would I possess'd each rag that thou hast on.' [336]
"Now, said the Devil, brother, you shall hear;
"This bus'ness I am able best to clear.
"Our bargain was, each freely should possess
"Whate'er was giv'n him; I expect no less:
"Your title to this pan you must resign:
"For by the owner's gift 'tis fairly mine.
"You'll never part with it;--your word's of force;
"Your body therefore is my own of course.
"Besides, I think you equally my claim,
"As being giv'n me by this injur'd dame.
"Her pow'rful wishes critically fell:
"So, faith, sir Sumner, you may go to hell." [348]

An inspection of Ogle, III, 125, reveals that Lipscomb has, after line 336 above, omitted the following couplet:

> 'Not but, if e'er I apprehended Harm,
> I would remit your Smock--to keep you warm.'

It is difficult to see anything in this couplet that would cause the Reverend to excise it, unless it were the reference to a woman's undergarment. If it be admitted that Lipscomb here acted to protect the delicate ears of his reader, it betokens either a lack of consistency on his part, or a lack of vigilance, that he should permit those same ears to be assailed by the strong words at the close:

> "Her pow'rful wishes critically fell:
> So, faith, Sir Sumner, you may go to hell."

It will be noted that the translation ends with the 338th line of the original, though it omits the light thrust at theology which Chaucer has enclosed in the Friar's heavy thrust at the Summoner.

> "Thou shalt with me to helle yet to-nyght,
> Where thou shalt knowen of our privetee
> Moore than a maister of dyvynytee."
> (D, 1636-38 [Urry, ll. 372-374].

Markland's translation, as printed by Lipscomb, totals then only 348 lines against 338 lines for the original. Markland's restraint stands out when we consider what the majority of his colleagues were doing.

The last 26 lines of the Friar's Tale are not translated by Markland. Instead they are translated by Ogle and combined with the latter's translation of the Summoner's Prologue, and the combination, termed "Prologue to the Sumner's

Tale," is found on pages 153-156.[21] This piece is 86 lines in length; the equivalent passages in the original amount to 70 lines when the last 26 lines of the Friar's Tale (D, 1639-64 [Urry, ll. 375-400]) are added to the 44 lines of the Summoner's Prologue (D, 1665-1708 [Urry, ll. 401-444]).

Tobler says of this performance that "Ogle has clearly expressed what Chaucer only hinted at, and thus he renders his translation vulgar, where the model was only indelicate, yet humorous" (p. 98). Upon examining Ogle's work, I am inclined to agree with his statement insofar as the effect is concerned: there is a certain vulgarity about the translation that one does not find in the original. As to the cause, however, I am puzzled by Tobler's finding. In the passage D, 1689 ff., Chaucer is not "hinting," but expresses matters plainly. In contrast, Ogle replaces the blunt Middle English terminology with polished eighteenth-century locution and circumlocution. Ogle's version seems vulgar, I think, because, lacking the naturalness of the original, it has the air of a naughty joke endeavoring to make its way in nice company. It must be emphasized, however, that Ogle does not dodge the issues (as we shall see Horne doing in his modernization of RvT in Chaucer, Modernized, 1841); the talk may be polished, but the message is plain. Despite the protestations made in his Preface, Lipscomb has reproduced all this quite faithfully, except that in his practice of reducing the capitalization of nouns, he has made the

vulgarity a bit less pronounced.

Next (II, 157-166) Lipscomb prints "The Farmer and the Fryar: or, the Sumner's Tale," which according to the table of contents is by one "Mr. GROSVENOR." The tale itself warrants only the briefest treatment here. It cannot really be called a translation, as it runs to only 202 lines against 586 lines of the original. The piece made its first appearance separately, under the title: "The Whimsical Legacy," in 1733, in The Bee, or Universal Weekly Pamphlet, II (No. xxiii), 1020, a periodical put out by Eustace Budgell. Lounsbury (III, 192), to whom I am indebted for this information, says that the author did not intend the piece as a translation, but only as an imitation, expressly stating as much upon its original appearance in The Bee. The authorial comment was not reprinted by Ogle, nor, of course, by Lipscomb. This brings us to the question of authorship. As in Lipscomb, so in Ogle: the Table of Contents gives the author's name as Grosvenor, and that is the assumption of Lounsbury (loc. cit.). Tobler, on the other hand, gives the author as Budgell, on whom he writes a brief biographical note (p. 99). But neither Lounsbury nor Tobler questions the authorship. Miss Spurgeon's entry (IV, 86) explains the difficulty, if it does not provide a resolution:

> [1733. Grosvenor, ---------, ps., i.e. Budgell, Eustace?]
> Modernisation of the Sompnour's Tale, [in] The Bee [edited by Eustace Budgell], vol. ii, no. xxiii, Aug. 4, [1733,] p. 1020.

Miss Spurgeon then regards the name "Grosvenor" as a pseudonym and only suggests that Budgell is the actual author.

It is difficult to see why, in view of his editorial policy, Lipscomb should have retained this piece, with Grosvenor's suave but plain treatment of the scatological bits. Tobler says that in this tale the translator tries to avoid "shortcomings in taste" by means of "pruning off all the grosser passages, but also at the same time the humorous verses, which show by what ruses and stratagems the Friar tries to obtain money or money's worth from the people, share for the most part the same fate" (p. 99). I should support the latter section of Tobler's statement, for the earlier parts of the Tale are severely contracted. But the grosser passages toward the end have been retained in a measure approaching their original fullness.

Next in Volume II come Ogle's expansive treatments of the Prologue and Tale of the Clerk. The former, occupying pages 167-170, amounts to 82 lines, against 56 written by Chaucer; and the latter, occupying pages 171-273, amounts to 2424 lines, including both the Tale proper and what Ogle had called "The Conclusion to the Clerk of Oxford's Tale" (see p. 130, above), against 1156 lines of Chaucer.

The first part of the Tale has already been dealt with as Item No. 2, and the "Conclusion" has also been discussed -- in the present item, in connection with tale order. Only

a few observations remain to be made.

At the point (p. 209, lines 11-20) when Gualtherus begins to think about testing Griselda (equivalent to E, 449), we find a typical Oglean elaboration. In trying to find some fault with his wife, Gualtherus ticks off the four major categories of her worth: beauty, mind, virtue, duty. He knows how really good she is, but decides to base his test on the last category because it has never received a really hard test.

Ogle loves to moralize. A few words from the Clerk (E, 457-462) in criticism of the Marquis' behavior are all the warrant Ogle needs for a 24-line verse paragraph given to strictures on those gratuitous actions that stir up marital discord. The moral, let well enough alone, is derived from Chaucer; the images of warfare and of the bark in a storm are all Ogle's (p. 210, the last 9 lines of the verse paragraph):

> Act not hostilities in time of peace.
> Till provocation raises fresh alarms,
> Let neither rouse the bosom foe to arms.
> When safe ashore, thy shatter'd bark repair;
> The gale of Hymen blows not always fair.
> Pierce not in wanton sport her weaker sides;
> Enough has she to bear from winds and tides.
> If then those ills, that neither can prevent,
> Wives suffer patient; husbands, live content.

The last two lines are evidence that Ogle, like Dryden or Pope, can say much in a small space -- if he wants to.

He again shows the aphoristic touch when he describes the reaction of the people to the birth of his son. They

are relieved because they know that

> Pride and ambition no occasion lose,
> To feast on heirless crowns with eager views.
> (P. 219, ll. 23-24.)

It is plain, however, that he does not match the great Augustan masters in this respect.

On rare occasions, Ogle's version borrows something from the very wording of the original. In Urry, lines 1570-72 (E, 540-542) read as follows (the sergeant has come to take the daughter):

> Suspect ywas the fame of thilke man,
> Suspect his face, suspect his worde also,
> Suspect the time, in whiche he this bigan.

Ogle's version of this is found on page 215, lines 9-12:

> The man she knew; suspicious was his name:
> Suspicious was his office and his fame:
> Nor less suspicious was the time and place;
> But more suspicious still his speech and face.

Here I turn to another question connected with this episode. An anonymous translator, in Blackwood's, 1837, will, as we shall see (in Item No. 25) attempt a change which will produce a surprise for the reader by letting him think, with Griselda, that the daughter -- as later with regard to the son -- has been killed. Ogle, with one departure, to be explained in a moment, though at first he follows the main lines laid down by Chaucer, brings his version in this respect quite close to the one in Blackwood's. In the full passage in question (p. 215, ll. 5-22), the translator makes it plain that Griselda, like her original, expects that her

baby is going to its death: she imagines "a bloody scene of innocence distrest!" (L. 19.) As for the reader, however, Ogle at first lets him doubt the actual death of the child. In the first place, whereas Griselda only knows that this is good for the state -- Gualtherus' expressed reason -- the reader knows that this is a test of her duty -- Gualtherus' real motive. Furthermore, Ogle, saying that the prince's "dubious words" spoken to his wife seemed true, adds, in parentheses, "her apprehension wrong or right." Thus, in the matter of initial suspense, Ogle is rather close to Chaucer. Near the close of the episode, however, Ogle makes one change that has the effect of getting the reader to believe the child's death to be not only planned, but imminent. The "ruffian" in Gualtherus' employ has just returned with the child and recounted Griselda's behaviour. The passage continues (Lipscomb, II, 218):

> Gualtherus, who esteem'd him plain, but just,
> In the recital loses his distrust:
> Till, fresh possession, prejudice regain'd;
> "Go, execute (he cries) as I ordain'd.
> "Convey the child."

That is all, except that a few lines later we are told: "The part assign'd, at forfeit of his life,/ The guard performs." We are not told, as we are in the original (E, 582-595), that the child was to be taken to his sister at Boloigne, there to be fostered "in alle gentillesse." In cutting out this explanation, Ogle perhaps hoped to increase the dramatic effect of the ultimate reversal in Griselda's fortunes. In

so doing, he has altered the character of Gualtherus' brutality and all but destroyed the peculiar sort of suspense Chaucer had provided: on first reading the original Clerk's Tale, one keeps wondering what manner of person the Marquis is and what he plans to do about the children. Ogle has virtually laid both questions. As for the dramatic effect of the turn of affairs at the close, it is difficult to see how it could be made greater than it is in the original, even though we half suspect what Walter will do.

Returning to questions of form and manner, we note without surprise that Ogle provides his quota of poetic diction. Here is an example, found in the account of Griselda's second trial (p. 221, ll. 5-6):

> When night had spread her sable umbrage round,
> Griselda hanging o'er her boy he found.

Later, Janicola, expecting Griselda's forlorn return, rummages in his "rustic hoard" in a search for Griselda's "virgin habit" (p. 245, ll. 5-6).

To summarize the versification, the heroic couplet obtains throughout. I observed no triplets or alexandrines. Run-on lines are infrequent, especially so as the second line of a couplet. The verse paragraphs, of varying lengths, are indicated by indention only. They seem always to begin and end with a full couplet. Though no Dryden or Pope or Prior, Ogle produces good verse. Cer-

tainly it is thoroughly Augustan. Consider the following couplet (II, 220):

> Lovely the child, and manly to behold;
> Mild as his mother, as his father bold.

We note the antithesis and balance, the reversing of the syntactical order in the second line, and the shift in the position of the caesura, from the end of the 4th syllable in the first line to the end of the 5th syllable in the second line. We note the opening trochees. All these mark this couplet as typically Augustan.

With those two words we leave Ogle, and Vol. II as well, inasmuch as there remain only Ogle's "Prologue to the Merchant's Tale" (pp. 274-276) and Pope's "January and May: or, the Merchant's Tale" (pp. 277-312), which need no further discussion. Indeed, the term "typically Augustan" applies well to the work in these first two volumes, almost all of which was first produced in the Augustan Era, being finally collected and completed by Ogle and published in 1741. The word that distinguishes these works of translation is <u>freedom</u>. If it be remarked that freedom is a Romantic quality and not Augustan, it may be answered that the freedom practised by these Augustan translators was a freedom, not from each other or from their milieu, but from Chaucer. This freedom meant embellishment and addition; it also meant cutting. Indeed, Lounsbury points out that with Dryden standing at the head of the first group and Pope at the head of the second, all these translators may be classified

either as embellishers or as cutters and reducers. In the former category belong Dryden, Ogle, Brooke, and Boyse; in the latter, Pope, Betterton, Markland, and Grosvenor. (Lounsbury, III, 191-193.) With the exception of Markland, who was a scholar (Lounsbury, loc. cit.) and therefore presumably possessed of somewhat more humility, it is clear from the nature of their changes and the general tone of their work that these men felt they were improving Chaucer. Dryden opened the door to all translation of the free-paraphrase sort, not only by the example of his own work, as in The Wife of Bath's Tale, but by express precept. In the "Preface" to Fables, he says (Scott ed., 1808, XI, 229):

> Chaucer, I confess, is a rough diamond, and must first be polished, ere he shines. I deny not likewise, that, living in the early days of poetry, he writes not always of a piece; but sometimes mingles trivial things with those of greater moment. Sometimes also, though not often, he runs riot . . . and knows not when he has said enough. But there are more great wits beside Chaucer, whose fault is their excess of conceits, and those ill sorted. An author is not to write all he can, but only all he ought. Having observed this redundancy in Chaucer . . . , I have not tied myself to a literal translation; but have often omitted what I judged unnecessary, or not of dignity enough to appear in the company of better thoughts. I have presumed farther, in some places, and added somewhat of my own where I thought my author was deficient, and had not given his thoughts their true lustre, for want of words in the beginning of our language.

It may be observed that Dryden and those that translated much as he did -- Ogle, Brooke, and Boyse -- are themselves far more susceptible to the fault of excess which they imputed to Chaucer than Chaucer ever was. If mere line counting is not sufficient evidence of this, I need only

refer the reader to Item 2 and the embellishments wrought by Ogle in the Clerk's Tale, such as his creation of a whole courtful of personable ladies, with names and attributes. The Augustans could only rescue themselves from the force of this indictment by redefining "redundancy." For those who delight in the machinery of sylph and gnome which Pope added to The Rape of the Lock, such a redefinition would of course carry some weight. But to continue with the words of the sanctioner (ibid., p. 231):

> I grant that something must be lost in all transfusion, that is, in all translations; but the sense will remain, which would otherwise be lost, or at least be maimed, when it is scarce intelligible, and that but to a few. How few are there, who can read Chaucer so as to understand him perfectly? And if imperfectly, then with less profit, and no pleasure. It is not for the use of some old Saxon friends, that I have taken these pains with him: let them neglect my version, because they have no need of it. I made it for their sakes, who understand sense and poetry as well as they, when that poetry and sense is put into words which they understand. I will go farther, and dare to add, that what beauties I lose in some places, I give to others which had them not originally: but in this I may be partial to myself; let the reader judge, and I submit to his decision.

Here it is fitting to leave the first two volumes of Lipscomb's edition of translations.

We take up now the third volume, which is distinguished from the others in that the major part of the contributions are from the pen of the editor himself.

The title page is like those of the other volumes except that it too bears its peculiar quotation:

> Chaucer, him who first with harmony inform'd
> The language of our fathers ..... His legends blithe
> He sang of love or Knighthood, or the wiles
> Of homely life, through each estate and age
> The fashions and the follies of the world
> With cunning hand portraying.
>
> AKENSIDE.

To provide an overview of the volume, I present the table of contents as it appears on pages iii-iv:

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The only item not by Lipscomb is Boyse's "Cambuscan: or, the Squire's Tale." The first fact to strike the eye is the great length of this piece -- too long a work obviously, to be considered a translation of the original. It is made up

of 10-line stanzas, 214 of them altogether. Thus its 2140 lines are more than triple the 662 that constitute all that Chaucer wrote, save the abortive two-line beginning of Part 3.

The increase of length is not all due to mere expansion of Chaucer's matter; a continuation is involved also. Nor is the whole piece the work of Boyse. These facts are best explained by reviewing the history of this work. Boyse wrote the translation -- it had best be termed an expansion -- of the tale proper, expressly for Ogle's 1741 work (Spurgeon, I, 425), employing 140 stanzas of his 10-line variety for the task. Tobler (pp. 32-33) says that he "rendered the story in the same way as Chaucer, on the whole." When we realize, for instance, that the introduction of the chief characters, which Chaucer completes by the 33rd line (F, 41), is accomplished by Boyse in six stanzas, or 60 lines, and that in stanzas 74-78 he introduces an auxiliary character named Casroes, "a hoary sage" (III, 38), who of course is not in the original, we realize how liberally "on the whole" must be understood. Lounsbury, whose criticism of this and other translations in the Ogle volume is recommended for those who find my judgments oversanguine, is particularly annoyed with Mr. Boyse, though for a somewhat different reason. He feels he might forgive Boyse's introduction of "new sentiments, new facts, and new characters" and his indulgence in "those sage moral

reflections to which men of loose lives and reckless conduct are addicted, as if to make up for the viciousness of their behavior by the exemplariness of their views": these he might forgive on the ground that "need knows no law" (Boyse received three pence per line for his work [Spurgeon, I, 425, and Lounsbury, III, 193]), were it not for the fact that Boyse was clearly under the impression that "he had quite outdone his original" (Lounsbury, III, 194).

When in 1741 Ogle published Boyse's version of the Squire's Tale in Volume II (pp. 199-276) of his edition, he did a 740-line continuation, a paraphrase of Spenser's (pp. 277-324), calling it "The Squire's Tale, continued from Spenser." For this he employed the same 10-line stanza that Boyse had adopted. It is the full Boyse-Ogle combination that Lipscomb has incorporated in his edition. The table of contents gives not a hint that anyone but Boyse had a part in this, but Lipscomb does provide, on page 69, after stanza 140 (the last of those contributed by Boyse) a footnote to the effect that "what follows is continued by Mr. Ogle, from the fourth book of Spenser's Fairy Queen." Tobler (p. 33) explains that Ogle has taken the "whole of the story" in FQ, IV, from Canto ii, stanza 31, through Canto iv, stanza 2.[22] Following Boyse's stanzaic pattern instead of Spenser's, he has felt constrained to expand each 9-line stanza of Spenser's to 10-line length. To do this, says Tobler (loc. cit.), he has kept "mostly . . . unchanged" the first five or six lines in each stanza and

has rearranged the last part of the stanza in order to create the extra line. Incidentally, Boyse's 10-line stanza is a near-relative to Spenser's, starting a new quatrain with fresh rhyme at the 5th line, instead of interlocking quatrains at that point, and providing a full couplet after the second quatrain, instead of having the 8th line serve both as last line of the second quatrain and as a rhyming mate for the 9th line. The rhyme scheme of the Boyse-Ogle stanza is a b a b c d c d e e. As in the Spenserian stanza, the last line is an alexandrine.

In 1785, the Boyse-Ogle Squire's Tale appeared again, this time with a third part added by Joseph Sterling. This was entitled "Cambuscan, or the Squire's Tale of Chaucer, modernized by Mr. Boyse; continued from Spencer's Fairy Queen, by Mr. Ogle; and concluded by Mr. Sterling" (Spurgeon, I, 479). Spurgeon (loc. cit.) quotes from Sterling's "Advertisement"; I excerpt the following: "This poem . . . has been considerably improved by Mr. BOYSE, the Modernizer. The Concluder feels his poetic powers far inferior to those of CHAUCER and SPENSER; but as he endeavours to amuse, hopes for the indulgence of the Public." Tobler (p. 33) says that it was Sterling's "aim to supply what Chaucer had only promised at the end of the second part of the Squire's Tale (verses 661 to 666)."[23] According to Tobler (p. 34), Sterling uses the same 10-line stanza, but "with something more approaching the power of

Spenser than either of the other two contributors could command." Lipscomb has reprinted none of the work contributed by Sterling; indeed it is unlikely that he was acquainted with the 1785 book at all.

Boyse begins rather sparingly for a poet getting paid at the rate of threepence a line. Chaucer's opening verse paragraph of 18 lines is done by Boyse in two of his 10-line stanzas. I would call the reader's attention to the poetic diction, particularly to "verdant plains" in line 1, and "unfathom'd flood" in line 2 of the first stanza, and to the Dryden-like division and balance of the closing alexandrine, and, in the second stanza, to the Augustan quality of the fifth and eighth lines, with the opening trochee and the placement of caesura after the fourth syllable. Both in single lines and in larger patterns, we find the thoughts organized with the balanced tension we have come to associate with all phases of life and literature in Boyse's era.

I.

Where peopled Scythia's verdant plains extend,
East in that sea, in whose unfathom'd flood
Long-winding Volga's rapid streams descend,
On Oxus' bank an ancient city stood;
Then Sarra, but to later ages known
By rising Samarcand's imperial name:
There held a potent prince his honour'd throne,
And distant nations own'd Cambuscan's fame:
So was the Sultan call'd, whose lengthen'd sway
Surrounding realms revere, and pleas'd his own obey.

II.

When nervous youth had brac'd his valiant breast,
Oft had the Russian felt his dreadful arm;

The Persian oft his martial pow'r caress'd,
And the wild Cossack shrunk at his alarm;
Strict to the law th' Arabian prophet taught,
Compassionately just, and greatly kind,
His virtue scarce was shaded with a fault.
True was his league and constant as his mind:
Great wealth he had, but well that wealth enjoy'd,
And pow'r, heaven's noblest gift, as nobly he employ'd.

At this point, however, the process of expansion begins in earnest. The next stanza is employed in introducing Cambuscan's family, and then stanzas IV, V, and VI are devoted to a description of Algarsife, Camballo, and Canace, respectively. Whereas Chaucer's Squire disclaims any power to describe Canace's beauty ("It lyth nat in my tonge, n'yn my konnyng" [F, 35]), in Boyse's version the Squire, if indeed his identity as narrator is maintained at all, stays for no humble admissions of inability, but confidently proceeds to describe Canace in all her full-blown beauty (III, 5-6):

VI.

Beneath some rooted oak's projected shade,
Where twine the laurel and the olive bloom,
In wildest grace amidst the shelter'd bed,
The nascent rose displays its soft perfume:
Such Canace with all becoming state,
While love enthron'd from her enchanting brow
Dispers'd a thousand arrows wing'd with fate,
And smil'd to rule th'admiring world below!
Her form was harmony, all grace her air,
As if perfection, pleas'd, had plac'd its centre there!

In stanzas 31-32, Boyse presents the scene which ranks among the most dramatic in all literature: the entry of the stranger knight into Cambuscan's hall. It will be noted

that the passage begins at line 310 in Boyse, but only at the 72nd line in Chaucer: such are Boyse's powers of expansion. To give a proper entry into this passage, I begin with the closing couplet of stanza 29. Here is one of those moments of unctuous modesty in the writer that have so false a ring for Lounsbury. There is but little warrant in Chaucer for what is shortly to follow, other than the Squire's saying there is not time to describe the festive occasion adequately:

> I wol nat tellen of hir strange sewes,
> Ne of hir swannes, ne of hir heronsewes,
> . . . . . .
> I wol nat taryen yow, for it is pryme,
> And for it is no fruyt, but loss of tyme;
> Unto my firste I wole have my recours.
> (F, 67-68, 73-75.)
> [Urry's reading of F, 75: "To my first purpose woll I have recourse" (l. 95).]

The Squire then takes up the account of the stranger's dramatic entrance upon the scene. Let us now turn to Boyse, who first speaks, as it were with averted eye and sucked-in breath, of youthful revelry (the hint for which he might have caught from Chaucer's own description of the dancing, with its accompanying "subtil lookying and dissymulynges" [F, 285], that comes much later in the Tale), and who then describes the stranger's entrance (III, 16-18):

> XXIX [last 2 lines].
>
> . . . . . .
> Magnificently gay the band advance,
> And with harmonious air begin the wanton dance!

XXX.

At this, a sight too loose for wisdom's awe,
  Whose strictness views such mirth with eye severe,
Prepare the king and sages to withdraw,
  That youth its more appropriate joys may share;
When unforeseen, as wak'ning tempests rise,
  When troubled ocean heaves with conscious fear;
Such, and so strange the gath'ring murmur flies,
  Increasing, till it gains the royal ear:
Sudden the music stops--the dancers cease,
And new-born wonder sits confess'd in ev'ry face.

XXXI.

Soon shines the cause--for now the crowd divides,
  When nobly mounted, of distinguish'd mien,
Ent'ring, a graceful stranger boldly rides;
  His helm unbrac'd, and in his visage seen
Valour, by long experience made sedate:--
  His courser form'd of brass whose burnish'd light
Reflected beamy rays of mimic heat;
  A moving meteor to the dazzled sight!
Proud of his charge, he fiercely glanc'd disdain,
And bent his shapely neck beneath the potent rein.

XXXII.

The knight's right hand the flaming steed compell'd
  With gentle awe, and half his rage repress'd;
His left to view a polish'd mirror held,
  Of oval form, in figur'd gold enchas'd:
His finger glitter'd with the radiant pride
  An oriental saphyr wide display'd:
A naked scymitar adorn'd his side;
  With turquoise-hilt, of damask'd steel the blade:
His comely personage, and strange attire,
Cambuscan studious eyes, and much the court admire.

As a translator, Boyse could be pilloried on the sole basis of the gratuitous changes he has made in the picture of the newcomer: he specifies right hand and left hand; he takes the gold from the ring and gives it to the mirror, while the ring acquires a sapphire; and finally he changes sword to scimitar and gives it descriptive details altogether absent from the original tale.

Here is the last stanza that may be ascribed to Boyse (III, 69) together with the Latin expression that follows it and a footnote:

CXL.

Here shall we leave, how by Camballo's care,
Return'd the falcon with repentant wing;
Nor yet the mirror's wondrous pow'rs declare;
Nor the sword's virtues to restore the king:
Nor of Cambuscan's conquests yet discourse;
Whence gain'd Algarsife Thedora to wife,
Great peril 'scaping through the brazen horse:
These we defer--to tell Camballo's strife,
And how three mighty brethren he surpass'd;
Then where we first began, shall we conclude at last.

*Caetera multa desiderantur.

*What follows is contrived by Mr. Ogle, from the fourth book of Spenser's Fairy Queen.[24]

At the stanza's close, Chaucer's ambiguous reference to Canace and the "bretheren two" is omitted in favor of "three mighty brethren." These are Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond, of Spenser's account. It would appear, then, that if Ogle did not have a hand in the actual composition of the 140th stanza, he must have asked Boyse to fashion the stanza so that there would be proper articulation with the continuation which he was contributing. This continuation, having to do with Spenser rather than with Chaucer, will not be treated here. It will provide a sufficient sample of Ogle's work if I offer the first stanza (No. 141) and the last stanza (No. 214) of his continuation (III, 70 and 105, respectively):

CXLI.

Wide spread the fame of Canace the fair,
Held of her sex most learned in her days;
Her ring disclosing ev'ry science rare,
And ev'ry secret work of nature's ways.
The voice of beasts and birds, or wild, or tame,
The pow'r of herbs and plants she fully knew:
But what augmented more her other fame,
(Though dark events lay open to her view)
She modest was in all her deeds and words;
And wondrous chaste of life, though lov'd of knights and lords.

CCXIV.

Meantime the sun his due meridian height
Had gain'd, when neither lost, yet either won;
While great Cambuscan, who declin'd the fight,
Resign'd to fate the daughter and the son.
The monarch thought fate order'd for the best.
But hold--'tis time to check the forward steed!
Nor should our tale too long delay the rest;
What yet remains in order may succeed,
When next our turn; intemperance of tongue
Mine Host will well excuse; his orator is young.

With the mention of Cambuscan, who is not in Spenser's account, and with the cutting out of all reference to Blandamour and Paridell, who now reenter Spenser's story, and with the definite indication, through the apology for prolixity, that the Squire has told this story, the continuation moves away from Spenser and toward, if not very close to, Chaucer.

We come at last to a consideration of Lipscomb's own contribution to this three-volume work.

In adopting Tyrwhitt's order instead of Ogle's own, it was necessary for Lipscomb to make the Squire's Tale follow, instead of precede, the Merchant's Tale. Let us then first determine what changes Lipscomb made. Reviewing matters, we find that Ogle's order goes: MLT, Sq Prol, Sq T, Merch Prol,

Merch T, WB Prol, and that Lipscomb's goes: Clk T, Merch Prol, Merch T, Sq Prol, Sq T, Frankl Prol. Thus the Sq Prol and Tale and Merch Prol and Tale are kept together in Lipscomb, but in reverse order, and as a group they are found between the ClT and Frankl Prol instead of between the MLT and WB Prol. In Lipscomb the MLT and WBP are together instead of embracing the Sq-Merch group: this outcome of the re-ordering has already been examined (see pp. 129-30 above) with respect to the question of linkage between MLT and WB Prol.

Now let us look for a moment at the Merch Prol as found in Lipscomb, where it follows the Clk T. In Ogle, it had followed the Sq T. There, although the last stanza (examined above on p.167) of the Sq T did not look forward particularly to the Merch Prol following, the latter, which was Ogle's, did make particular reference to the Sq T preceding. In Lipscomb, the Merch Prol now follows the Clk T, and the changes in linkage made by Lipscomb to suit this re-ordering were examined above (pp. 135-38).

We move forward in Lipscomb to the next crux, the concluding lines of the Merch T. In Ogle these preceded the WB Prol, with both items the work of Pope, who had composed them separately, without reference to their conjunction in the Chaucer that he knew.[25] Though three MSS. exist which contain a 16-line spurious link between Merch T and WBT (Robinson, pp. 893-894), this link was neither in Speght

nor in Urry, and thus would not likely have been available to either Pope or Ogle. Both the end of the Merch T and the beginning of the WB Prol, as those pieces were received by the Augustans, were terminal in their nature. Although in Lipscomb the former is now followed by the Sq Prol and the latter is now preceded by the MLT, we should not expect to find, nor do we find, any tampering by Lipscomb with either the end of the Merch T or the beginning of the WB Prol, despite their new location. But when we move forward in Lipscomb from the Merch T to the Sq Prol, we are confronted with a considerable change: in the earlier work, the "Prologue to the Squire's Tale" is by Ogle (II, 196-198); in the later work, it is by Lipscomb (III, 1-2).

The change can be readily accounted for.

We begin by looking at the Sq Prol as translated in 25 lines by Lipscomb (III, 1-2):

> HEAVEN, says our Host, these cunning shrews amend,
> And from such wives our peaceful days defend!
> Not for myself this ardent prayer I pour;
> The Gods my doom have seal'd, they can no more;
> I, for my sins, have long been amply curst
> For of all wives mine is, I'm sure, the worst:
> Paul's largest bell, though ne'er so stoutly rung,
> Is but soft music to her brawling tongue.
> If all her vices I should strive to tell,
> Or but on half her well-known gifts should dwell,
> On my unfinish'd toil the day would fail,
> And my long list would stop each livelier tale.
> Pardon my warmth; but when I chance to hear
> A wife but nam'd, mine vibrates in my ear;
> And though I know complaints and sighs are vain,
> And though my tongue I labour to restrain,
> Still speak, I find, I must, to ease my pain,
> Pass we the subject now, the gentle Squire
> Gladly, I know, will yield to our desire,
> And with some feat of arms, or tale of love

> The fitness of my choice will clearly prove.
> By me, sir Host, blushing the Squire replied,
> Request so flattering ne'er may be denied.
> Pardon, my friends, if aught I speak amiss:
> My will is good, and lo! my tale is this.

A glance at Ogle's version of Sq Prol will show that these are not simply two different translations of the same original. Ogle's, a 40-line passage, begins as follows:

> Around, on All, at the Narration gaz'd
> Our Host, now highly on his Stirrup rais'd.
> "So may my Soul o'er the dire Fiend prevail,
> "As this, (he cry'd) was a judicious Tale!

It lacks the Host's obloquy directed at his wife, understandably so, since in Ogle's edition the Sq Prol follows the Man of Law's story of a good wife instead of the Merchant's story of a bad one; it has instead a brief exchange between the Host and the Parson. The passage concludes with a rather brash breaking-in of the Squire, who assures them he will tell a story that will keep them awake (II, 198):

> 'And therefore, Host, my genuine Story take;
> 'Nor may it lull Attention, but awake.
> 'From Physick here, no sage Remark I draw,
> 'Nor puzzle you with one quaint Term of Law,
> 'Nor from Philosophy, high Matter seek,
> 'Nor lard my Tale with Latin or with Greek.
> 'Better be wisely gay, than dully read;
> 'Small Store of learned Lumber fills my Head.

Clearly this is a different Squire from Lipscomb's "gentle Squire," who blushes and begs the Pilgrims' pardon ahead of time.

This discrepancy can be readily explained on the basis of the fact that Ogle was following Urry's text and that Lipscomb, while drawing individual pieces from Ogle, was

organizing his whole work according to the Tyrwhitt arrangement. If we examine Urry, we will find that the basis of Ogle's "Prologue to the Squire's Tale" is The Squier's Prologue, p. 59. This 28-line piece will be found on page 75 of Robinson's edition, where it is bracketed and called The Epilogue of The Man of Law's Tale (B, 1163-90). In a long note on this piece, pp. 696-698, and in other notes in his edition, Robinson explains the MS. background and discusses the problems raised and the various theories advanced as solutions. The purposes of the present study will be satisfied, however, by a presentation of Tyrwhitt's editorial action in the matter.

Taking up Vol. IV of Tyrwhitt's edition (1775) and turning to An Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales, we read, in Section XXIII (pp. 161-162):

> The PROLOGUE to the Squier's Tale appears now for the first time in print. Why it has been omitted by all former Editors I cannot guess, except, perhaps, because it did not suit with the place, which (for reasons best known to themselves) they were determined to assign to the Squier's Tale, that is, after the Man of Lawes and before the Marchants. I have chosen rather to follow the Mss. of the best authority in placing the Squiers Tale after the Marchant's, and in connecting them together by this Prologue, agreably, as I am persuaded, to Chaucer's intention. The lines which have usually been printed by way of Prologue to the Squier's Tale, as I believe them to have been really composed by Chaucer, though not intended for the Squiers Prologue, I have prefixed to the Shipman's Tale, for reasons, which I shall give when I come to speak of that Tale.

Robinson, it is worth noting, supports Tyrwhitt in this matter, except in the decision to prefix the rejected Sq Prol to the Shipman's Tale.

In any event, the piece which Tyrwhitt discovered and which he printed -- for its first appearance in print, he says -- as The Squieres Prologue, is found in Vol. II of the 1775 edition, pp. 99-100. It amounts to 30 lines -- 10293-10322, in Tyrwhitt's numbering. In his note to v. 10293, Tyrwhitt names the nine MSS. on whose authority he caused the new "Prologue" to be prefixed to the Squire's Tale. He says that the "concurrence of the first five Mss. would alone have been more than sufficient to outweigh the authorities in favour of the other Prologue. Edit. Ca. 2. [the 2nd ed. of Caxton] (though it has not this Prologue) agrees with these Mss. in placing the Squieres Tale after the Marchants." Essentially, Robinson supports this editing. He does, however, divide the passage, printing the first 22 lines of it as The Epilogue to The Merchant's Tale (E, 2419-2440) and the last 8 lines as the Introduction to The Squire's Tale (F, 1-8). Robinson does acknowledge, in his note (p. 716) to Fragment V (equivalent to Group F), that "in MS. El the whole passage from IV, 2419 [=Tyr, v. 10293], through V, 8 [=Tyr, v. 10322], is written continuously [as in Tyrwhitt] and headed The Prologue of the Squieres Tale."

It was, then, these 30 lines, appearing in Tyrwhitt as The Squieres Prologue, that Lipscomb translated in 25 lines

and that he prefixed to Boyse's Sq T. The basic problems involved in the Tyrwhitt-Lipscomb changes in tale order and linkage having been dealt with, let us turn to an examination of Lipscomb's translating. The text is found above on pages 169-170.

As poetry in its own right, the less said about this piece, the better. The verse, in heroic couplets except for one triplet, is pedestrian. In fact, in quality it does not approach Ogle's, let alone Dryden's or Pope's. The best lines are perhaps lines 1-2 and 7-8, where Lipscomb is most like Pope, and the last two lines, where he is most like Chaucer -- in fact, the last line is Chaucer. Lipscomb's rhymes are fairly good, as the rhymes of eighteenth-century verse go: though typical in their masculine, monosyllabic quality, they are probably less trite and predictable than, let us say, sixty percent of the rhymes of his era. He allows one eye-rhyme -- love . . . prove -- a liberty which even an eighteenth-century couplet-maker could take occasionally without risking the punitive criticism of his contemporaries.

As translation, Lipscomb's piece is on the whole closer to his original than is the work of the other translators in these volumes, but, except for the first two lines and the last line, it certainly is not very close. The specific reference in the original (at E, 2425 [v. 10299 in Tyrwhitt]) which the Host makes to the Merchant's tale is missing,

although Lipscomb might well have used it to bind not only the Merchant's tale to the Squire's, but also his second volume to his third. Lipscomb sacrifices the simplicity of the Host's wife-belaboring ("a labbing shrew is she" [Tyr. v. 10302]) for the more elaborate hyperbole:

> Paul's largest bell, though ne'er so stoutly rung,
> Is but soft music to her brawling tongue.

Added by Lipscomb is the Host's admission that his complaining is done for therapeutic reasons -- "to ease my pain." Removed is the Host's self-cautionary statement that he had best not complain in detail, lest someone, presumably the Wife of Bath, report his remarks to his wife (E, 2435-38; Tyr. vv. 10309-12). The net result of these additions and omissions is that in 17 lines Lipscomb has compassed what Chaucer did in 20. At this point, with eight lines to go in both original and translation, the Host turns to the Squire and addresses his remarks to what is to come. Even within this short space, complete correspondence is lacking. In the original the Host calls upon the Squire to "say somwhat of love" (Tyr, v. 10316 [F, 2]); in Lipscomb, the Host's request is for "some feat of arms [he ought to have said, an account of some feat of arms], or tale of love." Finally the Squire, modest in both original and version but "blushing" only in the latter, has to say in four lines what Chaucer allowed him five lines for.

This is rather free paraphrase for one who in his

Preface protested that he had laid it upon himself, "as a duty somewhat sacred, to deviate from my original as little as possible in the sentiment," especially where no question, barring the Host's opening oath (which Lipscomb softened to "Heaven"), of "purging" Chaucer "from his impurities" was involved.

Such is Lipscomb's translating procedure, and as this may be taken as fairly representative of the whole, it will not be necessary in taking up the other pieces to deal with it so extensively.

In Volume III, everything after Boyse's version of Sq T is by Lipscomb. None of these Chaucer items had appeared in 1741 under the hand of Ogle or of any of his contributors, and few of them had been done in print before by anyone. The two major exceptions, both of which are alluded to in Lipscomb's Preface, are Dryden's version of NPT (1700) and Lipscomb's own version of the Pard T (1792), which is now not known and of which the version in the present volumes is assumed to be a reprint. Thus Lipscomb's problem was simplified to the extent that now, instead of seeking ways to sort Oglean content with Tyrwhitt order, he need only follow Tyrwhitt and do the translating himself. Intent on the project, he somehow remained innocent of Dryden's NPT and so composed a version of his own. But he makes confession in the Preface, as we have noted. (See p. 113, above.)

With two exceptions, Lipscomb in all items uses the heroic verse, regardless of the meter used by Chaucer. The exceptions are "The Rhime of Sir Thopas" and "The Tale of Melibeus." In the case of the latter, Lipscomb uses prose, as does Chaucer, but in the former case, whereas Chaucer uses a six-line stanza, rhyming a a b a a b, with the a lines in iambic tetrameter, and the b lines in iambic trimeter,[26] Lipscomb uses a 4-line stanza, rhyming a b a b, the conventional ballad stanza, except that he takes liberties with the length of the 2nd and 4th lines, extending them frequently by a syllable, so that one foot, usually the first, must be read as an anapest if the line is to scan as trimeter. Sometimes in these cases the accent on the first foot is so heavy that one appears to be dealing with a headless tetrameter line instead of with trimeter. Notice, for example, the last line in the opening stanza (III, 205):

> Listen, lordlings to my song,
> And a tale I will recite,
> Of Sir Thopas, stout and strong,
> Known to all a valiant knight.

The second line's "And a tale" may be read as an anapest, but hardly can the fourth line's "Known to all" be so read. The second stanza's second line is downright tetrametric, however (III, 205):

> Born in foreign lands was he,
> At Popering, cross the foaming main;
> There his sire, a baron free,
> Held a rich and wide domain.

Lipscomb's stanza does seem to imitate the swift forward march of the lines and stanzas of the original, and, had Lipscomb been more of a poet, his method of translating might be deemed even more successful than the method employed in Chaucer, Modernized, 1841 (Item No. 28), by one calling himself Z. A. Z., by which the original is modernized with Chaucer's stanza retained.

Except in "The Rhime of Sir Thopas" and "The Tale of Melibeus," one will find Lipscomb employing only the heroic couplet. The rime royals of the Prioress's Tale and of the Prologue to Sir Thopas and the octaves of the Monk's Tale are all turned into heroic couplets. Of course, for the majority of pieces, in using this measure Lipscomb is only using what Chaucer himself used.

In comparing the translations of Lipscomb in Vol. III with the modern text, specifically Robinson's, one will note some discrepancies. These can invariably be explained when we look into Tyrwhitt's text. For instance, Lipscomb's "Prologue to the Franklein's Tale" is done in a single passage of 48 lines that embrace what in Robinson is divided. In the latter, at the end of the Squire's Tale, we have first a 36-line piece headed: "Heere folwen the wordes of the Frankeleyn to the Squier, and the wordes of the Hoost to the Frankeleyn" (F, 673-708); and then comes, well separated typographically, The Franklin's Prologue, in 20 lines (F, 709-728). Tyrwhitt prints both these passages

under the single title, The Frankeleines Prologue (vv. 10985-11040), and at v. 11020, at the point where in Robinson's text the "wordes of the Frankeleyn to the Squire . . . " are concluded, with The Franklin's Prologue following, Tyrwhitt's has no titles or sub-titles, but does mark the place with a gap in the text (between vv. 11020 and 11021). Lipscomb's version of this Prologue offers in the last 16 lines of its total of 48, the equivalent to those 20 lines which in Robinson (F, 709-728) are called The Franklin's Prologue. Compared to the work of Ogle and his contemporaries, this must be regarded as rather close paraphrase (III, 107-108):

> Our generous sires, the Britons, lov'd of old
> To hear adventures strange in story told;
> Or feats of arms in pleasing numbers sung,
> And, leaning on their spears, in rapture hung
> On the sweet accents of the minstrel's tongue.
> One of these tales I still remember well,
> Which, if it so you please, I now will tell.
> But sirs, ere I begin, I this beseech,
> As I'm a man unlearn'd, and rude in speech,
> And skill in rhetoric could ne'er obtain,
> That you'll excuse my phrase, which must be plain,
> I ne'er on fam'd Parnassus' heights have play'd,
> Nor Tully's rules divine have ever read;
> And flowers I know of none, except indeed
> Those that so richly deck th'enamell'd mead;
> For of the flowers of speech I ne'er took heed.

In the last three lines of this passage, particularly in the phrase "richly deck th'enamell'd mead," the form would seem to be in contradiction to the matter, as the Franklin is permitted to talk about his lack of ability to color his language -- in language highly colored. In the original the manner is true to the matter (vv. 11038-40; F, 726-728).

Notice that the original is in six lines against Lipscomb's three:

> Colours ne know I non, withouten drede,
> But swiche colours as growen in the mede,
> Or elles swiche as men die with or peinte;
> Colours of rhetorike ben to me queinte;
> My spirit feleth not of swiche matere.
> But if you lust my tale shul ye here.
> (Tyr 1775, vv. 11035-40 [F, 723-728].)

The 36th to 38th lines of the original read as follows:

> Love wol not be constreined by maistrie.
> Whan maistrie cometh, the God of love anon
> Beteth his winges, and farewel, he is gon.
> (Vv. 11076-78 [F, 764-766].)

Pope included a paraphrase of these in Eloisa to Abelard (ll. 75-76), reading (Spurgeon, I, 346):

> Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
> Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

When Lipscomb reached this point in his own translating, he showed a becoming modesty. Recognizing that he could hardly expect to better the second line, he simply adopted it, with quotation marks, but without a note to indicate where the words came from (III, 110):

> Love ne'er by tyrant force will be confin'd;
> And, when he sees prepar'd the galling ties,
> "Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies."

The closing passage of the translation will afford us an idea of how much Lipscomb will reduce his original on occasion. For the original closing, which runs eighteen lines (vv. 11911-28; F, 1607-24), Lipscomb offers only the following (III, 139-140):

> "Well have both knight and squire," the
> wizard said,

"The sacred laws of courtesy obey'd.
"But bounteous Heaven hath not to you confin'd
"The blest exertions of a generous mind:
"Here then I freely all your debt release,
"And may your soul henceforth be sooth'd in peace."
Here ends my tale, and now 'tis yours to say,
Which did the noblest proof of worth display.

How much is lost in the reduction may be recognized in the fact that the Franklin's plain and natural image is omitted:

Sire, I relese thee thy thousand pound,
As thou right now were crope out of the ground,
Ne never er now ne haddest knowen me.
(Vv. 11917-19 [F, 1613-15].)

How natural that phrase "crope out of the ground" sounds, coming from the lips of the Franklin, a quite practical-minded countryman. Lipscomb's version is the poorer for having omitted it.

The next items in Lipscomb are "Prologue to the Doctor's Tale" (III, 141) and "The Doctor's Tale" (III, 142-151). The former reads as follows, in its entirety:

A Future day, our jolly Host replied,
May well suffice that question to decide.
Of thee, good Doctor, the next tale I ask;
And well, I know, thou wilt perform the task.--
If worth your hearing I can aught supply,
Freely, sir Host, he answer'd, I'll comply.

This is a translation of a six-line Frankl-Phys link printed by Tyrwhitt (vv. 11929-11934). Regarded as spurious by Robinson, who prints it only in his textual notes (p. 894), the link appears in Tyrwhitt's text as follows (1775, II, 162-163, vv. 11929-34):

THE DOCTOURES PROLOGUE.

YE, let that passen, quod oure Hoste, as now.
Sire Doctour of Physike, I prey you,
Tell us a tale of som honest matere.
  It shal be don, if that ye wol it here,
Said this doctour, and his tale began anon.
Now, good men, quod he, herkeneth everich on.

In his Introductory Discourse (Sec. XXVIII), Tyrwhitt explains that he found this in only one MS., though a good one, but that the first line applied "so naturally and smartly" to the Franklin's concluding question that he was very much inclined to believe that line genuine, if not the five lines following.

Thus it is with the remainder of Lipscomb's work. Wherever his translations involve questions of canon and odd discrepancies appear between Lipscomb's translations and the modern authorized texts, the explanation may be found by reference to Tyrwhitt's edition, including his explanatory notes and his Introductory Discourse. Thus the division in Lipscomb between the "Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale" and "The Pardoner's Tale" itself does not correspond to Robinson's division into Introduction (C, 287-328), Prologue (C, 329-462), and Tale (C, 463-968). Instead, as indicated, there are only two divisions, Lipscomb's "Prologue" corresponding to the Introduction, and the "Tale" corresponding to the Prologue and Tale combined. Lipscomb is simply following Tyrwhitt, who, finding the MSS. to differ on this point, chose to regard as Prologue only that part which served to introduce the Pardoner as the new

speaker, and as Tale all that follows "when he is once in complete possession of his office of entertaining the company" (Introductory Discourse, Section XXX [in IV, 172]).

I quote a few lines from Lipscomb's translation of that passage in Pard T which, in modern texts, opens the Tale proper, beginning "In Flaundres whilom was a compaignye" (C, 463), and which must be regarded as one of Chaucer's most powerful passages. Let us see how it fares in Lipscomb's hands (III, 159-160):

> In Flanders once there liv'd a jolly crew,
> Whom youth and kindred sports together drew;
> Taverns they haunted, riot was their joy,
> And cards, and dice, and drink their sole employ;
> Each night to Belial did they homage pay,
> Nor ceas'd the banquet with the rising day,
> Their impious oaths would shock the coarsest ear;
> Their Saviour's name impress'd nor awe nor fear;
> Wicked and wanton as the Jews of yore,
> Again his side they pierc'd, again his limbs they tore.
> A train of tumblers, skill'd in wanton feats,
> And female all, the festive sport completes;
> Singers with harps, and bawds, and waferers,
> Which are the very Devil's officers;
> Form'd are they all to fan unholy fires,
> And rouse the passions to impure desires:
> For well admonisheth the text divine,
> The surest path to sin 's excess in wine:
> Drunken with wine incestuous Lot was led
> (Dreadful to name) to stain his daughter's bed.

This is the tale which Lipscomb tells us he published in 1792, but of which there is no known copy (see above, Item No. 1). By way of comment, I should only say that in versification the passage above looks backward to the Augustans, even to the use of an alexandrine (line 10) with typical balance if without the typical antithesis, but that

in moral tone it looks forward to the nineteenth century.

Lipscomb's "Prologue to the Shipman's Tale" I give in its entirety (III, 179-180):

> Then high mine Host upon his stirrups stands,
> In act to issue forth his dread commands:
> "This was a goodly tale in truth," he says,
> "And well deserves our liking, and our praise:
> "You then, sir parish priest, in turn prepare,
> "For, by God's bones, some good and learned fare
> "We all from you with anxious fondness wait;
> "Grant then our wish, and quick your tale relate."
> "Bless me!" the Parson answers, "how you swear!"
> "Ah!" said mine Host, "good Jenkin! are you there?
> "I smell a Lollard in the wind," quoth he:
> "Oh! what a tiresome sermon his will be!"
> "Nay, by my father's soul, he shall not preach,
> The Shipman says; "nor gospel strange shall teach.
> "We all in God's almighty power believe,
> "Nor will we texts new-vamp'd for old receive.
> "Therefore, mine Host, myself the next shall be,
> "To claim the hearing of the company:
> "And take my word, my good and jovial friends,
> "None here shall doze before my story ends:
> "But well be ye assur'd, my tale will be
> "Undeck'd with lore of sage philosophy,
> "Or physic quaint, or terms of crabbed law--
> "Of Latin there's full little in my maw."

As already indicated above (see pp. 169-172), the original passage from which this translation was made has had a lively editorial history. The passage may be found in Robinson as The Epilogue to the Man of Law's Tale (B, 1163-90), though Robinson, dubious of its proper place, puts brackets around it and, in a long note (pp. 696-697), discusses appertinent problems. If we go back to Urry's edition, we will find the passage appearing there as The Squier's Prologue. This then is the passage which Ogle translated and presented in his edition as the "Prologue to the Squire's Tale" (Ogle, II, 196-198).

Tyrwhitt, having discovered in the MSS. the proper Sq Prol (see p. 171, above) decided to transfer the former Sq Prol to a new position, as Prologue to the Shipman's Tale. Tyrwhitt's defense of this change is worth quoting (Introductory Discourse, Sec. XXXI [IV, 172-173]):

> The Tale of the Shipman in the best Mss. has no Prologue. What has been printed as such in the common Editions is evidently spurious. To supply this defect I have ventured, upon the authority of one Ms. (and, I confess, not one of the best) to prefix to this tale the Prologue, which has usually been prefixed to the Tale of the Squier. As this Prologue was undoubtedly composed by Chaucer, it must have had a place somewhere in this Edition, and if I cannot prove that it was really intended by him for this place, I think the Reader will allow that it fills the vacancy extremely well.

Robinson, while feeling that the piece was most likely written to follow MLT, agrees with Tyrwhitt in regarding it as unsuited to the Squire and believes it "may have been intended for either the Shipman or the Summoner" (p. 696).

Let us compare this Shipman's Prologue as done by Lipscomb with its original as we find it in Tyrwhitt. The original 28 lines are reduced to 24, but the reduction is not quite evenly or proportionally carried out. For instance, the first 7 lines of the original (1775, vv. 12903-09 [B, 1163-69]), in which the Host refers to the tale just told as a "thrifty tale for the nones," are done into 8 lines of translation. Considering that Lipscomb was a churchman, it is interesting that he let one of the Host's oaths go through, unsoftened, just as it was in

Chaucer: "for Goddes bones" (v. 12906 [B, 1166]) is rendered "by God's bones." Lipscomb does omit the other oath, however -- "by Goddes dignitee" (v. 12909 [B, 1169]). No doubt he felt that he could take no further step in this direction without rendering meaningless the Parson's response to the Host's swearing.

Chaucer's next 8 lines, which contain the Parson's remonstrance and the Host's reply (vv. 12910-17 [B, 1170-77]), though reduced to only 4 lines of translation, are rendered fairly faithfully even to the extent that the 11th line of the translation -- "I smell a Lollard in the wind,' quoth he" -- differs from the original only in the spelling.

The last 13 lines of the original (vv. 12918-30 [B, 1178-1180]), in which the Shipman speaks, are translated by Lipscomb into 12 lines. The translation is close in the main, but the Shipman's delightful characterization of the doctrinal danger in the Lollard priest's story-telling --

> He wolde sowen som difficultee,
> Or springen cokkle in our clene corne--

is missing from the translation, which only says that the Pilgrims will not receive "texts new-vamp'd for old." The last three lines are rather closely translated. The term "phislyas" (B, 1189), puzzling to modern scholars (see note in Robinson, p. 697), is given in Tyrwhitt as "physike" (v. 12929) and is so given in the next to the last line of the translation. Note how close is the translation of the

last couplet, which in the original reads:

> Ne of physike, ne termes queinte of lawe;
> Ther is but litel Latin in my mawe.
> (Vv. 12929-30 [B, 1189-90].)

In the Shipman's Tale itself, which runs only 280 lines against 434 lines in the original (vv. 12931-13364), there are a few passages that presented problems to Lipscomb, problems both of text and of content.

The first crux is found in the opening passage, where vv. 12941-49 (B, 1201-1209) (the 11th to 19th lines) the sex of the narrator is quite clearly indicated to be feminine. Tyrwhitt's note to verse 12942 states that, whereas Urry printed them for us, all the MSS. he himself examined agreed in the latter reading. He observes that this would lead one to suspect that the tale was originally composed for a female narrator; but he does not discuss the matter further. Here are the opening lines of Lipscomb (III, 181), embracing the passage in question:

> A Merchant at St. Dennis liv'd of yore,
> Wise was he deem'd, for wealthy was his store;
> Mirthful and gay, and much by all caress'd;
> A beauteous wife his tasty choice had bless'd:
> Yet who of revels gay may count the cost?
> Short is the fleeting joy, and soon is lost.
> But woe to him, whose purse low drain'd and light
> Must feel the charges of the festal night!
> Wives must be clad in gay and new array, [9]
> And husbands ne'er are thought of, but to pay:
> 'Tis them to honour, that in dance and song
> Trip the light hours, and gayly glide along;
> And if by chance the mean uncourteous lord
> Cannot, or will not, such expence afford,
> Then (perilous adventure) must some friend
> To the fair debtor kind assistance lend.

With the license that it is only fair to grant to the translator, Lipscomb has resolved the question of the sex of the narrator. In line 9 above, where the original has "He mote us clothe . . ." (v. 12942 [B^2, 1202]), Lipscomb has simply said, "Wives must be clad . . . ." Thus the issue of the narrator's sex is not even raised. In passing, we note that this passage is shorter than its original (vv. 12931-49 [B^2, 1191-1209]) 16 lines against 19 lines. Lipscomb has seen fit to drop the figure (". . . shadwe upon the wall") that occupies vv. 12938-39.

At v. 13078 (B^2, 1338), the monk in the Tale swears "by God and Seint Martin" that the lady's husband is no more cousin to him than is a leaf on the tree. Lipscomb handles the oath by omitting it (III, 185);

> "Cousin," the Monk with smiles replied, "to me!
> "No more than is yon leaf upon the tree."

Incidentally the two lines of the original which occur shortly before this point, when the two seal their agreement with a kiss (vv. 13071-72 [B^2, 1331-32]), are not translated by Lipscomb.

Another crux occurs at vv. 13243-49 (B^2, 1503-1509), for here is the account of delicate matter indeed: adultery, with a monk as a principal. Chaucer's account is quite frank:

> And shortly to the point right for to gon,
> This faire wif accordeth with Dan John,
> That for thise hundred frankes he shuld all night

> Haven hire in his armes bolt upright:
> And this accord parformed was in dede.
> In mirth all night a besy lif they lede
> Til it was day . . . .

Lipscomb's translation is less blunt (III, 189):

> On the next Sunday to St. Dennis came,
> Fresh shorn and gay, Dan John, to see the dame:
> There for the hundred franks she yields her charms,
> Th' expected payment, to his longing arms,
> Yet was so high this crafty Monk esteem'd,
> That chaste and virtuous he by all was deem'd.

In the last couplet Lipscomb has turned into something rather general in content and moralistic in tone a passage which Chaucer delivered concretely and objectively.

The final crux I shall deal with occurs at the very end of the tale and involves the possibility that the Shipman's word "taling" ("taillynge" in Robinson) is intended for a naughty pun:

> Thus endeth now my tale, and God us sende
> Taling ynough, unto our lives ende.
> (Vv. 13363-64 [B^2, 1623-24].)

Lipscomb's version closes as follows, without the pun or the possibility of a pun (III, 193):

> "Now then, best, dearest comfort of my life,
> "Kiss, and forgive thy fond and faithful wife!"
> The merchant found the grievance past redress,
> And knew that chiding would not make it less;
> Wisely he pardon'd what he could not mend,
> And his wife promis'd she'd no more offend.

Observe also that Lipscomb has translated the merchant's final speech (vv. 13360-62 [B^2, 1620-22]) into indirect statement.

Tyrwhitt has handled the Prioress's Tale and the

material that serves as prologue to it in much the same way as he did the Pardoner's Tale. The link which in Robinson is headed thus: -- "Bihoold the murie wordes of the Hoost to the Shipman and to the lady Prioress" -- and which amounts to 18 lines in heroic couplets (B, 1625) -- is designated "The Prioresses Prologue" in Tyrwhitt (vv. 13365-82). All that comes after, which is from the Prioress's own mouth, and which Chaucer puts in rime royal stanzas, is printed by Tyrwhitt in one piece as The Prioresses Tale (vv. 13383-620). The first five stanzas of this, constituting her prayer to Divinity and to the "mooder Mayde" and her offering of this story in their praise, are, we know, distinguished in Robinson's edition as her Prologue. Again it is Tyrwhitt's division of these prefatory matters that we find in Lipscomb. He has, however, reduced the link, called by him the "Prologue to the Prioress's Tale," from 18 lines to 12 (III, 194):

> LONG, gentle Sailor, saith our jolly Host,
> May'st thou in safety sail along the coast!
> But ill, my masters all, your peace betide!
> If in your houses Monks like this reside.
> Now gentles, 'mongst ye all, which shall I find,
> That the next tale to tell is most inclin'd?
> Then mild and courteous, as a modest maid,
> To the meek Prioress these words he said:
> "From you, sweet lady, may I humbly crave,
> "If so it like you, the next tale to have?"
> "Gladly," she said, "I'll please you if I can;"
> And, when they all were silent, thus began.

Lipscomb has translated the basic matter, but he has gentled the Host's manner of speaking. Instead of "A ha, felawes"

(v. 13369 [B, 1629]), it is "Now gentles"; and his earthy figures -- "God give the monke a thousand last quad yere" (v. 13368) and "The monke put in the mannes hode an ape" (v. 13370) -- are omitted altogether. Lipscomb has also omitted the oath in the opening line, "by corpus dominus." He cannot, however, be accused of dodging the issue of the Host's misuse of Latin, for, in Tyrwhitt, the oath reads "by corpus Domini" (v. 13365). Tyrwhitt seems to have made the change wittingly, in defiance of all his MS. authorities. (Manly-Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales [Chicago, 1940], IV, 126, and VII, 153.) This action on Tyrwhitt's part and his not mentioning the change in the Notes must be regarded as quite uncharacteristic.

As already indicated, in the Tale itself, Lipscomb has substituted heroic couplets for Chaucer's rime royals. I give a few lines from the Prioress's opening address as a sample of what Lipscomb has done (III, 195):

> LORD of all power and might! thy glorious name
> All things in heaven and earth alike proclaim;
> And not the wise alone thy fame declare,
> But babes and sucklings in thy praises share.
> E'en I, with warm desire to sound thy praise,
> Will boldly strive my feeble voice to raise;
> Nor thine alone, but her, thy mother dear,
> My tale shall laud. O deign, bright Maid, to hear!
> Thou Gem of purity! thou virgin Flower!
> On whom in dove-like form th'eternal Power
> Descended, by thy humble meekness won,
> And bade thee sinless hail a heav'n-born Son!
> Where is the tongue so skill'd that e'er may tell,
> What nameless virtues in thy bosom dwell?
> Oft, ere the words from our warm lips are sent,
> Thy pitying kindness does our prayers prevent.

These 16 lines, forming the first verse paragraph, are the equivalent of the original's first four rime royal stanzas, or 28 lines (vv. 13383-410 [B^2, 1643-70]). Lipscomb has omitted the Prioress's reference to Mary as the "bushe unbrent, brenning in Moyses sight" (v. 13398 [B^2, 1658]), but has added -- addition being a practice unusual with him -- an image reminiscent of Milton, of God descending "in dove-like form."

Lipscomb's whole piece (III, 195-203) amounts to a total of 186 lines, all in heroic couplets, with the exception of two triplets. The text is marked off in verse paragraphs of varying lengths. This represents a considerable reduction in length, as the original Tale as printed by Tyrwhitt (equivalent to the Prologue and Tale as found in Robinson) amounts to 34 stanzas of rime royal, or 238 lines.

I conclude this discussion of "The Prioress's Tale" by offering Lipscomb's translation of vv. 13579-85 (B^2, 1839-45), possibly the most beautiful poetry Chaucer ever produced and the stanza that takes a prominent place in Arnold's criticism, especially in that Arnold compares it with Wordsworth's modernization (see below, Item No. 8). First, the Chaucer (in Tyrwhitt's text):

> My throte is cut unto my nekke bon,
> Saide this child, and as by way of kinde
> I shuld have deyd, ye longe time agon:
> But Jesu Crist, as ye in bookes finde,
> Wol that his glory last and be in minde,

> And for the worship of his moder dere,
> Yet may I sing o alma loude and clere.

And now Lipscomb (III, 202):

> "Deep wounds," the child replied, "my throat divide,
> "And I, ere now, by nature's laws had died,
> "But that the holy Jesus bade me live
> "To his dear mother glory still to give:
> "Her, the sweet source of Mercy's pitying tear,
> "From earliest age I lov'd with warmth sincere."

The Chaucer stanza in question is actually translated in those first four lines, with the result that Lipscomb has not even attempted to paraphrase the magnificent couplet that closes the stanza.

The "Prologue to Sir Thopas" (III, 204) and "The Rime of Sir Thopas" (III, 205-213) have already been treated (pp. 176-77, above). The 48-line passage that stands before The Tale of Melibee, headed only "Heere the Hoost stynteth Chaucer of his Tale of Thopas" in Robinson (B, 2109-2156), but designated Prologue to Melibeus (vv. 18347-94) by Tyrwhitt, is translated by Lipscomb in 31 lines of heroic verse, including one triplet. Needless to say, one will not find the equivalent in Lipscomb of the Host's scatological language in v. 13858 (B, 2120). The Tale of Melibee is rendered by Lipscomb in prose (III, 216-281), as in the original. Lipscomb has reduced the length by about a tenth, carrying out the reduction chiefly by working economies in the expression and by removing elaborative detail. Lipscomb, as in the case of the poetic translation, has made no attempt to retain antiqueness of flavor, beyond the use

of thou and thy and -est and -eth verb endings. These would have come from his King James Version, the language of which he has normally used for the many Biblical quotations in the Tale, thereby avoiding the trouble of translating them himself. Signs of Lipscomb's profession are also evident in his insertion of book, chapter, and verse for many of the Biblical references.

In his version of the Monk's Prologue, we see Lipscomb once again taking the blunt and broad talk of the Host and devulgarizing it. In the process, of course, he deprives it of much of its naturalness. The speech in which the Host, half in game, reveals a certain respect for the sturdy qualities of the Monk and deplores the fact that the world cannot have the benefit of his sexual potentialities is genteelized by Lipscomb. The following lines, equivalent to vv. 13949-53 (B^2, 3133-37), will serve as an example:

> "Shame on the wretch! whose weak and abject mind
> "To a cold barren cell such powers confin'd!
> "For who's than thee more fitted to fulfil
> "(Didst thou but dare) thine own and Heaven's high will?
> "Soon, like a Patriarch, smiling should'st thou see
> "Innumerous shoots bloom round the parent tree."
> (III, 284.)

Lipscomb, using the heroic couplet in place of Chaucer's 8-line stanza, follows the pattern of the Monk's Tale, as we know it in Robinson, quite closely, except in this particular: the "Modern Instances" -- the accounts of Peter of Spain, Peter of Cyprus, Barnabo, and Hugelino (B^2, 3565-3652), coming between the account of Zenobia and that of Nero -- all appear at the end, after the account of Croesus. It is

this latter position for the Modern Instances that Tyrwhitt adopted (vv. 14685-772), and of course his decision determined their position in Lipscomb's translation. There is MS. support for both positions, and the various arguments are available to the reader in Tyrwhitt's note to v. 14685 and in Robinson's note to MkT, pp. 746-747.

The Prologue of the Nun's Priest's Tale, 54 lines long in the original (vv. 14773-826 [B^2, 3957-4010]), is cut down to 32 by Lipscomb. The Tale itself (excluding the Epilogue) was expanded by Dryden to 821 lines from its original 626 lines (vv. 14827-15452 [B^2, 4011-4636]). However, the Tale proper and the 16-line epilogue (vv. 15453-68 [B^2, 4637-52]) are reduced in Lipscomb's translation to 442 lines. Since by oversight Lipscomb has presented us with a translation of a tale already done by Dryden, we shall take this opportunity to make a comparison, taking as a basis the passage in which Chaunticleer is described and his paramours introduced. Amounting to 18 lines in Chaucer (B, 4049-66), the passage as paraphrased by Dryden is 34 lines, almost double the original. Here is the Dryden passage, lines 49-82 from "The Cock and the Fox," as printed by Scott, 1808 ed. (XI, 328-329):

> High was his comb, and coral-red withal, [49]
> In dents embattled like a castle wall;
> His bill was raven-black, and shone like jet;
> Blue were his legs, and orient were his feet;
> White were his nails, like silver to behold,
> His body glittering like the burnished gold.
> This gentle cock, for solace of his life, [55]

Six misses had, beside his lawful wife;
Scandal, that spares no king, though ne'er
so good,
Says, they were all of his own flesh and blood;
His sisters, both by sire and mother's side,
And sure their likeness shewed them near
allied. [60]
But make the worst, the monarch did no more,
Than all the Ptolemys had done before:
When incest is for interest of a nation,
'Tis made no sin by holy dispensation.
Some lines have been maintained by this alone, [65]
Which by their common ugliness are known.
But passing this as from our tale apart,
Dame Partlet was the sovereign of his heart:
Ardent in love, outrageous in his play,
He feathered her a hundred times a day; [70]
And she, that was not only passing fair,
But was withal discreet, and debonair,
Resolved the passive doctrine to fulfil,
Though loth, and let him work his wicked will:
At board and bed was affable and kind, } [75]
According as their marriage-vow did bind, }
And as the church's precept had enjoined. }
Even since she was a se'nnight old, they say, }
Was chaste and humble to her dying day, }
Nor chick nor hen was known to disobey. } [80]
By this her husband's heart she did obtain:
What cannot beauty, joined with virtue, gain! [82]

This verse is characteristically Dryden, if not Dryden at his best. We note the digression into political innuendo, lines 61-66, and the change, particularly in the allusions to incest and to Chaunticleer's overactive masculinity, from Chaucer's manner of gentle archness to the manner in which a risqué-joke is offered to respectable but receptive company. It is with the latter tone, accompanied by no real concern for marality, that Dryden depicts Chaunticleer as working his wicked will.

It should be noted that the disparity in length between Dryden's version and its original is not quite as

great as indicated if we realize that the passage in Speght that Dryden used as his basis carried two lines not found in the text of modern editions.[27] Tyrwhitt notes (v. 14876n) that all the editions through Urry's, except the first edition of Caxton, after verse 14876 (B^2, 4060), "Was cleped faire damoselle Pertelot," print this couplet:

> He fethered her a hundred times a day,
> And she him pleaseth all that ever she may.

The equivalent of the first of these lines is readily spotted in line 70 of the Dryden passage, the equivalent of the second being involved in the lines that follow.

This couplet is not included in Tyrwhitt's text (nor in Robinson's); hence it does not appear in translation in Lipscomb, whose lines equivalent to the passage in question are as follows. Line numbers in brackets are based on the consecutive numbering of lines from the beginning (III, 317-318):

> His comb, embattled like a castle-wall,
> Red as fine coral, menac'd fate to all;
> Bright was his bill, and black as ripen'd sloe,
> Azure his stately leg, and taper toe;
> White were his nails, as lilies, to behold,
> And his gay plumage was of burnish'd gold.
> This gallant cock seven faithful hens attend,
> And to his royal will obedient bend;
> Though sisters all, they all his favours share,
> Like him in colour, as in shape and air:
> But, these among, above the rest was seen
> The lovely Partolete, his favourite queen:
> Courteous she was, discreet, and debonnair;
> To Chanticleer she bore herself so fair,
> That she alone above her peers confess'd
> Reign'd the lov'd empress of her hero's breast.

> Bless'd in his love, his bliss no fears alloy,
> And every day shone bright with cloudless joy;
> His looks, his motions all, his bliss attest,
> And his gay songs his lively joys express'd.

The 16 lines which Robinson has placed in brackets at the end of NPT and called Epilogue to The Nun's Priest's Tale (B, 4637-52) may also be found in Tyrwhitt in the same place (vv. 15453-68). Tyrwhitt, however, has given them no heading and only provides a space between them and NPT. Lipscomb has followed Tyrwhitt's practice here except that he gives the passage simply as a regular verse paragraph (III, 336) and that he has increased it to 20 lines. Although he has not repeated the coarse terms contained in B, 4638 and 4641, he has in the main translated the passage closely. Here is a sample:

> "Thy gifts are matchless, and, were such thy will,
> "None should so well her soft behests fulfil;
> "E'en thine own cock to thee in feats should yield,
> "And, when with thee compar'd, should quit the field;
> "Not seven hens only should thy virtues prove,
> "But seven, and seven twice told should court thy love.
> "Behold what limbs! how brawny! vast of size!
> "And, like a sparhawk's, dart thy piercing eyes!

This passage supplies us with yet another test of Lipscomb's boldness in the face of the original's rather coarse matter.

The 79 stanzas (553 lines) of rime royal which Robinson divides and prints as The Second Nun's Prologue (G, 1-119) and The Second Nun's Tale (G, 120-553) are printed as one piece by Tyrwhitt and called The Second Nonnes Tale (vv. 15469-16021). In Lipscomb, as "The Second Nun's Tale" (III,

337-352), this piece appears as 343 lines of translation, in heroic couplets but for a single triplet. Lipscomb has quietly avoided translating the Nun's reference to herself as an "unworthy sone of Eve" (v. 15530 [G, 61]). His version reads instead (III, 339):

> . . . . and, oh! inspire
> Me, though unworthy, with thy chastening fire.

I pass over Lipscomb's "Prologue to the Canon's Yeoman's Tale" and "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale," except to remark that the Reverend has reduced the originals, respectively, from 166 lines to 103 lines, and from 762 lines to 458 lines. In the Tale, he has reduced or simplified the passages in which the technical terms of alchemy are featured. Nowhere else in the period of my study is either the CYT or its Prologue to be found translated.

The Manciple's Tale, however, was also translated by Wordsworth and by Hunt; hence it may be helpful to present a few passages from Lipscomb's version for later comparison. First, however, let us look at his "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale," a unique translation so far as the era of this present study is concerned. It runs to only 69 lines against the original's 104. Here is the opening passage (III, 379), the equivalent to Tyrwhitt, vv. 16950-16968 (H, 1-19):

> What man of Kent, but knows a little town,
> Call'd by this title quaint, Bob-up-and-down?
> This we had reach'd, when now our Host espied
> Loose in his saddle's seat the Cook to ride.
> "From ill, good Cook," he says, "may Heaven
> thee keep!

"But, by my troth, thou'rt drunk, and fast asleep.
"That thou hast vigils kept, I see full clear, [7]
"But not in prayer hast spent the night, I fear.
"Come forth, good master Cook, thy feathers shake,
"And tell thy tale to keep thyself awake!"

A comparison with the original will disclose the fact that the Reverend has dodged a number of difficulties. We look in vain for his translation of "Dun is in the mire" (v. 16954). The Host of this version refers but obliquely to the Cook's whereabouts on the preceding night; in the original the Host puts the question in plain, not to say crude, fashion.

Let us now see how Lipscomb handles the rough talk of the Manciple at vv. 16974-94 (H, 25-45). One must agree that the talk of Lipscomb's Manciple may be short but it is sharp.

"A tale, good Host," the Manciple replied,
"We can't expect from one, who scarce can ride:
"But, if it please this gallant company,
"I will the place of master Cook supply.
"O sorry sot!" then to the Cook he cries,
"How stupid roll thy glassy goggling eyes.
"Shame! so to love a noisy drunken feast,
"Till from a man thou'rt sunk beneath a beast!"
(III, 379-380.)

Sharp it may be, but the sharpness is that of an eighteenth-century gentleman. A glance at the original, especially at vv. 16987-89 (H, 38-40), will give us quite another character of the Manciple. Lipscomb has altogether avoided translating the Manciple's question at v. 16991, " . . . wol ye just at the fan?" and his statement, "I trow that ye have dronken win of ape" (v. 16993), appears here in the

form of a conventional figure bearing but remote resemblance to the original.

Lipscomb's translation of the Manciple's Tale begins as follows (III, 383):

> Of yore Dan Phoebus liv'd on earth below,
> Fam'd for his skill to stretch the sounding bow;
> Sure to its point th' unerring shaft he drew,
> And the fierce serpent deadly Python slew;
> And hence, in honour of the hardy deed,
> The bow e'en now he bears, fair conquest's meed.

It is interesting to see how Lipscomb handles the passage vv. 17156-71 (H, 207-222), in which the Manciple compares the loose woman of high estate with a loose woman of low estate, concluding:

> And God it wote, min owen dere brother,
> Men lay as low that on as lith that other.
> (Vv. 17170-71.)

Here is how Lipscomb's Manciple endeavors to say much the same thing (III, 386):

> Wise Plato saith (as he, who lists, may read)
> "The word should ever well befit the deed."
> If to your senses aught I aim to bring,
> I or must clear describe, or name the thing.
> To me what boots it, who plain truth revere,
> Whether my words to some too home [sic] appear?
> Whoredom is sinful, and is still the same,
> Whoe'er the sinner, and how great her name.
> When in mean life a poor defenceless maid
> Falls, by a practis'd villain's art betray'd,
> Driven from the shelter of her native home,
> Forc'd for precarious sustenance to roam,
> Not one kind friend can the sad victim find,
> By all to hopeless infamy consign'd.
> But when unfaithful proves a courtly dame,
> Instant her crime assumes a gentler name;
> 'Tis soft attachment, and a venial flame.

One will search this passage in vain for the blunt language and the clever play on words that Chaucer provided at v. 17171

(H. 222).

With his version of The Manciple's Tale, Lipscomb's work comes to a close. He did not include The Parson's Tale, he says in the Postscript (I, xi), because he "did not wish to swell the work with what was dry and unentertaining."

Lounsbury (III, 197-200) and Tobler (pp. 100-102) both offer critical remarks upon Lipscomb's work. Tobler's summary (pp. 101-102) of Lipscomb's translation practice puts matters quite justly:

> In accordance with what Lipscomb said in his preface, his translations are quite free. The thread of the story is the same as in Chaucer, but details are generally reduced. This cutting impairs the quality of his stories. . . . On the other hand, Lipscomb refrains from filling up the gaps by introducing new matter of his own.

The tone of that last sentence seems to be faintly laudatory, and, on the ground that a translation ought to maintain the integrity of the original, certainly Lipscomb's efforts are due more praise than are those of any other translator in the volumes he has produced. But this is the key, I think, to a quality which Lounsbury found in Lipscomb's work and which even the most sanguine critic must allow his work to have -- dullness. "One is not surprised to find his versions dull," says Lounsbury (III, 199); "he is surprised to find them so very dull." But when we recall the many occasions on which Lipscomb drops the details, not only of matter but of language, which give the

original its very life, and when we realize that he, praiseworthily or no, chooses not to breathe into the work a new if different life by adding matter of his own, as Dryden, Pope, and Ogle did, then we indeed are not surprised to find the Reverend's own contributions quite dull.

But Lounsbury, while rather unfavorably criticizing another aspect of Lipscomb's work, provides the key to one reason for according Lipscomb some measure of praise, He says (III, 199): "Yet about his modernization as a whole there is a mechanical uniformity, a decency of mediocrity, which makes it almost as difficult to say anything harsh about it as to say anything in its favor." When one has read his way through the translations of Chaucer made and published during the Romantic Era, one comes to have an increasing respect for Lipscomb and the volumes he has written and edited, and one has respect on account of this very quality of uniformity on which Lounsbury laid his irony. For, if we may substitute for "uniformity" the more pleasant term "homogeneity" and if we may add to this the comprehensiveness and orderliness of Lipscomb's total achievement, we have in Lipscomb's volumes a performance which in these respects was not surpassed, indeed, not even approached, until relatively modern times.

Originally, The Canterbury Tales had homogeneity, by virtue of the fact that one man created them, and they had all the comprehensiveness that one man had been able to give

them before he laid down his pen. Finally, Chaucer imparted, or was in the process of imparting a certain order to the various Tales, and, although it may not be possible to determine precisely what that order is, a translator has the benefit of all the efforts of the editors, from Caxton down, to determine the right order. Thus a work which professes to be a translation of Chaucer's whole effort in the Canterbury Tales should have homogeneity and comprehensiveness and should adopt Chaucer's order. Lipscomb's The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer; Completed in a modern Version has the first and third of these qualities and virtually has the second, lacking only MilT, RvT, and ParsT and their respective prologues.

The term homogeneity had best be looked into for a moment. As I said above, originally the Tales had homogeneity by virtue of the fact that Chaucer made them -- whether written in heroic verse, rime royal, octaves, or ballad stanzas, they all have had one birth. The best way to preserve homogeneity in a translation is to have one person translate the lot. Such a translator may then freely follow Chaucer's own forms and the translation will be homogeneous just the same, for, as with the original, all of it has had one birth. Of the three major works of Chaucer translation in the era of my study -- Lipscomb's, Clarke's Tales from Chaucer in Prose, designed chiefly for the use of young persons (1833), and Horne's The Poems of

Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized (1841) -- only Clarke's has homogeneity in this sense. Horne's volume, though its various contributors, from Wordsworth to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, have generally preserved Chaucer's prosodic patterns to an extent not achieved in Lipscomb, lacks homogeneity. It could not have that quality, for the contributors were not Augustans, but Romantics, individualistic, passionate, outreaching Romantics, professing Chaucer, but expressing themselves. The Romantic Era was not a homogeneous age; but the Augustan Era was, and its writers produced homogeneous verse. Hence it was that the contributors to Lipscomb's volumes, Augustans all, including Lipscomb (who in spirit, if not in his dates, must be counted one of them), were able to produce an homogeneous set of Chaucer translations, the heroic couplet playing no small part in the process. Homogeneity, whether or not of the same order as is naturally to be found in Chaucer, is essential to any translation that involves a rendering of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in compound aspect. Lipscomb's production has this essential in good measure.

When we come to look at Clarke and Horne more closely, we shall find that the latter lacks comprehensiveness and order, as well as homogeneity, and that the former has homogeneity and order, but lacks comprehensiveness (it is only fair to say that it was not Clarke's intention to achieve comprehensiveness). Thus Lipscomb's work stands

by itself in the era encompassed by my study: homogeneous and comprehensive and preservative of the proper order.

But it takes more than these qualities to create a great work of translation. Lounsbury has pointed out that the public never took to this version: "It was not a work that needed to be suppressed in the interest of the poet; it suppressed itself" (III, 199-200). Lounsbury's conclusion may be unduly severe, but its basis seems incontrovertible. In my perusal of Romantic Era materials, it was indeed rare that I saw any allusion to the Reverend William Lipscomb and his work on Chaucer.[28]

Perhaps, then, it is best to leave him in the hands of his contemporary reviewers.[29] The Monthly Review, XVIII (Nov. 1795), 355, is certainly encouraging:

> The admirers of the merry and witty old Bard will, no doubt, hold themselves much obliged to Mr. L. for having completed the celebrated Canterbury Tales in a modern version. The lovers of decency will likewise think themselves, as well as the public in general, farther indebted to the ingenious editor, for 'pruning away the indelicacies and offensive passages of his author.'

It would seem from the latter comment that Victorian propriety was casting its shadows before, and it is perhaps to be wondered at, with such notions of literary morality plainly on the move, that Lipscomb did not dilute yet further the coarse vitality of the talk of Chaucer's pilgrims.

The reviewer in The British Critic, V (April, 1795), has provided us with criticism quite opposite to Lounsbury's:

> The Tales, which are now for the first time in modern dress [i.e., in reference to Lipscomb's own contributions], are certainly . . . far inferior in point of interest and excellence to those which arrested the attention and employed the genius of former dilletanti. Under these discouragements, we think Mr. L. has executed a difficult task well; precluded by his subject [i.e., the tales less likely to capture public interest] from reaching any extraordinary heights, he never sinks into the vapourish and low regions of insipidity. His versification is, in general, harmonious, and free from that monotony of which, in such a case, there was the greatest danger. His language is grammatically pure; and the ear of Swift himself was not more chaste, with respect to the accuracy of rhyme.
> (Pp. 372-373.)

> . . . we are sure that whenever the shade of the old bard shall welcome Mr. L. to the elysium of poets, he will greet him with affectionate cordiality, and acknowledge the fidelity and success with which he has presented him to his modern countrymen!
> (P. 378.)

We are not so sure that "Mr. L." would ever see that particular "Elysium," but on this happy supposition let us leave him.

Item No. 5 (1796). "The Squire's Tale. Imitated from Chaucer." The Monthly Magazine, and British Register, for 1796, from July to December, Inclusive, II (1796), 987-992. The Chaucer item appears in the "Supplementary Number," No. 12, and is the only item in a section entitled "Original Poetry."

According to the title, this version of the Squire's Tale is an imitation. Classified according to the terms of Chapter I, however, it is quite unmistakably a translation, albeit a somewhat free one. It may be further classified as a paraphrase, for virtually nothing of Chaucer's own language is retained. It includes Parts I and II of the Squire's Tale as we find the tale in Robinson's edition, but not the two lines that therein begin Part III.[30]

The translator has reduced the original by about twelve per cent. Part I has been reduced from 338 to 305 lines; Part II, from 324 to 280 lines; the whole, from 662 (Part III excluded) to 585 lines. The rendering of the main narrative elements of the original is fairly faithful despite this reduction.

There is no apparent attempt on the part of the translator to preserve Chaucerian diction and prosody. In diction, the translator has a decided tendency to use a general word in place of Chaucer's more specific word; in prosody, the movement of the translator's line is altogether different from that of the original.

These matters will be explained and illustrated in due course. Let us begin by looking at the opening lines of

"The Squire's Tale. Imitated from Chaucer."

WHERE wide the plains of Tartary extend,
And Sarra's Towers in glittering pomp ascend,
A Monarch reign'd who made proud Russia yield
Beneath his arm, in many a bloody field:
Cambuscan was the mighty Hero's name,
Of yore unrival'd in the list of Fame!
In worth unrival'd; nature never join'd
A form more faultless with a nobler mind.
By fortune plac'd to rule a mighty land,
He bore with dignity his high command;
Pure was his faith; wise, merciful and just,
His word was sacred, honour seal'd his trust:
Invincible his courage; never Knight
E'en of his race, could boast such strength in fight.
Around his Court such wealth and splendor shone,
As Fortune pour'd her gifts on him alone.
This Monarch by fair Elfeta his wife
Boasted two valiant Sons; stout Algarsife,
His eldest hope; next valiant Cambal came;
A beauteous Daughter, Canace by name,
Was youngest of the three; her praise to speak,
To paint her charms, my language is too weak,
Those charms which eloquence itself might move
To study beauty, and to sing of love.
My humble muse dares not, with timid wing,
So bold a flight, content mid' the low vale to sing.

First, a few miscellaneous observations of a routine nature. The translator has used the same basic verse as Chaucer did, namely the heroic couplet. Beyond this surface resemblance, however, these couplets have little in common with Chaucer's, for they bear the Augustan stamp. We note the firm masculine rhyme, with most of the lines ending in monosyllables. Lines 7 and 8 end, respectively, in "join'd" and "mind," a rhyme reminiscent of Pope. We note also that this passage, which constitutes a verse paragraph (through-

out this version, except for the break at Part II, there is no heading, spacing, or indentation to interrupt the solid flow of verse), closes with an alexandrine, as is so often the case in Dryden's verse.

Attention is called to the spelling and pronunciation of the proper names. In regard to spelling it is worth observing that the translator, probably for reasons of prosody, has dropped the -o or -lo ending of the name of the second son, to make it Cambal. This spelling of the name is maintained without change when this person is again referred to at the close of the tale. With regard to pronunciation, the meter of line 17 indicates that the name Elfeta is pronounced with stress upon the first and last syllables: El-fe-ta. This accords with Chaucer's own accentuation of the name. With Cambuscan, however, the case is different. Leigh Hunt pointed out that if Chaucer's verse be rightly read, the name must be pronounced Cam-bus-can, and this is how the name reads in his translations of the Tale. Leigh Hunt further pointed out that the mistaken but popular mispronunciation Cam-bus-can doubtless began with Milton. In the lines from Il Penseroso:

> Or call up him that left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold,

the meter demands that the accent fall on the second syllable only, so that it reads Cam-bus-can, or even Cam-bus-c'n.[31]

It is time now to place this passage alongside its equivalent in the original Chaucer. In the Tyrwhitt 1775

text, which appears to be a likely basis for this translation, it will be found at vv. 10323-55 (F, 9-41), running to 33 lines against 26 in the translation. Though the translator begins by amplifying Chaucer's first three lines into four, he soon settles down to a steady process of reducing the original: thus the first nineteen lines of Chaucer, describing Cambuscan, become sixteen lines, and the remaining fourteen lines of Chaucer describing Cambuscan's family and including the Squire's first disclaimer, become ten lines. This reduction is accomplished without change or loss in the basic elements of the story; yet the reduction is due to more than mere adjustments in style and diction. Some changes are minor, and involve substitution rather than loss. Let us look, for instance, at the lines in Chaucer which are equivalent to lines 11-14 in the passage above:

> As of the secte of which that he was borne.
> He kept his lay to which he was ysworne,
> And therto he was hardy, wise, and riche,
> And pitous and just, and alway yliche;
> Trewe of his word, benigne and honourable.
> (Vv. 10331-35 [F, 17-21].)

The first two lines in this passage are translated only by the half-line, "Pure was his faith," and the details of Cambuscan's having been born to a religion and of having sworn to uphold its law are omitted. Immediately after this, we observe, the descriptive adjectives, five of them in the original, are reduced to three, "hardy" and "riche,"

or their equivalents, being omitted in the translation. Since of these the word "riche" hardly belongs in the series anyway, the omission is not to be condemned. Throughout the poem, much reduction is accomplished in this way -- through diminution, omission, and generalization of detail. Further examples of this process will be seen. So far, we have observed a tendency to terseness, but no disposition to make radical changes in content. We do not find this observation quite valid when we apply it to the translator's handling of Chaucer's figures and imagery. In lines 21-26 of the translation, we find the Squire's disclaimer. Compare the equivalent in Chaucer:

> But for to tellen you all hire beautee,
> It lith not in my tonge, ne in my conning,
> I dare not undertake so high a thing:
> Min English eke is unsufficient,
> It muste ben a Rethor excellent,
> That coude his colours longing for that art,
> If he shuld hire descriven ony part:
> I am non swiche, I mote speke as I can.
> (Vv. 10348-55 [F, 34-41].)

It is clear that the translation's "my language is too weak" and "eloquence itself" lack the charming concreteness of "It lith not in my tonge" and of "a Rether excellent," with his command of "colours." As though to make up this deficiency of figure, the translator adds the "humble muse" metaphor. This is good eighteenth-century decoration -- Dryden and Ogle continually provide it in their paraphrases of Chaucer -- but it is far from the Squire's blunt admission: "I am non swiche, I mote speke as I can." We shall see more

examples later, of the translator's tampering with Chaucer's imagery.

While we have these opening 26 lines of the translation in focus, let us examine them for the diction and prosody. I include under these two heads, all matters of grammar, structure, word choice, phrasing, style, meter, and rhyme.

The diction, it must be agreed, has much of the stilted, artificial quality of eighteenth-century "poetic diction," as may be seen in "wide the plains of Tartary extend," "glittering pomp," and "mid' the low vale." There is a triteness of epithet -- the eighteenth century of course has no monopoly on this quality -- so that we are not surprised to find that Elfeta is "fair," Cambal, "valiant," and Algarsife, "stout," or that the narrator's muse is "humble" and flies on "timid" wing. In Chaucer these three characters receive names only, and we have already noted the plainness of the Squire's admission of inadequacy.[32]

When we turn from diction to the larger question of style and prosody, we are struck most, I think, by the translator's tendency to echo the touches and turns associated with several of the great writers of the past, with the ironical if understandable exception of Chaucer himself, of whose poetic style I recall finding not one echo in the entire 585 lines of the translation. But this is what is to be expected of a paraphrase, by definition.

Rather remarkable, however, is it to find echoes of Shakespeare and Milton, as well as of the Augustans, in the language of this translation. We shall not find all these echoes in the passage I have already quoted, but we may make a beginning there.

As would be expected, the prosody of the translation is most influenced by the school of Dryden and Pope. Pope wrote many a couplet like these at the beginning of An Essay on Criticism, reproduced here with caesuras marked:

> 'Tis hard to say // if greater want of skill
> Appear in writing // or in judging ill;
> But of the two // less dangerous is th' offence
> To tire our patience // than mislead our sense.

Much of the essence of Pope's prosody lies in his placing of the caesura. Pope may place it almost anywhere in the line, but we find it very often, as in each of the lines above, after either the fourth or the fifth syllable. Notice how in the second line, and again in the fourth, the caesura becomes a kind of fulcrum, with the two terms of an antithesis, each term occupying half a line, balanced upon it. In any case, these lines bear unmistakably the stamp of Pope. With them, compare the following lines from the passage from the translation:

> A form more faultless // with a nobler mind [8]
>
> Pure was his faith; // wise, merciful and just,
> His word was sacred, // honour seal'd his trust
> [11-12]
>
> To study beauty, // and to sing of love. [24]

We have already remarked also the rhyming of join'd with mind as the regular practice of Pope. (See An Essay on Criticism, II, 146-147.)

We also have noted that line 26 is an alexandrine reminiscent of Dryden, who was much more given to using that verse than was Pope. There are several other alexandrines in this translation. The triplet too was very frequently used by Dryden: I count no less than twenty-two of them in his version of The Flower and the Leaf. Quite often Dryden would end a triplet with an alexandrine, as in the following example taken from the passage about the elves, at the beginning of his paraphrase of The Wife of Bath's Tale (Scott, ed., XI, 377):

> Above the rest our Britain held they dear;
> More solemnly they kept their Sabbaths here,
> And made more spacious rings, and revelled
> half the year.

With this compare the triplet that closes the following passage from Part II of our present translation:

> But Canace with gentlest care sustain'd [551]
> The unhappy bird, until she now regain'd
> The palace gate; prepar'd to plaister o'er
> Her ghastly wounds, and staunch the oozing
> gore,
> Where'er her tortured flesh with furious
> beak she tore.

Before leaving our consideration of the influence of the Augustans upon this translator, we might revert briefly to the matter of diction, to note additional cases of the use of poetic diction. This reveals the influence, not so much of any one poet, as of the whole poetic tradition of the

eighteenth century. As one browses through the rest of the poem, one comes upon such instances as: "chequer'd Grove," "sunny ray," "wintry blast," "kingly state," "the massy plate," "the rapt mistrel" striking "the sounding string," "the royal board," "manly limbs in radiant armour dress'd," "Nature's secret store," "swell the choral song," "festal scene," "sleep on downy pinions hovering nigh," "warbled strain," "lonely summit's craggy breast," "infant brood."

Not all the echoes are of the Augustans. One or two passages have a Miltonic ring. Let me repeat lines 5-7 from the opening passage:

> Cambuscan was the mighty Hero's name,
> Of yore unrival'd in the list of Fame!
> In worth unrival'd.

In the repetition of movement and word, we are reminded of

> . . . . . though fallen on evil days,
> On evil days, though fallen, and evil tongues.
> (P.L., VII, 25-26.)

Some of the phrasing in the following passage is also reminiscent of Milton:

> [The wounded and forsaken falcon is addressing Canace.]
> "Though all my hopes of peace on earth are o'er
> "And fancy paints her fairy scenes no more
> "Of bright returning joy. . . . . ." 424

The phrase "bright returning joy" seems particularly characteristic of Milton.

There is evidence too that our translator has been reading his Shakespeare. Near the opening of Part II we find this couplet:

I shall not tell their dreams, by fancy bred, [322]
The sickly phantoms of a throbbing head.

The first line ends with an echo of a Shakespeare song. How quickly is that echo swallowed up in the Augustan regularity of the line that follows.

Of course none of these echoes can be used as proof of specific literary debt,[33] but taken together they certainly show that our translator had been reading his English classics and that, consciously or unconsciously, he was noticeably affected by them, at least respecting his poetic language.

Imitation is often a part of the young writer's word ways. I should say therefore that a relatively young man is the author of this translation. This is borne out too by the nature of The Monthly Magazine. In this very same issue, we find the work of Southey, Coleridge, and Lamb, all of whom in 1796 were quite young, as well as, I might add, quite liberal-minded.

So far in the comparison, we have centered most of our attention on the opening passage. It will now be desirable to look closely at the rest of the Tale for differences between this translation and the original text. We begin with differences in content.

I have said that in content the translation follows the original with reasonable closeness, particularly if one thinks in terms of the changes Dryden and Ogle worked in Chaucer. The only noticeable change this translator

makes in the basic story line is hardly a significant one. However, since the change seems to be the occasion of some of the best verse to found in this translation, I shall treat the matter in detail.

In Chaucer, the account of Cambuscan's feast proceeds as follows:

Lines	Event
F, 263-274	At about 2:00 P.M., Cambuscan rises and goes to the dancing chamber.
F, 275-290	The dancing proceeds until supper-time, the stranger having Canace as partner. The narrator (the Squire) disclaims the power to describe the dances and accompanying flirtations.
F, 291-304	The dance closes with the serving of spices and wine. Then the company go to the temple for a religious service. They return for supper, it being yet daytime. After supper, the company go to see the horse of brass.

Total number of lines used by Chaucer: 42.

The corresponding passage in the translation is in places somewhat expanded, in contrast to the moderate contraction that generally obtains. I quote from the passage at some length, giving the line numbering so that comparisons with Chaucer, particularly in matters of proportion, may the more readily be made.

The passage begins, as Chaucer's does, with a time reference. Observe, however, that no attempt is made to translate the details of Chaucer's astronomical time-telling.

> But now the Sun's meridian height was past, [228]
> And his clear orb a milder radiance cast
> O'er all the scene; the splendid feast is done,
> And great Cambuscan rises from his throne:

and in the next few lines, we are told that the "princely train," with the minstrels now playing "a solemn strain," marches to the "sacred chamber." Here,

> . . . . . still the minstrel's notes [236]
> In solemn concert through the palace floats;
> A thousand instruments their efforts join,
> Now pause, then mingling in one strain combine;
> At length loud pealing swell the choral song,
> And pour the deep full tide of harmony along;
> To hear--the rage of frenzy might controul
> And lift to heaven the yet embodied soul.

This passage embodies the change alluded to. The translator has put the religious service before the dancing, rather than after, as in Chaucer. If transposition were the only factor involved, it could be put down to inadvertence on the part of the translator, especially in a translation which elsewhere follows the original so closely. But not only does the translator transpose the scene of religious worship; he develops it. The elaborate description of the music must have been suggested by the following passage:

> Beforne him goth the loude minstralcie,
> Til he come to his chambre of parements,
> Ther as they sounden divers instruments,
> That it is like an heven for to here.
> Now dauncen lusty Venus children dere.
> (Vv. 10582-86 [F, 268-272].)

Perhaps the expression "like an heven for to here" especially stimulated the translator's fancy, but at any rate something caused him to take this brief description of the music, applied by Chaucer to the scene of dancing and other activities

of "lusty Venus," and then to apply it, much elaborated, to the scene of the religious service. When Chaucer gets to the religious service, after the dance, there is no account of the music; in fact, there is no detail given of the occasion. Chaucer only says:

> They ete and drinke [of the spices and wine served at the close of the dance], and whan this had an end,
> Unto the temple, as reson was, they wend.
> (Vv. 10609-10 [F, 295-296].)

In short, Chaucer's passages are small sanction for the extravagance of the translation: the "divers instruments" playing for dancing become a thousand instruments playing in the "sacred chamber," augmenting the "minstrels' notes" and in turn being augmented by a "choral song," which the translator has invented for the occasion. All this is described, not in the moderate terms of sounding "like an heven," but as perhaps having such power over the hearer as to "controul" his "rage of frenzy" and to "lift to heaven" his "yet embodied soul." From the enthusiasm with which he makes these changes, we might assume that we have here a minister-translator, eager to have the spirit set right before the worldly dancing takes place; but, if so, it is interesting to note that his enthusiasm carries him into an equally extravagant treatment of the dancing that (in his version) follows the religious service. Listen:

> Now drawn in trim array the youth advance, [244]
> The fair to summon to the sprightly dance;
> The stranger Knight prefer'd before them all,

With beauteous Canace began the ball;
The masking to recite, and revels gay
Which were in mirth the fleeting hours away;
The dances mazy figure to explain [250]
The face of beauty striving oft' in vain
To hide the wishes of the beating heart,
Which still too plain her speaking eyes impart;
The conscious smile, the sigh but half con-
ceal'd,
The tongue denying, what that sigh reveal'd:
The trembling hand, the whisper soft and low,
The blush and every symptom lovers know:
Would ask a gallant, brisk and debonair,
Vers'd in love's wiles, devoted to the fair,
And free and open as the passing air; [260]
Like brave Sir Launcelot who liv'd of yore,
He might have told you--I shall say no more,
But leave amid their mirth the jocund train
Till supper summon'd to the feast again.

This passage seems to me to contain some of the translator's best verse; at least it has a bit more animation than the opening lines quoted above. If this is granted, it is perhaps worth noting that at the very time when the translation departs furthest from the original, the poetic power of the translator, such as it may be, is at its height. When he is most a poet, he is least a translator. I anticipate one of the conclusions of this paper in remarking this evidence that a translation that is faithful to the original will have a hard time amounting to anything as poetry.

While we have the passage above fresh in our minds, I should like to take up the matter of the Squire's disclaimer, beginning at line 248 and continuing to the end of the passage. First I place before the reader the equivalent lines from the original:

Here is the revell and the jolitee,
That is not able a dull man to devise:
He must han knowen love and his servise,

> And ben a festlich man, as fresh as May,
> That shulde you devisen swiche array.
> Who coude tellen you the forme of daunces
> So uncouth, and so freshe contenaunces,
> Swiche subtil lokings and dissimulings,
> For dred of jalous mennes apperceivings?
> No man but Launcelot, and he is ded.
> Therfore I passe over all this lustyhed,
> I say no more, but in this jolinesse
> I lete hem, til men to the souper hem dresse.
> (Vv. 10592-604 [F, 278-290].)

I have three observations to make.

The first has to do with the discrepancy, perhaps apparent rather than real, between the Squire of the General Prologue and the Squire that tells this story. In the original Squire's Tale, the Squire says that the man who could describe the occasion must be "a festlich man, as fresh as May" (v. 10595). According to Chaucer's account of him in the General Prologue, he is precisely what he disclaims to be:

> He was as fresshe, as is the moneth of May.
> (V, 92.)

Robinson's note to line F, 279 (v. 10593) gives us the choice of believing either that the Squire is merely being modest or that Chaucer did not have the Squire in mind when he wrote the tale. But, in any case, there is an apparent discrepancy, and it may at first seem odd that the Romantics have left us no indication that they troubled themselves over it, or even noticed it, especially when the Tale, to judge from the attention it received from translators, was of great interest to them. But more and more it will be seen,

as we leave Lipscomb's comprehensive work behind and proceed through the period, that the Romantics' approach to Chaucer is the approach of the amateur: unsystematic, desultory, and impulsive, though generally enthusiastic. Despite the work of Tyrwhitt and despite such editions as Anderson's, the Romantics tended to seize upon individual tales, without reference to their place in the general scheme. Thus Tales frequently were translated without their introductions, prologues, and epilogues, or without a presentation of Chaucer's portrait of the teller from the General Prologue. There are exceptions to this, to be noted in their place. Hence, it is not surprising after all, to find our translator even dwelling upon the disclaimer and embellishing it. It is almost as if the Squire has been lost sight of as narrator and the author has himself become the narrator and is making the disclaimer in his own behalf.

This brings me to my second observation. We shall shortly discuss the translator's tendency to generalize a picture or an action which Chaucer has presented in rather specific terms. Here we have an exception, as our translator takes Chaucer's description and makes it more specific. Chaucer's "forme of daunces/ So uncouth" becomes "the dances mazy figure," wherein "mazy" is at once concrete and specific, in contrast to Chaucer's "uncouth" (although the suggestive power of the word, depending on tone and context, must be

acknowledged), and "figure" is at least more specific than "forme."[34] The "freshe contenaunces," the "subtil lokings and dissimulings" of Chaucer are detailed in the translation, becoming the "face of beauty" trying hard to "hide the wishes of the beating heart," and we see "speaking eyes," smiles, trembling hands, blushes; we are told of a "tongue denying," of sighs and of whispers. Though these are details which readers nourished on The Rape of the Lock and similar eighteenth-century fare would particularly relish, they are rather pleasant details in themselves -- for any era -- and accord well with the original; and the translator ought at least be spared a scolding for adding them.

The third observation has to do with the reference to Lancelot. In the original passage, the Squire first asks who would have the power to describe the subtleties of the occasion and then answers his own question: "No man but Launcelot." (V. 10601.) No comment need be made upon the appropriateness of the Squire's nomination. But Lancelot is dead, the Squire adds, and therefore he is constrained to pass over "all this lustyhed" (v. 10602). This lends support to the idea of the Squire's being a modest fellow, but argues that he is a lazy one as well, or perhaps that he is a bit of humorist who with good-natured irony chooses to admit the prudence of declining a field that fable has already awarded to Lancelot -- such a pity that Lancelot is dead! Without more evidence than Chaucer has given us,

here or elsewhere in the Canterbury Tales, it is difficult to say whether Chaucer was indulging in the humorous subtleties he so much delights in, or whether simply he meant this tale for another teller and never got around to reassigning it. But the intricacies of the matter need not concern us here. It is enough to note that the passage as Chaucer renders it does make such interpretation at least plausible. But in the heavy eighteenth-century hand of our translator, the Chaucerian subtleties disappear. With the sudden announcement "no man but Launcelot," the Squire of the original raises us, then drops us with "and he is ded." We cannot be sure of the tone, but if the Squire has a bit of the clown in him, we can see him at the mention of the name of Lancelot, solemnly doffing his cap and bowing his curly locks in seeming reverence. But what happens to all these possibilities of interpretation when we read the translation? We are plainly told that only a "gallant" "like brave Sir Launcelot who liv'd of yore" could give the details of dance and flirtation; but the magic of the simple name, "Launcelot," which itself raises in the mind picture on picture of the dark pains of love, is gone. The clause "who liv'd of yore" robs the name of most of its magic. The tone of the statement is plain; the subtlety is gone, and with it, all possibility of various interpretation.

We turn now to a consideration of the translator's

tendency to generalize Chaucer's details, figures, and images, a tendency obtaining practically everywhere in the poem except in the case we have just discussed. A few examples will sufficiently show this tendency.

As to the generalizing of details, the process is clearly seen in the description of the feast. Chaucer's Squire, while saying he finds it unnecessary to go into detail, nevertheless manages to impart a number of details.

> I wol not tellen of hir strange sewes,
> Ne of hir swannes, ne hir heronsewes.
> (Vv. 10381-82 [F, 67-68].)

Swan and heron are swallowed up in the generalities of the translation:

> 'Twere needless here the customs to relate [45]
> Of rude magnificence; the massy plate
> Pil'd high and smoaking with a monstrous weight 35
> Of flesh or fowl.

We must admit, however, the effectiveness of the translator's "smoaking."

Later, in the scene in which the people try to move the horse, Chaucer says that

> Ther may no man out of the place it drive
> For non engine, of windas, or polive.
> (Vv. 10497-98 [F, 183-184].)

The engines are not specified in the translation:

> They next essay the brazen steed to move, [144]
> But far too weak their strongest engines prove
> To heave the pond'rous weight.

Similarly the ancient authorities on optics, named by Chaucer as Aristotle, Alhazen, and Vitellon (vv. 10546-48 [F, 232-234]), lose their identity in the "sages" of the

translation:

> Some wonder'd at the mirror's magic pow'r, [193]
> Now plac'd with care within the topmost tow'r,
> . . . . . .
> While others answered such effects might rise, [197]
> From natural causes, which deceiv'd their eyes,
> By side reflection angles multiplied;
> Then nam'd a dozen learned terms beside.
> Said, that at Rome one might it's fellow view,
> And vouch'd an hundred wond'rous stories true,
> Told by old sages who have long been dead,
> Whose tedious works they boasted to have read.

No doubt the translator omitted the names because he felt his readers would not appreciate them. However, had he used the proper names, perhaps he would not have been driven to fill up his couplet with "tedious" and "boasted," which at best are only inferential from Chaucer's account and at worst are useless expletives.

But these and other instances I might have used, indicative of a tendency though they be, do not show that tendency to be, if a fault, a very serious one. But aggravating this tendency and making it more subject to adverse criticism is the tampering that takes place with respect to Chaucer's rhetorical figures and his imagery, to which subject we now turn our attention.

If we refer once more to the passage that opens the translation (pp.207-208, above), we find that it closes with this couplet:

> My humble muse dares not, with timid wing,
> So bold a flight, content mid' the low vale to sing.

A very pretty couplet, Mr. Translator, but is it Chaucer? Let us see. Here are the equivalent tines in Chaucer:

> It muste ben a Rethor excellent,
> That coude his colours longing for that art,
> If he shuld hire descriven ony part:
> I am non swiche, I mote speke as I can.
> (Vv. 10352-55 [F, 38-41].)

A glance tells us that Chaucer's excellent "Rethor" or speaker, story-teller, has been transmuted by the translator into a poet, and that instead of having a humility deriving from an ignorance of the "colours" of rhetoric, the Squire of the translation must describe his humility in terms of timid wings and low flight. Of course, on the translator's behalf, it could be argued that his audience would not understand "colors of rhetoric," at least not as Chaucer's readers did, and that he has put Chaucer into terms which the late eighteenth century would appreciate. Very pretty, but is it Chaucer? There is no answer to this question that will prove generally satisfactory. Students who want to know what Chaucer said would not be satisfied with such changes; those who read for pleasure would not mind them.

Cambuscan's feast is held in the spring, and here is how the translator describes the season:

> Now Phoebus had renew'd his bright career, [31]
> And waning March confirmed the infant year
> [a comparison with vv. 10362-65 (F, 48-51) will show how the translator has simplified the time reference, detailed by Chaucer in astronomical terms],
> Calm was the sky, and through the chequer'd Grove
> The merry Birds renew'd their Songs of Love:

> With wild delight they view'd the tender spray
> Cloath'd in fresh green, and felt the sunny ray,
> Which seem'd to tell, the snow, and wintry blast,
> And all the horrors of the Year were past.

This is undistinguished verse. We wonder why the translator threw away the master's "swerd of winter" image:

> Ful lusty was the wether and benigne,
> For which the foules again the sonne shene,
> What for the seson and the yonge grene,
> Ful loude songen hir affections:
> Hem semed han getten hem protections
> Again the swerd of winter kene and cold.
> (Vv. 10366-71 [F, 52-57].)

The "swerd of winter" -- a startling image, and to criticize it on the ground that swords are not generally used against birds is to be guilty of captiousness. Furthermore, Chaucer's concluding the line with "kene and cold" enhances the image and sets off the joys of the new season in yet more brightness and greenness. It is worth observing also, how much more appropriate to the pleasurableness of spring are the feminine endings shēn-ĕ and grēn-ĕ and the gentle trisyllabic rhyme affections . . . protections (with the ME pronunciation being applied), made yet more gentle with the recurrence of s sounds -- how much more appropriate, I say, than the masculine monosyllables that constitute the rhymes in the translation. Yet observe that when Chaucer shifts to winter by way of contrast, he uses a monosyllable for his concluding rhyming word -- a "cold" one, too. Notice, finally, how Chaucer allows his verse paragraph to close with the first line of a couplet, leaving the second line of the couplet -- "This Cambuscan, of which I have you told"

-- to open the next development in the story. This method makes "cold" yet more effective, because the word tends to stand more alone, as a chilling finality to the thought, and we are yet gladder that spring has come to ward off the chill. Writers of eighteenth-century stamp, as they composed couplet after couplet, almost never split a couplet between two verse paragraphs. They apparently held this classical dupleness sacred. In their translations of Chaucer they therefore missed many an opportunity to follow their master more closely, and more truly.

Moving on in our review of the translator's handling of Chaucerian figure, we note with regret the loss of the Squire's delightful pun at v. 10420 (F, 106),[36] in which the Squire disclaims the power to repeat the stranger's speech with the same effectiveness. He "cannot climben over so high a stile," he confesses. The pun is omitted in the translation, which presents as disclaimer only the reference to Gawain, which in the original appears in vv. 10409-11 (F, 95-97).

One more change deserves some attention. In Part II, to describe the affectiveness of the Falcon's misery, Chaucer gives us this:

> And ever in on alway she cried and shright,
> And with hire bek hireselven she so twight,
> That ther n'is tigre, ne no cruel best,
> That dwelleth other in wood, or in forest,
> That n'olde han wept, if that he wepen coude,
> For sorwe of hire, she shright alway so loude.
> (Vv, 10731-36 [F, 417-422].)

Compare the counterpart:

> So moving her complaint; the hardest heart [368]
> Might learn, in grief like hers, to bear a part:
> E'en the fell savage might her woes deplore,
> And eyes might weep, which never wept before.

When we recover from the surprise of finding a "fell" savage in the era of the "noble" savage, we are struck by the change of image from beast to human. Naturalism is not at stake here, inasmuch as Chaucer does not only say that beasts would cry, but adds that the beasts would cry if beasts could cry. In fact, our late eighteenth-century translator, in an era of the highest regard for reason, has been most unreasonable in suggesting that savage eyes would not have known tears.

Thus we have surveyed the translator's handling of descriptive detail, figure, and imagery. We have observed the generalizing of detail and have noted cases of the omission or the palliation of Chaucer's figures and images, even cases of substitution of new imagery for the original. Reasons for these changes must be sought in the translator's own nature and in the nature of his times and of his audience. I have offered some suggestions regarding this matter. To us, many of the changes seem merely gratuitous, and when we know Chaucer's original work, they tend to spoil Chaucer for us. It is fair, however, to remark the unlikelihood that contemporary readers of this translation would have been disturbed by the changes when pointed out or would have

thought Chaucer's integrity violated by them.

We come now to the final phase of our treatment of this translation. There are a few passages that should be quoted, for one or more of the following reasons: (1) their equivalents in the original are key passages, representing Chaucer at his most effective or perhaps at his most characteristic; (2) they will serve to illustrate miscellaneous points.

One of the great moments in Chaucer occurs in the passage in the Squire's Tale in which the arrival of strange knight, mounted on the steed of brass, is depicted (vv. 10390-99 [F, 76-85]). Here is the passage as our 1796 translator has rendered it.

> Ere yet the feast was ended; while the King [52]
> Heard the rapt minstrel strike the sounding string,
> Sudden before the hall an armed Knight,
> High on a brazen steed, advanced to sight;
> A dazzling mirror in his hand he bore,
> A golden ring upon his finger wore;
> Bright by his side was hung a naked sword;
> Proud thro' the hall he rode, and sought the royal board.

Again we note the slight suppression of detail: Chaucer's "after the thridde cours" becomes "Ere yet the feast was ended," and the Knight's appearance "at the halle dore" becomes a quite vague picture of the Knight "before the hall." On the other hand, "strike the sounding string" is more vivid and specific than Chaucer's "hir thinges pley." In any event, the peculiar Chaucerian charm is not

in the translation. The secret of the difference seems to lie in the prosody. I feel magic and mystery, surprise and tension in the flow and pause, flow and pause, in Chaucer's lines, the pauses coming as though the stranger himself were pausing to allow the right measure of time for the eyes of the company to take in his appearance. Here are the lines:

> And in his hond a brod mirrour of glas;
> Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring,
> And by his side a naked swerd hanging.
> (Vv. 10396-98 [F, 82-84].)

Normally, the final word, "hanging," would be accented on the first syllable, but here the second syllable must bear the chief stress so that the meter will be just and the accentuation of its rhyming mate, "a ring," be properly matched. In this inversion of accent, there is surprise and a moment's suspense -- and then, with the next line, we get "And up" -- with greater stress on "up" than would normally be expected -- "he rideth to the highe bord" -- this last to be read rather rapidly, as a phrase, to depict in the very movement of the words the action of the knight and the held, and then exhaled, breath with which his presence must have been greeted.

In this same passage may be found a hint of the way in which Chaucer works his magic. The paramount factor in the situation is that the knight's horse is of brass. The other objects -- the ring, the mirror, and the sword -- were indeed noticeable, even striking, but they would not upon

first sight seem unnatural. It is the steed of brass that would, and did, astonish. Hence "brass" is the key word. Chaucer makes sure that it gets prime attention by putting it at the end of a line. There it stands out doubly strong, through occupying climactic position and through its rhyming with "glas." Our translator has twice buried the word -- by utilizing it in its adjectival instead of substantive form and by placing it mid-line.

I have given the opening lines of Part I. Here are the lines with which Part I closes:

> When thus the Knight his secret tale made known, [296]
> Happy to call so choice a gift his own,
> The mighty Monarch thank'd his courteous guest,
> Then to the palace went to renovate the feast.
> The massy bridle to the tow'r they bear,
> The horse then vanish'd--but I know not where;
> And so I take my leave of all the train
> Who hasten to the festal scene again;
> And pass the night in sports and revels gay,
> Till the faint blushing dawn proclaim'd re-
> turning day.

The word "renovate" in line 299 is eighteenth-century poetic diction at its most glaring. Also, how typical of heroic verse as the Augustans wrote it is the last line -- an alexandrine. Like the ritardando in music, it brings matters to a certain close.

The opening of Part II provides an interesting comparison between the original and the translation. Let us first observe Chaucer's forthright description:

> The norice of digestion, the slepe,
> Gan on hem winke, and bad hem taken kepe,
> That mochel drinke, and labour wol have rest:
> And with a galping mouth hem all he kest,

> And said, that it was time to lie adoun,
> For blood was in his dominatioun:
> Cherisheth blood, natures frend, quod he.
> They thanken him galping, by two by three;
> And every wight gan drawe him to his rest,
> As slepe hem bade, they toke it for the best.
> (Vv. 10661-70 [F, 347-356].)

This proves a little too rich for eighteenth-century blood. In the translation is none of Chaucer's blunt physiology:

> Now sleep on downy pinions hovering nigh, [306]
> Sheds her soft influence o'er each weary eye;
> And one, by one, with sportive toil opprest,
> Slowly retiring, yield to welcome rest.

Chaucer's male "norice of digestion," solicitously advising his charges to get some rest, becomes now a female bird, "on downy pinions hovering nigh" and "shedding" "her soft influence." It is an image designed not to jar the reader's sensibilities. Thus the translator avoids having to present Sleep with gaping mouth kissing the company, whose mouths in turn gape as the company thank him and retire. The pleasant little colloquy disappears in the process. The translator has reduced Chaucer from ten lines to four -- at great cost.

The rationalistic disposition of the eighteenth century is never so evident as in the following passage of the translation. The wounded female falcon is telling her story to Canace:

> "On the same rock a Falcon chanc'd to dwell, [441]
> "Who seem'd in every virtue to excel;
> "Beauteous, and gentle, but too oft we find
> "A flatt'ring form conceals a sordid mind:

"So he, beneath the mask of modest youth,
"Of prompt good nature, and unerring truth,
"O'erveil'd the deepest guilt; the human heart [447]
"Was never vers'd in more consummate art.
"Thus the fell serpent lurks in flow'rs con-
ceal'd,
"Till by his deadly bite too late reveal'd.

My attention was drawn to this passage particularly, because of the italicizing of "human" in line 447. It was singular that the translator should have so treated this particular word. Apparently, however, the italicizing was done in order to make the terms of the she-falcon's comparison unmistakable: even a human heart could not be so guileful as that bird's heart. Now, what actually takes place, whether the translator intended it or not, is that the reader is strongly reminded that this is a bird telling a story about birds. Every creator of animal fables from Aesop to Chaucer and from Chaucer to Disney has found that the charm of this kind of story rests in what might be called the humanizing of the animals. To the back of our minds goes our consciousness that the creatures of the story are animals and that they will be presented to us as animals, with animal form and something at least of their animal ways; then we are free to take these creatures to our hearts as persons, at least while we see their joys and woes and listen to their conversation. Conversely, of course, the humanizing process should not be carried so far that the animal nature of the characters is altogether lost sight of. Thus it is in Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale that

when Chauntecleer is lecturing Pertolote and she is scolding him we think of a husband and wife in argument, without our being altogether oblivious to the fact that they are rooster and hen. Our awareness that they are chickens makes it possible for us to cherish for a moment longer the illusion that the case may not be quite so bad with us humans, and the painful truth conveyed in the story is at least one remove away. Hence the charm of the fable. If it did not convey an awareness of the dual nature of its characters, the fable would become merely bald didacticism.

Yet another point: the writer of fables, while preserving the duality of nature of his characters, must be careful not to stress now the animal nature, now the human nature of the characters; rather must they appear to us as individuals, whole and real, and not as freaks. In short, they must be presented to us in such a way that we accept them, ingenuously, uncritically, as a child will accept them.

With these points in mind, we return to the translation and its treatment of the fable that makes up most of Part II of The Squire's Tale. I hold that by italicizing the word human in line 447 the translator has violated the very essence of the genre. With this rationalistic insistence upon stressing the human and thereby bringing it into opposition to the animal, the translator causes the reader to focus on the elements and not on the falcon, in whose person

they are supposed to be fused. Thus, for the moment at least, there can be none of that childlike acceptance upon which the success of any fable is based.

When we turn from the translation to the original, we find no rationalistic dichotomizing of the fable:

> Al were he [the tercelet who proves false in love] ful of treson and falsenesse.
> It was so wrapped under humble chere,
> And under hew of trouth in swiche manere,
> Under plesance, and under besy peine,
> That no wight coud have wend he coude feine,
> So depe in greyn he died his coloures.
> (Vv. 10820-25 [F, 506-511].)

Notice that with Chaucer's use of "wight," the question whether the reference is to a human "wight" or an animal "wight" does not even occur to us. We immediately, automatically apply it in the story as simply "person."

It would be unfair to the translator not to point out that elsewhere he is fairly faithful to Chaucer's handling of the fable.

One of the more famous passages in the Squire's Tale is that in which Chaucer presents the figure, which he drew from Boethius, of the bird that by nature chooses to leave his cage, with all its comforts, for the woodland and a diet of worms, preferring freedom above all else. The translator's handling of this passage is rather good, I think:

> ". . . . . , 'every creature loves its kind.' [524]
> "Thus men have written, men too prone to range,
> "And vary merely for the love of change.
> "As silly birds, with care in cages bred,
> "Lodg'd on soft down, with choicest viands fed,

"Which seem your proffer'd kindness to disdain,
"While sugar, bread, and milk, allure in vain;
"If they by chance espy an open door,
"O'erturn their cup upon the sanded floor,
"Leave their warm cage, and hasten to the wood,
"To feed on worms, and such like homely food;
"And pleas'd with change of fare, delighted roam,
"Forgetful of their breeding and their home."

I close now with the presentation of the conclusion of the translation and of a few remarks upon it and upon the whole translation. The last eighteen lines are as follows:

And thus I leave fair Canace, to heal [568]
The wounded Falcon, nor shall more reveal
About the magic king [sic, "ring" being
intended], till I explain,
How the said hawk obtained her love again,
Assisted in the task by Cambal bold;
As in the sequel of my tale is told.
But now I turn, adventures to recite,
Ne'er heard before, and many a bloody fight.
Yet first, I sing Cambuscan's high renown,
And many a city by his arms o'erthrown.
Then the exploits of valiant Algarsife,
Who won fair Theodora to his wife;
For whose dear love, he many a peril brav'd,
Oft, by the brazen steed, from slaughter sav'd.
Next, shall I speak of Cambal who, to gain
Fair Canace's release, upon the plain
O'ercame two brethren, who, in arms had strove,
To seize the princess, and to force her love. [585]
----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----
----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----

By the double line of dashes the translator intends to indicate to the reader, I suppose, the fact that Chaucer left the tale incomplete. Similar marks are found at the end of the Tale as printed in Tyrwhitt and in Anderson, one of which this translator probably used as the basis of this version. Nothing follows these marks in the translation, whether of signature, note, or editorial comment.

The most interesting point about the conclusion of any translation of the Squire's Tale is the way in which Chaucer's projection of coming events is handled. The problem in the text is the question as to who contended with whom over Canace and to what end. Matters are complicated in the text as generally received because of shifts in the spelling of the name of Cambuscan's second son. In Robinson's text the name is given as "Cambalo" at line 31, as "Cambalus" at line 656, and as "Cambalo," again, at line 667. Tyrwhitt's readings are the same except that the l is doubled in each case. This, plus further discrepancies in the MS. readings,[37] makes it uncertain just what Chaucer intended. If we accept the "Cambalus" of line 656 and the "Cambalo" of line 667 as being one and the same person, that is, Canacee's brother, then we have the ugly possibility of incest to consider, a possibility which is supported in Chaucer by a passage in the Man of Law's Prologue beginning at line 77 and from which the only way of escape seems to be to assume that "wynne" (F, 669) means merely "rescue," not "win as paramour or spouse." Robinson's note tells us that editors usually assume that the "Cambalo" who fights "with the bretheren two" is a different person from "Cambalo," or "Cambalus," the brother of Canacee and that he must fight in the lists against her brothers as a kind of means of proving himself worthy of her. This is

the assumption of Tyrwhitt (v. 10981n). It is the more interesting that our translator, at a time when Tyrwhitt's work was winning ever more attention and respect,[38] should have adopted the first interpretation with the modification that "winne" be interpreted as "rescue." Our translator is to be highly commended for making a clear-cut decision and for removing every trace of ambiguity. To do this, he felt constrained to change the place of combat from "lystes" to a "plain" and to explain the nature of Canace's plight, but these liberties may be forgiven him. To reduce yet further the ambiguity, he spells the second son's name always in the same way, Cambal, on each of the three occasions.

My overall impression of this translation is favorable. It is a paraphrase, following the original rather closely, at least when one compares the work of Dryden, Pope, and Ogle. The poetry, though in the time-worn Augustan form, has caught a touch of the prosody one expects from Gray, or perhaps Johnson. Thus the verse is even, dignified, somewhat dispassionate, without heights and depths of pitch and force. It does not have the facility, neatness, and grace of Pope's verse, though it may have something of the vigor of Dryden's. But its firmness of expression and the avoidance of extreme monotony indicate a certain competence.

Because the lines have at once a youthful vigor and the tendency of youth to echo, perhaps unconsciously, the

tones of respected elders, and because they appear in a magazine which seems to have devoted itself mostly to the efforts of young liberals -- to judge by the presence in this same volume of Coleridge, Southey, Lamb -- I should judge the maker of this particular translation to be of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's own generation, perhaps one well known to them.

Item No. 6 (1800). This item, a modernization of the portrait of the Parson from the General Prologue, was included in a letter to "Mr. Urban," dated December 27, 1800, signed "TRINITARIUS" and published in Gentleman's Magazine, LXX, Part 2 (1800), 1263-64, in the section called "Supplement for the year 1800."

This item is significant in that it is the first modernization of Chaucer in the era of our study; in fact, it is the earliest modernization of Chaucer that I am aware of. All the previous translations have been, in our present terminology, paraphrases, following more or less in the Dryden-Pope tradition. But TRINITARIUS[39] has certainly done a modernization, for he says: "I have made few material alterations." Inasmuch as the letter, including its character of the Parson, is not unduly long, and is vital to this study, I give it in its entirety, together with TRINITARIUS' footnotes, without change except that in the footnote references I have substituted lower case letters for TRINITARIUS' signs. The line numbers in brackets are those of the corresponding lines in Robinson's text. Here is the complete letter:

> Having observed the remarks of Orielensis, I have sent you Chaucer's character of "The Parsone," taken from the Prologues to his Canterbury Tales: in which I have made few material alterations, in order to preserve that air of antiquity on which much of the humour of it depends. There are only three couplets of which I have altered the rhymes. Some lines I have given entire, as they stand in Chaucer; following in this respect the example of Mr. Dryden, who has preserved all the fire and strength of Chaucer in his "Palamon and Arcite," and all his humour and naivete in "The Tale of the Nun's Priest."

Among these motley characters was one,
A good poor parson of a country town;
But rich he was of holy thought and work,
A learned man, and eke a modest clerk.
Christ's holy Gospel truly would he preach,
And faithfully his list'ning audience teach.
Benign and wondrous diligent was he,
And patient under hard adversity.
Of this he gave sufficient proofs oft sithes[a],
E'en loth to curse when cheated of his tithes.
But rather would he give, without a doubt[b],
Unto his poor parishioners about
Both of his Easter-offerings and substance[c],
He found in little wealth a suffisance[d].
Wide was his parish, houses far asunder,
But never did he fail, in rain or thunder,
In sickness or in health, to visit o'er
The farthest in his parish, rich or poor,
Trudging on foot, and in his hand a staff.
This noble pattern to his sheep he gave,
Which first he shew'd, and afterward he taught;
From Holy Writ his weighty words he caught;
And this figure[e] he added eke thereto,
That, if gold rust, pray what must iron do?
For if a priest be foul, on whom we trust,
No wonder if the ignorant take rust.
And shame it is, among the flocks they keep,
To see such filthy shepherds and clean sheep.
Well might a priest a fair example give,
And shew by cleanness, how his sheep should live.
He never let his benefice to hire,
Nor left his sheep to wallow in the mire;
Ne'er went to London to attend St. Paul's,
Or seek a chantry[f] for departed souls;
A living jointly with a stall to hold;
But dwelt at home, and tended well his fold:
So that the wolf ne'er made them to miscarry;
He was the shepherd true, no mercenary.
And though he holy was and verteux[g],
He was to sinful men not dépiteux[h].
Not boisterous in his words, of speech malign;
But in his manner placid and benign;
To draw his flock to heaven by gentleness,
This was his object, this his business.
But if a churl continued obstinate,
Whether he were of high or low estate,
Him would he snib[i] full sharply for his spleen;
A better priest, I trow, was never seen.

He waited not for pomp and reverence, [525]
Nor boasted of a spiced conscience.
The lore[j] of Christ and his apostles twelve
He taught, but first he follow'd it himself.

[a]oft times; from ýiðe Saxon, time?
whence is derived sithence and since.

[b]Hesitation.

[c]French pronunciation.

[d]Fr. sufficiency.

[e]Fr. pronunciation.

[f]Of these chantries mention is made of forty-seven belonging to St. Paul's church, by Dugdale, in his account of that church. They were well endowed with lands and other revenues for the maintenance of one priest or more, daily to sing mass, and pray for the souls of the donors, or whom they appointed.

[g]Fr. Virtuous.

[h]Despiteful, haughty.

[i]Probably from snippen (Dutch) to cut; we now use snub, which is less elegant.

[j]Lærne, Saxon (from lærnan, to teach) for which we have substituted a word from the Latin, doctrine.

The context may be briefly explained. TRINITARIUS' letter is the culmination of a series of items that began in the August 1800 issue of the Gentleman's Magazine with a review (LXX, Part 2, 761-762) of a new book, a translation by Rev. Dawson Warren of John Burton's "Sacerdos Paroecialis Rusticus, 1757." Quotations are given, and the poem receives the reviewer's praise. Next (LXX, 942-943) appears a letter to "Mr. Urban" dated September 21 and signed "ORIELENSIS" -- the item referred to by TRINITARIUS.

Orielensis compares Warren's translation, somewhat to its disadvantage, with a poem by a Rev. Mr. Sharpe called "The Church, 1797," which he praises, along with Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," for touching "the character of the parish-priest with greater point and energy" (942). He concludes by saying he believes Sharpe and Warren were members of the same society, Trinity College, Oxford, which has produced many literary men of high estimation . . ." (943). Since we may assume TRINITARIUS to be another member of Trinity College, Oxford, and ORIELENSIS a member of Oriel College, Oxford, it is clear that we are here having a kind of family debate.

There is one more particular, found on pp. 1262-63 just preceding TRINITARIUS. This is a letter, dated Nov. 4, 1800, by one signing himself "MORTIMER." MORTIMER comes to Warren's defense, pointing out that ORIELENSIS (whom at one point he calls "Mr. Oriel") has compared a translation (Warren's) with an original poem (Sharpe's) -- hardly a fair proceeding, he says. MORTIMER concludes by appending another translation of the Burton passage commented on by ORIELENSIS. This gentle controversy, flourishing amidst the political stir of Napoleonic times, is indicative that the virtues exhibited in the life of a good country parson were yet cherished, at least in Oxford purlieus. So it perhaps is inevitable that someone would come forward to cap the discussion with Chaucer's

portrait of the Parson; hence TRINITARIUS.

Let us first look at TRINITARIUS' statement of what he intended to do. In describing his own work, TRINITARIUS announces that he has made few material alterations. To further this end, he has, he says, altered the rhymes of only three of the couplets and has given some lines "entire, as they stand in Chaucer." He finds support for his general purpose in the argument that much of the "humour" of the piece depends on its "air of antiquity" and that the only way to get an "air of antiquity" is to preserve as much of the original Chaucerian language as possible. For his special practice of adopting whole lines as Chaucer wrote them, he says that he finds support in the example of Dryden.

Let us examine the last point first. Whereas it is true that one may go through Dryden's translations of Chaucer and find many lines taken without significant change, I think one will find that they represent neither Dryden's usual practice nor his overt intention. I think it will be found that he did fall back on this practice only when there was some diminution in the seemingly boundless flow of his creative energy. Rather must we affirm that by his own definition as well as ours, Dryden's translations, when they qualify as such, are really paraphrases. He alters practically everything, adding, subtracting, elaborating, embellishing, until Chaucer's poetry no longer sings with

the sweetness of a "rude Scotch tune," but reads with Augustan ease and regularity. If in the process he adopts lines intact, that is but an incidental matter, perhaps almost unconsciously fallen into as he hurries along. Dryden's version of the Character of the Country Parson is readily available, so that the text need not be transcribed here. In the first place, we observe that the piece has been expanded from the original 52 lines to 140 lines. Only one or two of these (lines 60 and 85 -- see numbering in Scott-Saintsbury) remain virtually as in Chaucer. But our friend TRINITARIUS -- and this is one hundred years later, when one would have expected fewer Chaucerian lines to be still suitable for adoption -- has kept with little or no change 43 lines out of 52. In literalness that would be over 80% for TRINITARIUS against only 1-2% for Dryden. Surely, at least with respect to this piece, TRINITARIUS is mistaken about Dryden's example. He may think he is following it, but actually, so far as I have discovered, his is the very first translation of Chaucer that, strictly speaking, can be called a modernization.

Now let us examine the other matter -- whether TRINITARIUS has preserved the air of antiquity and, through doing so, the "humour" of the piece. Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, 4th ed. (1773) gives, inter alia, this definition: "general turn or temper of mind," and applies

it to persons. It seems to me that this "turn" or "temper," applied to writing instead of to persons, is what TRINITARIUS meant by "humour." Much of the character of this Chaucerian piece, says TRINITARIUS, depends upon the "air of antiquity." The question of Chaucer's "air of antiquity" and in what measure it exists in the original and should exist in translation, will receive continual attention in this study. Here I would like to consider the extent to which TRINITARIUS achieved in his translation an air of antiquity.

First of all, it can hardly be necessary to point out that an "air of antiquity" is a rather elusive thing -- it varies with times, places, and customs. With Americans of the 1960's, even so recent a marvel as the Model-T Ford has this "air of antiquity." On the other hand, if a restaurateur wishes to give his place such an "air," he will likely call his restaurant by such a name as "Ye Olde Coffee Shoppe." It is easy to determine what for us has an "air of antiquity."

To place ourselves back in 1800 England and to determine what in those times, especially in matters of language, would or would not have had an "air of antiquity," is not so simple a matter. Dictionaries like Dr. Johnson's and modern dictionaries like the O.E.D. afford much help. Impressions may be found, also, simply through doing varied reading in the period. I think it fairly safe, where there is no more specific authority, to assume that the language has not changed much in the last 160 years and that many,

if not most, of the words which seem archaic to us would have seemed archaic to the Romantics. If I prove a bit too sanguine and uncritical in this matter, the reader has at least received this notice.

Let us begin by listing the expressions that seem archaic on first reading: "rich . . . of holy thought" (479), "eke" (480-499), "oft sithes" (485), "loth" (486), "Unto" (488), "shew'd" (497) and "shew" (506) (for the spelling), "Holy Writ" (498), "pray what . . ." (500), "ne'er" (513), "snib" and "full sharply" (523), "trow" (524), "spiced" (526). After a longer look at this list, we can eliminate several items. The first, "rich . . . of holy thought," is more a matter of idiom -- we would say, "rich . . . in holy thought" -- the expression hardly qualifies as archaic. The "oft" of "oft sithes," "Unto," "pray what," and "ne'er" are really poetic, rather than archaic; "loth," "shew'd," and "shew" are merely variants. "Holy Writ" is not archaic, and "spiced" is merely unusual. The use of "full" as an intensive has an archaic flavor, but a look at Webster's New International will show that is not considered archaic. "You know full well . . ." begins many a modern sentence. Eliminating all these, we get "eke," "sithes," "snib," and "trow" as the only quite archaic words in the list. Checking these in the Dictionary, I find that Johnson puts no usage restrictions on eke and snib, but that he calls sithe "obsolete" and trow "now disused." Inasmuch as one rarely

sees eke and snib in use during the Romantic Era, I dare say that, Johnson's Dictionary notwithstanding, those words too would strike somewhat antiquely upon Romantic ears.[40]

Thus I think it may be admitted that TRINITARIUS has used at least four words that the Romantics considered archaic. The analogy may not hold, but on the basis that a little garlic will flavor a big stew, it seems to me that these four words, with some help from the borderline expressions, do indeed impart an "air of antiquity" to the whole portrait, and that this one aim of the translator has been achieved.

The other part of this point, that "much of the humour" of the piece depends on this "air of antiquity," does not admit of ready analysis. Whether or not one agrees with the statement depends mostly on the background and the expectations one brings to his reading. This holds good, I think, from both the point of view of 1800 and that of 1961. If one thinks of the parson as a creature of creaking antiquity, as belonging to charming times long gone by, then for that one the essence (i.e., the "humour") of the piece would lie in its antiqueness, which would be expressible in large part through the archaic diction. On the other hand, if one looks upon Chaucer's Parson as an example of the ideal pastor, of whose loving service many a parish stands in need, today just as much as in Chaucer's time, then for this one the essence of the piece would lie, not

in its antiqueness, but in its timelessness and universality.

TRINITARIUS seems to have a regard to both essences. His very reason for adducing the portrait has to do with its timelessness. If it were merely antique, it could have served little purpose as a climax to this "Dear Mr. Urban" discussion of well-drawn portraits of good parsons. He does not put the notion into so many words, but in referring to the "remarks" of ORIELENSIS he seems to be implying that Chaucer has touched "the character of the parish-priest with greater point and energy" than either Warren or Sharpe. Unfortunately for the translation, this is not TRINITARIUS' only point of view. Antiquarianism was at this time -- as indeed it had been for some time -- enjoying a great vogue. It is hardly necessary to cite evidence. The Annual Register of these years appeared with an entire section devoted to "Antiquities." Antiquarians -- Samuel Pegge, for instance -- submitted reams of material to the magazines and reviews. Antiquarian Societies were flourishing. In just sixteen years, a novel whose very title was a sign of the prominence of the antiquarian disposition, Scott's The Antiquary, appeared. Much of this interest was directed toward classical and oriental antiquity, but at the same time much interest had been generated in Britain's medieval and Renaissance past through the work of such scholars as Thomas Warton and Bishop Hurd. TRINITARIUS, perhaps himself an antiquary, acutely conscious at least of the general

enthusiasm for the antique, could not resist the desire to make a translation that would show what appeared to be a genuine aspect of Chaucer's work.

The best that could be said of a translation so designed is that it would probably serve the purpose for which it was intended. I think that readers of the Gentleman's Magazine were satisfied that the discussion had been properly climaxed and their antiquarian tastes properly stimulated by TRINITARIUS' translation. But it has no permanent value. Let us look at the "air of antiquity," as a factor in Chaucer translation. It seems to me that it does not belong in a translation, for the reason that Chaucer's own writing did not have it. It is true that Chaucer's language is bound to have an "air of antiquity" for those who are not acquainted with it.[41] But with the period of first acquaintance over, and with our knowledge of Chaucer ripening, we find nothing like an "air of antiquity" except in a relatively few places where Chaucer, particularly for satire's sake, added it on purpose. Unless the translator of Chaucer is translating Sir Thopas or the like, he had better omit the "air of antiquity"; otherwise, he is not translating truly. Chaucer's Parson was not of some ancient era; he was with Chaucer on the road to Canterbury.

We must remind ourselves that TRINITARIUS was out to please his contemporaries and was not necessarily trying to create a translation of permanent value and that therefore

we ought not to scold him just for imparting an "air of antiquity" that the original portrait did not really have. Still TRINITARIUS' eagerness to impart this specious quality carries him to such extremes that the true quality, the timelessness of the portrait, is obscured or destroyed.

Looking again at the passage and its introductory statement, we find that it is through, first, the sprinkling of antique diction and, second, the making of "few material alterations" that the translator hopes to preserve the air of antiquity.

The first means has already received some attention, in the discussion above. It is only in using the word "sithes" that TRINITARIUS seems to go too far. Ironically, this is one of the very places where he keeps at once Chaucer's word and Chaucer's rhyme and yet at the same time departs quite far from a true representation of Chaucer's language. In the original context, "sithes" is quite at home, where it works quietly and effectively without obtruding its own being upon our attention. All this is lost in the context of the modernization, for then "sithes" calls attention to itself as a conveyor of the archaic and becomes a mere verbalism. This is a fatal fault: windows are not put in houses so that we may see glass. Unfortunately, apparently still with the idea of preserving Chaucer's own language and thus his apparent antiqueness, TRINITARIUS goes beyond the use of "sithes" and adopts the French

words "substance," "suffisance," "verteux," and "dépiteux" and the French pronunciation of the English and French word, figure. These are all proper Modern French, good in 1800 and today, except that verteux apparently should have read vertueux, as it is properly spelt. The fault was probably the printer's, as the meter, of which TRINITARIUS seems to be careful, needs the syllable or near-syllable that the u provides.[42] Of course TRINITARIUS used the French words because in form or in accent or both they were nearer to Chaucer's own language. But though the principle seems right, the result is bad. As Tyrwhitt points out,[43] by Chaucer's time a kind of fusion of French and Saxon had taken place, so that Chaucer might use a mixture of French and English words without subjecting himself to the charge of writing a bizarre and distorted language. In Chaucer the French and English words are at home together. But in the ensuing 500 years, the particular words we are now considering came down in the French tongue with little change, whereas in English they underwent considerable change. For instance, Chaucer's despitous, which is very much like the modern French dépiteux, came down in English as despiteful. Chaucer's substánce and figúre have come down in modern French with the same or almost the same spelling and pronunciation, whereas in modern English the accent has moved to the first syllable. Chaucer's suffisaunce, descending almost unchanged in the French, has made in English an

atavistic return to the Latin and become sufficiency.[44] The notion that Chaucer and his antique flavor are preserved through the use of these French words has plausibility, but it does not work. Our attention is so struck by the sudden appearance of French words in a context of modern English that our minds go immediately to Paris instead of to Canterbury -- and the underlining of the words and the appending of notes only emphasize the misdirection.

Indeed TRINITARIUS, after doing away with sithes, should have depended on the few remaining archaic English words for the creation of an "air of antiquity." The use of the French but defeats his purpose. So much for diction.

Now to the matter of TRINITARIUS' achieving his end through the making of "few material alterations." It is true, I think, that he has indeed made few "material" changes.

The translation, like the original, is of 52 lines. Of these I count only 10 lines in which material alterations have been made. Of course "material alterations" admits of two interpretations: it could mean "changes in matter," or it could mean, only, "changes that matter." These last need not be changes in matter, but may be changes only in grammar, diction, or meter. In arriving at my figure of 10 above, I have chosen to believe that the translator meant "changes in matter"; otherwise my list would have had to be

much longer. Here I give the lines in which I deem "material alterations" have been made, together with my explanations for including them:

Line No.	Explanation
477	There is nothing about "motley characters" in Chaucer's line. Of course the parson was one of a "motley" group. Thus if this is a change in matter, it is not a change that matters.
480	TRINITARIUS reverses Chaucer's emphasis -- which is that the parson was a scholar as well as a religious man -- and introduces the word "modest."
489	The offerings are not limited by Chaucer to "Easter" offerings.
493	Chaucer's "In sikness nor in meschief" is translated by TRINITARIUS as "In sickness or in health." This is quite a change, for Chaucer means: "In time of sickness or trouble," with the implication that it is the flock that are afflicted. TRINITARIUS seems to make this a matter of the Parson's personal condition.
503	I take Chaucer's "if a prest take keep" to mean, simply, "when a priest has a charge."

Line No.	Explanation
	TRINITARIUS' clause is perhaps but a change of emphasis, from priest to flock.
511	Robinson's interpretation of the original line reads: "Or to be retained, engaged for service, by a gild to act as their chaplain." This meaning has been ignored by our translator, whose "with a stall" I take to be a mere repetition of the thought of the preceding line.
517	Chaucer's line means that in sermonizing the sinful the parson did not allow his speech to become "severe" and "haughty." Thus "daungerous" is not properly translated by "boisterous" nor "digne" by "maligne."
518	Chaucer's "discreet," which according to Robinson apparently is accompanied by a suggestion of "courteous" or "civil," becomes merely "placid" in TRINITARIUS.
521	The term "churl" conflicts with the thought of the following line, at least with the descriptive phrase "of high estate." According to Johnson's Dictionary, a "churl" is a "rustick" or "a rude, surly ill-bred man." Among persons of high estate there would be churls, no doubt, but they should be called something else.

Line No.	Explanation
523	There is no connection in meaning between "for the nonys" and "for his spleen." On the other hand, the latter is quite in accord with the context of the original.

The remaining 42 lines are quite close to the original, several of them being exact transcriptions except for spelling. Such changes as are made are usually grammatical or metrical. For example, TRINITARIUS is careful to eliminate Chaucer's double negatives, as in lines 513 and 524. The change from "were" to "was" in line 515 suggests that the decline of the subjunctive is not confined to the present century. Meter is a difficult problem for those who would modernize Chaucer rather than paraphrase him. Because of the peculiar inflection of nouns, adjectives, and verbs in Chaucer's English, feminine endings often resulted, producing syllables where none exist today. Chaucer's two-syllable "povre" (478) must modernize into "poor," which, despite the possibility of lengthening or diphthongizing the central vowel sound, is essentially a one-syllable word. This leaves a gap in the meter and TRINITARIUS, in line 478, fills it with "good," at best a mere expletive. He does a little better with "That Cristes gospel" of line 481, which he makes into "Christ's holy Gospel," and considerably better in his transposition of "Cristes loore" into "lore of Christ" in line 527. Some things are changed for the

worse that a modernizer could have left unchanged. Why, when he would intensify "sharply" with the adverb "full" in line 523, should he choose to avoid the "Ful" that precedes "looth" in line 486? Again, in line 509 all the greed and self-seeking connoted in the verb "ran" are lost in TRINITARIUS' "went." On the other hand, the latter's "to wallow" in linr 508 at least holds its own with the original "encombred."

But one could go on criticizing matters of detail almost endlessly. Let us take a larger view.

In literal faithfulness -- that is, the faithfulness with which the statements of the original are adhered to -- TRINITARIUS ranks fairly high. There is almost a line-by-line correspondence in meaning, and, as we have seen, there are few "material alterations," those that are made according well with the spirit of the piece. With some lapses, perhaps forced on him because of metrical demands, TRINITARIUS is generally successful in choosing words to modernize Chaucer's meaning. His footnotes indicate a great interest in words, if with no deeper knowledge of them than Johnson's Dictionary might afford. Certainly, with respect to faithfulness, his work is good.

Turning to consider his versification, we find that TRINITARIUS has used the same basic pattern that Chaucer did -- iambic pentameter verses, in rhymed couplets -- but that the essential prosodic result is quite different.

This does not mean, however, that TRINITARIUS' verse differs from Chaucer's in the same way in which the best Augustan verse differs from Chaucer's.

Observe how Dryden handles the equivalent of, roughly, lines 496-497 and 521-522 (recombining elements is but a moderate liberty for Dryden to take):

> The proud he tamed, the penitent he cheered;
> Nor to rebuke the rich offender feared.
> His preaching much, but more his practice wrought;
> (A living sermon of the truths he taught.)

This is solid Augustan verse. Note how, in the first and third lines, the caesura comes after the fourth syllable, so that the mind may enjoy a moment's rest before it is swept forward by the antithesis. The rhymes are sure, masculine, final. TRINITARIUS approaches this Augustan type in spots, in lines 503-506 for example, but for the most part his lines either read like Chaucer's, when the latter's wording is closely followed, or, more frequently, like Gray's, particularly when Gray is at his most pedestrian. In lines 507-514, for example, there are few caesuras to allow a line to rise to a pitch, rest poised there a moment, and then swoop toward a strong close. The iambic feet follow each other rather evenly in TRINITARIUS. But if after all he should prove to be like Chaucer, we surely could forgive his not being like Dryden. But is he like Chaucer? In some lines, yes, but that is where he adopts the whole line with little or no change, as in lines 491,

499, 501. But in many other lines, seemingly minor changes in words have wrought great differences in prosodic flow.

Let us show the prosody of the following lines 505-506 from Chaucer by means of the usual notation: ˘ and ¯ to indicate quantity, ´ and ˝ to indicate, respectively, strong and weak accentuation, // to indicate caesura, and ⁀ to indicate phrasing:

Wĕl ōghte ă prēest // ĕnsāmplĕ for tŏ gīvĕ,
By hĭs clĕnnĕssĕ, // hŏw thăt hĭs sheep sholde [or shŏldĕ] līvĕ.

Note the subtlety of movement -- the pauses, the varying degrees of accentuation (indicated but imperfectly by my accent marks), the variations in syllable length, the phrasing. Note the retardation effected by the alliteration "sheep should" and by the progressive lengthening of syllables toward the close of the second line.

Compare TRINITARIUS:

Well might ă priest // ă fair ĕxamplĕ give,
And shew by clēannĕss, // how hĭs sheep should live.

It is all so even and unexciting, like a placid stream. Chaucer's verse is otherwise. Though gentle, it is not placid nor monotonous; it is active, but not precipitate or turbulent. Its rapids do not dash us upon rocks nor entangle us in bankside brambles, its pools of respite are not caused by dams, and its eddies of interest are not maelstroms.

Who was TRINITARIUS? This is an interesting speculation, but I fear a fruitless one, and it need not detain us long. Some things we can be fairly sure about, however. He was a member of Trinity College, Oxford. Here he could not but have come under the influence of Thomas Warton, Master and Fellow, who we are told by Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed.), XXIV, 399, was "the first to turn to literary account the treasures of the Bodleian Library" and through whom "the mediaeval spirit which always lingered in Oxford first began to stir after its long inaction, and to claim an influence in the modern world." However close his connection with Trinity, our translator has taken a modest living at some country parish, probably not far from Oxford, where he tends his flock in a manner which he fancies is somewhat like that of Chaucer's Parson. I rather suspect that he runs off frequently, not to St. Paul's of course, but to the University. The supposition that TRINITARIUS was himself a parson is supported by what could well have been a Freudian slip: he has substituted "in sickness and in health," words from the marriage ceremony, for Chaucer's "In siknesse nor meschief." That TRINITARIUS is or at least fancies himself something of an antiquary is more certain and can be inferred from his notes. Finally, it is not unfair to infer from the content and tone of the whole piece that TRINITARIUS prides himself on the supposition that, like Chaucer's Parson, he is both

a good shepherd and a good scholar.

Though a member of the gentry, he, like Wordsworth, has not been completely alienated from everything French; else we would hardly find him resorting to modern French to aid him in his translation. As the alienation from France was probably more entire among the older and more conservative generation, I should say that TRINITARIUS was still relatively young, about Wordsworth's age (30) perhaps. His apparent desire to show off a bit of his learning indicates youth sooner than age, I would say. His verse, though a bit eighteenth-centuryish, is no more so than Wordsworth's in Descriptive Sketches (1793).

Of several plausible candidates, I should like to nominate William Lisle Bowles. Coming up from Winchester in 1781, where Joseph Warton was headmaster, Bowles entered Trinity College. Probably the fact that Thomas Warton was senior fellow there had something to do with his choice.[45] Bowles was both poet and country parson, his poetic career having begun in 1789 with the publication of Fourteen Sonnets and his clerical career, in the preceding year, with his ordination as deacon to the curacy of Knoyle in southwest Wiltshire. That he had antiquarian tastes is indicated both by the interests of the men who were his masters -- particularly the Wartons -- and by his own engagement in pamphlet controversies on subjects that, while varied, included the antiquities. We are

told by Greever (p. 28) that the Gentleman's Magazine was "invariably friendly to Bowles." Regarding TRINITARIUS' praise of Dryden, though it is true that Bowles' genius was more suited to Romantic than to Augustan climes, he did show enough interest in the great Augustans to re-edit, in 1806, Warburton's edition of Pope's works. Finally, though it must be admitted that Bowles' verse, as seen, for example, in the sonnet "The Influence of Time on Grief," is rather better than TRINITARIUS', still the latter might well not represent the author's best. After all, the latter is a translation, and the former, an original poem (to make use of MORTIMER's point,[46])

But though Bowles' candidacy seems so fitting, we must not push it too hard. Probably many other likely candidates could be presented.

So we must leave TRINITARIUS. We have given him more attention than in some respects he deserves, but we have made it up to him for the rather slighting treatment he received from Lounsbury. Lounsbury divided all translations (his own term is "modernizations") chronologically into two groups: those of the eighteenth century and those of the nineteenth century. He found that the essential distinction between the two groups lay in the extent to which adherence to the original was practiced. "The former tried to get as far away from Chaucer's language as possible; the latter tried to keep as near." (III, 202-203.) Lounsbury

found that the versions of the eighteenth century were more particularly characterized by the use of a "poetic diction," a diction which he describes in about the same terms as did Wordsworth in the Preface to Lyrical Ballads. In reading this diction, he says, "we feel that we are wandering in a land of phrases. . . . The curse of artificial phraseology hangs over it all. Its dwellings are bowers, its laborers are swains, its women are nymphs" (201). Such is the characterization of the eighteenth-century translations. This is the group to which Lounsbury seems to assign TRINITARIUS' version, though his reference to it is so brief that one cannot be sure of the matter. Speaking of the modernization of short selections of Chaucer made during the eighteenth century, Lounsbury says they "turn up with a fair degree of regularity. . . . The character of the Parson as depicted in the general Prologue to the 'Canterbury Tales' was a favorite object of assault. It was a theme that inspired a number of so-called poets of the period. . . . A paraphrase of this same passage in the Prologue can be found as late as 1800 in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' But all through the eighteenth century the periodical literature contains many poems purporting to owe their existence to Chaucer either in the way of imitation or of modernization" (200-201). Admittedly Lounsbury's introduction of the term "paraphrase" just at this juncture, when he does not here or elsewhere define the term, is a bit equivocal, and it

may be that he recognized the crucial difference between TRINITARIUS and all the translations that had gone before it. But he does not say so. This much I can do for the TRINITARIUS version then: that is, to give it credit for being the first known modernization of Chaucer, as distinguished from the paraphrase that had constituted Chaucer translation theretofore. I would not be thought to mean that the TRINITARIUS translation is good because it is different from previous translations. Far from it: it is not particularly good verse, and it offers its own kind of "artificial phraseology," as pointed out in connection with the use of "sithes" and the French words. But clearly the object of the translation was, to borrow Lounsbury's phrase, "to keep as near" to Chaucer's own language as possible. This is the mark that distinguishes TRINITARIUS from the translators of the eighteenth century and puts him with those of the nineteenth. It is now for us to accord him the distinction which Lounsbury withheld from him.

Item No. 7 (1801). Penn, John. "The Squire's Tale," pp. [3]-30, in Vol. II of Poems, By John Penn, Esq. In Two Volumes. Consisting of Original Works, Imitations, and Translations. London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Sold by J. Hatchard, Piccadilly; and Cobbett and Morgan, Pall-Mall. 1801. [Volumes are individually subtitled:] Vol. I. Original Poems. [And] Vol. II. Imitations and Translations.

John Penn, of Stoke (1760-1834), was a grandson of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. Through his father, Thomas Penn, of Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire, John inherited a considerable share of the vast Penn estate. In Arthur Pound's book, The Penns of Pennsylvania and England (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1932), we are told (p. 304) that when John Penn was born, his father described him as the "hope of the family." This "hope" was not to be realized, as John of Stoke remained a bachelor all his life. Nor was the "hope" much better realized in the world of affairs. Though he interested himself in politics, art, and literature, his accomplishment if not his intention was that of the dilettante. He liked to travel, and he liked to build homes. From 1783 to 1788 he resided in America. His stay is reflected in Volume I of Poems, wherein the curious reader will find an "Ode Written at Bethlem, in Pennsylvania, in a Party of Travellers, among Whom was Miss A--- A--- of Philadelphia; On a Gentleman of the Party Desiring to Have the Journey Celebrated in Verse," a title whose winsome nebulosity bespeaks the author. There is evidence here also of his home-building proclivities: opposite page 38

in Volume I there is an engraving showing a squarish, two-and-a-half-story house and bearing the title: "The Solitude, near Philadelphia."

John Penn's version of the Squire's Tale appeared first in 1794, and that edition has been treated briefly as Item No. 3. As I stated then, full treatment of the work has been reserved to this point, because of the far greater currency of the 1801 edition, evidence for which may be seen in the fact that in America there are, apparently, no copies of 1794, whereas copies of the 1801 edition are found in a number of libraries. Since much of my interest lies in the reaction of readers to the translations of Chaucer, it seems more appropriate to treat Penn's work here.

Penn's version of the Squire's Tale is clearly a translation; though not close or literal, it is through most of its length a fairly faithful translation. There is a tendency on Penn's part to reduce Chaucer's matter somewhat or to introduce minor changes or substitutions, but there is very little addition or embellishment. A glance at the language Penn employs tells us that his version is a paraphrase, not a modernization. Though his verse is the heroic couplet, as in the original, it bears the stamp of his own, not Chaucer's, century. Indeed, we should not expect otherwise of John Penn, gentleman, born in 1760, and raised with all the advantages that could be

afforded an heir to the vast Penn estate.

Penn's translation does not include the eight lines of the Introduction or the two lines of Part III of the Squire's Tale as found in modern editions. In Penn's version, Part I and Part II come to 274 and 276 lines, respectively, whereas in the original they come to 338 and 324 lines. In sum, Penn's version is shorter than the original by 112 lines. Two factors account for the discrepancy. The first is an omission. A 13-line passage of the original (F, 212-224) has not been included in the translation. Since the omitted passage, which deals with the suspicions that the brass horse arouses, closes with five of Chaucer's best lines (F, 220-224), one can explain the omission only on the grounds of oversight, Penn's or the printer's. A gradual though somewhat irregular process of reduction accounts for the remaining 99 lines of the discrepancy. We can see this process operating in the opening of the Tale. Here are the first 16 lines of Penn's version:

> IN Sarra's city once, in Tartary, reign'd
> A king, who war with Russia's tribes maintain'd;
> By which there fell in arms, of splendid fame,
> Full many a knight; Cambuscan was his name.
> Far through the world his merits were renown'd, [5]
> And none, in aught, so excellent was found.
> In various virtue kingly, as in birth,
> He made his office honour'd through the earth.
> Firm in the faith which he profess'd to hold,
> Of wealth conspicuous, and as wise as bold; [10]
> Rigid in truth and justice, yet inclined
> To soft compassion, and of nature kind;
> His person comely, fortunate his doom,
> So well could he the royal part assume,
> So much his qualities the observer strike, [15]
> All own'd they never had beheld his like.

Lines 5-6 above are rendered in the original by three lines, as follows:

> Which in his time was of so gret renoun,
> That ther n'as no wher in no regioun
> So excellent a lord in alle thing.
> (Vv. 10327-29 [F, 13-15].)[47]

Likewise, line 7 above is a rendering of F, 16-17, in Chaucer, except that it is not attached in thought to the following line as it is in the original, Penn almost catches up with the original as line 8 is added (though it accords with the general sense of the original, especially of line F, 14). Lines F, 22-24, find no place at all in the translation, but the discrepancy of four lines is reduced to three when we get to lines 15-16 of Penn, which are an expansion of the single line F, 27. Actually line 15 is an added line, with Penn no doubt adding it in order to get a rhyme and to have his verse paragraph end with a couplet. Thus are nineteen lines of the original reduced to sixteen. At this rate, the hundred lines of discrepancy can be almost exactly accounted for, though it is not to be assumed that the reduction proceeds so evenly.

From the sample above, it will be readily seen that Penn's reduction does not represent material alteration in the story, and the same is rather the case throughout. Minor changes in imagery and in factual detail will be dealt with below. Penn's handling of the ambiguous matters at the close of the Squire's Tale will provide us with the conclusion to this discussion.

I should like now to consider the verse. A look at the first sixteen lines suffices to show that Penn's is typical eighteenth-century heroic verse. As such, it is far below the best of Pope and Prior, and has rather much of that conventional cadence, that finger-counting regularity castigated by Byron[48] and others. The quality of the verse sinks to its nadir in the following passage:

> Presiding at the feast, Cambuscan bore
> His crown aloft, and royal vestments wore,
> Seen through the hall, at its exalted part,
> And graced a banquet, plann'd with matchless art.
> Of which to tell the order and array,
> It sure would occupy a summer's day. (6:1-6)

A friend whose interest in literature, though keen, is non-professional, upon seeing these lines, especially the last one, quite spontaneously remarked, "Horrible." I am sure there can be no disagreement over that judgment; the line is sheer doggerel.

In fairness to Penn, however, I quote a passage in which the verse is considerably better than this. How much better still it would have to be to emulate the best eighteenth-century verse, I leave to the reader to judge. The passage I am about to quote occupies the last 16 lines of page 27. The equivalent in the original Chaucer is F, 604-620. The falcon is nearing the end of her woeful account:

> "At length he bent his flight to distant fields.
> When Rest full leisure to Reflection yields,
> This dangerous adage ruled, I deem, his mind,
> 'All are on earth attracted to their kind.'

> Perhaps 'tis noticed by the race of man;
> And change and novelty no less its plan.
> For birds in cages sumptuously are fed,
> Their floor below with softest covering spread;
> And servants store, as waiting on their lord,
> Of honey, sugar, milk, and bread, accord;
> But, when the unfasten'd slider is drawn up,
> The joyous prisoner spurns his brimming cup;
> Swift to the woods escapes, in folly firm;
> And dainties leaves, contented with a worm.
> No sense of interest, and no sacred tie
> Can with Variety's allurements vie. (27:5-20)[49]

The alliteration in the last line seems pleasant.

Here and there, Penn may sustain his verse at this level for a line or two, but for the most part the verse is mediocre. He is not particularly successful with rhyme. It is heavily monosyllabic, as one may gather from the samples already given. Of course this is a quality one expects to find in eighteenth-century verse. Though his rhymes escape extreme monotony, there is little chance that they will surprise or refresh the reader. Sometimes the rhyme is only banal, as in the following case. Canace's maidens, grieving with Canace over the plight of the falcon, who has just finished her story:

> Homeward they bear the falcon, faint and weak,
> And bind the wounds inflicted by her beak. (28:15-16)

In the following couplet, the need to rhyme induces a shift into the passive voice and thus spreads the banality throughout the line:

> An ample mirror in his hand he held,
> And on his finger was a ring beheld. (6:15-16)

At other times, the need to rhyme creates redundancy. The last word of the following couplet adds nothing to the

thought, unless the addition be a touch of the ludicrous:

> Full richly dress'd, this knight, unseen before,
> All, save his head, with armor cover'd o'er.
> (6:21-22)

In the following couplet, the phrase "at large," to the reader virtually meaningless, serves the writer in a double capacity: it fills out the measure of the line, and gives him a rhyme at the same time:

> Some speak their wonder of that sword, at large,
> Which arm'd the champion for so fierce a charge.
> (11:21-22)

The meter itself is cast in the regular iambic pentameter mold of heroic verse. Within its limitations, however, there is considerable variety, achieved through variation in accent, in quantity, in placement of the caesura, in number of syllables per line (though in the latter case it is more likely Penn's intention that the line be reduced to the proper length of ten syllables through elision, apocope, or syncope), and in the use of run-on lines. Most of these matters are illustrated in lines which follow those just quoted:

> They [the lookers-on] call to mind the memorable
> gash
> Of royal Telephus, and spear of ash
> His foe Achilles hurl'd; though when its rust
> Was scraped, it heal'd him with the scatter'd
> dust.
> The nature of the weapons seem'd allied.
> Now dwelt their thoughts on every method tried
> To temper steel, and harden best its edge;
> The time and art that its success would pledge.
> (12:1-8)

Variations in both accent and quantity are achieved by the use of the single word "memorable." Metrically considered, each syllable of "memorable" counts the same as its long or short counterpart in other parts of the line:

Thĕy cáll/ tŏ mínd/ thĕ mém/ŏr á/blĕ gásh.

In actual reading, however, the second and third syllables of the word would receive equally brief quantity, and the third syllable would receive only the slightest accentuation or none at all. The last syllable, "-ble," would have greater quantity than either of the two syllables preceding it. Similar observations can be made with regard to "Telephus" in the second line. In his handling of the caesura, Penn here achieves considerable variety: in line one, there is no caesura, except perhaps a slight one after "mind"; in lines two and three, the caesura comes after the sixth syllable; in line three and in line four, after the second; in line seven, it comes after the fourth syllable. With regard to a line's containing an extra syllable, we may consider the sixth line:

Nŏw dwélt/ thĕir thoúghts/ ŏn év/ĕrў méth/ŏd tríed.

A less rigid way of scanning the line is simply to take up the extra syllable in an anapestic foot, as marked above in the fourth foot. The eighteenth-century way, however, was to syncopate <u>every</u> to <u>ev'ry</u>. As this is the way Penn undoubtedly intended that the word be read, it is a little strange that he did not follow the practice of most of his

contemporaries and so mark it. As for run-on lines, they are frequently employed by Penn, as the passage above indicates. His practice with regard to run-on lines seems patterned after Dryden's. In general, only the first line of a couplet is run-on. When the second line of a couplet is run on, it tends to be accompanied by run-on lines before and after, so that a brace of couplets will provide three run-on lines closed by the fourth line. This element in Penn's practice is exemplified in the first two couplets of the passage under discussion. On a few occasions, however, one will find the last line of a couplet run-on and closed by the first line of the next couplet, as in the following instance:

> Such is his [the brass steed's] size, and his
> proportions such!
> So well his height is suited to his length!
> He seems with nags of Lombardy in strength
> To vie, in briskness with the Apulian breed.
> (10:20-11:1)

These variations in the meter -- in accent, in quantity, in handling of the caesura, in the appearance of extra syllables, and in the use of run-on lines -- may be found, in about the same proportion, throughout the poem.

The alexandrine is one device for securing metrical variation which Penn apparently did not employ. There are one or two lines which are made up of twelve syllables, but they are not true alexandrines, at least if one takes the Dryden alexandrine as a model. Consider the second line of this couplet:

> I do not hope to imitate his art [that is,
> the stranger's rhetoric],
> But the mere matter of the harangue to impart.
> (7:11-12)

To scan this as an alexandrine would require the accent to fall on the first syllable of the word harangue. To do this would be to violate the pronunciation of the word as it is pronounced in our day, and I have found no evidence that it was pronounced any differently in Penn's. Furthermore, the alexandrine, at least as usually employed by Dryden, is not merely a pentameter line stretched out somehow to an hexameter; on the contrary, it has a peculiar nature, usually marked by antithesis, or at least by a medial caesura. I give the following triplet from The Cook and the Fox, wherein the closing line furnishes a good example:

> Thus galley-slaves tug willing at their oar,
> Consent to work, in prospect of the shore;
> But would not work at all, if not constrained before. (Scott ed., XI, 344.)

Penn's line, on the other hand, with the aid of a bit of Procrustean metricizing, can be reduced to pentameter length:

> Bŭt thé [or Bút thĕ]/ mĕre mát/tĕr óf/ th' hărángue/ t'ĭmpárt.

The triplet so popular with Dryden and employed by others of our translators -- the anonymous translator of the Squire's Tale in the Monthly Magazine of 1796 (Item No. 5), for example -- is quite absent from Penn's version.

We turn now to consider matters of diction and style, insofar as such are distinguishable from matters of versification. In the passages already quoted, the reader may have observed some cases of unfortunate selection of words. Further instances are in good supply.

By our classification of Penn's version, as a paraphrase, we should expect to find his diction greatly altered from Chaucer's, and this is indeed the case. On rare occasions, we find him retaining a word of some distinctiveness, that he might have changed.

Penn's diction, like his versification, is chiefly of his own century. There is no attempt whatsoever to retain any words of Chaucer's that had become archaic, in order to give the version an antique flavor. The only expression that I found that might have any such tendency was the adverb "full" used as an intensive, as in the phrase "full many a":

> By which there fell in arms, of splendid fame,
> Full many a knight . . . . (3:3-4)

I should judge that this expression had the same light archaic sound for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ears as it does for our own. It is more likely that Penn fell naturally and without awareness into the use of this expression than that he wittingly sought to spice his version with the antique. I found no other instances of what might be called archaisms. On the other hand, we do not have to seek far for examples of the "poetic

diction" typical of much eighteenth-century verse. At 5:19, "quires of air" is used for birds, as is "sylvan quire" at 19:5. The last line of Part I provides two examples, italicized in the passage below:

> But the horse vanishes--I know not how,
> Nor shall I dare describe; but suffer now
> The revel's mirth the enliven'd guests to absorb,
> Till the sky blush with day's returning orb.
> (16:17-20)

Admittedly these are the most positive instances, but they fairly reflect a tendency on Penn's part to keep his diction conventional, a tendency appropriate to the era.

In Penn's reference to women as "the softer sex" (22:14) we observe the influence of Penn's diction of the sentimentalism of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Let us now examine two special problems that arise for any translator in handling the diction of the Squire's Tale.

The first of these concerns the rather obvious pun made in the passage containing the Squire's second disclaimer -- wherein he denigrates his ability to report exactly the beauties of the stranger knight's speech:

> And for his tale shulde seme the better,
> Accordant to his wordes was his chere,
> As techeth art of speche hem that it lere.
> Al be it that I cannot soune his stile,
> Ne cannot climben over so high a stile,
> Yet say I this. (Vv. 10416-21 [F, 102-107].)

The pun on "stile" presents no problem to the modernizer, who need only substitute a modern expression for "soune" in

v. 10419 and remove the double negative in v. 10420. The paraphraser, however, even if he find another pun, must lose the particular wry turn Chaucer has here given to the words. For interest's sake, let us see how Penn presents this passage:

> Nor he, his preface o'er, his tale deferr'd,
> But with a manly voice, and faultless speech,
> Observant of the rules professors teach,
> To suit our action to our changing phrase,
> Enforced the impressive thoughts a thousand ways.
> I do not hope to imitate his art,
> But the mere matter of the harangue to impart.
> (7:6-12)

The pun, the artful artlessness of its delivery by the Squire, and the puckish glint in the eye of the reporter of the journey all are lost in Penn's paraphrase. But given the assumptions on which his translation is based, Penn is not to blame for the loss: it would be a rare paraphraser indeed who could prevent it.

The other matter has to do with the translation of "gentil" and "gentillesse" as they occur in the following passage:

> And after that she out of swoune abraide,
> Right in hire haukes leden thus she sayde.
> That pitee renneth sone in gentil herte
> (Feling his simillitude in peines smerte)
> Is proved alle day, as men may see,
> As wel by werke as by auctoritee,
> For gentil herte kitheth gentillesse.
> (Vv. 10791-97 [F, 477-483].)

The question here is this: by "gentil" does Chaucer mean "noble" (in the sense of "well-born," "of the nobility"), or does he mean "tender" or "kind"? I do not need to deal

with the question here, except to refer the reader to Robinson's note to KnT, A, 1761, where the indication is that, in this context, "gentil" means noble. I want only to show how Penn dealt with Chaucer's word "gentil" and how in such cases the modernizer has a great advantage over the paraphraser, whose philosophy of translation offers him no sanction, and whose method offers him small opportunity, for passing an ambiguity along to his readers. Here is Penn's version:

> . . . . . and from her trance she woke,
> And in the mother-tongue of falcons spoke.
> "That tender hearts are best prepared to know,
> From their own pain, the extent of others woe,
> Both by the opinions which the wise maintain,
> And wide Example's daily proof, is plain.
> All gentleness from gentle hearts proceeds."
> (22:5-11)

Thus Penn, in paraphrasing "gentil herte" (in its first occurrence, v. 10793) as "tender hearts," has had to run the risk of decision; the modernizer may keep Chaucer's word and hence runs no risk.

Let us now attempt to evaluate Penn's diction. Of course, by examining the passages already quoted, one can find many instances in which Penn has chosen his words well. But I think that when the following bill of particulars is examined, the conclusion must be that Penn's command of words is not very good.

First, but perhaps least serious, is the matter of redundancy. The narrator's disclaiming of his ability to

describe the dancing and the flirtation ends with this couplet:

> Launcelot alone possess'd a suited store
> Of lauguage [sic] apt, and he is now no more.
> (14:11-12)

Herein either "apt" or "suited" should have been dispensed with. I have already alluded to the redundant "o'er" introduced for rhyme's sake in the couplet:

> Full richly dress'd, this knight, unseen before,
> All, save his head, with armour cover'd o'er.
> (6:21-22)

But Penn's diction faces a battery of more serious charges. How better can we characterize the phrase "unseen before" used in 6:21 to tell the hearers that the knight was a stranger, than to apply a term out of Penn's own century and call the expression "inelegant"? And if it be argued that Chaucer himself was not given to "elegant" diction, it can be simply returned that Chaucer's diction was rarely inelegant, except, perhaps, in Sir Thopas, where he aimed at inelegance.

Inelegance, or, if one prefers, crudeness, appears again in Penn's use of "sure" as an adverb:

> . . . . . a banquet, plann'd with matchless art.
> Of which to tell the order and array,
> It sure would occupy a summer's day. (6:4-6)

In our own day, most writers of English would regard sure, as used in Penn's line above, as colloquial, if not as slang as well. It is not readily determinable how this sure would have sounded to eighteenth-century ears. The OED tells us

merely that *sure* used as an adverb in the sense of "assuredly" is "now *poet.*, exc[ept]. *dial.* (Irish) in asseverative expressions." Cowper, according to an *OED* citation, used it in this sense in his translation of the *Iliad* (xxii:86). Johnson, in the *Dictionary*, gives to *sure* as adverb the following definition:

> Certainly; without doubt; doubtless. It is generally without emphasis; and, notwithstanding its original meaning, expresses rather doubt than assertion.

Among the usage citations is one in which *sure* is employed to modify the same sort of verb as in the Penn instance:

> *Sure* the queen would wish him still unknown:
> She loaths, detests him, flies his hated presence.
> *Smith*

However, in this case cited by Johnson, the adverb is most necessary, as expressive of "doubt rather than assertion." In Penn's line, *sure* is, at best, a mere intensive, a use given in *WNID* as slang, and mentioned by Johnson not at all. More likely, however, Penn introduced the word as a mere metrical expletive. In any case, we can hardly praise his diction.

Another impropriety occurs in this couplet, descriptive of the physical prowess of the brass horse:

> He seems with nags of Lombardy in strength
> To vie, in briskness with the Apulian breed.
> (10:22-11:1)

Johnson's *Dictionary* calls *nag* a term used in "familiar language," but there it does not seem to have the derogatory sense that we now give it. Thus, by eighteenth-century

standards, Penn stands guilty of an inelegance; by our own standards, the term is really inexact, since in our view, it would hardly do credit to any horse, brass or otherwise, to outperform a nag.

Penn is also guilty of diction which is not so much inelegant as it is cumbrous and bombastic:

> The supper o'er, the noble king goes out
> To view the steed, and a resplendent rout,
> Ladies and lords, whom courtly forms oblige.
> (15:5-7)

By the clause "whom courtly forms oblige" Penn means that the forms observed at court constrain these "ladies and lords" to wait upon their lord. All this is suggested with ease and simplicity by Chaucer:

> At after souper goth this noble king
> To seen this hors of bras, with all a route
> Of lordes and of ladies him aboute.
> (Vv. 10616-18 [F, 302-304].)

Of instead of heaviness, there may be vagueness. What the Falcon means by "power" in the following couplet is not clear at all. The Falcon is telling Canace about her great love for the tercelet:

> "The worth that makes obedience sweet had he:
> Not power itself possess'd such charms for me."
> (26:1-2)

The term "power itself" must mean "command," "authority," such power as would be exercised by a king. Indeed, if a male had spoken about the claims of power, we should have understood him. But a female does not normally covet this kind of power. Thus the term is quite vague. Chaucer

expresses the matter clearly:

> Ne never had I thing so lefe, ne lever,
> As him, God wot, ne never shal no mo.
> (Vv. 10886-87 [F, 572-573].)

Penn's diction on occasion is subject to the very serious charge of inexactness. Chaucer, F, 409-422, tells us of Canace's discovery of the falcon, love-lorn and engaged in mortifying herself in piteous fashion. In describing the scene Penn has:

> With either wing it smote its breast, that bore
> The vestige of its beak, in gushing gore.
> (19:17-18)

In using the word "vestige" Penn obviously is thinking of the word only in its broadest and most superficial sense: mark. From almost every other point of view, however, vestige must be condemned as wrong. Etymologically it is wrong, because, in the original and most literal sense, as vestigium in the Latin, it meant a footstep or footprint. Even figuratively, whether in Latin or in English, it means, as Dr. Johnson put it, a "mark left behind in passing." Thus there is a clear implication that the thing that has left a vestige must no longer be present. This of course is not the case in Penn's use of the word. Throughout all its definitions, ancient or modern, the word has acquired two connotations, neither of which is appropriate in Penn's context. There is first the connotation of momentariness and of lightness or faintness. This is seen when we note in Andrews' Latin Lexicon that, used of time, vestigium

meant point or instant. The only citation given by Johnson supports this connotation:

> The truth passes so slightly through men's imaginations, that they must use great subtlety to track its vestiges.
>
> Harvey.

The second connotation is that of inadvertence. A vestige occurs inadvertently and incidentally, while one's mind is fixed on something else. The Falcon in the Squire's story is quite bent on making marks on its own breast, though these be but the means of its self-destruction. Or if one takes the view that the bird's mind is so full of passion that it does not know what it is doing, it may still be argued that vestige is not proper, on the ground that the relationship of purpose and action is not the same in the case of the hawk as in the case of, let us say, an animal's leaving footprints on the bank of a stream as the animal goes down to drink.

Such misuses are infrequent, but just one occurrence is sufficient to cause a reader to mistrust a writer's diction. Later, when the Falcon is discussing the hawk's perfidy, we find her saying, in Penn's version:

> "Even as a snake his form in flowers conceals,
> "Till he who passes, late his risk reveals.
> (23:17-18)

I doubt if a defense can be found for the use of "reveals" here. The subject of "reveals," the passerby, cannot be said to reveal, that is, disclose, his own risk. What Penn

means, of course, is that the passer-by too late recognizes, comprehends, or sees his risk or peril. But neither in Johnson's Dictionary nor in the OED can I find any support for such a use of the word reveal. We are forced to conclude that Penn is putting rhyme ahead of sense. Compare Chaucer's simplicity:

> Right as a serpent hideth him under floures,
> Til he may see his time for to bite.
> (Vv. 10826-27 [F, 512-513].)

For a rhyming mate for the latter line, Chaucer has available the highly appropriate word "hypocrite," a rhyme denied to the translator because of the shift in the sound of the vowel i in bite.

In preparation for a final observation upon Penn's diction, let us consider the following passages: first, from Chaucer, and then the equivalent in Penn. Canace sympathetically asks what is causing the Falcon woe:

> What is the cause, if it be for to tell,
> That ye ben in this furial peine of hell?
> (Vv. 10761-62 [F, 447-448].)

> "What is the cause, instruct me," said the fair,
> "Why you these unexampled sufferings bear,
> "Thrilling each ear with piteous plaints the while?
> (20:21-21:1)

The translation of "this furial peine of hell" into "these unexampled sufferings" serves as an instance of what seems a tendency on Penn's part to generalize and enervate Chaucer's diction. This tendency has already been evident in words and expressions already brought up in other con-

nections: especially in the vague term "power" and in the heavy "courtly forms oblige."

Thus Chaucer's simple and direct words and expressions are turned usually into more elaborate and artificial language. Dryden, or more especially Pope, did the same. But they were accurate in their word choice, and they chose words which, elaborate or not, tended more toward concreteness than Penn's. In fact, Penn's inadequate diction is the Achilles' heel of this translation of the Squire's Tale.

When we move from diction to larger rhetorical units, we find some of the same bad tendencies -- toward abstraction and ornateness -- only now they not only annoy the reader, but also block his understanding, or tend to. One must sometimes stop to figure out the syntax if one is to get the message.

First, here is a passage which torments the understanding. The difficulty is not in the words themselves, but in the way in which Penn has put them together. The Squire is disclaiming his ability to describe the festivities:

> The faint resemblance of the mirth to catch
> In those who saw not, ere they traced the sketch,
> Powers of uncommon excellence would ask,
> And Youth or Love must prompt them to the task.
> (1[illegible]:3-6)

In straightforward prose, the passage is not quite so difficult, reading perhaps as follows: "It would ask, in those who had not seen the sight depicted, powers of un-

common excellence to catch the faint resemblance of the mirth." This is the best I can make of it. If this is what Penn means to say, he is hardly making sense; he seems to be talking in a circle and saying that one could hardly draw a picture of the scene until one had drawn a picture of the scene.

And what are we to make of inversions and displacements in these four lines:

> At a king's banquet, plenty, well they know
> The portion is of all, both high and low.
> This it was now, with excellence of fare
> Much beyond all I can imagine rare.
> (15:1-4)

Sometimes the misplacement of an adverb adds its bit to the confusion:

> The supper o'er, the noble king goes out
> To view the steed, and a resplendent rout,
> Ladies and lords, whom courtly forms oblige;
> Nor, since old Ilium's memorable siege,
> Had any horse such general wonder caused,
> Nor less discourse, in praise of any, paused.
> (15:5-10)

The puzzlement caused by the last three lines is somewhat relieved when we glance at Dr. Johnson's Dictionary and discover that to pause, in Penn's day, could mean to be intermitted. But full sense cannot be made out of the line until we take "less," which reads very much like an adjective modifying "discourse," and apply it as an adverb to "paused." He means that never in the praising of horses were there so few gaps in the conversation. Against this confusion, the clarity and directness of the original:

> Swiche wondring was ther on this hors of bras,
> That sin the gret assege of Troye was,
> Ther as men wondred on an hors also,
> Ne was ther swiche a wondring, as was tho.
> (Vv. 10619-22 [F, 305-308].)

One might wish that some of this stylistic freshness and naïveté had rubbed off on the translator.

In the following case, no realignment of the words will bring the line to its syntactical senses. Canace wakes from her sleep.

> Hence, ere the sun was high, till waking heard
> The matrons, to her service proud preferr'd,
> She call'd: obedient they attend . . . .
> (18:7-9)

It looks very much as though "matrons" was being called upon for double service, as subject of "heard" and as object of "call'd." A look at Penn's 1794 publication does not help: one will find there the same reading.

In between these pits, the reader's road levels out to what might be called merely heavy going. I would not give the impression that Penn is habitually ungrammatical and unintelligible.

Happily, we turn to an aspect of translation wherein the performance is much more respectable. Penn does a reasonably good job of handling Chaucer's figures and images, though he will alter or even drop them on occasion. Sometimes he adds figures of his own.

In handling personification, Penn is still very much a man of his own era. His version of the Squire's Tale offers us "rash Surmise," which "might into error fall"

(12:16); "Repletion," which is given a "brain" filled with "floating fancies" (17:11); "Pale Dissipation," which has "harass'd looks" (17:18); and "treacherous Falsehood" (24:18). Neither these nor their like are to be found in the original Squire's Tale. For a closer look, we turn to the passage near the outset of Part II containing the discussion of Canace's early retirement from the party and the reason for it. Penn's verse is ornate, artificial, to no small extent the effect of the personified abstractions:

> The floating fancies of Repletion's brain
> To tell at large, were simple as 'tis vain;
> Dreams uninspired, of light effect and cause.
> Each from late sleep prolong'd refreshment draws;
> But not fair Canace: ere this at eve,
> She of her father took her custom'd leave,
> Unwilling, as becomes the modest fair,
> Pale Dissipation's harass'd looks to wear.
> (17:11-18)

The original is straightforward, simple:

> Hir dremes shul not now be told for me;
> Ful were hir hedes of fumositee,
> That causeth dreme, of which ther is no charge.
> They slepen til that it was prime large,
> The moste part, but it were Canace;
> She was ful mesurable, as women be.
> For of hire father had she take hire leve
> To gon to rest, sone after it was eve;
> Hire liste not appalled for to be,
> Nor on the morwe unfestliche for to see;
> And slept hire firste slepe, and than awoke.
> (Vv. 10671-81 [F, 357-367].)

The opening lines of Part II provide us with an exellent opportunity to make a comparison between Chaucer and his paraphraser with regard to the handling of personification. Here is Chaucer:

> The norice of digestion, the slepe,
> Gan on hem winke, and bad hem taken kepe,
> That mochel drinke, and labour wol have rest:
> And with a galping mouth hem all he kest,
> And said, that it was time to lie adoun,
> For blood was in his dominatioun:
> Cherisheth blood, natures frend, quod he.
> They thanken him galping, by two by three;
> And every wight gan drawe him to his rest,
> As slepe hem bade, they toke it for the best.
> (Vv. 10661-70 [F, 347-356].)

And here is Penn:

> COMPOSING Sleep, Digestion's healthful nurse,
> Winks on the band; and warning, lest, averse
> From her dull presence, they her aid dismiss,
> Salutes them, yawning, with a sluggard's kiss.
> The o'erheated blood, they hear the Power suggest,
> Asks instant care, and calming hours of rest.
> Thankful they hear, and one by one withdrawn,
> Confess her prudence in a drowsy yawn;
> Her salutary call convenient judge;
> Nor, when unsafe, the dregs of pleasure grudge.
> (17:1-10)

Both poets have personified sleep, but there are differences to be observed. Chaucer's Sleep seems human, almost one of the company; indeed, Sleep discourses directly with them. Penn's Sleep, on the other hand, seems like a visitor from Olympus, making a kind of divine descent upon the company. This impression is no doubt due to the vague reference to Sleep as "the Power." We do not hear the Power in direct speech, and learn only that the company hear. But the most surprising difference is the switch in sex from male to female. It is almost as though Penn felt there was something improper in a male Sleep's going about kissing all the guests. The only other reason I can advance is that Chaucer's reference to sleep as a "norice" inevitably sug-

gested the feminine to Penn. The change is thus understandable. It is true that the translator in the Monthly Magazine, 1796 (Item No. 5), also makes sleep feminine, but there the figure is brief, wherein sleep, instead of being personified (that is, humanized) and made a kind of visitor at the banqueting, is endowed merely with "downy pinions" and does no more than "shed" "her soft influence o'er each weary eye."[50]

With regard to Penn's handling of simile and metaphor, I begin by citing instances from the tirade of the forsaken falcon against her faithless lover:

> "None dream'd Deceit had in his actions part;
> "But what seem'd greater worth, was deeper art.
> "Even as a snake his form in flowers conceals,
> "Till he who passes, late his risk reveals;
> "Even so this bird, in tenderness a dove,
> "Feign'd soft obedience, and attentive love,"
> (23:15-20)

The figure of the snake is retained from Chaucer (vv. 10826-27 [F, 512-513]), but the other metaphor -- "in tenderness a dove" -- is not to be found in Chaucer at all. Considering the freedoms which other paraphrasers permit themselves to take, Penn ought not to be criticized with undue severity for making such an addition. It is not inappropriate in the generally ornithological context, and it certainly affords Penn an easy rhyme.

Another instance from the Falcon's tirade, though of no greater significance, is perhaps of greater interest. It involves a change by Penn of a metaphor into a simile.

In Chaucer we read:

> Anon this tigre, ful of doublenesse,
> Fell on his knees with so gret humblesse.
> (Vv. 10857-58 [F, 543-544].)

The fact that Chaucer could so boldly refer to a bird, even a bird of prey, as a tiger, and win the reader's acceptance of the image (at least in my case) is a tribute to his power to humanize the bird and its woe. Ordinarily, though we might call a man a tiger (usually on ferocity's account rather than on treachery's), we would hardly expect to call a bird a tiger. Penn softens the comparison, expressing it in terms of a simile:

> "Soon as the tiger-hearted suitor found
> "Love had his wishes, unresisting, crown'd,
> "Our vows exchanged, a master in deceit,
> "He fell, with seeming reverence, at my feet.
> (24:19-25:2)

Next I wish to examine one instance of hyperbole. We begin with the passage from Chaucer and then subjoin the translation:

> Ne never sithen the first man was borne
> Ne coude man by twenty thousand part
> Contrefete the sophimes of his art;
> Ne were worthy to unbocle his galoche,
> Ther doublenesse of faining shuld approche,
> Ne coude so thanke a wight, as he did me.
> (Vv. 10866-71 [F, 552-557].)

> "Nor even since him, the father of mankind,
> "Such depth of guile could Observation find.
> "Rank'd by (sic, for "but") by their art,
> beneath him those of old
> "Deserved not menial offices to hold.
> "None could with thanks so winningly requite."
> (25:9-13)

Here Penn has replaced Chaucer's hyperbole with an hyperbole

of his own. The dropping of the number "twenty thousand" is in line with a tendency which will be more fully adverted to below. It is more significant, perhaps, that Penn chooses to replace the hyperbolical "ne were worthy to unbocle his galoche." Robinson's note on this point states that "modern taste might impose a restraint in such use of a scriptural passage" but that "in Chaucer's age men spoke freely of sacred persons and things" (F, 555n), presumably without intending or communicating irreverence. I cannot speak for Penn, but I believe it likely that he had conscious scruples about the expression and therefore elected to substitute the matter of lines 25:11-12. It does not seem likely that the latitudinarians and deists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would have had such scruples,[51] but it must be remembered that Penn, born in 1760 and writing this in 1794 or perhaps somewhat earlier, was living in an era of increasing piety, a piety that had both its sentimental, precious, and even saccharine side and its militant, missionaristic side; nor can we leave out of account Penn's Quaker background. Still we cannot do more than conjecture; he might simply have happened upon these lines as the easiest metrical route to take.

When we turn to the proverbs with which the Squire salts his tale, we find a decided disposition on Penn's part to alter them or drop them altogether. Consider these

examples:

> As many heds, as many wittes ben.
> (V. 10517 [F, 203].)
>
> As by the whelpe chastised is the leon.
> (V. 10805 [F, 491].)
>
> A trewe wight and a theef thinken not on.
> (V. 10851 [F, 537].)

If Penn had included these in his version, the first would have appeared on page 11; the second, on page 22. But they have simply been omitted and no lines inserted in their place. The omission of the first proverb was probably due to sheer oversight. Although the second proverb may have been omitted inadvertently also, it is more likely that Penn's taste rebelled at presenting the image of one fine young female admonishing another as a dog admonishes a lion. It may be that Penn thinks that through such a refinement he is improving Chaucer. Whereas one must admit that the proverb "As by the whelp chasted is the leon" may sound a bit crude to be coming from the Falcon, who is still refined femininity, if in bird form, one must still remember that the Squire, who tells the story to his fellow pilgrims, is, by his own statement at least, a rather plain-speaking man. The earthy proverb above would spring readily and naturally to the lips of such a man, even when he was quoting one of the characters in his story. Thus Penn's omission, if recognized by his contemporaries, would doubtless have been approved as the omission of an unsuitable crudity; in our day, it must be regarded, at the very least, as a gratuitous

omission. In the case of the third proverb, "A trewe wight and a theef thinken not on," Penn substituted for it an epigram of his own making:

> "But leagues with treacherous Falsehood who can trust?" (24:18)

On at least one occasion, however, Penn does retain a proverb or maxim employed by Chaucer, and he puts it in almost the same language. In the speech in which she tells of resigning herself to her false lover's intention to depart, the Falcon says:

> And reson wold eke that he muste go
> For his honour, as often happeth so,
> That I made vertue of necessitee,
> And toke it wel, sin that it muste be.
> (Vv. 10905-08 [F, 591-594].)

In Penn's version:

> "Yet, such had seem'd his truth, I fear'd no more,
> "Nor dreamt of harm, his urgent business o'er.
> "Till 'twas dispatch'd enduring what must be,
> "I made a virtue of necessity." (26:15-18)

Perhaps to be reckoned among figures of speech are the Squire's various disclaimers of his ability to report the splendors of the tale adequately. These are generally retained in Penn's version without significant change. The first, in which the Squire declares himself to be unequal to the task of recounting the beauty of Canace, in Chaucer is as follows:

> But for to tellen you all hire heautee,
> It lith not in my tonge, ne in my conning,
> I dare not undertake so high a thing:
> Min English eke is unsufficient,
> It muste ben a Rethor excellent,

> That coude his colours longing for that art,
> If he shuld hire descriven ony part:
> I am non swiche, I mote speke as I can.
> (Vv. 10348-55 [F, 34-41].)

And in Penn:

> But, to pourtray the beauties of the mind,
> In vain were aptest eloquence essay'd.
> At least my language in the attempt were vain,
> And matchless charms my pencil rude restrain,
> Whose full idea Rhetoric must impart
> With glowing colours, and the stores of Art.
> 'Tis mine, more humble than the skilful tribe,
> Truly to speak, but plainly to describe.
> (4:19-5:4)

This is close paraphrasing, as far as the rendering of the matter of the original is concerned, but in the matter of language there is a great deal of difference. It is quite noticeable that, when Chaucer's Squire says: "I am non swiche, I mote speke as I can," he is speaking the part he has assumed: the language is blunt and plain. Whether Chaucer intends this only as a pose -- indeed the Squire is a rather good "Rethor" when he chooses to be (at the beginning of Part II for example) -- or whether Chaucer did intend him to be what he said he was -- with Chaucer forgetting or, more likely, ignoring the question of creating a "borel" language for the Squire so that the Squire might actually be what he claims to be -- need not concern us here. I merely wish to point to the difference. Penn has clothed the Squire's disclaimer with "colours" as blatantly eighteenth-century in their glow as any other passage in this version. This coloring reaches its height at the climax of the argument: Chaucer's Squire says he

is "non swiche"; Penn's, that he is "more humble than the skilful tribe." Considered as independent work, Penn's passage cannot be condemned; actually, if Chaucer had chosen a similar course, he would have made it clear beyond a doubt that the Squire, in his disclaimers, was only having a bit of fun with the company. As translation, however, Penn's passage has missed the original. Remember, though, that the eighteenth-century reader, finding this tale out of its Canterbury Tales context, more than likely would have applied the disclaimer, not to the Squire, but to Chaucer, and, simply accepting the statement at its face value, would have allowed his mind to run on upon the ineffable magnificence of the East, a magnificence that no mere poet, he might think, could really represent in verse.

Chaucer's couching of dates and times in the terms of astronomy (see vv. 10361-65 [F, 47-51] and vv. 10577-79 [F, 263-265]) is for the most part paraphrased without basic change in Penn's version, though the latter tends to simplify the figures a bit. The technical terms of medieval astronomy, such as "exaltation" and "mansion," found in Chaucer are expressed quite simply in Penn, and it is no longer the "colerike hote signe" of Aries, but only the "angry sign":

> Sol now, his station changed, with Mars resides,
> Mounted in Aries, from whose angry sign
> His burning beams with stronger influence shine.
> (5:12-14)

Further in the poem, the astronomical figure giving the moment when Cambuscan rises from the feast is put by Chaucer into three lines (vv. 10577-79 [F, 263-265]); Penn devotes only two lines to the figure:

> The sun his rapid course had downward bent,
> The royal lion noticed in ascent. (13:1-2)

Chaucer's reference to the star "Aldiran" (v. 10579 [F, 265]) has been dropped. Since modern students cannot agree on which star Chaucer meant (see note in Robinson), Penn is perhaps not to be scolded for omitting the reference.

The following passage presents one of the most striking images in the Squire's Tale:

> Ful lusty was the wether and benigne,
> For which the foules again the sonne shene,
> What for the seson and the yonge grene,
> Ful loude songen hir affections:
> Hem semed han getten hem protections
> Again the swerd of winter kene and cold.
> (Vv. 10366-71 [F, 52-57].)

The magnificent image of the "swerd of winter" is not retained by Penn. Here is the corresponding passage in his version:

> Changed by his [Sol's] warmth, the temperate
> gales impart
> Forgotten rapture to the cheerless heart:
> And as the verdant hues more vivid grow,
> Or cloudless skies the coming season show,
> With shrillest melody the quires of air,
> On wing, the abundance of their joy declare.
> As if protections they had now obtain'd,
> Nor fear'd his tyranny, though Winter reign'd.
> (5:15-22)

Thus with the use of the terms "tyranny" and "reign'd"

Chaucer's original figure, with its strong appeal to the imagination, is replaced by a figure which appeals rather to the intellect: a concrete image gives way to an abstract notion. One diction note: Chaucer's interesting plural, protections, the pronunciation of which is better indicated by Robinson's spelling, proteccioun, is retained by Penn, but much of its interest and force is due, in Chaucer, to its position at the end of the line. The change in pronunciation, plus the eighteenth-century metricist's reluctance to employ feminine endings, causes "protections" to be relegated to the interior of the line, where it becomes just another word, except for the interest that still attaches itself to the word for its standing in the plural.

The allusion to "queinte spere" of Achilles (v. 10553 [F, 239]) becomes a bit more pictorial in Penn, a reverse of the usual process:

> They [the curious] crowd call to mind the
> memorable gash
> Of royal Telephus, and spear of ash
> His foe Achilles hurl'd; though when its rust
> Was scraped, it heal'd him with the scatter'd
> dust. (12:1-4)

The simile of the murmuring which is like the sound of bees (v. 10518 [F, 204]) is retained by Penn (at 11:10). However, the original image, being fixed in the verb ("They murmured, as doth a swarme of been"), is at once easier, more natural, and more forceful than it is when fixed in Penn's noun "murmurs":

> The notions, bandied in discourse by these,
> Sounded like murmurs from a swarm of bees.
> (11:9-10)

The image of the tomb, with its cold, clean stone above and its hot, rotting corpse below, reads in Chaucer:

> As on a tombe is all the faire above,
> And under is the corps, swiche as ye wote;
> Swiche was this hypocrite both cold and hote.
> (Vv. 10832-34 [F, 518-520].)

This has tremendous suggestive power. When it first strikes the reader's mind, the figure acts upon the senses, especially those of sight and touch, and then through these avenues reaches the intellect, where it is bound to create considerable stir, as the mind plays upon the significance of the images handed to it by the senses. Now let us see how this figure fares at the hands of Penn:

> "As on some tomb rich sculpture we survey,
> "But putrid lurks below the unsightly clay;
> "Such was the hawk; and thus his purpose
> screen'd." (24:3-5)

At first glance, we might be led to commend Penn for his greater specificity. Instead of "faire above" we have "rich sculpture"; instead of there being underneath merely a "corps" in such condition as we well know it to be in, we have "unsightly clay" which "lurks below" in its "putrid state." But Penn is merely spelling out what Chaucer suggests, and it seems to me that in this case the suggestion is stronger than the express detail. The diction itself is a factor: the evocative power of <u>corps</u> is far greater than that of <u>unsightly clay</u>. There is, how-

ever, another dimension in Chaucer's simile, a dimension altogether lost in the translation: this is the dimension of coldness and heat. Now in the comparative term of his simile, Chaucer does not even suggest, let alone mention, coldness and heat. At the most, he suggests by "faire above" the carving of the stone, the inscriptions, and the statuary, and, by "swiche as ye wote," the corpse in decay. This is just what Chaucer wants to suggest, as the Falcon is explaining that her lover was fair-seeming but actually faithless, and it is this element, and this only, which is picked up by Penn and translated. But this is not all that Chaucer has put into the figure nor is it the end of its suggestive power. Chaucer has another element to add. But he waits. Instead of including it with the antithesis between the outward beauty and inner putrefaction developed in the comparative part of the simile, he applies this new dimension, that of coldness and heat, directly to the subject, in the indicative part of the simile:

Swiche was this hypocrite both cold and hote.

The addition of the last four words tends to force the mind, at least subconsciously, to retrace its apprehension of the image. Conscious thought soon tells us, however, that the new dimension is quite just, for the stone of tomb and carving is cold and the corpse underneath would be hot in its decay. The cold stone, by

itself, has an effective double action which suggests the doubleness of the culprit: the carving on the tomb at first falls fair and pleasant upon the sight; but then, to the touch, it is cold, unpleasant -- the true condition of the tercelet's heart. Now -- and this is a testament to Chaucer's powers of observation -- a corpse is generally thought of as cold. Under certain circumstances this is the case, of course, but just the opposite obtains when the corpse is in the condition termed "swiche as ye wote." The flesh in decay gives off heat. Thus, just as cold is appropriate to the tercelet's attitude toward his true love, heat is appropriate to his state of mind and heart when he takes off in pursuit of his new love. Whether Chaucer intended to suggest all this may be asked, but the question is beside the point, which is that Chaucer's reference to heat and cold <u>can</u> suggest all this. It is thoroughly apt. All this richness of suggestion and implication is of course lost in the translation. Penn having omitted all reference to "both cold and hote."

Of the symbolism involved in the painting of birds with which Canace decorates the Falcon's mew, Chaucer's own lines give a fairly clear presentation:

> And all without the mew is peinted grene,
> In which were peinted all thise false foules,
> As ben thise tidifes, tercelettes, and owles;
> And pies, on hem for to cry and chide,
> Right for despit were peinted hem beside.
> (Vv. 10960-64 [F, 646-650].)

The picture becomes a bit fuzzy in Penn. Notice the clear, direct presentation by Chaucer of the role of the pies, in contrast to Penn's windy explanation:

> But green denotes a fickle bent without
> [the adverb "without" has been misplaced
> by Penn, doubtless for rhyme's sake: it
> belongs after "green"],
> Where every bird whose faith is held in doubt.
> Titmice, and hawks, and owls, appear to stand,
> And the pie hops, with ceaseless noise, at hand,
> Her presence, still importunate observed,
> Like chattering Censure, shew'd what they
> deserved. (29:3-8)

To conclude this discussion of Penn's handling of figure and image, I should say that on the whole Penn has done a fairly faithful job of translating. Most of the changes he has made are traceable to the customs and language ways of the age of which he was a part. Nurtured on the work of Dryden and Pope, he is, as is not surprising, a paraphraser rather than a modernizer. Thus we can expect him to replace Chaucerian simplicities with Augustan complexities, Chaucer's plain-speaking with eighteenth-century poetic diction. But there is almost nothing in Penn of the almost wholesale replacement or elaboration of figures that we find in Dryden, and for this, Penn's translation, as translation, is to be praised. This brings us to the next and nearly final phase of our discussion of the Penn version: the general accuracy of Penn's translating.

The material changes Penn made in Chaucer will be

taken up under three heads: additions, omissions, and alterations.

Penn has made almost no additions to the matter of the original. Even embellishments -- that is, the development and elaboration of narrative and descriptive points which are but briefly touched upon or hinted in the original -- are few. Penn's work is thus not "variations on a theme by Chaucer," but true translation, at least insofar as the intention is concerned. Such additions as one may find are limited to brief points, and these usually are quite in line with the original context. For instance, at the end of the speech in which the stranger explains the operation of the steed of brass, the knight tells the king that a final explanation of the method of controlling the horse will be privately imparted to the king whenever the king chooses to ride (vv. 10647-48 [F, 333-334]). And with this the speech comes to an end. In Penn, however, the speaker cannot resist adding a boast, when he advises the king to

> " . . . trust, none else, his journey long or short,
> "Will boast conveyance of a readier sort."
> (16:9-10)

The urge to embellish -- an urge which Dryden and Ogle would not or could not resist -- asserts itself mildly in the passage descriptive of the dancing, reading thus in Chaucer:

> Who coude tellen you the forme of daunces
> So uncouth, and so freshe contenaunces,
> Swiche subtil lokings and dissimulings,
> For dred of jalous mennes apperceivings?
> No man but Launcelot, and he is ded.
> Therfore I passe over all this lustyhed,
> I say no more, but in this jolinesse
> I lete hem, til men to the souper hem dresse.
> (Vv. 10597-604 [F, 283-290].)

Taking the hint provided by Chaucer in verse 10599, Penn embellishes a bit:

> Who could describe the dance's varying form,
> Or grace unequall'd, through[52] with rapture warm?
> Who the coquette's dissembled look askance,
> Lest kindling Jealousy should blame the glance?
> Launcelot alone possess'd a suited store
> Of lauguage [sic] apt, and he is now no more.
> (14:7-12)

Rather than as an addition, however, the mention of the "coquette's dissembled look" is perhaps to be regarded merely as a specification of what is generalized in Chaucer. Certainly Penn is well within the scope of free paraphrase, and he has used the same number of lines.

This passage leads us into a discussion of Penn's omissions, for it may be noted that Penn has not translated vv. 10602-04 (F, 288-290). (Line 14:13, following the passage just quoted above, inaugurates the scene of the steward's calling for the spices and the wine.) But this is one of the few narratorial obtrusions that Penn has omitted.

The next two omissions to be discussed provide just the faintest indication that Penn was intending his translation for popular consumption. At least neither of these

changes would have been called for had Penn been addressing a readership, to take the extreme case, made up exclusively of scholars and antiquarians. In the description of the stranger's striking first entrance, we are told that

> Ther came a knight upon a stede of bras,
> And in his hond a brod mirrour of glas.
> (Vv. 10395-96 [F, 81-82].)

One does not have to look beyond the nearest encyclopedia to discover that the mirrors of Chaucer's time were usually small and of metal. Thus it is clear that the mirror, together with the other items in the knight's equipment, would indeed cause the company to "mervaille of this knight," for even without the knowledge of the miraculous powers of the mirror the company would have marveled at its substance and its size. It was most important, then, for all the audiences involved -- the audience of the stranger knight, the Squire's audience of fellow pilgrims, and Chaucer's own contemporary readers -- that it be specified that the mirror was of glass and that it was "broad." But these wonderful details would have had, after the development of the art of mirror-making by the Venetians and the French in three hundred years after Chaucer, scarcely more effect upon Penn's contemporaries than they do upon our own. Perhaps it was such a consideration that caused Penn to omit the reference to the substance of the mirror. He retains the reference to the size of the mirror, but assumes, absolutely rightly I am sure, that the audience will

immediately picture a glass mirror, an image which the fourteenth-century audiences would have been highly unlikely to form without being specifically told. Here are Penn's lines:

> In at the entrance was perceived to pass
> A knight full sudden, on a steed of brass.
> An ample mirror in his hand he held,
> And on his finger was a ring beheld. (6:13-16)

In removing the now redundant "of glas," Penn lost the highly natural and forceful rhyme of glass with brass. This is the more ironic in the face of Penn's generosity, perhaps unwitting, with verbal redundancies elsewhere. Leigh Hunt, in his version of the Squire's Tale in the Liberal, II (1823), hit upon a happy solution to the dilemma:

> All on a sudden, ere he [the king] was aware,
> Through the hall door and the mute wonder there,
> There came a stranger on a steed of brass,
> And in his hand he held a looking-glass.
> (P. 319, ll. 29-32.)

Hunt's version has its faults, but Hunt keeps Chaucer's good rhyme, and is therefore the better able to avoid the ponderous, passive construction that Penn gets into.

While we have this passage of Penn's still fresh before us, we may observe that Penn has the stranger wearing the ring on his finger rather than on his thumb. The reason for the switch is certainly not metrical. I can only offer this possibility: that if the wearing of rings on the thumb was not customary in his day, Penn changed the reading so that the matter would not obtrude itself upon the reader's consciousness. To this I can only say that, if

an obtrusion, it would be one that would heighten the sense of wonder which it is perhaps the chief function of this tale to stimulate.

Back to our consideration of omissions made by Penn in the direction of satisfying the popular taste.

The original discussion which the assembled throng holds upon the mirror (vv. 10539-49 [F, 225-235]) begins with general wonder about the mirror's power. One person then suggests this power is derived

> Naturelly by compositions
> Of angles, and of slie reflections;
> And saide that in Rome was swiche on.
> (Vv. 10543-45.)

The discussion ends with a reference to Alhazen, Vitellon, and Aristotle and their writings on "queinte mirrours" and "prospectives" (vv. 10546-48). It will be recalled that 1796, in translating this passage, kept the substance largely intact, but mentioned the authorities on optics only collectively as "old sages" (see pp. 225-226 above), and, further, that this was probably due to the translator's feeling the actual names would have little meaning for his audience. Penn goes a step further, dropping all mention of the authorities. If he did this as a gesture toward a rather popular readership, it is difficult to see why he also saw fit to drop the comment that there was a similar mirror in Rome, an allusion that is sufficiently exoteric. Here is the passage as it appears in Penn:

> Some on the wondrous things their comments made,
> Shewn by that mirror, to the tower convey'd;
> Surmising, all its virtue was derived
> From angles and reflections well contrived.
> (11:17-20)

No mention of the authorities; no mention of the similar mirror to be found in Rome.

The most striking omission is of course the thirteen lines (vv. 10526-38 [F, 212-224]) of Part I, in which the crowd's discussion of the horse is concluded. For these lines, there are in Penn no corresponding lines whatsoever. If translated, they would have fallen on page 11, between lines 16 and 17, or immediately preceding the passage just quoted above. To show this exactly, I quote Penn:

> They love the tales they read of to rehearse,
> And talk of Pegasus, described in verse,
> Like him to spurn the ground, and cleave the air:
> Or 'twas the horse of Sinon, they declare,
> By wicked demons to this day preserved.
> To make them feel the fortune Troy deserved,
> Some on the wondrous things their comments made,
> Shewn by that mirror . . . . (11:11-18)

I have given the lines exactly as punctuated by Penn. If it be correct to regard lines 11:15-16 as the rough equivalent of vv. 10524-25 (F, 210-211) ("That broughte Troy to destruction,/ As men moun in thise olde gestes rede"), or if we simply regard the passage independently of its original, we must conclude that the period and comma that end lines 15 and 16, respectively, should be reversed, so that line 16 may be read with what precedes rather than with what follows it.

In seeking a reason for this omission, let us first consider passages which describe the onlookers' discussion of the other gifts. In two of the three passages, the conclusions of the passages are omitted in the translation. We have just noted that the authorities on optics were omitted from the translation of the mirror discussion, and we shall also find that the allusions to Moses and Solomon that bring the ring discussion to a close (vv. 10564-65 [F, 250-251] are omitted. The former omission could have been made, we noted, on the grounds of audience unfamiliarity with the Coptic optics; the latter, on the grounds of the unpopularity of superstition in an age of science or, perhaps, of the unpopularity of the un-Biblical application of Biblical figures in an age of piety. But none of these grounds applies in the case of the omission from the brass steed discussion, wherein there are no allusions except the allusion, by transference, to the Trojan horse (but this has already just been specifically mentioned in both original and version) and the allusion, in a general way, to the magic practised by jugglers at feasts. Furthermore, the other omissions amount to only five lines (vv. 10545-49 [F, 231-235]) and two lines (vv. 10564-65 [F, 250-251]), respectively. The omission from the horse discussion is almost double these two added together. The most likely explanation is that this omission was due to an oversight. If so, it was carried

over from the 1794 version, wherein the reading is the same.

We turn now to alterations or substitutions Penn made in translating Chaucer's work.

In line 4 of the opening passage,

> Full many a knight; Cambuscan was his name,

or on any other occasion on which Penn gives the name of the king, he will be found to follow Milton's way of accenting it: Cam-bús-can. Leigh Hunt was to point out the mistake in this, and one may corroborate Hunt by reading metrically any line in the original in which the name appears:

> Thĭs nó/blĕ kíng/ wăs clé/pĕd Cám/bŭscán.
> (V. 10326 [F, 12].)

Penn exhibits some tendency to generalize Chaucer's specifics, especially with regard to numbers. For instance, at the opening of Part II, we hear that Canace

> . . . slept hire firste slepe, and than awoke.
> For swiche a joye she in hire herte toke
> Both of hire queinte ring, and of hire mirrour,
> That twenty time she chaunged hire colour;
> And in hire slepe right for the impression
> Of hire mirrour she had a vision.
> (Vv. 10681-86 [F, 367-372].)

Here is the equivalent in Penn:

> Early she rose, no morning slumber sought;
> For the loved presents still engaged her thought,
> The wondrous ring, and mirror deem'd so strange.
> Oft did her cheek with blushing rapture change;
> Nor even in sleep from pleasing care exempt,
> The fair one only of her mirror dreamt.
> (18:1-6)

One could write an essay in comparing v. 10684 with line 18:4, for I think in no better pair of examples could one see the Chaucerian and eighteenth-century modes more

definitely in opposition -- in metrics, in diction, and in style -- but now it is the change of "twenty time" to "oft" that concerns us. Were this a single case, it would have no significance. But every time that Chaucer gives a specific figure, Penn renders it in less specific terms. Thus, the near specifics of Chaucer's "Hire maistresse clepeth wommen a gret route,/ And up they risen, wel a ten or twelve" (vv. 10696-97 [F, 382-383]) disappear in Penn's "The train are trooping at her call survey'd" (18:15).[53] A few lines later Chaucer tells us that when Canace arose the sun was no higher than "foure degrees yronne" (v. 10700); the equivalent is rendered in Penn thus:

> No later [i.e., than her attendants] shines,
> attired, the royal maid
> Like the bright sun that, free from clouds, displays
> As now, in Aries, more refulgent rays.
> (18:16-18)

The simile in praise of Canace's brightness and freshness is retained, but the specific time reference has disappeared. Similarly, we are not surprised to find that Canace, who in Chaucer walks forth "with five or sixe of hire meinie" (v. 10705 [F, 391]) is accompanied in Penn by "a few of her train" (18:22). The only occasion of this type in which Penn does not make his translation less specific occurs at v. 10888 (F, 574), where the Falcon says that courtship in its last and happiest state lasted "lenger than a yere or two." In Penn this becomes "two years and more" (26:3). But as Chaucer's designation here is actually not precise,

this case does not counter the tendency observed above. From all this we can only conclude that Penn's changes are characteristic of the eighteenth century's preference for the general. Having no doubt read Rasselas, particularly the tenth chapter, he was declining to "number the streaks of the tulip."

Next I wish to deal with those alterations which are, or may be, the result of misinterpretation or mistake. What might be baldly termed mistranslations are few, but one mistranslation like the following is enough to cause one to lose his confidence in the translator. In the original, we recall that after the feasting and dancing come to an end,

> Unto the temple, as reson was, they wend:
> The service don, they soupen all by day.
> (Vv. 10610-11 [F, 296-297].)

I take this to mean that when the supper was served, there was still daylight, though evening was approaching. The last line of Part I, after it has been recounted that king and company, having gone to see the horse of brass, have resumed their revels, proves that the daylight meant above was not the daylight of morning, for the new day has not yet dawned:

> But thus I lete in lust and jolitee
> This Cambuscan his lordes festeying,
> Til that wel nigh the day began to spring.
> (Vv. 10658-60 [F, 344-346].)

All this has been unaccountably overlooked by Penn in a passage which seems self-contradictory and ridiculous, unless one has been told that the party has lasted all night

long -- as it clearly at this point had not, according to the original. Here is the passage:

> Then, in the house of prayer their duty done,
> They sup, illumin'd by the rising sun.
> (14:19-20)

The kindest explanation is simply that Penn, by some brief mental lapse, a failing to which all mankind is subject, substituted "rising" for "setting."

Another mistranslation, of a much less consequential nature and one for which Penn may at least plead the confusion of Chaucer's own syntax, occurs when he translates the word "maistresse" of vv. 10688, 10691, and 10696 (F, 374, 377, and 382), as "matrons" (18:8). That it is a matron, and not matrons, whom Canace first calls is proved, in general, by the context of the whole passage, and, in particular, by the use of the third person singular form of the verb, "clepeth," at v. 10696:

> Hire maistresse clepeth wommen a gret route.

The difficulty actually arises from an anacoluthon that occurs at vv. 10690-92 (F, 376-378):

> Thise olde women, that ben gladly wise,
> As is hire maistresse, answerd hire anon,
> And said . . . .

As Robinson explains in his note to these lines, Chaucer was careless in constructing the sentence. Robinson makes the meaning clear in a paraphrase: "Her governess, like these old women who are usually inquisitive, answered at once." The 1796 version, that of the Monthly Magazine,

did not err in this respect, but Penn, by a mistake, perhaps made inadvertently or through haste, has overlooked the real statement of person and event and found a plural subject whereas a singular subject was the true one.

The text is embellished by two plates, bearing engraved illustrations of scenes from the Tale. The first of these lies opposite page 6. It depicts the entrance of the mysterious visitor. A gallery peopled with spectators forms the major part of the background. To the left, on a dais with canopy overhead, sits Cambuscan, his family and courtiers about him. The knight, astride the horse, which looks more fleshly than metallic, holding the sword in his left hand, extends his right hand and in it holds the mirror high. Dressed in armor, with a cape flowing behind, he wears no helmet. Except for the knight's armor, which looks medieval European, the dress and decor are Eastern. Underneath the picture, it is stated that the drawing was made by "R. Smirke Esq. R. A." and that it was "engraved by J. Parker." Then lines from the original Chaucer appear:

> In at the halle dore al sodenly
> Ther came a knight upon a stede of bras,
> And in his hand a brod mirrour of glas.
>
> Chaucer's Squire's Tale, Pt. I.

At the bottom of the page appears:

> Published March 1, 1801, by J. Hatchard, 173.
> Piccadilly.

The other plate, found opposite p. 20, similar in make-up to the plate just described except that the engraver is given as J. Heath, shows Canace, with three of her maidens, standing below a branch of a tree, whereon sits the falcon. Two palm trees and a castle are in the background, to the viewer's right. Raising her veil with her left hand and looking up at the bird, Canace holds her right hand before her, palm upward, in a gesture of gentle sympathy and invitation. The quotation below reads:

----- to the tree she goth ful hastily,
And on this faucon loketh pitously.

Chaucer's Squire's Tale, Pt. II.

This too was published by Hatchard, March 1, 1801.

Though the text is marred by frequent errors in punctuation and spelling, not all of which are to be considered the fault of the printer, this printing must be regarded as one of the most pleasant that the Squire's Tale or a translation of it has ever enjoyed.

My discussion will close now with a look at the last lines of the tale as rendered by Penn. These are included in three verse paragraphs:

> Here will I leave the falcon, day and night (29:9)
> Tended with care by her protectress bright;
> Nor more describe the wonders of the ring,
> Till I may show the reconcilement spring
> From good Camballo's offices benign,
> And the wild hawk his lawless love resign.
> Now I proceed to speak of battles dread,
> Where, fired with glory, valiant Tartars bled;
> And strange adventures, filling with amaze,

> Of fame, unequall'd in all former days.
> First will I tell you of Cambuscan brave,
> To whom proud conquest many a city gave;
> Next him, who Theodora had to wife,
> In battle won, the valiant Algarsife, (29:22)
> Condemn'd through danger to delight to pass (30:1)
> And only rescued by his horse of brass;
> Then will I tell you with what champion fought
> The adventurous brothers, who the princess sought,
> The beauteous Canace; thus hard to win:
> And still, where I left off, will next begin. (30:6)

In the first verse paragraph, Penn translates in six lines what Chaucer gives in seven (vv. 10965-71 [F, 651-657]) without missing any significant element in the passage. The chief difference is that Penn has changed the object of "leave" in line 29:9. Chaucer's line reads: "Thus lete I Canace hire hauk keping" (v. 10965 [F, 651]). In view of Haldeen Braddy's pointing out the probability that Chaucer, in the last line of Part II (v. 10984 [F, 670]: "And ther I left I wol again biginne"), is referring to what was said above, at v. 10965, and that, having left off with Canace "hire hauk keping,"[54] he will resume the tale at that point, the shift in Penn's version that results in the hawk's, rather than Canace's, being "left" seems to change the emphasis; but the sequent lines in both versions bring matters to the same point.

The crucial question whether the "Camballus" mentioned in vv. 10970-71 (F, 656-657) as "the kings sone" is the same person as the "Camballo" mentioned in vv. 10981-83 (F, 667-669) as one who "fought in listes with the brethren

two/ For Canace, er that he mighte hire winne" is solved easily by Penn by the simple expedient of dropping the second name and substituting the elastic "what champion." Penn avoids another difficulty in dropping "two" from "brethren two," so that it becomes very much easier for the reader to think of the "brothers" as quite distinct from Algarsife and Camballus, if he chooses to do so. The result of Penn's changes is that not even a whiff of scandal can attach itself to Canace's name: the question of incest cannot even be raised.

Thus at the very end, this translator, with some leaning toward the romantic and chivalric, is the eighteenth-century man -- self-restrained, courtly, genteel.

Item No. 8 (1801). Wordsworth, William. Modernizations of (1) "The Prioress' Tale," (2) "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," (3) "Extract from Troilus and Cressida," and (4) "The Manciple/ From the Prologue" with "The Manciple's Tale." Written 1801. Dates and other facts of publication will be brought out in the discussion below.

With a slight possibility of there being one exception, these four pieces of translation were all done in an eight-day period, December 2 through 9, in 1801. The Grasmere Journal of Dorothy Wordsworth is the chief source of information. Here are the pertinent extracts as drawn from Vol. I, pp. 86-89, of the edition by E. de Selincourt:[55]

> [December]"2nd, Wednesday. A fine frosty morning. Wm. rose late. I read the Tale of Phoebus and the Crow, which he afterwards attempted to translate, and did translate a large part of it to-day . . . . -- Mary and William went as far as Rydale village . . . . They looked fresh and well when they came in. I wrote part of a letter to Coleridge. After his return William went on a little with Chaucer.
>
> [December] 4th, Friday. . . . . William translating The Prioress's Tale. . . .
>
> [December] 5th, Saturday. . . . . Wm. finished The Prioress's Tale, and after tea Mary and he wrote it out. . . .
>
> [December] 6th, Sunday. A very fine beautiful sunshiny morning. Wm. worked a while at Chaucer, then we set forward to walk into Easdale. . . . In the afternoon we sate by the fire: I read Chaucer aloud, and Mary read the first canto of The Fairy Queen. . ...
>
> December 7th, Monday Morning. . . . William at work with Chaucer, The God of Love. . . .
>
> December 8th, 1801, Tuesday. A dullish, rainyish morning. Wm. at work with Chaucer. . . . After dinner I felt myself unwell . . . , so, after we had put up the Bookcases which Charles

> Lloyd sent us, I lay down--I did not sleep much but I rose refreshed. Mary and William walked to the boat house at Rydale while I was in bed. It rained very hard all night. No company. Wm. worked at The Cuckow and the Nightingale till he was tired. . . .
>
> December 9th, Wednesday Morning. . . . I read Palamon and Arcite. Mary read Bruce. William writing out his alteration of Chaucer's Cuckow and Nightingale.

That is the sum, in Dorothy's Journals, of the discussion of Wordsworth's composition of the Chaucerian translations. By these entries we can assign positive dates of composition to three of the four items. Dorothy does not mention the "Extract from Troilus and Cressida." In his note to Selections from Chaucer, Modernized, The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth,[56] IV, 443-444, De Selincourt simply states that "W was occupied with translating Chaucer in 1801," citing the above entries from Dorothy's Journals. Though Dorothy makes no mention of the Tr "Extract," we must assume with De Selincourt, who had the manuscript evidence before him, that the Tr stanzas were translated at the same time as the other pieces. The later letters bear this out. On January 18, 1840, Wordsworth wrote to Thomas Powell, who was then agitating for the publication of a new volume of Chaucer translation: " . . . with great diligence have Mrs Wordsworth and I looked in vain among my papers for the MS which contains the Manciple's Tale, and if I am not mistaken a small portion of Troilus and Cressida.[57] A month later, on February 21, 1840, William

wrote to Edward Moxon: "I have placed at my Friend Mr. Powell's disposal in addition to the Prioress's Tale, three other pieces which I did long ago, but revised the other day. They are the Manciple's Tale, The Cuckoo and the Nightingale and 24 Stanzas of Troilus and Cressida" (LY, II, 1005). This evidence makes the assumption safe.

The problem of dealing with Wordsworth's translations of Chaucer involves the fact that, with the exception of the Prioress's Tale, they seem to be matters of a highly personal and private nature. In any event, the translations were apparently done without a view to publication, or at least to immediate publication. This is best witnessed by the fact that his version of the Prioress's Tale was not published until 1820 and his versions of The Cuckoo and the Nightingale and the Troilus and Cressida stanzas were not published until 1841, when they appeared in the Horne volume. Wordsworth's version of the portrait of the Manciple and the Manciple's Tale never saw the light of print in Wordsworth's lifetime -- in fact, not until this translation was published for the first time in the edition by De Selincourt and Darbishire in 1947. Rather than deal with these items separately, as they were published, I have chosen to treat them all here, with this qualification: that the circumstances of publication relating to the two pieces published in the Horne volume will be dealt with in connection with our study of the

latter volume, Item No. 28 in our series. This approach offers the advantage of our being able to see these versions first in the context of Wordsworth's personal life, and, later, in the context of his literary life.

The present discussion will be aimed, first, at a general consideration of Wordsworth's powers in Chaucer translation, and then at a study of the separate pieces. Inasmuch as the Wordsworth translations, particularly The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, are fairly well known and generally accepted as being of high quality, and as the versions, together with supporting documentary, textual, and critical notes are readily available in the De Selincourt-Darbishire edition of the Works, I shall confine my comments to the most vital points and to points not touched on in Works or elsewhere. The discussion will close with an examination of the relation of these translations to Wordsworth's life.

In citing Wordsworth's translations I shall use the text printed in Works, Vol. IV (1947). In that volume, "The Prioress' Tale," "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," and "Troilus and Cresida," together with a helpful apparatus criticus, are found on pages 209-233, under the heading Selections from Chaucer: Modernized. The editor's notes to these selections are on pages 443-445. "The Manciple: From The Prologue" and "The Manciple's Tale," with an apparatus criticus, are given on pages 358-365 as

a part of Appendix B: "Poems either never printed by Wordsworth or not included in the edition 1849-1850." Notes to these pieces are provided on pages 470-472. Variants between the text as published by De Selincourt and the text as it stood in MS or at first publication are so fully indicated in the apparatus criticus that, a reader being thus able easily to discover original readings for himself, it has seemed unnecessary to make my references to the first published editions. Such references, when called for, will be indicated.

It must be observed that, by the strict terminology of my study, these translations are all of them modernizations. This may readily be attested, first, by a reading of Wordsworth's own statements of principle with regard to translating Chaucer.

First, as regards departure from Chaucer's own matter, a departure of the sort called "paraphrase" by Dryden and Pope, Wordsworth had this to say, in a letter to Walter Scott, January 18, 1808:

> I am curious to see your notes on Dryden's political Poems, which are, in my opinion, far the best of his works, though there is very great merit in his two translations from Boccaccio. Chaucer, I think, he has entirely spoiled, even wantonly deviating from his great original, and always for the worse.[58]

In 1805, in an earlier letter to Scott, he had passed judgment on Dryden's rendering in his own versification the verse of Chaucer:

> The only qualities I can find in Dryden that are essentially poetical are a certain ardour and impetuosity of mind with an excellent ear: it may seem strange that I do not add to this great command of language; that he certainly has, and of such language, too, as it is most desirable that a Poet should possess, or rather, that he should not be without; but it is not language that is, in the high sense of the word poetical, being neither of the imagination nor of the passions; I mean of the amiable the ennobling or intense passions; I do not mean to say that there is nothing of this in Dryden, but as little, I think, as is possible, considering how much he has written. You will easily understand my meaning when I refer to his versification of Palamon and Arcite, as contrasted with the language of Chaucer. Dryden has neither a tender heart nor a lofty sense of moral dignity: when his language is poetically impassioned, it is mostly upon unpleasing subjects; such as the follies, vices, and crimes of classes of men or of individuals. That his cannot be the language of imagination must have necessarily followed from this, that there is not a single image from Nature in the whole body of his works.[59]

Wordsworth is not implying that, in translating Chaucer, Dryden should have retained as much as possible of Chaucer's own language; he is implying that Dryden was not the man to translate Chaucer. Implied further is that Chaucer, whose eye is on nature and who therefore does employ the language of imagination, is best translated by a poet of similar attributes, namely Wordsworth.

In view of such sentiments, we should expect Wordsworth to translate Chaucer without tampering with his predecessor's matter and with as little change as feasible in verse and diction. Such a conclusion is borne out by Wordsworth's pronouncements about his own practice. We turn first to the note which headed the first printing of The Prioress's Tale, in the 1820 edition of his works:

> In the following Piece I have allowed myself no farther deviations from the original than were necessary for the fluent reading, and instant understanding, of the Author: so much however is the language altered since Chaucer's time, especially in pronunciation, that much was to be removed, and its place supplied with as little incongruity as possible. The ancient accent has been retained in a few conjunctions, such as also and alway, from a conviction that such sprinklings of antiquity would be admitted, by persons of taste, to have a graceful accordance with the subject.[60]

That Wordsworth did not wish to limit his freedom too severely in the matter of versification, is indicated by his remarks to Thomas Powell in a letter of 1839, relative to the volume of Chaucer translation (the Horne volume) then in prospect:

> -- who will undertake the Prologue to the C. Tales? For your publication that is indispensible, and I fear it will prove very difficult. It is written, as you know, in the couplet measure, and therefore I have nothing to say upon its metre -- but in respect to the Poems in stanza, neither in the Prioresses Tale, nor in the Cuckoo and Nightingale have I kept to the rule of the original as to the form and number and position of the rhymes, thinking it enough if I kept the same number of lines in each stanza, and this I think is all that is necessary -- and all that can be done without sacrificing the substance of sense, too often, to the mere form of sound. (LY, II, 993.)

That Wordsworth's practice agrees fairly closely with these principles will be apparent to anyone who puts almost any passage from these versions alongside its counterpart in the original Chaucer. As we proceed now to an examination of the individual translations, we shall see that Wordsworth generally stays, metrically as well as materially, well within the bounds of what we have determined to be

modernization.

The identity of the text from which Wordsworth worked is known. According to his statement in the Fenwick note to Yarrow Visited Wordsworth first became familiar with Chaucer through the edition of Anderson, published in 1795. A set of Anderson, of which Chaucer constituted the bulk of the first volume, was left behind by William's brother John, when the latter left Grasmere in September, 1800. (Works, IV, 443.) Occasionally a peculiarity of translation can be traced to Wordsworth's use of this text. Accordingly, for purposes of comparison, I shall generally cite Anderson's text. In the case of the Prioress's Tale, the citations from Anderson will be accompanied by line numbers, placed in brackets, as assigned in Robinson. Anderson gives no line numbers, but page references will enable the reader quickly to find a passage in his text. We go now to "The Prioress's Tale" as printed by De Selincourt in Works, IV, 209-217, with notes on p. 444.

First, one or two basic observations. Wordsworth's version of the Tale runs to 239 lines in rime royal stanzas (stanzas 9 and 34 being somewhat irregular), numbered I-XXXIV. Following Anderson, the text is consecutive from the beginning of what, in Robinson, is marked as the Prologue of The Prioress's Tale to the end of the Tale itself. In number of stanzas, the poems thus correspond exactly, but Wordsworth's addition of one line to stanza 9 has caused

his version to be one line longer than the original.

Let us begin at the beginning of the Tale with a view to determining Wordsworth's way of handling Chaucer's matter. Here is the opening stanza as it appears in Anderson (I, 121). I use Group B^2 line numbering.

THE PRIORESSES TALE.

> O Lord our Lord! thy name how merveillous
> Is in this large world ysprad! (quod she)
> For not al only thy laude precious
> Parfourmed is by men of dignitee,
> But by the mouth of children thy bountee
> Parfourmed is, for on the brest souking
> Sometime shewen they thin herying.
> [B^2, 1643-49.]

And here is how it is rendered by Wordsworth:

> "O Lord, our Lord! how wondrously," (quoth she)
> "Thy name in this large world is spread abroad!
> For not alone by men of dignity
> Thy worship is performed and precious laud;
> But by the mouths of children, gracious God!
> Thy goodness is set forth; they when they lie
> Upon the breast Thy name do glorify."
> (Ll. 1-7.)

Changes there are to be sure. In diction, Wordsworth has "wondrously" for "merveillous," and "Thy name do glorify" for "shewen they thin herying." The first was a gratuitous change if meaning only and not meter be considered, but the second was a necessary change, as "herying" was no longer current in Wordsworth's day. Purely redundant is Wordsworth's "abroad" in line 2, so far as meaning is concerned, but its presence there is indicative of the eternal problem of the Chaucer modernizer: how to fill out the meter of the line after modern pronunciation has deprived

him of the syllables sounded in Chaucer's day. The only addition to the meaning is the word "worship" in line 4, but this is really no more than an espect of the word "laud" in the original.

Although Wordsworth has retained the basic meter and diction of the original, he has made changes in the actual rhymes used. Some change is forced on him in this respect, inasmuch as, taking the a-rhyme -- merveillous . . . precious -- one finds that because of changes in syllabication and accent the modern words no longer can be rhymed. Usually, when Wordsworth can retain the original rhymes, he does so, as witness the third stanza. First in Anderson (p. 121):

> O mother maide! o maide and mother free!
> O bushe unbrent! brenning in Moyses sight,
> That ravishedest doun fro the deitee,
> Thurgh thin humblesse, the gost that in the alight
> Of whos vertue, whan he thin herte light,
> Conceived was the fathers sapience,
> Helpe me to tell it in thy reverence.
> [B^2, 1657-1663.]

And in Wordsworth (p. 210):

> III
>
> "O Mother Maid! O Maid and Mother free!
> O bush unburnt! burning in Moses sight!
> That down didst ravish from the Deity,
> Through humbleness, the spirit that did alight
> Upon thy heart, whence, through that glory's might,
> Conceived was the Father's sapience,
> Help me to tell it in thy reverence!"
> (Ll. 15-21.)

Here, except for a bit of paraphrasing in line 19 -- and even that may be called for to avoid the unmodern "Of whos vertue" and identical rhyme "alight . . . light"[61] -- this is modernization at its purest and best. The simple change

made in the third line of the stanza has kept the Chaucerian substance and spirit intact, and yet made the line quite modern, barring the retention of the antique in "didst,"

The fifth stanza provides some interesting instances of Wordsworth's handling of diction. Anderson reads (p. 121):

> My conning is so weke, o blisful Quene!
> For to declare thy grete worthinesse,
> That I ne may the weighte not sustene;
> But as a child of twelf moneth old or lesse,
> That can unnethes any word expresse,
> Right so fare I, and therefore I you pray
> Gideth my song that I shal of you say.
> [B^2, 1671-77.]

The corresponding stanza in Wordsworth (p. 216):

V

> "My knowledge is so weak, O blissful Queen!
> To tell abroad thy mighty worthiness,
> That I the weight of it may not sustain;
> But as a child of twelve months old or less,
> That laboureth his language to express,
> Even so fare I; and therefore I thee pray,
> Guide thou my song which I of thee shall say."
> (Ll. 29-35.)

The Chaucerian "conning" in the first line and "unnethes" in the fifth perforce had to be changed because they were not only archaic, but obsolete and likely to be misunderstood; however, in "laboureth" Wordsworth retains something of the antique flavor. On the other hand, he could, as modernizer, have retained without loss of intelligibility, the phrase "For to declare," which is archaic only in its expression. Similarly, he might have kept the "right so" of line 1676. Indeed, when one glances through the poem

and finds him retaining such Chaucer words as "eke" (53, 159, and 226), "adown" (55), "Lady free" (81), "certes" (88 and 125), "shent" (90), and "gan" (118 and 161), one would certainly expect him to retain Chaucer's hearty "Right so. . . ." Interesting too, the change, in what seems the opposite direction, of Chaucer's modern "you" to "thee" in lines 6 and 7.

My last observation on this stanza has to do more with prosody than with diction. Wordsworth's changes in the last line, beside that of "you" to "thee," are only two in number: the necessary change from the obsolete imperative "Gideth" and the unnecessary change, with respect to meaning, in the placement of the phrase "of you." Minor as these changes may seem -- indeed, they do not change the meter -- they completely alter the prosody of the line. Whether for better or for worse, the Chaucerian flow and flavor and the childlike insouciance that one recognizes in the Prioress have at once departed, and in their stead we have Wordsworthian dignity and self-restraint.

A look at the sixth stanza is desirable, as it is the first stanza of the tale proper. In Anderson (p. 121):

> Ther was in Asie, in a gret citee,
> Amonges Christen folk a Jewerie,
> Sustened by a lord of that contree,
> For foule usure and lucre of vilanie
> Hateful to Crist and to his compagnie,
> And thurgh the strete men mighten ride and wende,
> For it was free, and open at eyther ende.
> [B^2, 1678-1684.]

In Wordsworth (p. 210):

VI

"There was in Asia, in a mighty town,
'Mong Christian folk, a street where Jews might be,
Assigned to them and given them for their own
By a great Lord, for gain and usury,
Hateful to Christ and to His company;
And through this street who list might ride and wend;
Free was it, and unbarred at either end."
(Ll. 36-42.)

Here the shift in accent of "citee" and "contree" from the last to the first syllable forced Wordsworth to do something about the a-rhyme. In the second line, Chaucer's "Amonges" (three syllables) and "Jewerie" (four syllables), which together lose three syllables in modernization, posed Wordsworth a metrical problem, which he has solved, as a modernizer must solve it, by the introduction of filler words. In this case Wordsworth has not done well.

It is interesting that the word "usury" had acquired the necessary odor[62] to enable Wordsworth to drop the epithet "foule" without loss of emphasis. On the other hand, Wordsworth chooses in the sixth line, to add "list," which reinforces the idea contained in the auxiliary "might." He needs a syllable anyhow to replace the ending of Chaucer's "mighten." The gratuitousness of the change in the seventh line is pointed up by the rendering of the line in Wordsworth's original MS:

"For it was free and open at either end."
(P. 210, app. crit.)

Having just mentioned the use of antique diction, I

would here remind the reader of Wordsworth's enunciation of principle in this regard, quoted above on page 326. Herein lies one of the major differences between the modernizer, who would retain as much as is feasible of the old diction, and the paraphraser, who would change all into the language of his own day. Wordsworth and "Trinitarius" (Item No. 6) are on the same side in this matter, though Wordsworth, if he had read that gentleman's letter in the Gentleman's Magazine of the year before and was influenced by his theory, indeed did not borrow his predecessor's clumsy way of carrying out the theory. In any event, if "Trinitarius" is, as I believe him to be, the first modernizer, then Wordsworth is the second -- in point of time only, of course.

But Wordsworth, with all his consistency and all his respect for the integrity of Chaucer, has suffered two strange lapses to occur, one in stanza 9 and the other in stanza 34, the last stanza. Both of these lapses are pointed out by De Selincourt, but I review them briefly here, taking them up in reverse order. In Anderson, the last stanza reads as follows (p. 123):

> O young Hew of Lincoln! slain also
> With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
> For it n'is but a litel while ago,
> Pray eke for us, we sinful folk unstable,
> That of his mercie God so merciable
> On us his grete mercie multiplie,
> For reverence of his moder Marie.
> [B^2, 1874-80.]

Wordsworth has:

XXXIV

"Young Hew of Lincoln! in like sort laid low
By cursèd Jews -- thing well and widely known,
For it was done a little while ago --
Pray also thou for us, while here we tarry
Weak sinful folk, that God, with pitying eye,
In mercy would his mercy multiply
On us, for reverence of his Mother Mary!"
(Ll. 233-239.)

We grant that the modernizer, after smooth sailing for the opening quatrain, must then turn paraphraser; for "merciable" does not exist in the modern vocabulary, and "multiplie" (or "multiply") and "Mary" no longer rhyme. Still the basic rime royal pattern could conceivably have been retained. Wordsworth, however, has chosen to alter the rhyme scheme, to end his stanza with a c d d c pattern and, as De Selincourt points out, to leave the second line without a rhyming partner. The third line is the only line, according to the textual notes, that underwent revision at Wordsworth's hand, standing "For it was done but little while ago" in MS and "For not long since was dealt the cruel blow" in the Editions from 1820 through 1832. None of the revisions had any effect on the basic pattern of the stanza. The fact that Wordsworth twice saw fit to bestow especial pains on this third line, must mean that he had the full stanza under his eye, and we are thus led to believe that Wordsworth saw the peculiarities in the rhyme of this stanza and that they therefore represent, not lapse, but intention.

Stranger still is the ninth stanza, that which has provided Wordsworth's "Prioress's Tale" with its extra

line. Let us look first at the stanza as it appears in Anderson (p. 122):

> Thus hath this widewe hire litel sone ytaught
> Our blisful Lady, Cristes mother dere,
> To worship ay, and he forgate it naught,
> For sely childe wol away sone lere.
> But aye whan I remembre on this matere
> Seint Nicholas stant ever in my presence,
> For he so yong to Crist did reverence.
> [B^2, 1699-1705.]

But Wordsworth renders the stanza so (p. 211):

> IX
>
> "This Widow thus her little Son hath taught
> Our blissful Lady, Jesu's Mother dear,
> To worship aye, and he forgat it not;
> For simple infant hath a ready ear.
> Sweet is the holiness of youth: and hence,
> Calling to mind this matter when I may,
> Saint Nicholas in my presence standeth aye,
> For he so young to Christ did reverence.
> (Ll. 57-64.)

It is true that the disappearance in modern English of the "lere . . . matere" rhyme will occasion some tactical problems for the modernizer, but surely Wordsworth could have done the stanza in seven lines without departing greatly from his original, had he chosen to do so. This extra line and the resulting alteration of rhyme scheme, even to the doing away with the concluding couplet, cannot have been the result of pure oversight: Wordsworth was too painstaking a workman for that. Rather, it seems to me to be yet one more outcropping of independence, even perverseness, of mind, that had been characteristic of him since his childhood. He will follow his master faithfully, except that

once, just once, he must put something of his own into the work: "Sweet is the holiness of youth."

What a crowning irony it is then -- and De Selincourt points this out -- that we should find this line reappearing in the following context (Works, III, 376):

XXXI [of Part II of Ecclesiastical Sonnets]

Edward VI

> "Sweet is the holiness of Youth" -- so felt
> Time-honoured Chaucer speaking through that Lay
> By which the Prioress beguiled the way,
> And many a Pilgrim's rugged heart did melt.
> Hadst thou, Loved Bard! whose spirit often dwelt
> In the clear land of vision, but foreseen
> King, child, and seraph, blended in the mien
> Of pious Edward . . . .

Chaucer, in his "clear land of vision," could the more easily have foreseen Edward and his piety than that so great an admirer would commit so enormous a mis-citation.

We pass to one last, but important, consideration -- a consideration of the stanza nominated as a touchstone by Matthew Arnold in his essay, "The Study of Poetry."[63] It reads as follows in Anderson (p. 123):

> My throte is cut unto my nekke bon,
> Saide this child, and as by way of kinde
> I shuld have deyd, ye longe time agon,
> But Jesu Crist, as ye in bookes finde,
> Wol that this glory last and be in minde,
> And for the worship of his moder dere. [sic (referring to the period)]
> Yet may I sing O Alma loude and clere.
> [B^2, 1839-45.]

And in Wordsworth as follows (p. 216):

XXIX

"'My throat is cut unto the bone, I trow,'
Said this young Child, 'and by the law of kind
I should have died, yea many hours ago;
But Jesus Christ, as in the books ye find,
Will that His glory last, and be in mind;
And, for the worship of His Mother dear,
Yet may I sing, O Alma! loud and clear.'"
(Ll. 198-204.)

We have only to read the first line of Wordsworth's version in order to agree with Arnold that the "charm has departed." The "I trow" indeed has a heaviness quite uncharacteristic of Chaucer; it smacks of the artificial and the extrinsic. But consider the problem facing the modernizer of that first line. May he keep "nekke bon"? Hardly. For even if we disregard the fact that what was merely childlike in Chaucer's day has become downright primitive in ours -- "Head bone connected to the neck bone,/ Neck bone connected to the shoulder bone,/ Shoulder bone connected to. . ." -- there still remains the question of the lost syllable, as "nekke" becomes "neck." Add to this the fact that the rhyme "bone . . . agone" is no longer as close and as pleasant as Chaucer's "bon . . . agon" and we will perhaps become less critical of Wordsworth's solution, though that does not mean that Arnold is any the less right. When we pass from the first line to the remaining six lines, I think that Wordsworth has reproduced his original -- both matter and movement -- with great faithfulness.

To leave our study of Wordsworth's version of the

Prioress' Tale on a positive note, we can without much difficulty agree, on the basis of his own statements and the actual examples given, that Wordsworth shows a deep, persistent respect for the integrity of Chaucer's poetry. This will become yet clearer in the remarks I shall be making soon with respect to the Manciple's Tale, and later, when I discuss the Horne volume.

In view of the type of treatment accorded the Prioress's Tale, and in view of the rather homogeneous nature of Wordsworth's modernizing -- a fact which a few minutes' inspection of the several works will verify -- it will be unnecessary to touch so closely upon detail in the other pieces of Chaucer translation which Wordsworth has produced. I shall endeavor to concentrate upon the most significant points, especially those which have been omitted from previous studies.

We come now to the two translations by Wordsworth which made their first published appearance in the Horne volume of 1841, namely, The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized (see below, Item No. 28). These are "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale" (so titled in Works, IV, 217) and the "Extract from Troilus and Cresida" (entitled "Troilus and Cresida" in Works, IV, 228). The text of the former is found on pages 37 to 53. It is preceded by a half-title page (p. [35]), which reads: The Cuckoo and the Nightingale; Modernized by William Wordsworth. Skeat excluded this poem from the canon,

printing it in his Chaucerian and Other Pieces,[64] where it is assigned to Thomas Clanvowe. However, Wordsworth thought it was Chaucer's, a fact which warrants the inclusion of it here.

First, a brief description of this item as it appears in Horne. The poem is made up of three parts. The first part, which narrates the writer's dream vision, consists of 58 stanzas, each distinguished in the text by spacing and by the assignment of an Arabic numeral. All of these are five-line stanzas, of iambic pentameter verse, and all except stanza 3 rhyme. Stanza 3 rhymes a b b a a. According to a note in Works, IV, 227, this first part, less stanzas 53-58, is the entire piece as it stands in Wordsworth's manuscript, and Skeat, including the original text of the Cuckoo and the Nightingale in his Chaucerian and Other Pieces, prints this part, that is, through stanza 58, of the poem as an entirety, calling it No. XVIII in his list. But in the Anderson text, which Wordsworth worked from, one finds that the poem has an additional part, or parts. Specifically, first comes a group of three rime royal stanzas with corresponding rhymes -- that is, the first line of the first stanza rhymes with its counterpart in the other stanzas, and so with the second and subsequent lines. Then the rime royals are followed by a single closing stanza, of six lines, rhyming a b a b c c (with rhymes again corresponding to those in the rime royal

stanzas preceding) and headed "L'ENNOY" [sic] (Anderson, p. 501). According to Skeat, these four stanzas have really nothing to do with The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, being of quite inferior quality (see Chaucerian, p. lxiii). They are addressed, through her name in an acrostic in the last stanza, to a lady named Alison.

With Anderson as his text and without a broad background of MS. study, Wordsworth could not very well have concluded, as Skeat was to do, that, first, the poem was Thomas Clanvowe's, not Chaucer's (Chaucerian, p. lviii), and, second, the last four stanzas, including the "Envoy," had no connection with the stanzas making up The Cuckoo and the Nightingale story itself (p. lxii). In the original manuscript of his translation, Wordsworth gives some indication of personal dissatisfaction with not only the dedicatory four stanzas at the end but also with the six stanzas preceding them, or the last six stanzas of what might be considered the tale proper, as Clanvowe wrote it. These six stanzas included the calling of the bird parliament, as well as the reference to Woodstock that had misled generations of Chaucer biographers.

Wordsworth's reasons for stopping when he did will be taken up in the concluding part of this discussion. In any case, when the piece made its first appearance in the Horne volume, he had translated all the remaining stanzas,

including the three in the dedication and the "Envoy."

We turn now to an examination of the poem itself, as it appeared in the Horne's Chaucer, Modernized. The reader may follow my comments easily by simply referring to the De Selincourt edition of Wordsworth's works (IV, 217-228). The texts are virtually the same, with all discrepancies of any importance indicated by De Selincourt in the apparatus criticus. The line numbering in De Selincourt is quite valid for the Horne text. For the original Chaucer I use Anderson, as Wordsworth did. We begin at the beginning. Anderson reads (p. 498):

> The god of Love, ah, benedicite!
> Howe mighty and howe gret a lorde is he!
> For he can makin of lowe hertis hie,
> And of hye lowe and lykè for to die,
> And hardè hertis he can makin fre:
>
> He can makin within a litil stounde
> Of sickè folkè whole, and freshe, and sounde,
> And of the whole he can ymakè seke;
> He can ybindin and unbindin eke
> That he wol have yboundin or unbounde.

In Horne, Wordsworth gives the first stanza as follows:

> 1.
>
> The God of Love -- ah, benedicite!
> How mighty and how great a Lord is he!
> For he of low hearts can make high, of high
> He can make low, and unto death bring nigh;
> And hard hearts he can make them kind and free. [5]
>
> 2.
>
> Within a little time as hath been found,
> He can make sick folk whole and fresh and sound;
> Them who are whole in body and in mind,
> He can make sick, -- bind can he and unbind
> All that he will have bound, or have unbound. [10]

There is no need for any further analysis of Wordsworth's verse here, inasmuch as what was said about versification with respect to the "Prioress' Tale" is quite applicable here. The retention of Chaucer's opening couplet, as it was, is indicative of Wordsworth's intention to modernize rather than paraphrase his original. When departures are forced upon him by reason of peculiarities of changes in the meanings of words and in the spelling and pronunciation of words, Wordsworth remains remarkably close to his original. The problem of lines 3 and 4 is very deftly handled. Since the "makin" and "hertis" of line 3 had each lost a syllable, Wordsworth had to find a way to make up the two syllables lost. He does this by borrowing "of hye" from the fourth line and letting the phrase end line 3. This enables him to keep the same rhyme that Chaucer had, at least so far as sound is concerned. He makes up the lost lyllables by introducing, in the fourth line, a repetition of the verb "can make." The parallel structure of the original is retained, and, if the result seems a bit wordy, it is not an obtrusive or pleonastic wordiness, as it might have been had he simply tried to introduce additional words within line 3. That Wordsworth sometimes used this latter method, however, and that it is an inferior method are clear for a study of line 5, where Wordsworth, having three syllables to make up, solved matters by adding a redundant "them," which structurally

has no sanction at all, and by changing Chaucer's "fre" to "kind and free." Wordsworth's solution for the phrase that concludes line 4 is interesting. Here he had metrical reasons for doing something with "and lyke for to die" inasmuch as to use the modern "like" would cost a syllable. But in the diction itself lies a difficulty. Regardless of how lyke, together with the expression of which it is a part, is construed -- whether lykè is simply equivalent to the adverb likely or whether we have a form of the idiom which we hear today as "like to die" or "I had like to have frozen to death" -- it was in Wordsworth's time (Johnson), as it is today (Webster), colloquial rather than archaic. Even the for, which Chaucer puts in and Wordsworth leaves out, may still be heard in vulgar speech. Although he could conceivably have escaped with ". . . and likely for to die," Wordsworth elected to turn paraphraser and give us ". . . and unto death bring nigh." Even here he managed to keep the rhyme. I should conclude that, for Wordsworth, here to modernize was to be just a bit too colloquial or too vulgar.

In the second stanza quoted, Wordsworth's changing the second rhyme from "seke . . . eke" to something else was forced on him. Even had he retained the archaic eke, as he frequently does, it would no longer rhyme with the modern equivalent of seke. In the strength of the masculine rhyme, "mind . . . unbind," and in the placing of the strong word

"unbind" at emphatic position at the end of the line, Wordsworth's version must here be allowed the equal of Chaucer's in poetic justness. In fact, in lines 9-10, Wordsworth has given us exemplary modernizing.

In stanza 4 we have one instance, of several pointed out by De Selincourt, of an inferior reading in Anderson which was picked up, all but unavoidably, and translated by Wordsworth.

> Shortly, al that evir he wol he may;
> Againist him there dare no wight say naye,
> For he can glad and greve whom he lykith,
> And who that he wol he loweth or sikith,
> And most his might he shedith er in May.

So reads Anderson (p. 498). Wordsworth has:

4.

> In brief, the whole of what he will, he may;
> Against him dare not any wight say nay;
> To humble or afflict whome'er he will,
> To gladden or to grieve, he hath like skill;
> But most his might he sheds on eve of May.
> [16-20]

In "sheds" of line 20, Wordsworth is following Anderson's "shedith." De Selincourt says that the "correct" text of the original reads: "And most his might he sheweth ever in May." Though this is the reading of Skeat (Chaucerian, p. 348), one may find there a textual note to the effect that both Thynne and MS. Tanner 346 have "shedeth." Chalmers, in 1810, printing from Speght, has "shedeth."

In the example just given, both the preferred reading and the other reading make sense, similar sense, in context. The further change in Anderson's spelling of the

ending, -ith for -eth, is explainable by virtue of the fact that Anderson printed from Urry, whose practice, as explained in Chapter II, was to respell with an i all endings containing an e before the final consonant or consonants, whenever, he felt, the ending was meant to be pronounced as a separate syllable. In the eighth stanza, this practice of Urry's, compounded with a variation in spelling, the whole being carried forward by Anderson, did make something of a problem for Wordsworth. We look at Anderson first (p. 498):

> I speke this of feling trewily:
> What! tho that I be olde and unlusty
> Yet I have felte of the sickenesse through May
> Bothe hote and cold, and axis every day,
> How sore iwis there wote no wight but I.

Whether Wordsworth was able to puzzle out the true meaning of "and axis" is doubtful, though, as we shall soon see, his translation does not miss the true mark by much. In any case, the true reading for "and axis," an expression which De Selincourt says "might mean anything" (p. 444), is "an acces," per Skeat (p. 348). In a textual note, Skeat shows Thynne as reading "an axes," which appears to be only an alternate spelling. (Robinson's glossary carries a cross-reference, under axes, to accesse.) Had even "axes" descended to Wordsworth, he might have turned to Anderson's glossary and discovered the explanation under accesse, where one reads, "properly the approach of a fever, a fever." But Urry, acting under his arbitrary

principle, changed the spelling to axis, whence Anderson got it. At any rate, herein will be found Wordsworth's solution:

8.

> In sooth, I speak from feeling, what though now
> Old am I, and to genial pleasure slow;
> Yet have I felt of sickness through the May,
> Both hot and cold, and heart-aches every day, --
> How hard, alas! to bear, I only know. [36-40]

Apparently Wordsworth felt axis meant aches.

It is interesting to note the fact that some time after Wordsworth first wrote this poem, perhaps even at the time when he was preparing the poem for publication, he inspected a MS. in the Bodleian Library and made some changes that bring his published version closer to the text later published by Skeat.

The passage in which the changes are involved begins at stanza 41. Let me first review the matter of the poem through stanza 40. After devoting the opening stanzas to a statement of the power of the God of Love, the poet turns his mind, in stanza 5, to thoughts of the connection between Love and the Maytime stirring of the heart, thoughts which bring both sweet thoughts and sad. In stanza 8, just cited, the poet, speaking in the first person, confesses that, even at his age, he can still feel this May sickness. Sleepless, he recalls the "common tale":

> That it was good to hear the Nightingale,
> Ere the vile Cuckoo's note be uttered. [49-50]

On this "the third night of the May," he determines to rise early and go out in the hope of hearing the nightingale. This he does, and in stanzas 12 to 17, whether in the original or in Wordsworth's version, the reader shares the poet's delight in the beauty of nature at early morning. Sitting down beside a stream, he listens to its voice and the voices of the birds. Amidst all this beauty, as he lies in a state of slumbrous waking, the cuckoo breaks silence, or, so it seems to him in his thought. But the nightingale sings soon (stanza 20), and a rather bitter debate ensues between the two birds, to which the poet, in "that swooning fit," listens, understanding all they say. The Nightingale defends love and lovers against the cynical jibes of the Cuckoo. At stanza 40, the debate rises to its climax. It is in the ensuing passage that Wordsworth made the changes alluded to. I quote stanzas 40 through 46 from Horne, pp. 47-48. Wordsworth's note comes at bottom of p. 47:

40.

Thou Nightingale! the Cuckoo said, be still,
For Love no reason hath but his own will;--
For to th' untrue he oft gives ease and joy;
True lovers doth so bitterly annoy,
He lets them perish through that grievous ill. [200]

41.

With such a master would I never be*,
For he, in sooth, is blind, and may not see,
And knows not when he hurts and when he heals;
Within this court full seldom Truth avails,
So diverse in his wilfulness is he. [205]

42.

Then of the Nightingale did I take note,
How from her inmost heart a sigh she brought,
And said, Alas! that ever I was born,
Not one word have I now, I am so forlorn,--
And with that word, she into tears burst out. [210]

*From a manuscript in the Bodleian, as are also atanzas 44 and 45.

43.

Alas, alas! my very heart will break,
Quoth she, to hear this churlish bird thus speak
Of Love, and of his holy services;
Now, God of Love! thou help me in some wise,
That vengeance on this Cuckoo I may wreak. [215]

44.

And so methought I started up anon,
And to the brook I ran, and got a stone,
Which at the Cuckoo hardily I cast,
And he for dread did fly away full fast;
And glad, in sooth, was I when he was gone. [220]

45.

And as he flew, the Cuckoo ever and aye,
Kept crying, "Farewell! -- farewell Popinjay!"
As if in scornful mockery of me;
And on I hunted him from tree to tree,
Till he was far, all out of sight away. [225]

46.

Then straightway came the Nightingale to me,
And said, Forsooth, my friend, do I thank thee,
That thou wert near to rescue me; and now,
Unto the God of love I make a vow,
That all this May I will thy songstress be. [230]

Wordsworth's footnote to line 201 was reprinted in the 1842 edition of his works, but with this addition: " . . . which are necessary to complete the sense" (Works, IV, 224).

Turning now to Anderson, we find that the edition and the Wordsworth translation correspond, stanza by stanza,

through the fortieth stanza. The forty-first stanza as found in the Bodleian and other MSS. is not to be found in Anderson.[65] Wordsworth was able to supply the omitted stanza by consulting the MS. in the Bodleian. This MS. also provided him with the full readings that have become stanzas 44 and 45 in his version. In Anderson this part of the narrative is given in but one stanza (p. 500):

> Me thoughtin then that he sterte up anon,
> And glad was I tho that he was agon,
> And evirmore the Cuckowe as he flaie
> Ysayid, Farewell, farewell, popingaie,
> As though he had yscornid me alone.

Skeat's text, which is substantially the same as the Bodleian by which Wordsworth sought to improve his translation, gives stanzas 44 and 45 as follows (Chaucerian, p. 356):

> Me thoughte than, that I sterte up anon,
> And to the broke I ran, and gat a stoon,
> And at the Cukkow hertely I caste;
> And he, for drede, fley away ful faste;
> And glad was I when that he was a-goon.
>
> And evermore the Cukkow, as he fley,
> He seyde, 'Farewel! farewel, papinjay!'
> As though he hadde scorned, thoughte me;
> But ay I hunted him fro tree to tree
> Til he was fer al out of sighte awey.
> (216-225)

Comparing Wordsworth's stanzas 44 and 45 with these from Skeat, we see how closely Wordsworth followed the original. Only line 221 was subjected to change to any significant extent. Some change was forced because the original rhyme, "fley . . . papinjay," was no longer available, but the

result was an unhappy one, in that the expression "ever and aye" involves redundancy.

When Wordsworth first wrote the translation, he was at home in Grasmere, far away from the Cambridge and Bodleian Libraries, and with, apparently, only his copy of Anderson, wherein but a single stanza took the place of the two above. Here is how Wordsworth translated it (Works, IV, 225, app. crit.):

> Methought that he did then start up anon,
> And glad was I, in truth, that he was gone,
> And ever as the Cuckoo flew away
> He cried out farewell, farewell Popinjay
> As though he had been scorning me alone.

One must agree with the comment by Wordsworth that the additions are needed, for in this first version the departure of the Cuckoo is unmotivated, except for whatever force there might be in the Nightingale's invocation of the God of Love in the preceding stanza. The threat of intervention by Cupid would hardly have given anxiety to one who had shown so little respect for the God of Love throughout the debate.

Thus through the Bodleian MS., Wordsworth was able to improve his translation. There is no indication in De Selincourt of when he saw the Bodleian MS. or when he made the changes. However, the letters written in the months before the publication of the Horne volume, particularly his letter to Moxon, February 21, 1840 (LY, II, 1005), indicate that Wordsworth is searching out his Chaucer pieces and polishing them prior to submitting them for inclusion in Chaucer,

Modernized. It is quite likely that one of his confrères, perhaps Horne himself, hearing that Wordsworth wished to present this particular piece and knowing of the Bodleian MS., recommended the text of the Bodleian MS. to him.

Stanza 48 (Horne, p. 49) is interesting on two counts. Let us quote the original stanza first, as it stands in Anderson (p. 500):

> And one thing I woll redin the also,
> Ne leve thou not the Cuckow ne' his loves so, [227]
> For all that he hath saied is strong lesyng.
> Naie, (quod I) therto shall nothyng me bryng
> For love, and it hath do me mochil wo.

In Horne, the Wordsworth version is as follows:

> 48.
>
> And one thing will I counsel thee alsó,
> The Cuckow trust not thou, nor his Love's saw;
> All that she said is an outrageous lie.
> Nay, nothing shall me bring thereto, quoth I,
> For Love, and it hath done me mighty woe.
> [236-240]

First, this passage has interest on account of Wordsworth's keeping, by obvious intention, the word "alsó" in the first line. This is remarkable because keeping it involved the word's retaining both its ME accentuation, as indicated by the accent mark, and its ME pronunciation, as indicated by its rhyming mate, "saw." This is as far as Wordsworth goes in the matter of retaining the antique language, but it is indeed rather far. Dryden would have been horrified.

The second point of interest is that Wordsworth, in following the reading of Anderson in the case of lines 237

and 240, was following obscure readings. Wordsworth could not have known that line 237 (that is, line 227 in Anderson) was obscure, for it made some sense in the Anderson reading and therefore there was no apparent reason why it could not be modernized very closely. But here is Skeat's reading of the line (Chaucerian, p. 356):

Ne leve thou not the Cukkow, loves fo.

In his textual notes, Skeat shows Thynne's reading to be:

. . . the cuckowe ne his loves fo.

If Thynne had so instead of fo, Skeat does not indicate the fact. Skeat gives the Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, and Arch. Selden B. 24 readings as:

. . . the Cukkow loves fo.

In none of these, however, is there any alternate reading of the word fo itself. Of the two groups of readings, Skeat's reading is certainly superior to Thynne's, which makes little sense as it stands. It must be emended either by the omission of ne his, which gives the Skeat reading, or by the substitution of so (the equivalent of saw) for fo.

The meaning of the last line in stanza 48 is somewhat obscure as it stands in Anderson (wherein it is the 46th stanza), and Wordsworth has not made it less so. This reading again can be traced back to Urry and, per Skeat's textual note, p. 356, to Thynne. The problem is how to understand the phrase "For Love" that begins the line. Perhaps Wordsworth intended it to be read as meaning "For

Love's sake." Also obscure is the reference of *it*. Probably the reference is to the Cuckoo, but it could be to the Cuckoo's "saw" or to the Cuckoo's mendacious argument or even to "Love" (in the same line), if the word may be taken both as a pejorative and as a non-personification. In De Selincourt's *apparatus criticus* there is no indication that Wordsworth ever retouched this line; yet he might have used this reading, from the Bodley MS.:

Fro love; and yet he doth me mochel wo.

This is the reading adopted by Skeat (*Chaucerian*, p. 356). The obscurities are cleared up, as we learn that nothing will draw the poet to the Cuckoo's lying and away *from* Love and that *he* (rather than *it*), the Cuckoo, for the bird is clearly masculine, has caused the poet a great deal of woe. The emphasis secured by the introduction of *yet* makes the thought clearer still.

By way of a brief interruption, I should like to consider a matter just mentioned: the sex of the Cuckoo in the poem. Wordsworth is not consistent. Of the nine stanzas in which he makes clear reference to the sex of the Cuckoo, the bird is treated as male in the first (stanza no. 18), female in the next three (nos. 21, 24, 33), male in the next two (nos. 44, 45), both male (l. 2) and female (l. 3) in the next (no. 48), and female in the last two (nos. 52, 54). This confusion is generally inherited, with some augmentation, from Anderson, in whose

text the bird is predominantly male, but referred to as female in stanzas 21 and 24. For the confusion in his stanza 48, Wordsworth must take the blame, for in the equivalent stanza in Anderson (no. 46) the bird is consistently male. According to Skeat's textual notes, similar inconsistencies are found in the MSS. and in Thynne. Skeat accords male gender to the bird throughout.

In Wordsworth's MS., De Selincourt tells us (Works, IV, 227), the translation ends with line 260, or at the end of the stanza which in the full version is number 52, in which the nightingale takes her leave of the poet and receives a prayer on the poet's part that God may ever be with that bird, shielding both her and himself from the false Cuckoo and its teaching. But for the Horne volume Wordsworth modernized the rest of the poem. The final numbered stanzas, Nos. 53-58, presenting the prospect of a Parliament of Birds sitting in judgment over the Cuckoo, conclude in Wordsworth's version as follows (Horne, p. 51):

57.

> And all this shall be done, without a nay,
> The morrow after Saint Valentine's day,
> Under a maple that is well beseen,
> Before the chamber-window of the Queen,
> At Woodstock, on the meadow green and gay.
> [No one has shown much concern over this delay
> of justice, from May 4 to February 15, but so
> it must be, it seems, with Love's questions.]

58.

> She thanked them; and then her leave she took,
> And flew into a hawthorn by that brook;

> And there she sate and sung--upon that tree,--
> "For term of life Love shall have hold of me!"
> So loudly, that I with that song awoke.

At this point, according to Skeat, the poem ends. The three rime royal stanzas following, in which the poet addresses his "leude book" and asks it to represent him, even if rudely and not well, to his sweetheart, together with the six-line "Envoy," are regarded by Skeat as a separate poem altogether, with no connection in author, subject, or style to the foregoing poem. The four stanzas, were, however, printed by Thynne and subsequent editors, including Anderson, as a part of The Cuckoo and the Nightingale. Wordsworth would not have found these stanzas in the Bodley MS. (Skeat, Chaucerian, p. lxii), but there is no evidence as to whether he noticed the lack, let alone whether his suspicions were aroused.

To close this discussion of the "Cuckoo and the Nightingale" on a metrical note, let us examine the second line of stanza 58, cited above:

> The morrow after Saint Valentine's day.

The other lines of the stanza scan very easily, with but slight irregularities, as iambic pentameter. To make this line so scan, however, one must accent the second syllable of "Valentine's," and that would be to wrench the normal pronunciation of the word and, therefore, to spoil the reading of the whole line. Since Wordsworth is a careful metrist usually, one is reluctant to believe that he has

been a careless one on this occasion.

To form a notion of how the line may be read, let us go to Anderson (p. 501) for a look at the text used by Wordsworth:

> And this shall be ydone withoutin naie
> The morowe aftir Sainct Valentine's daie,
> Undir a maple that is faire and grene,
> Before the chambir windowe of the quene
> At Wodèstocke upon the grenè laie.

Obviously, because of the syllabicness of e, the writer of this stanza was afforded a prosodic advantage denied to Wordsworth. Syncope and elision were further devices that lay within the earlier writer's discretion to a much greater extent than they did within Wordsworth's. Thus any of the original lines may readily fit the iambic pentameter pattern. For example, the original of the line in question can be scanned as follows:

Thĕ mór/'wĕ ăftír/ Saĭnct Vál/ĕntín/ĕs dáí/ĕ,

This brings us to an issue that was raised in 1815 by George Nott, when in Vol. I of his edition of the works of Surrey and Wyatt he gave his opinion, in opposition to Tyrwhitt's view, that Chaucer's system of versification was basically rhythmical rather than metrical (Spurgeon, II, 74-76). He meant that Chaucer's line was to be read in a cadenced manner, with caesura at or near the middle of a line and a pause at the end, and with attention given to stress within the hemistichs rather than to any regular counting and accenting of syllables. One of the lines

Nott cites from Chaucer -- v. 4582^{66} (B^1, 162) -- is prosodically equivalent to the first line in the stanza under examination. I give it as printed in Spurgeon (II, 75), with the scansion markings as therein indicated:

In hèr ĭs hìgh bĕautè // wĭthòutĕn prīde.

Of course this is to apply to Chaucer's line something of the principles of OE and ME alliterative verse. Although Chaucer seems to have consciously rejected the alliterative aspects of this verse (if Pars Prol, l. 43, is an indication), this does not mean that he rejected the accentual and caesural aspects. But the matter is too great for discussion here. Suffice it to say that the issue proved an active one during the Romantic Era. Nott's opinion was supported by Southey (Spurgeon, II, 183, 206-207), and Tyrwhitt's by George Cunningham (195) and Henry Hallam (212). The writer of the Retrospective Review articles to be studied below as Item No. 18 and No. 19 and Horne in his Preface to Chaucer, Modernized adopt still different positions, but generally closer to Nott's than to Tyrwhitt's.

But our present purposes will be satisfied if, assuming that Nott's view has some validity, we simply apply it to the original of the Wordsworth line that we first questioned. Accentuation is marked by the acute accent instead of the grave:

Thĕ mór'wĕ áftĭr // Saĭnct Válĕntĭnĕs daié.

Syncopation need not take place in "morowe," but it improves the reading, I think; the last syllable of "morowe" must not be elided. Quantity is involved in the reading also, as the third syllable of "Valentine's," though it might receive a secondary accent, shown above by the symbol ″, must be read rapidly, with no greater quantity than either the preceding or the following syllable. Passing the question whether this method of scansion produces a better reading than the syllabic method already shown above, we apply this same method to Wordsworth's translation of the line:

Thĕ mórrŏw áftĕr // Saĭnt Válĕntĭne's dáy.

The other lines are equally amenable to this manner of scansion, with the caesura falling after "done" (l. 1), "maple" (l. 3), "window" (l. 4), and "Woodstock" (l. 5). If we read the stanza aloud according to this principle, all the lines, including the one in question, read very well indeed, and we cannot escape feeling that this is the way Wordsworth intended them to be read. What we do not know is whether Wordsworth had consciously defined the verse of his original as cadenced rather than syllabic and was as consciously reproducing it in his translation, or whether he was simply using the standard iambic pentameter as a basis and applying phrasing and pauses, as a kind of overlay, to secure beauty and variety.

The "Extract from Troilus and Cresida," first published in Horne, pp. 127-135, is a modernization of Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, Book V, lines 519-686. In dealing with this passage of 24 stanzas, Wordsworth, as with the other pieces, has kept close to his original, maintaining the rime royal stanzaic form though not hesitating to depart from a line-by-line, rhyme-by-rhyme correspondence when he felt it necessary to do so -- this accords both with his statements and with his practice throughout the four pieces. I shall confine my treatment to presenting the first stanza as an example of Wordsworth's work, pointing to one or two critical points elsewhere, and commenting on a distinction with respect to Wordsworth's diction here.

The passage opens at the beginning of the eighth day of the enforced separation of the lovers. Troilus is shown going to see Cressida's palace, now shut and empty, and tormenting himself with memories of love's moments. As the passage ends, the ninth night ends, bringing the tenth day and the promise of Cressida's return.

Here is the opening stanza, from Anderson (p. 397). For the sake of facilitating reference, I give line numbers as found in Robinson's edition:

> On morow' as sone as day began to clere
> This Troilus gan of his slepe to' abreide,
> And to Pandarus his owne brothir dere,
> For love of God, ful pitously he seide,
> As go we sene the paleis of Creseide,
> For sens we yet maie have none othir fest
> So let us sene her paleis at the lest!
> [V, 519-525.]

This stanza is translated by Wordsworth as follows. The text is that of the Horne edition; the line numbers are after De Selincourt's edition of Wordsworth's works.

> Next morning Troilus began to clear
> His eyes from sleep, at the first break of day,
> And unto Pandarus, his own brother dear,
> For love of God, full piteously did say,
> We must the Palace see of Cresida;
> For since we yet may have no other feast,
> Let us behold her Palace at the least! [1-7]

The disappearance of abreide from the modern English forced Wordsworth to alter the wording of the second line. He does so, without changing its meaning, but in the process, which involved moving back the mention of Troilus, the meaning of the first line is altered, with Troilus's eyes doing the clearing, not the day. Oddly, the change in meaning of the first line did not involve a change in the rhyme, which is still "clear . . . dear." In the closing couplet, Wordsworth was able to retain Chaucer's rhyme words despite the change in spelling each had undergone; for "fest" and "lest" had undergone precisely the same change.

These 24 stanzas can be classified as close modernization, taking the first stanza as typical, and perhaps half of them are extremely close. There seems to be an even greater disposition on Wordsworth's part to retain archaic words and phrasing than one finds in his "Prioress' Tale" and "Cuckoo and the Nightingale." One notices, for example, a liberal sprinkling of the auxiliary verb "'gan."

Consider the sixteenth stanza, as found in Horne, p. 132:

> Another time he took into his head,
> That every wight, who in the way passed by,
> Had of him ruth, and fancied that they said,
> I am right sorry Troilus will die:
> And thus a day or two drove wearily;
> As ye have heard; such life 'gan he to lead
> As one that standeth betwixt hope and dread.
> [106-112]

The words "wight," "right sorry," "ye," and "'gan" are straight from Chaucer, as is the peculiar wording of the third line, which in Anderson (p. 398) stands:

> Had of him routhe, and that thei sainè should.
> [V, 626.]

The archaic effect is present throughout. Wordsworth has indeed reproduced Chaucer rather than translated him.

But there is one couplet in which, poetically, Wordsworth seems to have surpassed his great original. I quote the fifteenth stanza (Horne, p. 132):

> And of himself did he imagine oft,
> That he was blighted, pale, and waxen less
> Than he was wont; and that in whispers soft
> Men said, what may it be, can no one guess
> Why Troilus hath all this heaviness?
> All which he of himself conceited wholly
> Out of his weakness and his melancholy.
> [99-105]

In Anderson (p. 398) the concluding couplet reads:

> And al this n'as but his melancolie,
> That he had of him selfe suche fantasie.
> [V, 622-623]

Even granting that Chaucer had a valid rhyme in -ie, with its dissyllabic ending, one cannot be altogether satisfied with a rhyme in which no syllable properly a part of the

stem is involved. Certainly Wordsworth's rhyme, "wholly . . . melancholy," though not altogether exact, is still more accurate than Chaucer's. If we are to recognize the validity of Dowden's comment on lines 104-105, alluded to by De Selincourt (Works, IV, 445), we must award Shakespeare an auxiliary role in whatever success the rhyme achieves for Wordsworth. Hamlet, II, ii, 638, gives us: "Out of my weakness and my melancholy."

De Selincourt (IV, 445) provides several items of critical comment which need not be reviewed here. For the most part, this comment deals with Wordsworth's misreadings of the Chaucer text or other types of mistakes, such as when, in line 8, with Chaucer writing "his meinè for to blende" (Anderson, p. 397 [V, 526]). Wordsworth reads "meinè" as "meaning" or "purpose" instead of as "household." There are really only a few such cases, however.

The "Extract" closes with the following stanza (Horne, p. 135):

> A weary while in pain he tosseth thus,
> Till fully past and gone was the ninth night;
> And even at his side stood Pandarus,
> Who busily made use of all his might
> To comfort him, and make his heart too light;
> Giving him always hope, that she the morrow
> Of the tenth day will come, and end his sorrow.
> [162-168]

Instead of "even" in the third line and of "too" in the fifth, the readings as given in De Selincourt are "ever" and "more," which are, in both sound and sense, to be

preferred over the Horne readings. Neither of these latter is justified by the Anderson text, which has "aie" where the Horne text has "even" and "his herte light" for "heart too light." De Selincourt has not dealt with these particular discrepancies in the apparatus criticus. With regard to the first, Wordsworth very likely did originally write "ever," with the reading "even" coming about as a result of an error made in transcribing the piece for the Horne volume, or perhaps in the printing itself. With regard to the second discrepancy, however, it is much more likely that "too" was the reading in Wordsworth's manuscript and that as such it was transmitted to the Horne text of 1841. By 1850 both these inferior readings had been revised.

The question why Wordsworth elected to modernize these particular twenty-four stanzas will be discussed below, as a conclusion to my treatment of Wordsworth.

We come now to the fourth and last work of Chaucer translation which Wordsworth did: the translation of the Manciple's Tale together with a translation of the portrait of the Manciple in the General Prologue. This was written, as has already been pointed out, in 1801 along with the other pieces. As this work was never published in Wordsworth's lifetime, it may be well to outline its history here.

Dorothy's Journals provide us with an account of the

work at its inception. Her entry for December 2, 1801, reads:

> A fine grey frosty morning. Wm. rose late. I read the Tale of Phoebus and the Crow, which he afterwards attempted to translate, and did translate a large part of it today . . . . We were sitting by the fire in the evening when Charles and Olivia Lloyd came in. I had not been very well so I did not venture out with them when they went away -- Mary and William went as far as Rydale village . . . . They looked fresh and well when they came in. I wrote part of a letter to Coleridge. After his return William went on a little with Chaucer [presumably The Manciple's Tale, though Dorothy does not say]. (I, 86-87.)

Two days later, when Chaucer is mentioned again, William is translating the Prioress's Tale. The only other mention of the Manciple's Tale in the Journals comes in Dorothy's entry for April 28, 1802:

> A fine sunny but coldish morning. I copied The Prioress's Tale. Wm. was in the orchard. I went to him; he worked away at his poem though he was ill and tired. I happened to say that when I was a child I would not have pulled a strawberry blossom. I left him and wrote out The Manciple's Tale . . . . [She tells of William's working on other poems (Foresight and The Tinker). Evening has fallen when they finally get the walk she has been hoping for. They walked] backwards and forewards between our house and Olliff's. We talked about T. Hutchinson, and Bell Addison. William left me sitting on a stone. When we came in we corrected the Chaucers, but I could not finish them tonight. Went to bed. (I, 139.)

For almost forty years thereafter, the piece lies forgotten; at least in journals, letters, and elsewhere there is no mention of this work. Finally, on January 18, 1840, during the period when the Horne volume is taking shape, Wordsworth writes to Thomas Powell, to speak of his dif-

ficulty in locating the MS. which contained the "Manciple's Tale" (LY, II, 999). Apparently at this time Wordsworth intended to contribute the "Manciple's Tale" to the Horne volume.

Shortly afterward, if we read the evidence aright, he has found the "Manciple's Tale" but is not prepared to offer it for publication. We have only this fragment: ". . . but you are quite welcome to the Prioress's Tale, Cuckoo and the Nightingale, and the passage from the Troilus and Cressida" (LY, II, 1001). This is dated early 1840 by De Selincourt, who explains in a footnote that it must belong to a letter written soon after that of January 18. He had in that letter mentioned his belief that the same MS. which contained the "Manciple's Tale" also contained the passage from Troilus and Cressida. One would judge that in the part of the letter that is missing Wordsworth has just said, "Though I have found The Manciple's Tale I prefer not to offer it for publication at this time . . . ."

It is clear from a later letter that whatever he might have thought of its worth as Chaucer translation, Wordsworth's reason for not publishing the"Manciple's Tale" was that friends had asked him not to. As this brings up the question of the morality of the Tale, a question which, with respect to publication, is quite beside the 1801 context in which all the translations were written and in which we are now viewing them, I defer this aspect of the

matter to my discussion of the Horne volume. At present I seek only to establish the bibliographic history of this piece. The best chance the piece had to see the light of print during Wordsworth's lifetime was put an end to by Wordsworth, in this comment from a letter to Thomas Powell, dated May 1, 1840: "You are welcome to my Cuckoo and Nightingale [and] to [the] small part of the Troilus and Cressida, and were my own judgment only to be consulted to the 'Manciples Tale,' but there is a delicacy in respect to this last among some of my Friends, which though I cannot sympathize with it I am bound to respect. Therefore in regard to that piece you will consider my decision as to present suspended." (LY, II, 1025)

De Selincourt printed the Wordsworth versions of the Manciple portrait and the Manciple's Tale in Volume IV of the Poetical Works in Appendix B ("Poems Either Never Printed by Wordsworth or Not Included in the Edition 1849-50"), pp. 358-365, under the heading Chaucer Modernised. "The Manciple/ From The Prologue" is on p. 358; The Manciple's Tale, on pp. 358-365. To judge from the notes, which run pp. 470-472, De Selincourt has printed the version as found in the MS. copy written out by Dorothy on April 28, 1802. At any rate, in the apparatus criticus are given the different readings found in a "MS. 1," which I take to be the manuscript Dorothy copied from. "MS. 1" might also be that written out on December 23 for Coleridge,

by Mary. (Journals, I, 95.)

Wordsworth's methods of translating the Manciple pieces do not differ greatly from those employed in his other Chaucer translations, so that many of the results are similar. There are several matters deserving of comment, none the less.

In both Portrait and Tale, Wordsworth has maintained the heroic couplet of the original. The lines are grouped to form verse paragraphs of varying length, as in the edition of Anderson employed by Wordsworth, although Wordsworth's verse paragraphs sometimes embrace groups of two or three verse paragraphs as printed in Anderson.

I quote the portrait entire. Line numbering is De Selincourt's:

> A MANCIPLE there was, one of a Temple
> Of whom all caterers might take example
> Wisely to purchase stores, whate'er the amount,
> Whether he paid, or took them on account.
> So well on every bargain did he wait,
> He was beforehand aye in good estate.
> Now is not that of God a full fair grace
> That one man's natural sense should so surpass
> The wisdom of a heap of learned men?
>
> Of masters he had more than three times ten
> That were in law expert and curious,
> Of which there was a dozen in that house
> Fit to be steward over land and rent
> Of any Lord of England, competent
> Each one to make him live upon his own
> In debtless honour, were his wits not flown;
> Or sparely live, even to his heart's desire;
> Men who would give good help to a whole Shire
> In every urgent case that might befal,
> Yet could this Manciple outwit them all.

Here is the opening verse paragraph from the original in

Anderson (pp. 5-6):

> A gentil Manciple was ther of a temple, [2]
> Of which achatours mighten take ensemple
> For to ben wise in bying of vitaille,
> For whether that he paide or toke by taille
> Algate he waited so in his achate
> That he was ay before in good estate:
> Now is not that of God a ful fayre grace
> That swiche a lewed mannes wit shal pace [8]
> The wisdom of an hepe of lered men?

As we compare the first 9 lines of Wordsworth with these corresponding lines in Anderson, we can but agree that Wordsworth has given us a good piece of modernization. Mainly he keeps what he may keep, even if to do so results in maintaining archaic phrasings, as in the case of line 7. Unlike the eighteenth-century translators, he does not hesitate to follow Chaucer in splitting a couplet between two verse paragraphs, as at lines 9-10. He might have adopted the first line without change, especially since his revision did not afford a smoother metrical reading of the line. Furthermore, he dropped out the adjective "gentil," perhaps feeling that his readers would only take it in the wrong sense, as "soft" or "tender," rather than "genteel." Most of the changes in wording are forced upon Wordsworth, however, and in these circumstances he has hit upon rather happy solutions. With regard to "achatours" (line 2) and "lewed" (line 8), Wordsworth was particularly successful, for with "caterers" and the phrase "one man's natural sense," Wordsworth preserves almost all of the meaning and much of the meter of the original. With regard to rhyme, Wordsworth has kept as

close as possible to the original, even when to do so resulted in his having to use half-rhymes, as in the first and fourth couplets. Having changed "taille" to "account" at end of line 4, as he was virtually forced to do, he created a companion rhyme by adding "what'er the amount," the only addition made to the sense of the passage, an addition which certainly is in perfect line with the sense of the original. He solved the problem of the third couplet rhyme by translating the archaic "achate" and transferring it to the interior of the line, drawing thence Chaucer's "waited," which, changed to "wait," served him well as a rhyme for "estate."

But one quality found in the original remains untranslated. Indeed, it is altogether beyond the reach even of the modernizer. The quality I am speaking of is Chaucer's peculiar irony: good-natured, gentle, unobtrusive, not smug, yet delivered with a subtle archness and an inward chuckle. It does not destroy, does not even isolate its victim: indeed, it somehow points to the humanity of the victim, enabling us to see through him to our very selves. The result is that when the chuckle has gone round we are never certain that it is just directed only at the victim, who seems somehow to assume a certain grandeur in his weakness. Chaucer's irony does not stop with its apparent target. So it is with the Manciple. Surely the final question which Chaucer the pilgrim asks is ironical. It

is ironical that God would hand out so much wisdom to the "hepe of lered men," yet in His Grace reserve to an uneducated man the power, in the matter of a bargain, to outwit them all. This is an irony whose apparent target might be either the Manciple or the "hepe of lered men," depending on one's point of view. But gentle as it is, this irony passes easily beyond its apparent target to raise questions about the nature of practical business and philosophical thought, about the nature of wit and of wisdom, and about the operation of God's Grace, questions that touch us all, leaving us -- all of us, businessman and philosopher alike -- more humble and more closely akin.

If this be admitted as a fair description of Chaucer's irony in action and if the modernizer be regarded as one who, through making minimal changes, endeavors to retain as much as possible of all aspects of the original work, it is right to expect Wordsworth to have captured all or much of this quality of irony in his modernization. In this expectation, one will, I believe, be somewhat disappointed. In Wordsworth's version, the question at lines 7 to 9 seems to have lost much of the force of its irony. I say "seems" because we are dealing with effects whose force or very existence cannot be established by applying the reason alone. Feeling and the senses, especially the ear, are involved in our judgment, and these factors, we all know, are not always reliable in their

operation. Nevertheless, Chaucer's question comes through as irony; Wordsworth's, as a plain interrogative. Yet Wordsworth's is dutifully close to its original. The difference -- the difference that makes the irony -- lies in the sound of the words and the rhythm of the lines. If one takes the Chaucer original and reads aloud lines 5-9, paying particular attention to the rise and fall of the feminine endings -- acháte, estáte, gráce, and páce -- one cannot keep the tone of archness from creeping into his own voice as he reads. The Chaucerian twinkle of the eye, the gentle wry smile of the original are not in the modernization, and it is this twinkle, this smile, coming out of the rise and fall of the verse, that give the message its ironic twist and leave us wondering about wit, wisdom, and grace.

As one turns from Wordsworth's modernization of the Portrait of the Manciple to his modernization of the Tale itself, one obtains the impression that the latter is a bit freer than the former and employs more idiomatic English. For one thing, Wordsworth occasionally feels free to treat as a single verse paragraph a passage which stands in Anderson, though of the same length, in two or even three verse paragraphs. The first 20 lines, broken after line 8, constitute two verse paragraphs in Anderson; in Wordsworth they are but one. As a result of this process, the original has twenty-six verse paragraphs; Wordsworth's version, but nineteen. In itself, this process does not involve a re-

duction in the number of lines. Two pieces, one of six lines and one of five lines, are, however, excised from the moralizing conclusion of the original Tale. The excision of these eleven lines is counterbalanced only to the extent of the expansion of a single line (H, 308 -- in Anderson, the 204th line of the Tale) to a couplet (lines 204-205).

Lines 1-198 (H, 105-302) are equivalent in both original and version. Then follows the verse paragraph containing the line just alluded to (H, 308) as the one expanded in translation. It will pay to leave our collating for a moment in order to look more closely at this particular verse paragraph. Here it is in Anderson (ll. 199-204, equivalent to Robinson, H, 303-308), p. 173:

> And to the crowe he stert, and that anon,
> And pulled his white fethers everich on,
> And made him blak, and raft him all his song
> And eke his speche, and out of dore him flong
> Unto the devil, which I him betake;
> And for this cause ben alle crowes blake.

Resorting to the first of but two triplets in all his translating of Chaucer's couplets, Wordsworth expands this verse paragraph to seven lines, as follows:

> And to the Crow he sprang and that anon
> And plucking his white feathers left not one
> And made him black, and took from him his song,
> And eke his speech, and out of doors him flung
> Unto perdition,[67] whither let him go
> And for this very reason, you must know,
> Black is the colour now of every Crow,

Returning to our collation, we find that for the next

ten lines (205-214 in Anderson [H, 309-318 in Robinson] and 206-215 in Wordsworth) original and modernization correspond. The next six lines, 215-220 (H, 319-324) are omitted by Wordsworth. The next passage of nine lines in Anderson, 221-229 (H, 325-333), corresponds to lines 216-224 of Wordsworth.[68] Then Wordsworth omits the next five lines of Anderson, 230-234 (H, 334-338). The closing passage, lines 235-258 (H, 340-363), corresponds to lines 225-248 in Wordsworth. These omissions are not very significant, either for the matter omitted or for Wordsworth's reason for omitting them. Amounting to only 11 lines, they involve passages in which the Manciple passes on the advice which he had heard from his Dame, that one should think of the Crow and keep his own counsel. The Manciple, whether it is his fault or his Dame's, is voluble and repetitious; Wordsworth has cut out nothing but some of the volubility, and there is plenty of that left. I suppose Wordsworth made the omissions for economy's sake, but they could have been the result of oversight, especially in the case of the first one, which reads (Anderson, p. 174):

> My sone, kepe wel thy tonge, and kepe thy frend;
> A wicked tonge is worse than a fend:
> My sone, from a fende men may hem blesse:
> My sone, God of his endeles goodnesse
> Walled a tonge with teeth, and lippes eke,
> For man shuld him avisen what he speke.
> [Ll. 215-220, p. 174 (equivalent to Robinson, H, 319-324).]

The passage, containing as it does the Dame's advice, employs the "My sone" formula frequently, here and for the

rest of the poem. The line following this passage, the line picked up by Wordsworth after the omission, begins "My sone." The mistake, one frequently committed by copyists, could have been made, not by Wordsworth himself, but by his sister Dorothy in copying out his poem. Indeed it seems unlikely that Wordsworth would miss the image of the wall of teeth and lips or that, seeing the image, he would deliberately omit it. On all this De Selincourt is silent, both in the Notes and in the apparatus criticus. If my theory is right, then the manuscript designated by De Selincourt as MS. 1 must be this of Dorothy's, and the text must have been printed from a later transcription. Wordsworth's original manuscript would then have to be regarded as lost. In any case, the loss is not great, and Wordsworth's total performance of translation may still be regarded as extremely faithful.

Most of what needs to be said by way of comparison of version with original may be based on the first fourteen lines. Here they are in Anderson (p. 171):

> WHAN Phebus dwelled here in erth adoun,
> As olde bookes maken mentioun,
> He was the moste lusty bacheler
> Of all this world, and eke the best archer:
> He slow Phiton the serpent as he lay
> Sleping agains the sonne upon a day,
> And many another noble worthy dede
> He with his bow wrought, as men mowen rede.
> Playen he coude on every minstralcie,
> And singen that it was a melodie
> To heren of his clere vois the soun:
> Certes the King of Thebes Amphioun,
> That with his singing walled the citee,
> Could never singen half se wel as he.
> [Ll. 1-14 (equivalent to Robinson, H, 105-118).]

Now let us see how Wordsworth translates these lines:

> When Phoebus took delight on earth to dwell
> Among mankind, as ancient stories tell,
> He was the blithest bachelor, I trow,
> Of all this world, and the best archer too.
> He slew the serpent Python as he lay
> Sleeping against the sun upon a day,
> And many another noble worthy deed
> Wrought with his bow as men the same may read.
> He played, all music played on earthly ground,
> And 'twas a melody to hear the sound
> Of his clear voice, so sweetly would he sing.
> Certes, Amphion, that old Theban king
> Who wall'd a city with his minstrelsy,
> Was never heard to sing so sweet as he.

Whereas it is true that, with the changes in pronunciation since Chaucer's day, the rhyme of lines 1 and 2 was no longer available to Wordsworth and had to be changed, the changes made in lines 3 and 4 and again in lines 11-14 seem greater than called for under the principle of modernization. Lines 13 and 14 in particular might have been kept closer to the original. Against this there is the retention, virtually intact, of lines 5 to 8, including the characteristically Chaucerian "upon a day." But although Wordsworth retains "Certes" at line 12, he lets much of Chaucer's diction go: "olde bookes" becomes "ancient stories," an understandable change; "lusty" in line 3 becomes, unnecessarily, "blithest"; "eke," though often retained in his modernizations, is dropped. One gets the impression that he is exercising somewhat greater freedom than he did in modernizing the Portrait of the Manciple.

On the other hand, in such passages as the following, Wordsworth seems to change only what calls for change. First

the original from Anderson (p. 172):

> Now had this Phebus in his hous a wif
> Which that he loved more than his lif,
> And night and day did ever his diligence
> Hire for to pless and don hire reverence;
> Save only, if that I the soth shal sain,
> Jelous he was, and world [sic, for "would"]
> have kept hire fain,
> For him were loth yjaped for to be,
> And so is every wight in swiche degree.
> [Ll. 35-42 (equivalent to H, 139-146).]

Notice the relative freedom Wordsworth exercises in his modernization of this passage:

> Now had this Phoebus in his house a Wife
> Whom he loved better than he loved his life;
> And, night and day, he strove with diligence
> To please her, and to do her reverence,
> Save only, for 'tis truth, the noble Elf
> Was jealous, and would keep her for himself.
> For he was loth a laughing stock to be,
> And so is every wight in like degree.

After the first line, which he retains intact, Wordsworth is forced to do something with the "which that" idiom in line 36, as being no longer idiomatic, and similarly, in line 37, he had to replace the archaic expression "did ever his diligence." Both his changes are happy ones, well in keeping with modernizing principles. Again, "laughing stock" is a happy replacement for the obsolete "yjaped," but it exhibits some of the freedom I spoke of above. When, in line 39, in dodging the somewhat archaic "fain" he inserts "noble Elf," thereby providing a rhyme-mate to "himself" in line 40, he goes beyond the bounds of modernization to indulge in a bit of paraphrasing. The "noble Elf" is decidedly Spenserian, and we are not surprised to find that

Spenser was being read along with Chaucer at this time. On November 16, 1801, Dorothy records: "Wm. somewhat weakish, but upon the whole pretty well; he is now, at seven o'clock, reading Spenser." On December 6, just four days after composition of the "Manciple's Tale," Dorothy records: "In the afternoon we sate by the fire: I read Chaucer aloud, and Mary read the first canto of The Fairy Queen." (Journals, I, 80 and 88.)

It is interesting to see how Wordsworth handles the adulterous matter in the Tale. We begin with the disclaimer of the Manciple (Anderson, p. 173):

> But for I am a man not textuel
> I wol not tell of textes never a del;
> I wol go to my Tale as I began.
> Whan Phebus wif had sent for hire lemman
> Anon they wroughten all hir lust volage.
> This white crowe, that heng ay in the cage,
> Beheld hir werke, and sayde never a word.
> [Ll. 131-137 (equivalent to H, 235-241).]

Wordsworth writes:

> But I'm no man of texts and instances,
> Therefore I will not give you much of these
> But with my tale go on as I was bent.
>
> When Phoebus' wife had for her lemman sent
> In their loose dalliance they anon engage;
> This white Crow that hung alway in the cage,
> Beheld the shame, and did not say one word.

It seems to me that there is a bit of humor in Chaucer's use of the word "werke" in line 137. In MS. 1 (see apparatus criticus note to line 137) Wordsworth retained the Chaucer reading "Beheld their work," but in the version used by De Selincourt he has "beheld the shame," imposing a moral

judgment missing from Chaucer. In composing this translation, Wordsworth intended to please only his family and friends, especially Coleridge; it was not for publication. It is interesting to note that Wordsworth, at line 135, is as outspoken as Chaucer; furthermore, according to the apparatus criticus, the MS. 1 reading of this line was originally: "They took their fill of love and lover's rage." At lines 151-152, however, Wordsworth's text, which reads:

> "For I full plainly as I hope for life
> Saw him in guilty converse with thy wife,"

avoids the plain diction of Chaucer's

> . . . so mote I thrive,
> For on thy bedde thy wife I saw him swive.
> (Ll. 151-152 [H, 255-256].)

The morality of the Tale and Wordsworth's remarks about its fitness for publication will be taken up when I examine the Horne volume of 1841, which is the proper context for such a discussion -- not 1801, when Wordsworth was translating the other pieces without thought of publication.

Thus we bring the individual presentation of these Wordsworth translations to a close. Three curious questions remain. Why did Wordsworth decide to translate Chaucer? Why did the translations take the form of modernizations rather than of paraphrases? Why did he select for modernization the particular pieces that he did?

The second question admits of the readiest answer.

Had he written these pieces nine or more years before, at the time of his writing An Evening Walk and Descriptive Sketches, there is some likelihood that his translations would have been more like Dryden's, at least in poetic style if not also in material embellishment. One need only to look at the early verse to know that Wordsworth was indeed a child of the Augustan era. But the Lyrical Ballads, together with Wordsworth's prefatory blast against eighteenth-century verse, have appeared. He is free to be his own poet, and the modernizations, in which he is so much himself, while being, or attempting to be most like Chaucer, are indicative of that freedom.

As far as the first question is concerned, we know most of the circumstances, but can only conjecture about causes. We know that John Wordsworth left his set of Anderson's Works of the British Poets with his brother in September 1800, when he left Grasmere (Works, IV, 443); so Wordsworth had the volumes by him, including Volume I, containing the Chaucer. According to Dorothy's Journals during the period November 15 to December 26, 1801, the period which embraced Wordsworth's modernizing of Chaucer, the Wordsworths and their guest Mary Hutchinson were actively engaged in reading Chaucer. Let us listen to Dorothy:

> [November] 15th, Sunday . . . . We sate by the fire and read Chaucer (Thomson, Mary read) and Bishop Hall . . . . (Journals, I, 80.)
>
> [November] 24th, Tuesday . . . . I read a

> little of Chaucer, prepared the goose for dinner, and then we all walked out . . . . (I, 82.)

Then we come to the entries already cited, that have to do with the translations. We recall that Dorothy's entry for the second of December reads (I, 86-87): "A fine grey frosty morning. Wm. rose late. I read the Tale of Phoebus and the Crow, which he afterwards attempted to translate, and did translate a large part of it to-day . . . ." On whether a suggestion from her started Wordsworth off, Dorothy is silent. Her interest is in what happened, not in why it happened.[69] On December 4, William was translating the Prioress's Tale, finishing it the next day, and on December 9, Dorothy read Palamon and Arcite while William was "writing out his alteration of Chaucer's Cuckow and Nightingale" (I, 89). At the end of her entry for December 22, we read: "We sate snugly round the fire. I read to them the Tale of Custance and the Syrian monarch, also some of the Prologues. It is the Man of Lawe's Tale. We went to bed early. It snowed and thawed." (I, 95.) Christmas Day came and went. On the 26th Dorothy writes (I, 96): "After tea we sate by the fire comfortably. I read aloud The Miller's Tale . . . ." One cannot help trying to picture the little company -- William, Dorothy, and Mary -- and their rollicking enjoyment of this bit of Chaucerian scatology. In any event, at Grasmere, this was a season of Chaucer, and, in this atmosphere, it is not

surprising that William decided to try his hand at translating.

The close of the entry for December 26, just following the part quoted above, affords us one other suggestion as to why Wordsworth decided to translate Chaucer: "Wrote to Coleridge. The Olliffs passed in chaise and gig. Wm. wrote part of the poem to Coleridge." According to De Selincourt's footnote (I, 96), this poem was The Prelude. Since The Prelude was undertaken in part as an exercise of William's powers, particularly in the writing of philosophical verse, is it not also likely that he undertook the translations, in part, as an exercise or test of his poetic powers?

We leave this question for the more intriguing one of why Wordsworth selected these particular pieces for translation. The question would not occur if Wordsworth had done only the pieces Dorothy mentions: the "Tale of Phoebus and the Crow," "The Prioress's Tale," and "The God of Love," which she also calls "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale." The first does not sort well with the other two, but then we reflect that the Manciple's Tale, like the Prioress's Tale, is short and therefore would be a good tale to tackle first. After all, Dorothy has just read it, presumably aloud, and it is fresh in her brother's mind. The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, with its romantic depiction of nature, would immediately appeal to him. It is not his choice of these

that gives us cause for wonder. It is his electing to translate, out of the many hundreds of stanzas that make up Troilus and Cressida, a certain passage of twenty-four stanzas from Book V, specifically lines 519-686.

To read these stanzas is to be convinced that we have found Wordsworth in an intensely personal moment. Let me give the most pertinent lines as they have come to us from Wordsworth's pen:

> [Troilus to Pandarus] full piteously did say,
> We must the Palace see of Cresida; (4-5)
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . . . .
> And they right forth to Cresid's Palace went;
> But, Lord, this simple Troilus was woe,
> Him thought his sorrowful heart would break in two;
> For when he saw her doors fast bolted all,
> Well nigh for sorrow down he 'gan to fall. (10-14)
>
> Therewith when this true Lover 'gan behold,
> How shut was every window of the place,
> Like frost he thought his heart was icy cold; (15-17)
> . . . . . .
>
> Then said he thus,--O Palace desolate!
> O house of houses, once so richly dight!
> O Palace empty and disconsolate!
> Thou lamp of which extinguished is the light;
> O Palace whilom day that now art night,
> Thou ought'st to fall and I to die; since she
> Is gone who held us both in sovereignty. (22-28)
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . . . .
> O cause of woe, that cause has been of bliss:
> Yet, since I may no better, would I kiss
> Thy cold doors; but I dare not for this rout;
> Farewell, thou shrine of which the Saint is out! (32-35)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Forth from the spot he rideth up and down,
> And everything to his remembrance

Came as he rode by places of the town
Where he had felt such perfect pleasure once. (43-46)

. . . . . .

[Troilus torments himself with seeking the very spots where he saw Cressida dance, where her eyes captivated his, where he heard her laugh. (47-51)]

. . . . . .

And yonder once she unto me 'gan say --
Now, my sweet Troilus, love me well, I pray!
And there so graciously did me behold,
That hers unto the death my heart I hold. (53-56)

[This self-torment ends at length, to be followed by a three-stanza apostrophe to Cupid, whose aid Troilus hopes to invoke, that Cressida may be constrained to return. (63-84)]

And after this he to the gate did go
Whence Cresid rode, as if in haste she was;
And up and down there went, and to and fro,
And to himself full oft he said, alas!
From hence my hope and solace forth did pass.
O would the blissful God now for his joy,
I might her see again coming to Troy! (85-91)

And up to yonder hill was I her guide;
Alas, and there I took of her my leave;
Yonder I saw her to her Father ride,
For very grief of which my heart shall cleave;--
. . . . . (92-95)

. . . . . .
Men said, what may it be, can no one guess
Why Troilus hath all this heaviness?
All which he of himself conceited wholly
Out of his weakness and his melancholy. (102-105)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .
And when he was removed from all men's sight,
With a soft voice, he of his Lady dear,
That absent was, 'gan sing as ye may hear.

O star, of which I lost have all the light,
With a sore heart well ought I to bewail,
That ever dark in torment, night by night,
Toward my death with wind I steer and sail;

> For which upon the tenth night if thou fail
> With thy bright beams to guide me but one hour,
> My ship and me Charybdis will devour. (117-126)
>
> [And then the last three stanzas:]
>
> Upon the walls fast also would he walk,
> To the end that he the Grecian host might see;
> And ever thus he to himself would talk: --
> Lo! yonder is my own bright Lady free;
> Or yonder is it that the tents must be;
> And thence does come this air which is so sweet,
> That in my soul I feel the joy of it.
>
> And certainly this wind, that more and more
> By moments thus increaseth in my face,
> Is of my Lady's sighs heavy and sore;
> I prove it thus; for in no other space
> Of all this town, save only in this place,
> Feel I a wind, that soundeth so like pain;
> It saith, Alas, why severed are we twain?
>
> A weary while in pain he tosseth thus,
> Till fully passed and gone was the ninth night;
> And ever at his side stood Pandarus,
> Who busily made use of all his might
> To comfort him, and make his heart more light;
> Giving him always hope, that she the morrow
> Of the tenth day will come, and end his sorrow.
> (148-168)

Although this is not original verse, but translation, it is translation of a passage that struck Wordsworth to the very heart. There is too much in it for it to have been a purely random choice. It must be that for Wordsworth, Cressida is Annette Vallon and Troilus is he himself. Troy is England, the Grecian encampment is France, and the plain between is the Channel, the walls of Troy being the high cliffs along the southern coast of England. The war of Troy and Greece is the war between England and France, the war that began in 1793, to separate William and Annette; and the nine days

of separation of Cressida from Troilus are the nine years that have passed since Wordsworth last saw Annette.

These parallels are too many and too cogent to be explained as mere coincidence, and the expression is too congenial, the feeling too poignant, to be explained as mere translation. This is a personal document -- the Vaudracour and Julia story all over again.

If so much be admitted, we must go a step further, and suggest that even late in 1801 Wordsworth is suppressing a hope in his heart that he and Annette may yet achieve marital union, and thus fulfill the love that, beginning in Orleans in the winter of 1791-1792, had blossomed in Blois the following spring, and had received an earnest in the daughter born in December of that year.

The usual accounts of his youth give the impression that Wordsworth, having had his affair in France, went through a difficult period of readjustment, during which he suffered a depression of both mind and pocketbook, a state from which his association with Dorothy and Coleridge, the ministry of Nature, and the legacy of Raisley Calvert rescued him. By the time of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, according to the standard view, his mind and heart were set on Mary and he delayed matrimony long enough so that he might go over during the Peace to settle matters with Annette first.

The "Extract from Troilus and Cressida" indicates that

this picture is not altogether correct. But let us turn our attention for a moment to the poet's relationship with Mary Hutchinson. William and Dorothy had visited Mary and Sara and Thomas Hutchinson at Sockburn-on-Tees in 1799 (Journals, I, 99n), and in 1801, apparently on October 25 (Journals, I, 78), Mary came to visit William and Dorothy, staying until after the new year. It cannot be doubted that there was a kindness between William and his boyhood friend Mary Hutchinson. However, there is little in Dorothy's account of comings and goings, of walks and talks, of evening readings by the fire, to indicate that that kindness had grown into a matrimonial understanding. Brief pictures, like that of Mary "at work at Wm.'s worn waistcoat" (I, 85), are all the indicators we have. Perhaps they are sufficient to support the standard view.

But in this pleasant autumn the friends discovered Chaucer. Dorothy tells us, as we have seen, how they read Chaucer together and how William translated the Manciple's Tale, the Prioress's Tale, and the Cuckoo and the Nightingale. But nowhere does Dorothy tell us that her brother was translating the passage from Troilus and Cressida. Yet we know this piece belongs to the same period (Works, IV, 228). Why then did Dorothy not mention it? Though it is possible that Dorothy simply overlooked it, there is a more likely explanation. Either William kept this translation secret:

And when he was removed from all men's sight,

> With a soft voice, he of his Lady dear,
> That absent was, 'gan sing as ye may hear. (117-119)

Or if he did show it to Dorothy, he asked her not to tell Mary, in which case Dorothy would doubtless have withheld mention of it from her journals. Let us assume that Wordsworth had done otherwise and then picture to ourselves the scene: Mary and Dorothy suggest that William read his new translation. Responding, he reads, coming to such passages as this:

> And at the corner of that self-same house
> Heard I my most beloved Lady dear,
> So womanly, with voice melodious
> Singing so well, so goodly, and so clear,
> That in my soul methinks I yet do hear
> The blissful sound; and in that very place
> My Lady first me took unto her grace. (57-63)

Would Mary have regarded this as "just translation"? If not, would she have thought the passage applied to herself? One can hardly think so, for it was not only Chaucer that was in their minds during this season. We read in Dorothy's Journals (I, 92) for Monday, December 21, 1801:

> Mary walked to Ambleside for letters. It was a wearisome walk, for the snow lay deep upon the roads and it was beginning to thaw. I stayed at home and clapped the small linen. Wm. sate beside me, and read The Pedlar. He was in good spirits, and full of hope of what he should do with it. He went to meet Mary, and they brought 4 letters -- 2 from Coleridge, one from Sara, and one from France [italics mine].

There is no question that Mary knew about Annette and Caroline. What she did not know perhaps -- and what Wordsworth did not want to discover to her -- is, if we have read the Extract aright, the persistence and depth of his emotional attachment

to them. He knew he could not have answered Mary's question, unspoken (for she would have said nothing): "Why these particular stanzas, William?" But more than that, the Extract was a private document. He had found in Chaucer a passage that bespoke his own situation almost precisely, and had translated it out of his own heart, out of his own imagination, wherein, for continual evocation, lay pictures of Chambord and springtime walks by the Loire:

> And everything to his remembèrance
> Came . . . . (44-45)

When 1841 approached and the Horne volume was in prospect, Annette was dead, and so were most of the memories that in this Christmastime of 1801 were yet so vivid. In 1841, publishing the Extract, whether to his family or to the world, gave him no qualms. But, when he wanted to offer the Extract to Powell for publication, we learn that he had trouble finding the MS.[70] It is no wonder: he had hidden it well.

Indeed the Extract indicates that however warmly he had come to regard Mary, his heart was still in an unsettled state; he still was not sure about what he should do. There was talk of peace. Preliminaries to the Peace of Amiens, which was to be concluded the following March, had been signed October 1, 1801. (Ency. Amer., 1953, XI, 740.) Surely the prospect of peace had caused Wordsworth to revolve in his mind the possibility of a trip to France to see Annette. He was probably not yet engaged to Mary.

This meant that his sole commitment of a marital sort was to Annette still. His growing regard for Mary set over against this commitment to Annette, a commitment which surely still involved his heart, was no doubt perplexing to him. And now his state is made more acute by the possibility of a trip to France. Cupid holds the key to all, and Cupid figures prominently in two of the pieces.

In the Extract, the invocation to Cupid reads as follows:

> O blissful God of Love! then thus he cried,
> When I the process have in memory,
> How thou hast wearied me on every side,
> Men thence a book might make, a history;
> What need to seek a conquest over me,
> Since I am wholly at thy will? what joy
> Hast thou thy own liege subjects to destroy?
>
> Dread Lord! so fearful when provoked, thine ire
> Well hast thou wreaked on me by pain and grief;
> Now mercy, Lord! thou know'st well I desire
> Thy grace above all pleasures first and chief;
> And live and die I will in thy belief;
> For which I ask for guerdon but one boon,
> That Cresida again thou send me soon.
>
> Constrain her heart as quickly to return,
> As thou dost mine with longing her to see,
> Then know I well that she would not sojourn.
> Now, blissful Lord, so cruel do not be
> Unto the blood of Troy, I pray of thee,
> As Juno was unto the Theban blood,
> From whence to Thebes came griefs in multitude.
> (64-84)

Notice the strength of the appeal to Cupid to bring about the return of the loved one. Although this is translation, yet its subject is congenial.

In the Cuckoo and the Nightingale the God of Love is continually praised, invoked, or otherwise alluded to. His

power is set forth in the first five stanzas. The Nightingale, Love's votary and servant, frequently invokes Love's name in her argument with the Cuckoo. Finally, when the Cuckoo has fled, the Nightingale comes to the poet and says (in Wordsworth's version):

> . . . Forsooth, my friend, do I thank thee,
> That thou wert near to rescue me; and now,
> Unto the God of Love I make a vow,
> That all this May I will thy songstress be.
> (227-230)

Before taking her leave of the poet she appeals to the God of Love to send him "as mickle joy this day,/ As ever he to Lover yet did send" (254-255).

But it is the voice of the Cuckoo that is heard longest and loudest. It is the element that binds all the selections translated by Wordsworth, save the Prioress's Tale. If we try to translate the harsh voice of the Cuckoo out of the poetry and into Wordsworth's life, we are dealing with a shadow, impossible to define. But the shadow is worth a look. We hear the voice of the Cuckoo expressly in the "Manciple's Tale":

> When Phoebus' wife for lemman sent
> In their loose dalliance they anon engage;
> This white Crow, that hung alway in the cage,
> Beheld the shame, and did not say one word;
> But soon as home was come Phoebus, the Lord,
> The Crow sang Cuckow, Cuckow, Cuckow, "How
> What! Bird", quoth Phoebus, "what song singst thou now,
> Wert thou not wont to sing as did rejoice
> My inmost heart, so merrily thy voice
> Greeted my ear, alas, what song is this?"
> (134-143)

The Crow, having sung the Cuckoo's song, explains to Phoebus that his wife has been unfaithful. The voice of the Cuckoo is not physically present in the Extract from Troilus and Cresida, but as Troilus laments his lost love, the voice of the Cuckoo is not far off, in the person of Diomede.

All three pieces have in common the question of the outcome of love, and in each case there is either the fact or the promise or the suggestion of misfortune. After all, even in the Cuckoo and the Nightingale, despite the prospect of help for the lover through the Nightingale's influence with the God of Love, the lover, we must remind ourselves, did hear the Cuckoo first. There is then in all three pieces the emphasis on a bad outcome for love.

Now, does this have special implications with respect to the biographical facts, or did Wordsworth simply select these particular pieces at random, with such similarities as I have noticed being mere coincidence? To put the question in the sharpest form: is Wordsworth picturing his own state of mind? Is he, like Troilus, still hoping for a reunion with his love? And is there a French Diomede? May it not be that he has received from Annette, during this very season when prospects of peace and of a reunion with Annette and Caroline are making his heart beat faster, a letter which, like Cressida's last letter to Troilus, has made it plain that there can be no return to their past joys?

The evidence that can be adduced in support of these conjectures is sparse. Dorothy's Journal entry for December 21, 1801, indicates that William was in correspondence with Annette: ". . . they brought 4 letters -- 2 from Coleridge, one from Sara, and one from France. . . ." (I, 92.) A month later, for the date January 26, 1802, Dorothy has recorded: "I wrote to Mary before bedtime. [Mary had parted from them on the 22nd.] We sate till we were both tired, for Wm. wrote out part of his poem, and endeavoured to alter it, and so made himself ill. I copied out the rest for him. We went late to bed. Wm. wrote to Annette." (I, 102.) Dorothy does not enlighten us as to what William's letter said. For January 29, there is a brief statement that Dorothy and William talked "about Wm.'s going to London" (I, 103). Since Coleridge was then in London (I, 102) and they were anxious about him because of the precarious state of his health, it could simply have been that Wordsworth wanted to go to London to see Coleridge. No trip was undertaken, but two weeks later, in the entry for February 13, we find evidence of another reason why William might have wanted to make the trip to London: ". . . the little boy from the Hill brought us a letter from Sara H., and one from the Frenchman in London" (I, 112). Who is the mysterious "Frenchman"? Dorothy does not say, but it is hard to conceive any other notion than that the Frenchman and his presence in London have something

to do with Annette. It is not unlikely that either he or someone he was representing wished to marry Annette, and that he had come to England to secure her freedom from obligation to Wordsworth. The very next day, the 14th, a Sunday, William is off on a trip to Penrith: "The fine day pushed him on to resolve; and as soon as I had read a letter to him, which I had just received from Mrs. Clarkson, he said he would go to Penrith, so Molly was despatched for the horse" (I, 113). One cannot help wondering if this suddenly resolved-upon trip to Penrith was not connected to his receiving the letter from the Frenchman. During his absence, a letter arrives from Annette (I, 114), about the contents of which Dorothy says nothing. Dorothy reports William's arrival home on Feb. 16, Tuesday. Since he "had only seen Mary H. for a couple of hours between Eamont Bridge and Hartshorn Tree" (I, 114), one can only conclude that some of the time at Penrith had been spent in a visit with his Aunt Crackanthorpe,[71] perhaps in an attempt to secure funds.

On February 22, letters came from Annette and Caroline, as well as from Mary Hutchinson (I, 116). It must have been a disturbing post for William. Two days later, William is busy writing letters, and it is not surprising that one goes to Annette and another to "the Frenchman" (I, 117). The ensuing interrelationship between his understanding with Mary on the one hand and the conduct of affairs with Annette

on the other is well traced in Miss Moorman's book (pp. 518 and 553-555), with the account of William's engagement to Mary and his decision to visit Annette and postpone the wedding until after that visit. Miss Moorman believes that it is not probable that Annette is suggesting marriage with William and that finances more likely constituted the subject of the correspondence between them. The presence in London of "the Frenchman," coupled not only with the strangeness in the combination of Chaucer pieces selected by Wordsworth for modernizing, but also with his evident concealment of the telltale "Extract from Troilus and Cresida," gives the correspondence between Wordsworth and Annette a somewhat different look. It may well be that Annette's affection for "Williams" has cooled more than his for her, and that the Frenchman in London is Diomede.

This brings us finally round again to the Cuckoo. In his translation of the pseudo-Chaucerian Cuckoo and the Nightingale, William was writing down the following stanzas on December 7 or 8, 1801. Whenever italics are used in the following passages, they are not Wordsworth's or the editor's. I have introduced them wherever I wished to indicate a substitution of the apparatus criticus reading -- from "MS." -- for the text (1849-50) printed by De Selincourt (Works, IV, 219-221):

X

But on the other night as I lay waking,
I of a token thought of Lovers making;

How among them it was a common tale,
That it was good to hear the Nightingale,
Before the sorry Cuckoo silence breaking. (46-50)

XI

And then I thought anon as it was day,
I gladly would go somewhere to essay
If I perchance a Nightingale might hear,
For yet had I heard none, of all that year,
And it was then the third night of the May (51-55)

At dawn the poet goes forth to enjoy Nature's beauty. Coming to a lawn, he sits down among the flowers and watches the birds sing their delight at the return of day. They are happy in love, having made their choices:

And ever two and two together were,
The same as they had chosen for the year,
Upon Saint Valentine's returning day. (78-80)

The poet, amidst the pastoral beauty, is suddenly jarred:

XVIII

And for delight, but how I never wot,
I in a slumber and a swoon was caught,
Not all asleep and yet not waking wholly;
And as I lay, the Cuckoo, bird unholy,
Broke silence, or I heard him in my thought.

XIX

And that was right upon a tree fast by,
But who had then an evil game but I?
Now, God, quoth I, that died upon the rood,
From thee and thy base throat, keep all that's good,
Full little joy have I now of thy cry. (86-95)

As the poet chides the Cuckoo, the Nightingale starts to sing nearby, but her song is late. The poet complains:

XXI

Ah! good sweet Nightingale! for my heart's cheer,
Hence hast thou stayed a little while too long;
For we have had the sorry Cuckoo here,
And she hath been before thee with her song;
Evil light on her! she hath done me wrong. (101-105)

Though this be translation, the message is a congenial one. Wordsworth knows that the new year will bring his heart's affairs to a crisis. Steps will have to be taken; decisions will have to be made. The issue may be happy, or it may not be so. In this state of mind, Wordsworth, coming across the Cuckoo and the Nightingale in the pages of his Anderson, would of course have found the basic superstition interesting. Suppose that he himself should hear the Cuckoo first. Such imprecations as those in stanza XXI above would certainly seem appropriate.

Wordsworth's electing this poem for translation does indeed seem to reflect his hopes and apprehensions. Perhaps by the following March, events have fulfilled his hopes and banished his apprehensions, for we see him at work on To the Cuckoo. In this poem his attitude toward the Cuckoo is altogether different, as though he would make amends for the names the Cuckoo had been called in the poem he had translated:

> O BLITHE New-comer! I have heard,
> I hear thee and rejoice. (1-2)

And the poem concludes:

> O blessèd Bird! the earth we pace
> Again appears to be
> An unsubstantial, faery place;
> That is fit home for Thee! (29-32)

If we regard the mood of this poem, as well as the mood of the bulk of the Chaucerian pieces he elected to translate, as representative of his own moods, then indeed by springtime

there has been a change, as though his affairs of the heart were in better case. One matter, and this the chief one, has been decided: a Coleridge letter of February 1802, cited by Miss Moorman (p. 518), indicates that he and Mary Hutchinson were already formally engaged. Doubtless the exchange of letters between William and Annette had produced a partial resolution, at least, of that aspect of his affairs. The very context of Dorothy's Journal entry of March 26, 1802, if it does not suggest such a resolution, at least suggests that his personal love problems and the Cuckoo were connected in his mind (I, 128): "Friday. A beautiful morning. William wrote to Annette, then worked at The Cuckow."

If the Cuckoo, favorably or unfavorably, occupied a prominent place in William's thoughts, so apparently it did in Dorothy's. If we peruse her Journal entries of this springtime, 1802, in the expectation that Dorothy herself will be listening for the voice of the Cuckoo, we will not be disappointed; in fact, her mention is such as to show that she was especially sensitive in the matter. But that is all we can know. Dorothy as usual only presents; she does not discuss. Thus we cannot know whether the voice of the cuckoo was to her an ill omen, or if so, whether she was fearful for her brother's situation or for her own. There is no mistaking the sensitivity, however. Here is the close of the entry for May 1 (I, 141-142): "Three

solitary stars in the middle of the blue vault, one or two on the points of the high hills. Wm. wrote The Celandine, 2nd part, to-night. Heard the cuckow to-day, this first of May." De Selincourt's note says that this last sentence is "written large, vertically across the page."

No. 9: 1803. ["Lines altered from 'The Legende of Ariadne of Athens.'"] In a letter to "Mr. Urban," dated March 12 [1803] and published in The Gentleman's Magazine, LXXIII, Part I (March, 1803), 207-208.

The translator of this passage from "The Legend of Ariadne" has presented us with some peculiar difficulties. The passage, with the translator's remarks, is short enough to be transcribed entire:

> Mr. Urban, March 12
> I have ventured, with the hope of seeing them in your next Magazine, to send you the following lines altered from "The Legende of Ariadne of Athens."
> The ear accustomed to harmonious numbers will derive little pleasure from them, on account of the want of variety in the caesura of each verse. He may however excuse it when he is acquainted with the intention of the writer; whose object was not to attend to variety in the caesura, but to adhere studiously to the form of the original; trying, by this method, and an alteration of the obsolete into more modern language, if some of the simple manner of the original would not be preserved; and Chaucer still be himself, although in a new dress.
> The Poet, having acquainted us with the flight of Theseus and Phaedra, proceeds:
>
> Of those false lovers poison be the bane!
> To Ariadne will I turn again.
> Tir'd with the voyage in grateful sleep she lies;
> With deepest sorrow doom'd, alas! to rise.
> Too soon the dawning light dispells the charm,
> And hopeful o'er the bed she spreads her arm,
> But no one finds. Alas! she said, the morn,
> Alas! the fatal hour that saw me born.
> I am betray'd -- her lovely tresses rent,
> Barefoot in haste along the shore she went,
> And cried in vain -- "Theseus, my heart's desire,
> Where art thou? where, my love, dost thou retire?
> Ah fled me! left by cruel beasts to die."
> The rocky caverns answer to her cry;
> The moon yet shone, but could not him disclose;
> And to the tow'ring rock in haste she goes;
> And saw his bark upon the distant deep,
> Cold grew her heart; and pangs forbad to weep.
> "Sooner the beasts, for me inclin'd to grieve."

(Hath he no sin who could such love deceive?)
"Theseus, return! for pity turn again!
"Thy bark half freighted idly cuts the Main."
High on a pole her floating robe she hung,
That he should well observe, and feel her wrong,
And well remind him she was left behind,
And turn again, and there in safety find.
But vain her hope; his sails in distance fade,
And the cold stone receiv'd the fainting Maid.
Again she rose, and kiss'd with tender care
The steps his treach'rous feet had printed there.
"Thou bed, she cried, that erst didst two receive,
Of two not one thou shalt the answer give;
Where is the part most lovely? gone away?
Me wretched in what shelter shall I lay?
For though no help from these wild shores I learn,
Home to my country dare I not return;
Nor counsel venture in this hapless state."
But why in strains prolong'd my woes relate:
Woes so severe my Muse too long would hold,
And gentle Ovid well the tale hath told.

For the original I refer the Reader to Chaucer, Bell's Edition, vol. X, p. 106; and am Sir, one

Who loves the antique Muse; though quaint she seem,
Still is she simple in her old attire,
And wears the charm of unadorned Nature.

The difficulties I spoke of do not appear when we examine the passage itself, by itself. The verse is made up of heroic couplets, with few run-on lines, only one of which comes at the end of a couplet, and with firm masculine rhyme, predominantly monosyllabic. The meter is highly regular, there being not a single hypermetrical syllable in the entire passage, unless the third line have eleven syllables: even this could be reduced to the August ten by regarding "voyage" as a monosyllable. It is probable that the translator so regarded it, for his disposition is not to justify a line by permitting an occasional anapest, but to syncopate the extra

syllable -- "tow'ring" (line 16) and "treach'rous" (line 30) provide evidence of his intention in this respect. The most pronounced metrical variation which the translator allows himself is an occasional trochaic foot at the beginning of a line -- lines 3 and 36, for example -- or spondee at the same location -- lines 5, 10, and 18, for example. But regardless of his remarks to the contrary, the translator has provided us with considerable variety in the caesura -- in placement and in strength, and in the number of caesuras per line. These qualities are those of the typical eighteenth-century heroic verse, with a leaning rather toward the verse of the Dryden-Pope era than toward that of the later era of Gray and Cowper. Consider these lines:

> Tir'd with the voyage // in grateful sleep she lies;
> With deepest sorrow doom'd, // alas! // to rise. [3-4]

Or these:

> High on a pole // her floating robe she hung,
> That he should well observe, // and feel her wrong.
> [23-24]

These two couplets are particularly reminiscent of Pope, I think. Notice, too, the pleasing variety in the use of the caesura, a variety which I find not untypical of the entire passage. In line 24, not only does the caesura come later than it does in the preceding line, but it marks a stronger stay in the movement of the line.

The eighteenth-century influence is visible also in the diction. The translator uses poetic diction of the kind abjured by Wordsworth in his Preface to Lyrical Ballads,

just three years earlier. This diction is seen perhaps more in the general set-up of a line than in individual words perhaps, but let me point out the chief instances:

> Too soon the dawning light [instead of "dawn"] dispells the charm. [5]
>
> . . . upon the distant deep [17]
>
> "Thy bark half freighted idly cuts the Main." [22]
>
> . . . the cold stone receiv'd the fainting Maid. [29]
>
> . . . strains prolong'd . . . [38]

Thus we have, in this translation, verse that is typical of the eighteenth century -- a bit artificial and stiff, but reasonably clear and readable.

When we take this translation, so far considered in itself, and compare it to Chaucer's original, we get greater complexities to consider of course, but no peculiar difficulties.

In Bell's edition (Vol. X, 1782) the original passage occupies lines 295-335 (equivalent to ll. 2180-2220 in Robinson). Immediately the difference in length strikes us. There are 41 lines in the original Chaucer against 40 in the translation. As the latter maintains a line-by-line correspondence generally, the discrepancy or discrepancies are readily identified. In the beginning of the passage there are two counterbalancing discrepancies: line 299 ("Alas! for the myne herte hath grete pite.") is rendered in line 4 of the translation by the single word "alas!" Almost

directly, however, Chaucer's two lines, 301-302 (Robinson, ll. 2186-87), are expanded into three, lines 6-8. The general correspondence is maintained, line by line for the most part, until line 325 (l. 2210) of the original: "And to her bed right thus she spekith tho." This is omitted in the translation, but its matter is generally conveyed in the beginning of Ariadne's speech, which follows. Even in these discrepancies there is no alteration in matter. We might describe this translation as fairly close or literal. In this respect, the translator is markedly different from the eighteenth-century translators, however close to them he may be in the construction of his verse. We recall how Dryden, Pope, and Ogle added to, cut, elaborated, embellished Chaucer continually.

A moment's consideration of the language of the translation will suffice to show that this is no modernization, like that of "Trinitarius" (Item No. 6). The first test is to see what the translator has done with lines that could be left just about as Chaucer wrote them. With lines 2-4 of the translation, compare these from the original:

> But I wol turne againe to Adriane,
> That is with slepe for werinesse ytake,
> Ful sorowfully her hert may awake.
> (Ll. 296-298.)

It is true that the translator has chosen to modernize rather than paraphrase the first line. The only change is a change in order, and this was virtually forced because of the change

in spelling the heroine's name, a change which precludes the rhyme with "bane." But this is not the usual case, as the reader may speedily determine by inspection. More typical of the translator's handling of language is the couplet constituting lines 3-4. This he could easily have chosen to modernize, giving it such form as this:

> That with sleep for weariness is taken;
> Full sorrowfully will her heart awaken.

Instead the translator chooses to paraphrase the couplet. The thought is the same, but the language is quite different.

Another way of distinguishing the modernization from the paraphrase is to look at the rhymes. The modernizer will try to preserve Chaucer's own rhymes. We recall that "Trinitarius" retained a majority of Chaucer's rhymes, even resorting to French to accomplish the purpose. Here, however, as we might expect, there is almost no correspondence between Chaucer's rhymes and those of the translation. Of the latter's twenty couplets, only four retain the same-sounding rhymes (lines 1-2, 9-10, 25-26, and 29-30) and in only two of these (9-10, 25-26) are the very same rhyming words retained. Of course, rhymes like drede . . . rede (ll. 331-332 [ll. 2216-17]) even the modernizer must change, not so much because the modern counterparts dread and read (present infinitive) no longer rhyme as because the to read no longer means to advise. But again, this case is exceptional. Most of Chaucer's rhymes in this passage will modernize (nought . . . wrought, swete . . . mete, yslaine

. . . <u>againe</u>, <u>mone</u> . . . <u>sone</u>, for example), assuming a sufficient ingenuity in the handling of the intra-linear problems of diction and meter. It is apparent that this translator felt himself under no obligation to retain either Chaucer's rhymes or his diction generally. We are dealing then with a paraphrase.

The paraphraser, dispensing with the language, including the rhymes, of his original, must perforce dispense with its prosodic character generally. An inductive approach will serve us best. Consider line 304 (l. 2189):

And to the stronde all barefote fast she wente,

against its counterpart in the translation (line 10);

Barefoot in haste along the shore she went.

Here the changes in diction are minor and the rhyme is retained, but the prosodic change is immense. The former has what might be called the "Chaucerian catch" in the movement of the verse, and the latter has Augustan regularity. Let me get at the difference by considering the phrasing first. The basic phrases in the translation are "Along the shore" and "in haste." These combine with each other and then together combine with "Barefoot" to provide longer phrases. Such complexity of phrasing may in the most skilled hands give rise to many beauties, but such is hardly the case here. The graces of complexity are multiplied by the overriding evenness of the marching iambics: - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ (allowing a spondee, or perhaps a trochee for the first foot).

With Chaucer, whose measure is the same, we find that the basic iambics only underlie -- they do not override -- the phrasing. Chaucer's line, after sweeping us away with the phrase "And to the strande," catches for just a moment at that point (the "Chaucerian catch"); then gives us "barefot" and another catch; and finally with "faste she wente" sweeps us to the close. Whenever the basic iambic ka-thump, ka-thump, ka-thump dominates the poet's prosodic thinking, little chance remains of securing rhythmic, melodic, or harmonic beauties through complexity and subtle variations in phrasing. This happened all too frequently under the dictates of eighteenth-century formalism, when meter became a matter of counting off the iambics on the fingers. I fear our present translator has not escaped this tendency.

This paraphrase then involves changes in diction, in rhyme, and in phrasing. Let us consider these changes and their implications in more detail.

We have already observed that the translator generally does not retain Chaucer's diction. This automatically removes the question of quaintness. The translator cannot be accused of, or praised for (depending on one's point of view), transmitting an air of antiquity. Herein he differs sharply from "Trinitarius," who retained, avowedly for antiqueness' sake, such words as sithes and eke. In the Ariadne translation there is just one line in which there is any sign of the antique:

"Thou bed, she cried, that erst didst two
receive."

The italicized words do indeed have an antique flavor, in our day at any rate. However, thou and didst are really poetical rather than archaic, and erst, though listed in Webster's New International Dictionary as archaic, apparently was not considered so in the Romantic Era. Dr. Johnson at any rate places no restrictive label on the use of erst. Finally, the line seems to spring so naturally from Ariadne's lips that no archaicism obtruded, at least upon my first reading.

In the matter of concreteness and specificness of diction, the translator has accomplished a variety of results. How much better Chaucer's "gropith" (in line 301 [l. 2186]) is than "hopeful . . . spreads her arm": all the expectation, the first shock of discovery, the redoubled effort to find, the growing agony of realization -- all this is in the one word "gropith."

But the translator missed at least one opportunity to render Chaucer's meaning more concretely. In the line, "And to the stronde all barefote fast she wente" (l. 304), the verb is certainly not specific. In itself, if not in context, it also lacks vividness. (We recall the superiority of Chaucer's "ran" to "Trinitarius'" "went" in the line descriptive of the priests who deserted their parishes for London and easy money.) Here the translator, though free to paraphrase, and to use a word like "ran," simply follows

Chaucer. Of course, this is a case in which the necessity of rhyming forces the poet to be content with inferior diction, and both Chaucer and his translator are up against the same dilemma: if "wente" is replaced by some more descriptive verb, what is to be done about the powerful word "to rente" or "rent" in the first half of the couplet? There is probably no satisfactory solution,[72] and we should not blame the translator too heavily for simply following Chaucer.

In one case, the translator has found a way to express Chaucer more specifically or concretely. Take Chaucer's lines 321-322 (ll. 2206-07):

> But all for naught; his way he is ygone;
> And downe she fel a swowne upon a stone;

and the counterparts in the translation (lines 27-28):

> But vain her hope; his sails in distance fade,
> And the cold stone receiv'd the fainting Maid.

It is clear that Chaucer's "his way he is ygone" is not pictorial, in contrast to the corresponding line of the translation, which tells of sails fading in the distance. It seems to me that "ygone" conveys the finality and desolation of the situation more forcefully than "fade" does and furthermore that the finality and desolation receive a decisive emphasis in the rhyming word "stone." The translator's couplet ends softly with a "fainting maid."

More will be said about diction when the question of naturalness is taken up. Let us now consider rhyme in more

detail. Already established is the extent to which the translator has substituted new rhymes. At least 16 of the 20 couplets end with quite different words. As might be expected, the matter amounts to more than our getting simply other rhymes, chosen to suit the translator's convenience. The changes follow a pattern, and the effect of the new rhymes is different. Whereas of Chaucer's twenty couplets (we disregard the odd line) at least eleven end with feminine rhymes, only one of the rhymes in the translation even begins to approach the feminine: that is "desire . . . retire" of lines 11-12. All the rest are decisively masculine; in fact, with nine of the couplets, the rhymes are monosyllabic. The prosodic effect of such firm rhymes as "morn . . . born," "deep . . . weep," "care . . . there" is noticeably different from the effect Chaucer gets from his preponderance of feminine rhymes. Chaucer's practice accords better with the character of Ariadne and with the gentle pathos with which he regards her plight. Of course Chaucer should not receive more than his due of praise, for the many words at his disposal with inflectional "e" endings virtually assured the predominance of feminine rhymes anyhow. Observe, however, that the "ygone . . . stone" rhyme referred to above, reading "ygon . . . ston" in Robinson (ll. 2206-07), was likely intended by Chaucer as masculine. As such, it would suit the finality and harshness of the desertion.

There is more to be said about the difference between Chaucer's prosody and that of the translation. But that will be better taken up in the final phase of the evaluation. The first phase was to consider the translation in its own right. The second phase was to compare the translation with the original and to note the changes. Now to the third and final -- and most troublesome -- phase of this evaluation, which is to consider the translation in the light of the translator's own remarks about his aims and methods.

Let me say at the outset that the translator's remarks are so foggy and garbled that one can only proceed on the basis, not of what the translator says, but of what one thinks he means. In the first place, many key terms and expressions lack adequate definition. What does he mean by the following: (1) "[lines] altered," (2) "harmonious numbers," (3) "variety in the caesura," (4) "the form of the original," (5) "simple manner of the original"? To some extent, the translator himself gives us a definition of (1) when he speaks a moment later of an "alteration of the obsolete into more modern language." The translation itself makes clear that the introduction's "to alter" is what we understand by "paraphrase." With regard to (2), "harmonious numbers," we can only suppose is meant the heroic couplet of the type which Dryden and Pope created and which came to dominate the verse of the entire eighteenth century. At its worst this couplet was dull, prosaic, and

prosodically mere finger-counting, in other words, anything but harmonious. In one instance at least, as we have seen, the translator's own verse sinks dangerously near this level. But we must give the translator the benefit of the doubt -- and some of his verse bears out the possibility -- and think that he has Pope in mind when he speaks of "harmonious numbers." It is evident, then, that he has enough respect for devotees of the heroic couplet to apologize for his own numbers, the clear implication being that they are not "harmonious." The context makes it clear that he deems them not harmonious, rather because they are unlike the best contemporary verse than because they are unlike Chaucer's own verse. But this raises the question of why he believes that those "accustomed to harmonious numbers" will find little herein to please them. This question brings us to term (3). They will look in vain for "variety in the caesura of each verse." This statement rests on the assumption that numbers depend for their harmony on the caesura. Surely harmony depends on many factors, of which the handling of the caesura is but one. But let us not dwell on the point. What is more immediately annoying is that the term "variety in the caesura" is meaningless, because we are not told in what the variety consists. He might mean, first of all, variety in the placement of the caesura in the line -- whether it comes after the 4th syllable, or after the 5th syllable, and so on. Or he

might mean variety in the number of caesuras in a verse. And, finally, he might mean variety in the heaviness of the caesura, that is, in the extent to which it breaks the movement of the line. What puzzles me most, however, is that none of this "want of variety" is observable in the actual practice of our translator. We have already seen how the caesura is handled with as much variety as one could wish for -- in placement, in number per line, in weight. This may in part explain what appears to me to be a certain gratuitousness in the translator's apology. Although his numbers may not achieve the harmoniousness of Dryden's or Pope's, at the same time the verse surely is but little below the mean of eighteenth-century verse, and far above the worst. His apology, which I am sure he offers in genuine modesty and honesty, does not seem at all called for by the actual results.

There is yet greater confusion between purpose and product. Taking what the translator says about "want of variety in the caesura" as best we may, we next learn that he hopes he may be excused for his fault on the ground that it was not his object to attend to variety in the caesura (and, by implication, to the "harmonious numbers" he supposed his readers would expect). Instead his object was "to adhere studiously to the form of the original." Here we arrive at term (4): "form of the original." What does he mean by the term? Does it have something to do with the

caesura? If so, then the apology involves the original with the translation, and Chaucer runs the same risk the translator does in this matter of "want of variety in the caesura." Of course, the apology is called for in Chaucer's case no more than in the translator's case. Perhaps by "form of the original" he means only the heroic couplet. In the very next breath, the translator's object of "adhering studiously to the form of the original" is renamed a "method"; instead of the end we thought it to be, it has suddenly become a means to a new end. If the latter were clearly defined, we might understand the translator's whole statement, but unfortunately his ultimate goal occupies the 5th position in our list of his inadequately defined terms: he will endeavor to preserve "some of the simple matter of the original." His following statement does not clarify matters; for we have no way of knowing precisely what the translator thinks Chaucer is when Chaucer is himself. And we cannot tell by looking at him in the new dress given him here, for the new clothes have remade the man. Is the "simple manner" of

> . . . "O turnè againe for routhe and sinne!
> Thy barge ne hath nat al his meine inne"
> (ll. 315-316)

communicated by

> "Theseus, return! for pity turn again!
> "Thy bark half-freighted idly cuts the Main."
> [21-22]

The idea of the boat's being half-freighted is not so simple and direct an idea as that of its not having all of its

company aboard, and the word "idly," contributing nothing material, simply adds to the complexity. In one case, where Chaucer himself spoiled the simplicity of a line, the translator lost yet more of that quality. In line 329, Chaucer has Ariadne cry: "Alas! wher shal I wretchid wight become?" The introduction of "wretchid wight" between the subject and the rest of the verb complicates the expression. But the translator, far from achieving a "simple manner," expresses the thought by means of a Miltonic inversion:

> "Me wretched in what shelter shall I lay."

We must conclude that Chaucer's manner, simple or otherwise, has not been successfully preserved in this translation.

A final issue, and a vital one, is raised by the translator in his closing quotation. He describes himself as one

> Who loves the antique muse, though quaint she seem,
> Still is she simple in her old attire,
> And wears the charm of unadorned nature.

We note, by the way, that his love for the "antique muse" did not extend to the perpetuating of antiqueness through retention of Chaucer's own diction and prosody. But to our point. The last two lines of the quotation connect simplicity and nature. We have just remarked upon the extent to which the translator has caught Chaucer's simplicity. I believe the point that simplicity is a mark of Chaucer's writing requires no argument. Nor need the connection of simplicity and nature be argued, provided it be granted that Protean Nature has her aspect of complexity as well as

her aspect of simplicity. What interests one here is the question of naturalness which the translator raises. He says, it would seem, not only that Chaucer's writing reflects Nature but also that he himself has endeavored to represent this aspect of Chaucer in his translation. Here again, he has been markedly unsuccessful. Nature, which shines in Chaucer, suffers at the hands of the artificing translator.

First of all, Nature suffers in the diction. When Ariadne cries out for Theseus, Chaucer's simple

> . . . . . Theseus, myn herte swete!
> Where be ye, that I may nat with you mete
> (ll. 305-306)

is translated into

> "Theseus, my heart's desire,
> Where art thou? where my love, dost thou retire?"
> [11-12]

"Where be ye?" is simple, natural, real. What forsaken girl -- in Chaucer's time, in this translator's, in ours -- would exclaim: "Where dost thou retire?" Such diction does not accord with nature. Several cases of unnatural diction can be found in the translation, some of them having already been alluded to in another connection. The diction of line 22, "'Thy bark half freighted idly cuts the Main,'" and of line 28, "And the cold stone receiv'd the fainting maid": surely this is eighteenth-century "poetic diction," stilted and artificial, and it seems all the more unnatural when compared to the corresponding lines of the original.

But Nature suffers also in the matter of observation. The translator's line 15, "The moon yet shone, but could not him disclose," is no match for Chaucer's line 309 (l. 2194), which puts first things first, as Nature does:

No man she sawe, and yet yshone the mone.

Here indeed Chaucer's line "wears the charm of unadorned Nature." Let us consider Ariadne's actions when she first discovers that Theseus is not by her side. The order in nature would be:

(1) Ariadne looks desperately around her into the night.

(2) She realizes that she does not see Theseus. A little unspoken hope may remain that it is only the night that conceals him from her view.

(3) Only then does she become aware of the moon and the crushing truth that its light would be sufficient to show her Theseus were he there.

By mentioning the moon first, the translator sacrifices this simple natural order. It is true that a person in a calm, ratiocinative frame of mind might make her observations as the translator offers them, but Ariadne is not in a calm, ratiocinative frame of mind, and the facts of her situation are going to strike her consciousness just as Chaucer has them do. This is a small detail, but it is indicative of the quality that puts Chaucer in the company of Homer. Chaucer understands and respects Nature and will not violate her. Our translator was either less wise or less careful.

Item No. 10: Wharton, Richard. Fables: [Vol. I] Consisting of Select Parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto. Imitated in English Heroic Verse by Richard Wharton, Esq. M.P. [This first volume, in the Bryn Mawr copy I examined, is bound with Vol. II under the general title Fables.] London: Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, for Payne and MacKinlay, 87, Strand. 1804. [Title page bears the following quotation:]

> Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus
> Interpres: nec desilies imitator in arctum
> Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex.
> Hor. De Arte Poetica.

[Also:] Fables: Vol. II. Containing Cambuscan, an Heroic Poem, In Six Books: Founded upon and Comprizing a Free Imitation of Chaucer's Fragment on that Subject. By Richard Wharton, Esq. London: Printed for Payne and MacKinlay, 87, Strand, By T. Bensley, Bolt Court. 1805. [Title page bears the quotation of the seven-line passage from Milton's Il Penseroso beginning "Or call up him who left half-told."]

Respecting Chaucer, the contents of Volume II are made quite clear in Wharton's title. The nature of the piece is such as to remove it from the pale of this study. Taken as a whole, it is an enlargement, extension, and completion of Chaucer's half-told Squire's Tale: it is not translation. But it does include translation; therefore it will be given brief treatment in due course. First, however, we turn to Volume I, wherein two of Chaucer's pieces are translated: the portrait of the Franklin in the General Prologue (in Note c, pp. 70-71) and "The Franklein's Tale. From Chaucer" (pp. 70-99). These two pieces will receive our first attention.

Wharton's "Franklein's Tale" embraces both the Prologue

and the Tale as found in Robinson -- that is, it is the equivalent of F, 709-1624. It is printed as one piece, without a break to show where Prologue becomes Tale. I know of no authority for this particular combination. Stowe, Speght (1687), Urry, and Tyrwhitt all break the text between Prologue and Tale at exactly the same point as Robinson does.[73] Wharton has translated the 916 lines of his original into 748 lines of heroic verse, divided into verse paragraphs of varying lengths.

The heroic verse is varied by the use of occasional triplets and alexandrines. In regard to the incidence and form of the triplets there seems to be no settled pattern. Of the triplets, the first (p. 79) and third (p. 86) and a verse paragraph, the sixth (p. 97) opens a verse paragraph, and the fourth (p. 91) occurs mid-paragraph. The second triplet (p. 80) also occurs mid-paragraph, though it concludes a speech by Dorigen. Most of the triplets contain no run-on lines and no alexandrines. The third triplet, however, like so many of Dryden's, has the first two lines run on into the third line, an alexandrine. Appropriately, this particular triplet, dealing with the occasion of the meeting between the brothers and the magician, brings a verse paragraph to a close:

> Dismounting, they embrac'd; with courtly air
> He led them to his house, and welcomed there
> With smiles and soft repose and comfortable fare.
> (86:9-11)

This last line, however, lacks the balance typical of a

Dryden alexandrine.

The rhyme is frequently irregular, but, perhaps for that very reason, is on the whole fairly fresh. On page 85, for instance, out of 14 couplets we get eight interesting rhymes: "glare . . . war," "known . . . Moon," "win . . . queen," "air . . . appear," "below . . . prow," "afford . . . word," "understood . . . glow'd," and "along . . . tongue." Though in his remarks on the Squire's Tale translation Wharton indicates a worshipful attitude toward Dryden and hence, by implication, toward Augustan versestyle, here in actual practice, at least so far as rhyme is concerned, is Romantic rebellion in action. We recall how, just one decade earlier, Lipscomb (Item No. 4) was praised in a review for the "accuracy" of his rhyming.

When we turn to the question involving the quality and nature of the actual translating, we find that Wharton is like Lipscomb in the tendency to reduce the original matter. Wharton has his own name for this process: he calls it "retrenching."[74] To see this process in action, let us look at the opening lines of "The Franklein's Tale" (pp. 70-72):

> OUR sires, a gentle race, in times of old
> Of various feats in native measures told:
> These often they rehears'd on solemn days
> Or to their sounding harps attun'd the lays.
> Full many have I heard; and one my mind [5]
> Remembers, for my task this night assign'd.
> But, Sirs, it fits that I should first beseech
> Your pardon for my rude and uncouth speech:
> My state is humble; and it ill beseems
> Unlearned tongues to dwell on lofty themes. [10]

Ne'er sat I musing on the Delphian Hill,
Or dipp'd in classic lore from Tully's quill:
No colours know I, but the painter's dyes,
Or such as Nature's boon in spring supplies;
But ne'er on Rhetorick's colours did I pore,
Quaint figure, trope, or hidden metaphor;
And ill would such my homely style avail,
Then hear with candour, ye that hear the tale.
In Brittany there liv'd a gallant youth
Who serv'd the softer sex with knightly truth.

Here there is but slight retrenching: the first and second verse paragraphs each represent a reduction of their counterparts (F, 709-715 and 716-728) by only one line. Removed in the process are all Chaucer's references to the Bretons. On the other hand, at line 16 Wharton is much more particular than Chaucer.

While this passage is before us, let us pause to consider a few miscellaneous matters.

First it should be observed that the number of run-on lines is considerable: lines 1, 5, 7, 9, and perhaps 3 are all run on. In each case, however, the run-on line occurs at the end of the first line of the couplet. Not at all in this passage, and rarely throughout the rest of the poem, will one find the second line of a couplet run on. Though freer of end-stopped lines than their eighteenth-century counterparts usually were, these couplets of Wharton's still bear the Augustan mark upon them. The rhyme contributes to this notion in that it is masculine and for the most part monosyllabic and in that the irregular rhymes referred to above do not appear. In one respect, however, these couplets

partake more of the style of Gray than of the great Augustans: this is in the use and placement of the caesura. Careful placing of the caesura, usually after the 4th or 5th syllable of a line, is a mark of eighteenth-century verse. Of the first eight lines, none follows the Augustan ideal with respect to placement of the caesura. The 9th and 10th lines, however, with caesura at end of the 5th syllable and 4th syllable, respectively, are more after Pope's manner. Prosodically, they follow very closely this famous couplet from Essay on Criticism:

> True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd.

Earlier in this volume, in connection with some of his translations from Berni's Orlando Inamorato, Wharton speaks glowingly of Dryden and Gray, in a way to indicate they were his masters rather than Pope (pp. 50-52n). Indeed, generally, Wharton's verse has the movement of Gray's rather than of either Dryden's or Pope's.

All in all, though the "retrenching" process is perhaps less pronounced herein, this opening passage offers a fair indication of the nature of Wharton's whole translation.

In content Wharton has made no really basic alterations. There are one or two minor changes of interest, however. We recall that the Orleans clerk demands no less than £ 1000 of Aurelius for showing him how to deal with the rocks of Brittany, and that Aurelius

> Answerde thus: "Fy on a thousand pound!
> This wyde world, which that men seye is round,
> I wolde it yeve, if I were lord of it."
> (F, 1227-29.)

The full passage in question (F, 1219-29) is rendered by Wharton as follows (p. 87):

> The supper o'er, to bargain they began,
> What meed should recompense this learned man
> Could he remove from sight the rocky chain
> That girds th'Armoric province to the Seine.
> His terms the crafty scholar still advanc'd,
> The difficulty, toil, expence enhanc'd,
> And rais'd the value of his art so high,
> That nought but brain-sick passion could comply.
> 'Ask ye so little, Sir?' Aurelius said.

Medieval bluntness and concreteness are thus replaced by eighteenth-century sensibility and abstraction. Indeed, Wharton has even abstracted the amount of money involved, a choice which seems to me to have made the closing question lose some of its effectiveness, but admittedly Wharton has with Aurelius' question given the episode a healthy twist that does no violence either to the basic meaning of this passage or to the Chaucerian spirit generally.

Another minor omission is Dorigen's reference to the garden as the place where she will keep her promise to Aurelius (F, 1512-13). Wharton renders the matter thus (p. 95):

> But gay Aurelius in the public street
> By chance the melancholy fair one met,
> And greeting her with soft and amorous mien,
> 'Where goes,' he said, 'the lovely Dorigen?'
> 'Where goes she?' said the dame with haggard air
> Like madness ripening from a deep despair,
> 'You, Sir, she seeks, commanded by her lord,
> 'To pay the monstrous forfeit of her word.'
> She said; and standing fix'd upon the place,

> A storm of sorrow blacken'd all her face:
> Her lips not clos'd, she turn'd her streaming eye
> To heav'n, and clasp'd her hands in speechless
> agony.

The description of Dorigen's streaming eyes and clasped hands, though quite in keeping with the story, is not at this point recorded in the original. The word "blacken'd" is unpleasant, at least, and even if one could admit it to be natural, it would be uncharacteristic of both Chaucer's and his own times. But it does not seem natural. Earlier, when first apprised by Aurelius that "the rokkes been aweye," Dorigen stood "astoned," and "In all hir face nas a drope of blood" (F, 1338-40). I think that description would fit this second occasion also. Before passing to other passages, I would call the reader's attention to the fact that this one, which stands as a verse paragraph in Wharton's translation, closes with an alexandrine. Again it is not such an alexandrine as Dryden would compose, even though that poet, with Gray, seems to have been considered by Wharton as one of his masters.

Let me insert here, while the passage above is still fresh before us, that as a poetic translator, Wharton must be admitted to have some merit. Such a line as the sixth in the passage above -- "Like madness ripening from a deep despair" -- is quite beyond the powers of Lipscomb; it is almost Wordsworthian in its quietly powerful depiction of an unquiet state.

It is desirable at this point to establish whether Wharton is to be called paraphraser, or modernizer. A com-

parison of the passages already quoted with their originals suggests immediately that Wharton is a paraphraser. A more dramatic approach to the question may be made by seeing how Wharton handles a passage that a modernizer would leave almost untouched except for the spelling. Such a passage would be the second couplet in the following lines (F, 1607-10):[75]

> This philosophre answerde, "Leeve brother,
> Everich of yow dide gentilly til oother.
> Thou art a squier, and he is a knyght;
> But God forbede, for his blissful myght,
> . . . . . ."

Taking a present-day modernizer, so that we may better see the difference, we find that he handles those last two lines with little change:

> You are a squire, true, and he is a knight,
> But God forbid, what of His blessed might,
> . . . . . .(J. U. Nicolson.[76])

Here now are the four lines as Wharton renders them (p. 98):

> The Scholar said, 'Good brother, I confess
> 'In both your acts an equal gentleness:
> 'He is by rank a knight, and you a 'squire;
> 'But God may in his mercy yet inspire,
> . . . . . .'

He has kept the meaning intact, but has quite altered the wording, even to getting his rhyme from "squire" instead of from "knight." The nearest Wharton gets to modernizing is perhaps in the following couplet from the description of Aurelius (p. 78):

> Handsome and strong and gorgeous in array,
> And fresher than the jolly month of May.

But even this must still be accounted paraphrasing, when we

consider the original (F, 927-928):

> That fressher was and jolyer of array,
> As to my doom, than is the month of May.[77]

Thus, as a paraphraser rather than a modernizer, Wharton belongs squarely in the Dryden-Ogle-Lipscomb tradition.

Let us see what this means in terms of the diction Wharton uses. First of all, it means that Wharton will have little interest in antiqueness: he will not go out of his way to preserve Chaucer's diction, particularly that diction which would still possess an antique flavor. This is indeed the case, with but few exceptions and these uncertain. In the 3rd line of the poem, Wharton writes: "Full many have I heard," with "full" conveying to the Romantic ear, perhaps, a whiff of the antique. Elsewhere in the poem he uses "troth" (p. 72), "in times of yore" and "Whelm yon black rocks. . ." (p. 77), "withal" (p. 78), but whether such language would have struck the Romantic Era audience as especially antique is dubious, and it is scarcely likely that Wharton introduced these words in a conscious effort to create such an atmosphere.

But we can properly expect that a translator in the eighteenth-century tradition will use the poetic diction of that tradition. Though there is rather less of it in Wharton than in Lipscomb, there is still some to be found. A few examples will suffice. The ladies are, on page 72, referred to as the "softer sex" -- an expression more likely

to be found in the latter half of the eighteenth century than in the first, but "poetic diction" all the same. The domestic sovereignty which Arviragus is willing to grant Dorigen is referred to as "the proffer'd sway." In the pre-prandial pageantry presented to the brothers by the Orleans wizard, we have the following (p. 86):

> The chace began; the huntsman's winged wound
> Here prostrate laid his pride, and here the hound:

wherein the "winged wound" I take to be an arrow. In one case, we have the poetic diction of the Age of Sensibility, for we find the suffering Aurelius referred to by the narrator as "poor Aurelius" (p. 78). One will not find poor so used in the original Chaucer, with two or three possible but quite doubtful exceptions, as a glance at the Concordance will indicate.

But I would not give the impression that Wharton's work teems with poetic diction. Indeed it does not. Furthermore, it offers us beauties worthy of the age of Wordsworth and Coleridge. Note the powerful epithet for slander in the following couplet, in the passage in which Arviragus advises Dorigen what to do about her promise (p. 94):

> 'Let not your voice, your look, your eye betray
> 'The curst mischance of this detested day;
> 'Let none have ev'n the slightest cause to guess,
> 'Or babbling slander glance at our distress.'

We may conclude this discussion of Wharton's diction by quoting the following passage, in which Wharton exhibits

on the one hand real poetic power (in the next-to-last couplet) and on the other the capacity for sinking to banality and doggerel (in the last couplet). There is in the passage both "poetic diction" ("orb of gold," "Indian flood") and fresh diction ("clear fire," "carv'd the red brawn of the tusky swine"):

> The Winter was in prime; the Sun, grown old,
> Had chang'd to duller brass his orb of gold,
> Nor rush'd impatient from the Indian flood
> While yet the western sky with purple glow'd.
> But frost and bitter sleet deform'd the year;
> The plains were brown, the forest stark and bare;
> Then sat old Janus with his double beard
> By the clear fire and still the embers stirr'd,
> And carv'd the red brawn of the tusky swine,
> And crown'd his bugle horn with foaming wine:
> Sport and good cheer was found in every hall,
> And many a merry Christmas wish'd by all.
> (P. 88.)

This translates F, 1245-55, one of the relatively few places where expansion rather than "retrenching" takes place. In the first line of the next-to-last couplet, Wharton, while employing Chaucer's own diction as a basis, has gone beyond it in picturing Janus as <u>carving</u> the brawn. In Chaucer the brawn merely "biforn hym stant." But the switch to the dull passives in the last couplet lets the reader down badly, especially when one compares Chaucer's

> And "Nowel" crieth every lusty man. (F, 1255.)

Passing from the subject of Wharton's diction to that of his basic philosophy or rationale of translation, we come to that point where we may see the hands of both Pope and Wharton at work on the same passage of Chaucer. I give the

original:

> Love wol nat been constreyned by maistrye.
> Whan maistrie comth, the God of Love anon
> Beteth his wynges, and farewel, he is gon!
> Love is a thyng as any spirit free.
> (F, 764-767.)

Pope includes in his Eloisa and Abelard these lines translative of the first three lines above:

> Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
> Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.
> (Cambridge ed., p. 111, ll. 75-76.)

I give now the Wharton translation of the Chaucer original, together with Wharton's footnote (p. 73):

> Love cannot bloom beneath authority.
> That union best endures where each receives
> A little grace, and each a little gives;
> For Love, if either strive to rule alone,
> Extends his wings and farewell! he is gone.*
> Love is a thing as any spirit free,
> Lost by restraint and gain'd by liberty.

*Mr. Pope's imitation,

> Spreads his light wings and in a moment flies,

however beautiful in the structure of the verse, is weaker than the original,

> Beateth his winges and farewell, he is gone --

the active flies not conveying the idea of the immediate effect of authority so forcibly as the passive, is gone. Perhaps this may seem too fine a criticism; but it has induced me to preserve as much of Chaucer's line as was consistent with modern idiom.

Obviously Dryden's notion of Chaucer's language as unrefined is still abroad in the land and Wharton is operating under its influence, for he admits to having found a Chaucer line powerful enough to induce him to depart from his ways,

which are those of the paraphraser, in order to "Preserve as much of Chaucer's line" as he finds "consistent with modern idiom," -- that is to say, he has consciously, almost apologetically, chosen for this one line, the ways of the modernizer. Though here he has adopted the philosophy of the modernizer, he has not applied it so wholly as would a modernizer like, say, "Trinitarius," who would no doubt go the whole way and write "Beateth" as well. But here is where Wharton, more "modern" than modernizer, draws the line. Ironically, in trying to fill up the two-syllable gap occurring when one removes "Beteth," Wharton has produced the Latin and relatively lifeless "Extends," a solution that falls far short of Pope's.[78] Interestingly, he has taken over the following line (F, 767) in toto, without apology or other comment.

In a long footnote (p. 70) to the first line of his "Franklein's Tale," Wharton includes his translation of the General Prologue portrait of the Franklin. Wharton's version amounts to 32 lines against 30 in the original (A, 331-360). By contrast, Betterton's (in Lipscomb) is 26 lines, and Horne's (1841) is 30 lines. The translation may be characterized, generally, as close paraphrase, although in some spots it is nearer modernization and in others it is free paraphrase. Here is the entire item, together with the note that introduces it (pp. 70-71):

> The Franklein's Tale is, like the foregoing, an illustration of the quality of courtesy. I was

induced to modernise it by the Lady to whose genius I have above expressed my obligations; and I publish my version in order to show how the same idea was treated by poets of different countries and different areas. Chaucer died A. D. 1400, and Berni died A. D. 1543. Boccacio, who died A.D. 1372, tells a story very similar to this of Chaucer in the 5 Nov. 10 Gior. of the Decamerone. The word Franklein means a country gentleman: how different that character was in the time of Chaucer from what it is now, will appear from the subjoined account which Chaucer gives of the person whom he makes the relator of this tale.

> The Franklein of a cheerful hue appear'd;
> And white, as is a daisy, was his beard.
> A sop he relish'd, steep'd in generous wine,
> To brace his stomach ere 'twas time to dine;
> And spent his life in one continued feast;
> For he was Epicurus' son confest,
> Who taught that pleasure is the scope and end
> To which his thoughts a man of sense will bend.
> A noble house he had and large domain;
> At home he was a new St. Julian:
> His ale might nor be smaller in the least,
> Or bread less white; but always of the best.
> Without bak'd meats his larder ne'er was known,
> And fish and flesh, in such profusion,
> That in that house it snow'd good meat and drink
> And all nice things of which a man can think.
> Ev'n as throughout the year the seasons change
> Did he his diet in the month arrange;
> Full many a partridge had he in his mew,
> And many a Bream and many a Luce in stew.
> Woe was his Cook if aught amiss were done;
> His sauce too sharp, or his roast meat too brown;
> And always in his hall the cloth was laid;
> Betwixt the meals with savory pasties spread.
> At Quarter Sessions he was King and Priest;
> And, though from public duties now releas'd, [2]
> High Sheriff he had been, and often sent
> Knight of the Shire to serve in Parliament. [4]
> A hanger and a pouch of woven silk
> Hung at his girdle, white as morning's milk; [6]
> And search the country round, you might not see
> A gentleman of more esteem than he. [8]

Perhaps the Luce is the Pike, of which the name among the early writers was Lucius.

The two additional lines of this version are gained in the closing verse paragraph. Here is the original passage:

> At sessions ther was he lord and sire;
> Full ofte tyme he was knyght of the shire.
> An anlaas and a gipser al of silk
> Heeng at his girdel, whit as morne milk.
> A shirreve hadde he been, and a contour.
> Was nowher swich a worthy vavasour.
> (A, 355-360.)

Let us refer to the individual lines of the counterpart in Wharton as simply lines 1 to 8. It will be seen that the increase is accomplished (1) when line 2 is added, "And, though from public duties now releas'd" (this addition is a reasonable one, readily inferrable from the context, particularly from Chaucer's use of the past tense and the expression "Ful ofte tyme"), and (2) when Chaucer's last line is converted into a full couplet, lines 7-8. Other features of Wharton's work are (1) his inclusion of the redundant "to serve in Parliament" (l. 4), which does, however, help him to a handy rhyme with "sent," (2) his dropping of the word contour (A, 359) ("Coronner" in Urry) and his moving the reference to the Franklein's former office as sheriff (also A, 359) to line 3, a reasonable change in that the Franklein's former offices are now mentioned together -- in the original, details of physical description separate those references -- and (3) his generalizing of the word vavasour (A, 360) into gentleman (l. 8), this last action being well advised, in view of the fact that the meaning of the term was not in Wharton's time (Tyrwhitt, v. 362n), nor has it been in ours (Robinson, l. 360n), determined with any real certainty. Lines 1, 5, and 6 are the respective equivalents

of A, 355, 357, and 358. Although lines 5-6 are actually modernization, the verse paragraph as a whole may be classified as fairly close paraphrase.

With this discussion behind us, we may deal rather summarily with Wharton's treatment of the Squire's Tale. In the first place, taken as a whole, his treatment is not a translation, but a refashioning and completing of the story. The scale on which this was done can be realized when we learn that the material of Chaucer's two parts is comprehended in three books, the first of these approaching and the other two each exceeding the length of the whole of the original, and that the fabricated conclusion occupies three more books, each of which is about half again as long as the whole of the original. I estimate the total length at 5100 lines.

It would be gratuitous to recount the story as fashioned by Wharton. A summary of it is in Tobler (p. 35). Here it suffices to say that Wharton, taking Chaucer's characters, the fragmentary plot, and the sketch (F, 651-670) of what remained to be told, as a basis and interpreting other points as hints of action to come, has provided the tale with an elaborate historical and geographical context and with an arch villain, in the person of the strange visitor, and additional characters. It may be added that Wharton has greatly expanded the treatment of the elements of wonder and mystery, in that to the miracle-working gifts is added

the gift-maker, Dyr-Zoro, an evil-doer of middle nature. Against that evil being is arrayed a good spirit, Maimoune, whose similarity to the Maimoune of Southey's Thalaba is the occasion of the rather full note h (pp. 43-44).[79] This note reflects the great interest taken by the Romantics in Eastern lore and literature, particularly in The Arabian Nights. Even without this note, we should have the testimony afforded by the subjects being undertaken in the poetry of the time: besides Thalaba there were Coleridge's Kubla Khan, Moore's Lalla Rookh, and Byron's The Giaour, to name a few. The Arabian Nights were read with delight by the youthful Wordsworth (Prelude, 1805-06, ll. 482-500) and by Crabbe.[80] Furthermore we shall soon see, under Item No. 16, two attempts by Leigh Hunt at translating the Squire's Tale.

More germain to our purpose is the "Introductory Statement" found on pages iii-xvi of Volume II. It gives explicit support to many of the ideas and observations that we got by inference from our study of Wharton's translation of the Franklin's Tale.

The purpose of the "Advertisement" is given as twofold: (1) to apologize for what Wharton considers the presumptuous attempt to complete a story left incomplete by so eminent a poet as Chaucer and (2) to account for "the objects . . . principally to be kept in view, in the construction of the fable as it now stands." (P. iii.) As to the first, most of the praises are given, not to Chaucer, but to Dryden:

> I have often greatly regretted that Mr. Dryden did not apply to the completion of a story so well begun [he has said he regarded Chaucer's fragment as "written in his best style"], the powers of his inexhaustible genius, and that wonderful variety of harmony he possessed, so exclusively, as never to have been equalled, and indeed, of late years, never to have been imitated.

It is not surprising that the holder of such an opinion would, in translating Chaucer, turn out paraphrase rather than modernization and that his paraphrasing would be to some extent in the image of Dryden's.

Pages v-xv of the "Introductory Advertisement" are given to an explanation of the plan and the manner of the narrative Wharton has created on the basis of the original tale. Since his work was to be a completion, he found it, he tells us, absolutely necessary to preserve Chaucer's fragment, or at least the first book and a "great part (if not the whole) of a second" (p. v). But creating such a fable involved two problems: telling the story so that it rested "on incidents which might arise out of Chaucer's beginning" and so that the incidents would "bring about that catastrophe and include those circumstances, of which Chaucer, at the close of his fragment, declares it his intention to treat" (p. vi). In short, Wharton had to deal not only with what Chaucer did but with what he promised to do. This last is the crux of the matter because no one can tell from the ambiguities of the text exactly what that promise entailed. Wharton therefore spends some effort on the interpretation, basing it on

Tyrwhitt. First Wharton quotes the 19 lines of the passage in question, beginning "I woll no more speke of hir ring"[81] (the equivalent in Robinson of F, 652-670). The two names "Cambalus" and "Cambalo" appear in this quotation just as they do in Robinson (F, 656 and 667),[82] the difference in them raising the question whether they refer to one person or two. Here is Wharton's statement in the matter (p. vii):

> Any reader will observe that there must be an erroneous reading in this passage, as Mr. Tyrwhit in his notes very justly suggests: for if Cambalo were a brother of Canace, he could not fight for her with her two brothers, of whom he himself was one: and I think it equally clear, that Spencer [i.e., Spenser, in the continuation of the Tale in The Faerie Queene] was mistaken in supposing that Cambalo fought in defence of his sister, against two other brethren: -- for so, he could not be said to Winne her. Mr. Tyrwhit says, that one of the MSS. which he consulted, read, for Cambalo, Cabalo, making two persons, of names distinct, though resembling each other: Cambalo the brother, and Cabalo the lover, of Canace.

It is this latter name that Wharton takes, after reforming the syllables, for the name of his hero and winner of Canace, Al-Kabal.

Wharton does not think much of the "story of the Falcon" in Book II. I take it that he is referring, not to the whole of Book II, but only to that part wherein the Falcon actually tells her tale. In any event he says (p. vii) that it

> is so void of interest, even in Chaucer's hands, that had it not been pointed out in the above lines as a constituent part of his fable, I should have left it entirely out of mine; and should have taken my departure from the more interesting and magnificent circumstances which are detailed in the first book.

Thus Wharton has rather pointedly relieved himself of blame

for what, in his opinion, Chaucer was so tasteless as to produce, in the "story of the Falcon."

Pages viii-xii are devoted to a rather elaborate treatment of Chaucer's historical sources. His basic supposition is -- and on this he bases the entire plan of his poem -- that Cambuscan was "the Great Chan of Tartary" (p. ix), determining, by juggling letters a bit, that he was actually "Touschi-Khan," the eldest son of "Ginghis Khan" (pp. ix-x, xi-xii).

Pages xii-xiv are then devoted to Chaucer's -- or perhaps it might be better said, his own -- geographical sources and to the political alignments at the beginning of the story. To provide a kingdom whose envoy was the rider of the brass horse, Wharton rejected India, because another Ginghis son ruled there, and Arabia, because it was not of sufficient significance, and chose instead to make the Kingdoms of Adel, Melinda, and Sofala on the east coast of Africa the constituents of an empire of sufficient magnificence to oppose that of Cambuscan. Calling it "Ophir," Wharton supposes this kingdom "to have extended its dominion over the southern parts of Arabia, and the peninsula of India, and as many of the Indian islands as the reader may be pleased to throw in, to form a power great enough to combat that of the Tartarian empire: and from the reigning despot of those countries I suppose the rider of the Brazen Horse to have been delegated to Cambuscan."

The religious background next receives Wharton's attention (p. xv). "Mr. Turner's account" of an embassy to the Lama provides Wharton with sufficient warrant to call Cambuscan's subjects the followers of "Tibetan" doctrine, and the Ophirians are, he determines, Mahometans. Since, he says, both these sects "believed in the agency of beings of a middle nature, between God and man, called Genies, or Pheris, by the one, and Dewtas by the other," he supposes that "what little machinery of that kind I have ventured to use, is reconcileable to the common tenets of both parties" and that "my supernatural beings may be supposed objects of their general belief and veneration without incongruity."

Finally, in pp. xv-xvi, Wharton announces his main purpose in creating this Chaucer-based work:

> If it be objected to me, that, grounding what I have added to Chaucer's Fragment of history, I have nevertheless deviated from the truth of history, as well as the accuracy of chronology, in many instances: I reply, that it is far from my wish that the facts of my story should be credited. I am not vain enough even to suppose that my readers will derive any solid advantage from those parts of the poem which contain reflexions: I have aimed, however weakly, to please; and to please only.

Wharton's apology for aiming only to please testifies to the strength and popularity of the notion that literature to be worthwhile had to be didactic. Wharton's opposition to this notion reminds one of a similar opposition on the part of Wordsworth, expressed in Book V of The Prelude, where it

is addressed specifically to the application of this notion in the realm of children's literature. The great popularity that Scott's novels, pleasure-bringers supreme, would soon be enjoying indicates that Wharton's apology was not altogether called for.

To bring this treatment of Wharton's work to a close, I should like to present a few passages from "Cambuscan." These are selected either because they are the counterparts of passages from other versions of the Squire's Tale or because they illustrate peculiar qualities in Wharton.

The first passage, equivalent to F, 34-41, is that in which the narrator disclaims the power to describe the beauty of Canace (p. 3):

> To paint her charms would ask a master hand,
> That summons thoughts to life with Fancy's wand:
> E'en He [i.e. Shakespeare, per Wharton's note],
> whose words brought all before the eye,
> And cloth'd with shape ideal imag'ry,
> Had failed perchance her beauties to pourtray,
> And number her perfections in his lay.
> Far less may I, a poet all unskill'd,
> On such a theme my trembling pencil wield,
> And dwell presumptuous on so fair a face,
> Which Zeuxis' glowing tints had fail'd to trace.

In view of Wharton's main purposes, we can hardly criticize him for introducing the anachronistic reference to Shakespeare, especially when we recall that the Ogle-Lipscomb volumes, while purporting to be translations, yet contained many allusions to people and events subsequent to Chaucer. In referring to "Zeuxis' glowing tints" Wharton is changing the colors of rhetoric to the colors of painting.

We next come to Wharton's translation of the delightful passage, F, 48-57, in which the change of season is described (pp. 3-4):

> Now when his twentieth feast Cambuscan held,
> And all were rang'd in Sarra's ample field,
> To Aries' house his car Apollo whirl'd,
> With beams unclouded to revive the world.
> Then starting Nature felt the vernal glow
> Swell in her veins, and smooth'd her furrow'd brow:
> Flickering the song-birds hopp'd from spray to spray,
> And their plumes glisten'd in the noon tide ray.
> While each to love attun'd his narrow throat,
> And in one Sun-beam Winter's reign forgot.
> Short sighted race! your scanty reason sees
> Eternal verdure in fresh opening trees;
> Thinks each new flow'r must e'er the meads adorn,
> And in each day-star hails perpetual morn. --
> Vain hope! -- where'er the rapid Sun declines,
> Behind the icy sword of Winter shines;
> And He but calls to transient life and joy,
> That the keen blast may wither and destroy.

Wharton has retained the "swerd of wynter" (F, 57) image, but has altered its context completely. Whereas Chaucer used it to emphasize the joy of the birds, who in the warmth of the new season feel themselves protected against winter's thrusts, Wharton has abstracted the birds (they are introduced earlier) and then, making one of his "reflexions," he depicts the sword, not as part of the season past, but as waiting at the further end of the season, when the warmth declines. Completely reversing the genial picture Chaucer had drawn, it strikes a gloomy, Ecclesiastes note.

Here is how Wharton depicts the dramatic entrance of the strange knight (p. 5):

> Thus, in his royal hall, in gorgeous state,
> When circled by his peers Cambuscan sate,

> (Listening with eager ears the solemn sound
> That stole from every Minstrel's harp around),
> At once, a novel object struck their view --
> A stranger Knight within the portal drew.
> The Courser he bestrode appear'd of brass:
> Within his grasp he held a Mirror Glass:
> On his right thumb a ring of gold he wore,
> And in his belt a naked sabre bore.
> Attention siez'd the crowd: -- all look'd, none spoke:
> Scarce ev'n a breath the awful silence broke;
> While on his burnish'd courser up the hall
> He pac'd, majestic, and inclin'd to all.
> Arms of bright steel, enrich'd with jewels rare,
> Cas'd all his person; but his head was bare.

It will be observed that Wharton manages to keep the "bras . . . glas" (F, 81-82) rhyme of Chaucer, and he does not transfer the ring from the thumb to the finger as Penn did. On the whole the translation, while a paraphrase, remains recognizably close to the original.

I give now the passage on "Sleep" as the "norice of digestioun" (F, 347-356); however, whereas this is the opening of Part Two in the original, in Wharton it concludes the first book (p. 27):

> The Nurse of pure digestion, balmy Sleep,
> Now o'er the brows of all began to creep,
> And whispering, that e'en Bliss had need of rest,
> On their dull eyes his leaden lips imprest.
> Nor pomp shook off the God, nor jovial wine;
> His poppies overtopp'd the drooping Vine:
> All felt by slow degress [sic -- ("degrees"?)]
> their fire decay;
> All late retir'd; Cambuscan led the way.
> Cares, Hopes, and Joys, in one repose were drown'd:
> And universal stillness brooded round.

Wharton's second book, which begins with a revelation of the stranger's purposes, is devoted largely to the exposition of elements necessary for the continuation. The story of Canace and the Falcon is presented in the third book, which

begins (p. 56):

> SCARCE had pale Twilight, hoary nurse of Day,
> Loos'd on the eastern hills her tresses grey
> And to her charge (whose youth and age and prime
> Twelve hours complete, re-born in equal time)
> The reins entrusting of ethereal light,
> Border'd with gold the closing wings of Night;
> When, stealing o'er her eyes, the early ray
> Chas'd Slumber from the Princess quick away,
> And waking her to memory of the past,
> Full many a wistful glance around she cast.

Wharton follows the main lines of Chaucer's account. If we add the 10 lines at the end of Book One, we find that Wharton's treatment of Chaucer's Part II, which amounts to 334 lines, is accomplished by Wharton in 308. The part of Wharton's work that can lay the remotest claim to being translation ends on pp. 66-67 with the following version of F, 635-650, in which Wharton has reversed Chaucer's order, having put the account of the healing of the wounded bird <u>after</u> the description of the mew. The description is translated fairly closely, but the account of the healing is elaborated to the point where Chaucer's original is virtually unrecognizable. Here is Wharton:

> Thus mourn'd the Falcon, in a loftier strain
> Than ever bird shall pour a plaint again;
> And as she ceas'd her wretched tale to tell,
> Into her death-like swoon again she fell.
> Then Canace with fresh caresses sought
> To soothe her sorrows; and attentive brought
> To her rich chamber, where a spacious mew
> Was fram'd with speed and lin'd with velvet blue,
> A symbol that the heart within was true.
> The space around she dy'd a willow green;
> There pictur'd the unfaithful birds were seen.
> The Tercelet stood foremost in degree,
> And shone the Prince of Infidelity;
> While all the chatterers, Starling, Daw, and Pye,

Flung on the perjur'd race foul obloquy.
These objects to divert the Falcon's mind
And soothe her sorrows, Canace design'd:
The rankling wounds to cure, her magic Ring
Taught her from whence the potent herb to bring.
At hand, amidst a lonely grove, it grew;
But though of heav'nly brightness was its hue,
Save she who wore the ring none might that
brightness view.
This Herb, which could the flitting soul recal,
A Monarch midst the plants, excell'd them all.
By day, like gold appear'd its petals bright;
But like the Glow-worm's lamp they shone by night:
The stem and foliage were a bloody red:
And the strong root with silvery fibres spread.
O'er the wide wounds the sov'reign juice she
press'd;
The wounds at once the sovereign juice confess'd;
The jagged flesh was clos'd; the pain gave way;
The scars were lost and smooth the plumage lay;
As when a lake's wide surface feels the blast
And wrinkling heaves in billows black and vast,
If lenient oil some tutor'd hand distil
On the wild waves, its power at once they feel;
Where'er it floats the swelling surge subsides,
And not a curl the smooth expanse divides.

The extensive "as when" simile at the close seems reminiscent of Milton; it is not at all like Chaucer, lacking his naturalness and humor.

Chaucer's own conclusion to Part Two, in which the design of the remainder of the fable is sketched, it was of course neither necessary nor desirable for Wharton to translate, inasmuch as he was planning to do what Chaucer only said would be done. In a long note (pp. 192-194), Wharton admits to being aware that he has not altogether fulfilled Chaucer's design. He did not make "Cambal and Algarsife jointly engage Canace's lover <u>in lists</u>" and instead had Cambal engage "that lover in single combat, during <u>a battle</u>."

We recall that in the "Introductory Advertisement" Wharton presented his interpretation of the obscure passage, regarding Cambalo (F, 667) as distinct from the brother Cambalus (F, 656), referred to above as "Cambal." Wharton defends his changes (p. 193):

> It was thought injudicious to engraft, on Chaucer's stock, a poem of very great length; but had the several topics laid down by him been made the subject of so many distinct actions, interspersed with the speeches, descriptions, &c. which poetry requires, double the number of the books, which now comprize the fable, would have been required. And if the tournament in which all pretenders to Canace were to show their prowess by overcoming her two brethren had been introduced, it must have been necessarily a distinct action of itself, independent of, and probably subsequent to, the winning of Theodora: Whereas by making all Chaucer's topics, as far as might be, parts of one action; and that one action, immediately resulting from the stranger's bringing the magic horse to Sarra, it is hoped that the spirit, if not the letter, of Chaucer's plan is adhered to, within a compass not quite disproportionate to that of some of the tales completed by himself. It may not be impertinent to point out to the reader . . . that where he says he will "speak of Cambuscan that in his time many a city wanne," he does not say that he will treat of the winning of those cities, but of him who did win them: so that the introduction of Wolodimir and the allusion to Cambuscan's long wars in, and final conquest of, Muscovy, will satisfy that part of the argument.

This last looks like a rationalization on Wharton's part. It seems to me that if by "That in his tyme many a citee wan" Chaucer had meant only to describe what Cambuscan had already done, he would have introduced the detail at the beginning of Part One, with the description of Cambuscan. Here it looks more like a promise of matter to come.

The first of these two volumes of Wharton's Fables was

reviewed in The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry, for 1804, second edition (London: Rivington, 1806), pp. 504-505. We shall come back to this book, for it harbors another version of the Squire's Tale, treated as Item No. 12. As for this review itself, however, it must be regarded as of little value. It does not even mention the true Chaucer part of the volume, that is, "The Franklein's Tale." It praises Wharton for undertaking the translation of the Italian pieces. About his verse it can only say that "his style is vigorous and animated, and his versification is of a kind far superior to what is usually met with" (p. 505). This last judgment is sound enough criticism for an age whose poetic diet included frequent helpings of Pye.

Tobler deals with Wharton in his chapter on authors who have completed or enlarged Chaucer's tales.[83] Though he devotes three pages (34-37) to this treatment, it is descriptive rather than critical, including his line counts, a summary of the action of Cambuscan, and extensive quotation from the "advertisement" introducing the latter. His line count of Cambuscan came to 5043, which I take to be an accurate figure. The magnitude of the thing can be better seen when we recall that Chaucer's Squire's Tale, excluding the fragment of Part Three, has only 662 lines.

Lounsbury seems to have been acquainted only with the first volume of Wharton. In his comment on Wharton's version of the Franklin's Tale (III, 205-206), he is at his

sarcastic best: "For the literary merit of the version, it is sufficient to observe that it is worthy of a place in Lipscomb." The only evidence he offers, however, is contained in his comment on Wharton's handling of the "Whan maistrie comth" couplet (F, 765-766). The couplet as turned out by Wharton "gives a pretty clear conception," says Lounsbury (p. 206), "of the sort of skimmed milk that was dished up to the eighteenth-century reader as a specimen of Chaucer's poetry." By so saying, Lounsbury classifies Wharton as an eighteenth-century paraphraser, as indeed he essentially is. Regarding Wharton's poetic skill, however, he seems unduly harsh. Wharton's verse strikes me as being better than Lipscomb's, and better than Penn's also. A fairer judgment might be that Wharton's translation is worthy of a place in Ogle.

Item No. 11 (1805). Edgeworth, Maria. The Modern Griselda. A Tale, 1805. (I used the following edition: Tales and Novels, by Maria Edgeworth, 9 vols. [London: Whittaker and Co., et al., 1848], wherein The Modern Criselda occupies pp. 407-470 in Vol. VI.)

Maria Edgeworth's The Modern Griselda is not itself a translation of the Clerk's Tale, though in its conception, and in certain details of the plot, as well as for the name if not the nature of the heroine, it owes a great deal to Chaucer's story. An actual translation, however, is involved in the story. In Chapter IV (p. 426), fourteen lines from Ogle's version of the Clerk's Tale appear. The quotation, which is drawn from Gualtherus' speech in which he makes Griselda promise complete obedience, is short and will be given in its entirety in a moment. First let me explain the context. Miss Edgeworth's story, which is rather a moral essay cast in a narrative form, is laid in England in a time approximately contemporary with the authoress' own. The heroine, the "modern Griselda" of the title, is an English gentlewoman, young, and married. We soon see the irony of the title as this modern Wife of Bath, miscalled Griselda, attempts by every art to bring her patient and indulgent husband under her rule. She opposes all her husband's interests that do not flatter her vanity, including his friendship with Mr. Granby. When Mr. Granby marries, Griselda transfers some of her animosity to the new bride. The high opinion which others have of Mrs.

Granby's character, an opinion which, for Mrs. Granby's graciousness and kind heart, is quite deserved, annoys Griselda. "'But to be candid,'" she tells an equally catty friend as they discuss Mrs. Granby, "'to some people's taste she is a pattern wife -- a perfect Grizzle [i.e., for Griselda]. She and I should have changed names -- or characters. Which, my dear?'" The question is addressed to her long-suffering husband, who answers, "'Not names, my dear.'"

Obscurely, a plan for showing off her own "conjugal ascendency" seems to spring into her head.

> "My dear," said she to her husband, "a-propos to pattern wives: you have read Chaucer's Tales. Do you seriously like or dislike the real, original old Griselda?"

The husband sees a way out of the dilemma.

> "It is so long since I have seen her that I cannot tell," replied he.

But the wife pursues.

> "Then, my dear, you must read the story over again, and tell me without evasion."

Elaborating upon a malicious suggestion from her catty friend, Griselda decides to hold a "reading party" at her home, to which Mrs. Granby will be invited. Her husband is dragooned into reading the Clerk's Tale, and it is clearly Griselda's hope that in some way, through the reading, the new bride will be discredited.

All this takes place in Chapter III. Chapter IV is

devoted to the party. The guests arrive and are seated, and the unhappy reader begins. Prompted by the hostess, the eyes of the company turn to the new bride, looking for signs of agitation. But Emma Granby exhibits a "degree of ease which surprised her judges."

> Our heroine was provoked by the sight of this insolent tranquillity, and was determined that it should not long continue. The reader came to the promise which Gualtherus exacts from his bride:-
>
> > "Swear that with ready will, and honest heart,
> > Like or dislike, without regret or art,
> > In presence or alone, by night or day,
> > All that I will, you fail not to obey;
> > All I intend to forward, that you seek,
> > Nor ever once object to what I speak.
> > Nor yet in part alone my wish fulfil;
> > Nor though you do it, do it with ill-will;
> > Nor with a forced compliance half refuse;
> > And acting duty, all the merit lose.
> > To strict obedience add a willing grace,
> > And let your soul be painted on your face;
> > No reasons given, and no pretences sought,
> > To swerve in deed or word, in look or thought."
>
> "Well, ladies!" cried the modern Griselda, "what do you think of this?"

The following passage makes it clear that feminism in the early nineteenth century was not solely dependent upon the advocacy of Mary Wollstonecraft:

> Shrill exclamations of various vehemence expressed with one accord the sentiments, or rather feelings, of almost all the married ladies who were present.
> "Abominable! Intolerable! Insufferable! Horrible! I would rather have seen the man perish at my feet; I would rather have died: I would have remained unmarried all my life rather than have submitted to such terms."

When the gentlemen put the hostess's question to the young unmarried ladies present, they received discreet

evasiveness in reply. The "hard terms" put to the Griselda of Chaucer's story horrify the matrons, and her modern namesake cries: "'I would sooner have lived an old maid to the days of Methusalem than have been so mean as to have married any man on earth upon such terms.!"

Needless to say, Griselda forces the dilemma question upon Mrs. Granby, asking: "'Would you have made the promise that was required from Griselda?'" To which Emma answers: "'Distinctly no; for I could never have loved or esteemed the man who required such a promise.'"

Finding nothing here to ridicule, Griselda bids her husband read on. Dutifully he obeys.

The reading of the tale is over. The modern Griselda now opprobriates her storied namesake for her abjectness and Gualtherus for his tyranny. "'Could you have forgiven the monster?'" she asks Mrs. Granby.

> "He repented," said Emma; "and does not a penitent cease to be a monster?"
> "Oh, I never, never would have forgiven him, penitent or not penitent; I would not have forgiven him such sins."
> "I would not have put it into his power to commit them," said Emma.
> "I confess the story never touched me in the least," cried our heroine.
> "Perhaps for the same reason that Petrarch's friend said that he read it unmoved," replied Mrs. Granby: "because he could not believe that such a woman as Griselda ever existed."
> "No, no, not for that reason: I believe many such poor, meek, mean-spirited creatures exist."
> Emma was at length wakened to the perception of her friend's envy and jealousy; but --
>
> "She mild forgave the failing of her sex."

> "I cannot admire the original Griselda, or any of her imitators," continued our heroine.
> "There is no great danger of her finding imitators in these days," said Mr. Granby. "Had Chaucer lived in our enlightened times, he would doubtless have drawn a very different character."
> The modern Griselda looked "fierce as ten furies." Emma softened her husband's observation by adding, "that allowance should certainly be made for poor Chaucer, if we consider the times in which he wrote. The situation and understandings of women have been so much improved since his days. Women were then slaves, now they are free. . . ."

And then the reading party broke up. Had Ogle taken the trouble to include Chaucer's "Envoy" in his translation, or better still, if the company could have heard this, direct from Chaucer's pen:

> Grisilde is deed, and eek hire pacience,
> And bothe atones buryed in Ytaille;
> For which I crie in open audience,
> No wedded man so hardy be t'assaille
> His wyves pacience in trust to fynde
> Grisildis, for in certein he shal faille (E, 1177-82)

the conversation would have concluded quite differently. Or a hard look at Grisilde's antitype, the Wife of Bath, would have shown the company that, in one respect at least, Chaucer's times were as enlightened as their own. It is clear that Chaucer, read through glasses tinted with eighteenth-century sensibility, is a misread Chaucer.

About the translation itself, that is, the fourteen lines of it that actually appear in Miss Edgeworth's story, only a few things need be said. The lines are taken from Ogle's version of the Clerk's Tale -- from which edition of Ogle it is not altogether clear, because of minor differences

in punctuation and capitalization.[84] In any case, Miss Edgeworth, from her reference to the reaction of Petrarch's friend, appears to have had the use of one of the early Ogle editions of this poem: for Ogle's "Letter to a Friend," which appeared with the first publication of the translation, in 1739, and which reappeared in the full translation work of 1741, carries such a reference.

Even in this brief passage and in the discussion that follows the reading, there is evidence of Ogle's tendency to elaborate or even modify Chaucer.

As for elaboration, consider the fact that Ogle here requires nine heroic couplets, or 18 lines, to record Gualtherus' terms; Chaucer needs but one seven-line stanza:

> "I seye this, be ye redy with good herte
> To al my lust, and that I frely may,
> As me best thynketh, do yow laughe or smerte,
> And nevere ye to grucche it, nyght ne day?
> And eek whan I sey 'ye,' ne sey nat 'nay,'
> Neither by word ne frownyng contenance?
> Swere this, and heere I swere oure alliance."
> (E, 351-357.)

From the discussion at the party, after the reading is finished, we learn that Gualtherus was "penitent." This is yet another indication of the extent to which Ogle has mellowed the original Walter. Of penitence, Chaucer's Walter exhibits only the barest suggestion: finding that Grisilde has passed all his tests,

> This sturdy markys gan his herte dresse
> Tō rewen upon hire wyfly stedfastness.
> (E, 1049-50.)

Note the epithet "sturdy." Note that Walter is in full

control of his emotions: he disposes his own heart to "rewen," which in the context can mean only "have pity" and not "have penitence" or "do penance." So Walter, relenting at last, tells Grisilde how matters really stand, but even in his relenting there is a certain firmness. Grisilde quite understandably is amazed; but Walter calmly reaffirms and recapitulates, and then adds:

> "And folk that ootherweys han seyd of me,
> I warne hem wel that I have doon this deede
> For no malice, ne for no crueltee,
> But for t'assaye in thee thy wommanheede,
> And nat to sleen my children -- God forbeede!"
> (E, 1072-76.)

This is about as soft as Walter ever gets. He is aggressive, strong, hard-minded, and intransigent. How greatly this contrasts with the "penitent" Gualtherus the "reading party" heard about. Yet how Miss Edgeworth, from her own reading of the full Ogle version, received such a notion of Gualtherus, I am unable to say. My own impression was that Ogle's Gualtherus displays hardly more penitence than does Chaucer's Walter.

One of the eternally fascinating things about the Clerk's Tale is the dilemma arising from the question of Grisilde's character and of whether it be truly desirable that wives model themselves upon it. This is the effect the Clerk wanted his story to have, as one may infer from his satirical comment:

> . . . . . for the Wyves love of Bathe --
> Whos lyf and al hire secte God mayntene
> In heigh maistrie, and elles were it scathe --
> (E, 1170-72.)

Thus it is both pleasurable and enlightening to find this same tale, though elaborated by Ogle even beyond the bounds of legitimate paraphrase, creating the same dilemmas and evoking the same questions in this Georgian drawing room as it did for the Wife of Bath and the other pilgrims and as indeed it does for us today. Gentlemen will always be prompted to ask the ladies what they think of promising a husband their patient and unswerving obedience after Grisilde's example, and to this the matrons, conscious of no dilemma, will thunder: "Abominable! Intolerable!" and the maids, acutely conscious of the dilemma, particularly if good prospects are present, will "not be prevailed upon to pronounce any distinct opinion."

We thank Maria Edgeworth for this charming view of the Clerk's Tale -- a view which all the discussions of scholars cannot illuminate as she does.

Item No. 12 (1806). "The Squire's Tale. Imitated from Chaucer." Pages 275-292 (in a section marked "Fugitive Poetry," pp. 211-480), in The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry, for 1804. Second Edition. London: Printed for F. and C. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul's Church Yard; By Bye and Law, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell. 1806.

This version of the Squire's Tale is essentially a reproduction of the version in the Monthly Magazine of 1796, dealt with above as Item No. 5. In presenting this item I shall limit my discussion to (1) its general context and (2) such differences between the text of 1796 and that of 1806 as may warrant mention. While still regarding this item as belonging in my chronological list to the year 1806, I shall designate it herein as 1804.

There is an introductory "Advertisement" (pp. iii-iv) to the volume as a whole, consisting mainly of the anonymous editor's apologies for tardy publication and for the "continued omission of Poetical Biography," an omission which he puts down to the insufficiency of documents and to his determination "not to print a romance under the title of a Biography." The editor closes the "Advertisement" with a promise to get out the 1805 volume by the "latter end of April or, at latest, the beginning of May."

As the title might suggest, this volume is a heterogeneous collection of verse. The editor has made some attempt at division. Pages 1-208 are devoted to a section entitled "Original Poetry." Several prominent literary people are represented, among them being Anna Seward, S. E. Brydges,

T[homas?] Warton, and Mr. [John?] Thelwall. The next section, called "Fugitive Poetry," pp. 209-480, which includes the item of our present concern, presents such pieces as "To the Nymph of the Spring," by "the late" Sir W. Jones; "Epitaph on Mr. Garrick," by Anna Seward; "Consolation," by W. Carey; and "Lines on the occasion of a Voyage from Ross to Chepstow," by Dr. Beddoes. There is a section called "Criticisms," pp. 481-511, containing notices of books, plus brief criticisms, and it is itself divided into sub-sections: "Poetry" (including Poems, by S. T. Coleridge, 3rd ed.), "Satire," "Translations" (including a treatment of Wharton's Fables, pp. 504-505.-- Item No. 10 in our present study), and "The Drama" (divided into "Unacted Plays" and "Acted Plays"). The last two pages, 511-512, under the heading "Catalogue," are devoted to a simple listing of books.

With this brief survey of the context concluded, let us examine the item itself. This printing of the version differs little from the first printing, in 1796. Lines 1-305 fall into Part I, and lines 306-585, into Part II, just as in the earlier printing; and triplets, all nine of them, are bracketed in both editions.

Attention may also be called to a difference in practice with respect to the capitalization of nouns. In general, the 1804 editor seems less disposed to capitalize nouns after the manner of the eighteenth century

than does 1796. One notes, however, that the word "Nature" in line 7, now capitalized, was uncapitalized in 1796. One is tempted to think that this is indicative of the new regard for nature, epitomized in Lyrical Ballads. Another exception of a similar kind may be noted in the following couplet, which occurs at the beginning of Part II:

> Now Sleep on downy pinions hov'ring nigh,
> Sheds her soft influence o'er each weary eye.

In 1796, "Sleep" is not capitalized. It may be that 1804 sought to emphasize the personification. Incidentally in what appears a reversion to eighteenth-century spelling practices, "hov'ring" is found changed from 1796's "hovering." Other examples tend to show that the later editor was consciously and rather consistently making this sort of change: "replied" (l. 334), "waked" (l. 336), and "engaged" (l. 358) are changed by the 1804 editor to "reply'd," "wak'd," and "engag'd."

Another change in spelling outwardly similar to those just discussed occurs at line 198, the second line of the following couplet, found in the passage in which the mirror is being admired. I quote the couplet as it appears in 1796 (p. 989):

> While others answered such effects might rise,
> From natural causes, which deceiv'd their eyes.

In 1804 (p. 281) the lines appear as follows:

> While others answer'd, such effects might rise
> From nat'ral causes, which deceiv'd their eyes.

It is evident, for one thing, that 1804 is much more carefully edited: witness the insertion of the apostrophe in "answered" so that the form will be consistent with that of "deceiv'd." Notice also the moving back of the comma after "rise" to a position better in accord with the syntax. But these changes do not involve any change in the syllabic count. The change of "natural" to "nat'ral" is something else again, for it is clear that 1804 was acutely aware that "natural," so spelt, caused the line to have eleven syllables, even though the reader might be expected to elide "natural" and thus give the line its fit quantity, according to eighteenth-century standards of fitness. It is strange that, in an era when poets were beginning to deformalize their prosody, the later editor of this version of the Squire's Tale should seek to deny the reader any choice and make the decasyllabic reading sure by means of the change to "nat'ral."

There is no clue, either in the version itself or in the rest of the Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry, to the identity either of the original maker of this translation or of the person who edited it for this volume.

Item No. 13 (1811[?]). Chaucer's Canterbury Tales Modernised, Vol. 2 [containing also Gamelyn and Beryn] (unpublished). Not earlier than 1811.

This item is (or was) contained in a MS. that fell into the hands of Prof. Dowden, in 1880, and which occasioned a query, probably from F. A. Furnivall, which appeared in the section marked "Notes and News," in The Academy, I (June 26, 1880), 472.

The query, which includes a sample of this unknown modernizer's work, is short and therefore may be quoted entire:

> WHO in the present century has modernised, single-handed, the whole of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, together with the "Tale of Gamelyn" and the "Tale of Beryn"? Prof. Dowden has obtained a quarto volume of MS. lettered "Chaucer's Canterbury Tales Modernised, Vol. 2," containing the second half of such a version of Chaucer -- probably over 12,000 lines. Neither the writer's name nor that of any former owner appears in the volume. The water-mark of the paper is 1811. The variations of metre in Chaucer are followed by the writer. The following is a specimen from the "Prioresse Tale" of the little martyr in Asia: --
>
> "Among these children was a widow's son,
> A little sprout of clerkship, seven years old,
> Whose daily joy it was to school to run;
> And, if he chanced an image to behold
> Of Christ's blest mother, as he had been told
> He ought, he never failed to kneel and say
> An Ave Maria, as he past the way.
>
> * * * * *
>
> "Before the altar, while the mass was saying,
> Stretch'd on his bier the little martyr lay;
> Which o'er, the fathers, without more delaying,
> Proceed to have the body clad in clay;
> But lo! no sooner was the holy spray
> Upon him sprinkled, than once more his tongue
> He mov'd, and Alma Redemptoris sung."

> Where is the first volume of this nineteenth-century Chaucer to be found?

The question with which this Academy note closes has never, to the best of my knowledge, received an answer. The dust of sixty years that has settled upon the question has also covered the item that occasioned it, so that now another question must be asked: where is the second volume to be found? I have encountered no further reference to the Dowden manuscript.

The Academy note is unsigned, but that it was by Furnivall seems likely in view of the purpose and practices of the magazine and the general context in which the note is found. Hammond (p. 228) gives the note as anonymous, but Spurgeon (II, 56) says very plainly that Furnivall wrote the note. In recording the original item, Miss Spurgeon lists it among the 1811 items, marking it "n. b. 1811." She gives the first of the two stanzas quoted above and then says: "Vol. ii of the MS. of this modernization came into the possession of Prof. Dowden in 1880. Dr. Furnivall wrote the Academy (q.v. below, 1880) to inquire if anything was known of the author or of vol. i, but, as far as is known, without result."

With respect to the content of the Academy note, the mention of 12000-line length is interesting. Though a question might be raised about the expression, that is, as to whether the 12000 lines are to be regarded as con-

stituting Vol. II only or whether Furnivall is estimating the length of the whole work, I take it that the former is intended. Tyrwhitt's consecutive numbering of lines throughout the Canterbury Tales, but excluding the prose tales Melibeus and The Parson's Tale, amounted to 17385 lines. When to this figure is added the number of lines found in Gamelyn and Beryn (as printed by Anderson, pp. 203-217, 239-273), estimated roughly at 1788 lines and 3288 lines respectively, we get a total of 22,461 lines. Halve the figure, and you get something rather near the estimate of 12,000 lines Furnivall gives for the second volume, especially if one should consider the prose tales in the reckoning. This plus the statement that "variations of metre in Chaucer are followed by the writer" and the evidence of the specimens themselves which, in length, stand in a one-to-one ratio with the original, all are indicative of the fact that the anonymous translator was neither cutter nor embellisher but was trying to reproduce the general form, at least, of the original. This fact alone, without the evidence of the water-mark in the paper, would be sufficient to cause one to place this work in the nineteenth century.[85]

To consider better the character of the translation itself, I give the first stanza quoted above and the corresponding stanza in Robinson (B, 1692-98), interlining them. The 1811 translator undoubtedly used Anderson as

his basic text, but such differences as exist between the Anderson and Robinson versions of this stanza are insignificant.

> Among thise children was a wydwes sone,
> Among these children was a widow's son,
>
> A litel clergeon, seven yeer of age,
> A little sprout of clerkship, seven years old,
>
> That day by day to scole was his wone,
> Whose daily joy it was to school to run;
>
> And eek also, where as he saugh th'ymage
> And, if he chanced an image to behold
>
> Of Cristes mooder, hadde he in usage,
> Of Christ's blest mother, as he had been told
>
> As hym was taught, to knele adoun and seye
> He ought, he never failed to kneel and say
>
> His Ave Marie, as he goth by the weye.
> An Ave Maria, as he past the way.

A glance tells us that this is modernization: the translator keeps as much as he properly feels he may of the original -- in matter, diction, meter, and rhyme -- as the seventh line testifies. In diction, the only words which the modernizer must consider doing something about are "clergeoun," "wone," "eek," and "knele adoun." His "little sprout of clerkship" is more than an answer to the extra syllable in "clergeoun," but then, looking ahead and seeing that the shift in accent would prevent his keeping "th'ymáge" (i.e., shifting to "ímage") and "uságe" as rhyme mates to "of age," the modernizer saw that changing the letter to "old" would mean yet another syllable to be made up. At

last, however, we find that we must read his "seven" as a monosyllable if the line is to be read metrically. Wordsworth, applying to this tale what appears to be a similar philosophy of translation, achieves a better result, at least with "clergeoun" --

A little scholar, scarcely seven years old,

though he offers the same awkward "seven years old."

In avoiding "wone" in the third line while preserving the rhyme, 1811 has introduced the word "run" and couples it with the idea of joy. This then is somewhat free paraphrase rather than modernization. Here is Wordsworth's solution, which has the virtue of retaining a little more of the prosodic flavor and much more of the meaning of the original:

Who day by day unto this school hath gone.

In his handling of Chaucer's "knele adoun" in the 6th line, 1811 has removed the adverb and replaced the lost syllables by a rewriting of the preceding thought in such a way that the last half of the 5th line and the first half of the 6th line as they stand in the original are reversed -- that is, "hadde he in usage," l. 5, is translated by "he never failed," l. 6, and "As hym was taught," l. 6, by "as he had been told," l. 5. Though Wordsworth often takes a liberty of this sort, as indeed he so informs us,[86] he does not do so on this occasion. For ease in comparison on this point and on others, I give Wordsworth's stanza in full:

"Among these children was a Widow's son,
A little scholar, scarcely seven years old,
Who day by day unto this school hath gone,
And eke, when he the image did behold
Of Jesu's Mother, as he had been told,
This Child was wont to kneel adown and say
Ave Maria, as he goeth by the way."
(Works, IV, 211.)

One distinction in the handling of diction immediately appears: Wordsworth has retained "eke" and "adown" and has enhanced the antique flavor imparted by these words by using "hath" and "goeth." None of this is found in 1811, who apparently did not regard it as desirable, as did Wordsworth in part, to reproduce the effect of quaintness one might get in reading the original. In avoiding archaic diction when modernizing Chaucer, one must expect to lose much or all of the characteristic flavor and flow of the verse. For good or for ill, this is what happens in the case of 1811: except in lines 1 and 7 -- where prosodic similarity would follow automatically, there being little or nothing to change in the translating process -- the characteristic Chaucerian movement is gone. This fact, which puts 1811 in this respect nearer to the paraphrasers, might not be held against him if the result were in itself good poetry. The banality of expression in line 3 and the awkwardness in line 4 in the placement of the caesura after only the first syllable, and that an unaccented one, do not make for good poetry.

Another interesting fact emerges from a comparison between the Wordsworth and the 1811 versions of the Prioress's

Tale. Both have solved the problem of the "of age . . . th'ymage . . . in usage" rhyme in the same way. This should not be construed as evidence that 1811 knew and was influenced by Wordsworth's version,[87] for the solution is quite a natural one and could readily be arrived at independently.

A comparison of the second of the two stanzas quoted from 1811, first with the original Chaucer (B, 1825-31) and then with Wordsworth, will reveal sharply accentuated the very tendencies noted in respect to the first stanza. The banality "clad in clay" in line 4 is altogether unworthy of Chaucer's simple "burien," which with its context is retained virtually intact by Wordsworth, and for 1811 to make changes in the rhymes so that not one of Chaucer's remains is to make more changes than are necessary, as Wordsworth proves by keeping all the rhymes except the first, or a, rhyme. A flavor of the antique is quite as absent from 1811's version of this second stanza as it was absent from the first, but in Wordsworth's second stanza it is yet more evident than in his first, as a glance will indicate. The retention of the Chaucerian prosodic movement, which must be regarded as a virtue, at least in the modernizer, one will find is lacking in 1811 while present in Wordsworth. Finally, 1811 has not maintained line-to-line correspondence to the extent found in the first stanza, and he has even indulged in minor changes in subject matter.

For instance, in his version, "chief auter" becomes merely "altar" and "the abbot with his covent" becomes "the fathers."

That all these matters may be made evident to the reader I give the 1811 second stanza interlined with the original (per Robinson) and then give Wordsworth's version:

> Upon this beere ay lith this innocent
> Before the altar, while the mass was saying,
>
> Biforn the chief auter, whil masse laste;
> Stretch'd on his bier the little martyr lay;
>
> And after that, the abbot with his covent
> Which o'er, the fathers, without more delaying,
>
> Han sped hem for to burien hym ful faste;
> Proceed to have the body clad in clay;
>
> And whan they hooly water on hym caste,
> But lo! no sooner was the holy spray
>
> Yet spak this child, when spreynd was hooly water,
> Upon him sprinkled, than once more his tongue
>
> And song O Alma redemptoris mater!
> He mov'd, and Alma Redemptoris sung.

The translator here exhibits, in what must be called his paraphrasing, a certain dexterity, to be sure. If the whole of this monumental translation is equal in integrity and verse quality to the sample we have examined, it is perhaps to be regretted that this work never saw the light of print, especially if one should compare it to the fiasco published by Horne in 1841. It must have been (or must be) the greatest body of Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian pieces ever assembled in a single work until modern times.[88] If we compare this 1811 stanza with its counterpart in the Wordsworth

version, with which we shall presently bring our study of this item to a conclusion, we shall regret, in this matter of Chaucer translation, not so much that we have so little left of 1811 as that Wordsworth did not leave us more.

> "Upon his bier this Innocent doth lie
> Before the altar while the Mass doth last:
> The Abbot with his convent's company
> Then sped themselves to bury him full fast;
> And, when they holy water on him cast,
> Yet spake this Child when sprinkled was the water;
> And sang, O Alma Redemptoris Mater!"
> (Works, IV, 215.)

As evidence that our idol here has feet of (if not clad in) clay, we note how in the 5th line Wordsworth has put his caesura after only the first syllable, here unaccented though given some length. A somewhat similar placement of the caesura was treated as a fault in our discussion of the first stanza of 1811. Perhaps we should exonerate both translators in this matter and regard the caesura as scribal, a mere matter of punctuation, for authority is given by Chaucer himself, in his original offering:

> And whan they hooly water on hym caste.

Item No. 14 (1812). The Prologue and Characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims, Selected from his Canterbury Tales; Intended to Illustrate a Particular Design of Mr. William Blake, Which Is Engraved by Himself. And may be seen at Mr. Colnaghi's, Cockspur Street; at Mr. Blake's, No. 28, Broad Street, Golden Square; and at the Publisher's, Mr. Harris, Bookseller, St. Paul's Church Yard. Price Two Shillings and Sixpence. M. DCCC. XII.[89]

The title page of this Item, which may be described as a booklet, is so informative that not a great deal more need be said by way of description of the item as a whole. The Preface, pages iii-iv, informs the reader that the original text of the General Prologue contained in the volume is that of Speght 1687 and that the accompanying translation is that of Ogle 1741. The original text is printed on the left-hand pages, beginning on page 2 and ending on page 58. The translation appears on the right-hand pages from p. 3 through p. 59, and then, being longer than the original, mainly because of Dryden's expansive treatment of the character of the Parson, is concluded on pages 60 and 61. The texts of both original and translation are broken to admit headings that carry the name of the pilgrim to be characterized. As would be expected from the great freedom with which Ogle, Betterton, and Dryden (and perhaps Pope) did their respective portions of the General Prologue (see above, Item No. 4), these headings do not appear at corresponding places in the two texts. Most of the characters are shorter in translation than in the original, but fuller treatments by Ogle of the five Guildsmen and by Dryden of the Parson more than

compensate for the discrepancy. The ascription of the translations of the characters to their various authors that one finds in Ogle 1741 is not given.

There is yet another discrepancy between the two texts as they are printed in this booklet. In neither text does the full General Prologue -- i.e., to the beginning of the Knight's Tale (860 lines in Speght, 1019 lines in Ogle) -- appear, the main purpose of the texts being of course to "illustrate" Blake's "Particular Design," the picture of the Canterbury pilgrims as they set out from the Tabard. Consequently, the text of the translation closes with the Pardoner portrait, which concludes:

> But best of all, an Offertory sung,
> So loud, so chearful, that the Chapel rung.
> This gain'd him Pence from the deluded Croud,
> Therefore he sung so chearful, and so loud.

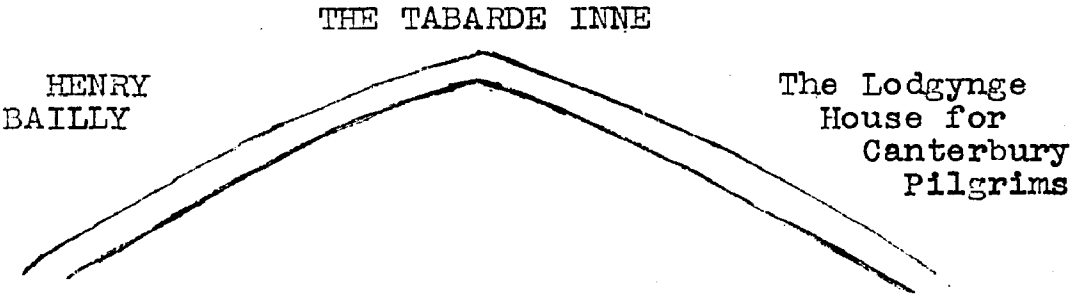
This last line is the 811th of the Ogle version. To conclude the Speght text at the corresponding point would provide only 716 lines, and the resulting discrepancy would be 95 lines. No doubt with the purpose of reducing this gap, the Speght text was cited beyond the portraits, concluding with the following passage, lines 743-748 in Speght, equivalent to A, 741-746 in Robinson:

> Eke Plato saith, who so can him rede,
> *The words mote been cousin to the dede,
> Also I pray you forgive it me,
> All have I not set folk in her degree,
> Here is [sic] this tale as they shoulden stand,
> My wit is short, ye may well understand.[90]

Just below, at the bottom of the page (58), is an engraving

of Canterbury Cathedral. There is no legend or signature, but it must be presumed to have been done by Blake.

The frontispiece shows that portion of the engraving of the Canterbury Pilgrims that contains the portraits extending from the Reeve's on the left to the Merchant's on the right, with the entrance to the Inn in the background. Curiously, the window formation above the arch is different from that of the usual print, dated October 8, 1810. The words inscribed above the arch are differently placed and read differently, as follows:



Underneath the picture is engraved:

Reeve. Chaucer. Oxford. Scholar. Cook. Miller. Wife of Bath. Merchant.

With Item No. 14 (1812), we bring this chapter to a close. Inasmuch as no further works of translation were produced until 1815, we may regard the chapter as embracing the period 1792-1814. Items of vital importance to my whole study have been included among the fourteen we have examined, a fact which it is hoped may compensate for the length of the chapter. The work of Lipscomb (Item No. 4) at once serves as a link between the translations of the Romantic Era and those of the preceding era and provides an extensive, and quite solid, foundation for my entire study. This first period has afforded, in the translation of the Portrait of the Parson by "Trinitarius" (Item No. 6), the very first known modernization (as distinct from paraphrase) of Chaucer. These first years are remarkable also for yielding the best Chaucer translation done during the entire half century of my study, perhaps the best ever done. I refer to Wordsworth's translations (Item No. 8), which like that of "Trinitarius" were modernizations; his translation of the pseudo-Chaucerian Cuckoo and the Nightingale is of particular excellence.

Although this period saw the first modernization of Chaucer, it was still a period dominated by the paraphrase. "Trinitarius" had after all produced only a small sample of the new method, and, as it appeared only in the form of a letter to "Mr. Urban," published in the Gentleman's Magazine, its influence could not have been great. Words-

worth's modernizations might well have done more to call attention to the new method, but he did not publish any of them, at least not until 1820, when "The Prioress's Tale" appeared.

To gain attention and to win users, the new method needed a spokesman. In 1814 this need was still unfilled, but it was not to go unfilled very long, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter III.

[1]The Chaucer paraphrases of these writers enjoyed frequent republication throughout the period of this study. I give a selection of the references. Dryden's paraphrases reappeared in Robert Anderson's Works of the British Poets, With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical (London, 1795), VI, 220-265, and in Alexander Chalmer's Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper (London, 1810), IX, 19-55. (These collections will be referred to throughout this dissertation as Anderson and as Chalmers.) The most important appearance of Dryden's work was of course in the edition of Walter Scott, The Works of John Dryden, 18 vols. (London, 1808), XI, 243-399. The "Character of a Good Parson" was especially popular. It appeared in The Cabinet of Poetry, containing the best entire pieces to be found in the works of the British Poets, ed. Samuel Jackson Pratt, 6 vols. (London, 1808), II, 111-114, and extracts from it were printed in John Bullar's Selections from the British Poets, Commencing with Spenser, and Including the Latest Writers (Southampton, 1822), pp. 75-76. (In the Brit. Mus. copy, assuming it to have been that used by Miss Spurgeon [II, 137], the item appears on pp. 104-105.) In 1827, John Johnstone printed the "Character" in his Specimens of Sacred and Serious Poetry, from Chaucer to the Present Day, but, owing to peculiarity of context, this is treated herein as a regular item of translation, No. 20.

Like Dryden's, Pope's paraphrases of Chaucer were republished in Anderson, VIII, 57-74, and in Chalmers, XII, 180-195. Recently I was able to purchase the three volumes (XL-XLII) devoted to Pope in the 100-volume Chiswick edition of the British Poets (1822). Here the "Temple of Fame," "January and May," and the "Wife of Bath Her Prologue," occupy pages 150-203 of Vol. XLI. These pieces are to be found of course in all editions of Pope's works published during the Era: in the Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., ed. Joseph Warton and others, 9 vols. (London, 1797), II, 53-166; in II, 67-176, in the 10-volume edition (London, 1806) to which William Lisle Bowles contributed "Additional Observations" and "Memoirs of the Life of the Author"; and in II, 249-358, in the 10-volume edition (London, 1824) to which William Roscoe contributed in a similar way. At Lehigh University, there is still another edition of the Poetical Works, in 6 vols. (bound in two volumes), calling itself "A New Edition," published in London, 1804, by F. J. Roberay. The Chaucer paraphrases are found on pages 71-155 of Vol. IV.

Walter Harte appears here because of his version of Truth, which through frequent reprintings both contributed

to and shared in the popularity that this piece of Chaucer's continued to enjoy throughout the Romantic Era. First published in 1727 in Harte's Poems on Several Occasions, p. 243 (Spurgeon, IV, 84), and again in a 1739 edition of the same book (London: John Cecil), pp. 243-244 (at the Library Company of Philadelphia), this poem, which Harte entitled "To my Soul. From Chaucer," was reprinted by Anderson (IX, 854) and by Chalmers (XVI, 348). A better indication of the good reputation enjoyed by Harte's translation is the fact that it appeared in a school textbook published in London in 1801 by R. Phillips, entitled Classical English Poetry, for the Use of Schools, and of Young Persons in General. Selected from the Works of The Most Favourite of Our National Poets, with Some Original Pieces: a compilation by [W.] Mavor and [S. J.] Pratt, pp. 251-252. It is probable that the editors were thinking more of having Chaucer represented than Harte, but the latter's name is subjoined to the piece.

[2]For example, in Vol. I of Ivanhoe, in the New Abbotsford Edition (Boston: Dana Estes and Company, 1900), Chapters VII and VIII are headed by quotations from Dryden's Palamon and Arcite and Chapter IX, by a quotation from his version of the Flower and the Leaf. In Vol. II of St. Valentine's Eve, or, The Fair Maid of Perth, again in the New Abbotsford Edition, the following is the heading to Chapter X:

> "This Austin humbly did." -- "Did he?" quoth he.
> "Austin may do the same again for me."
> Pope's Prologue to Canterbury Tales from Chaucer.

Though Scott was understandably partial to Dryden, he shows here a willingness to use someone else's paraphrase of Chaucer. The interesting point is that he assigns the quoted passage to Pope, whereas most of the "Characters" in the General Prologue, including that of the Monk (from which the passage above was taken), are usually regarded as Betterton's. In the translation in Morell 1837, the Monk's "Character," appearing on pages 216-217, is assigned to Betterton, per the half-title page (p. 207). This same version of the Monk's "Character" reappeared in Ogle 1741 and Lipscomb 1795, in both of which it was also assigned to Betterton. Apparently Scott was acquainted with the tradition, discussed above in Chapter II, that Pope had indeed been the author of the paraphrases of the General Prologue usually assigned to Betterton.

[3]The passages from the Franklin's Tale quoted in the two excerpts from these notes of Horne's and Miss Barrett's

themselves illustrate the difficulties very well. I collated them against the Speght edition of 1687 and the Stowe edition of 1561. For the first passage, the critical word in the second line reads "comes" in Speght and "cometh" in Stowe: hence, a tentative assumption that Miss Barrett was employing the Speght, and Horne, the Stowe. But this assumption must be directly abandoned when further collation discovers the fact that neither Stowe nor Speght entirely supports the reading Miss Barrett gives for what she calls the "last line of all" (called so, I assume, because it is in fact the last line that Horne translates rather than because there exists anywhere a black-letter text that does not print lines F, 1621-24). The lines in the two texts read as follows:

Stowe: And toke his horse, & rode forth on his waie.

Speght: And tooke his horse, & rode forth on his way.

True, Miss Barrett's reading is closer to each of these than it is to the modern Tyrwhitt-Robinson reading (to let Robinson, F, 1620, stand for both): "And took his hors, and forth he goth his way," Still it does not agree with either of the black-letter texts. Is one to assume then that Miss Barrett did not use Speght 1687? The next step in that case is to collate her reading with those of Speght 1602 and Speght 1598 and perhaps even of a Thynne. But after doing all this, one would very likely be forced to return to the alternative assumption: that she did use Speght 1687, but, in the airy way of Romantics, simply changed "And" to "He" and modernized the spelling of "tooke."

Perhaps the fact most worthy of consideration to emerge from this matter is that we are here afforded another proof that the older, pre-Urry texts were still in use among the Romantics. Indeed it was the spirit of the age to venerate the Antique, and this little colloquy further indicates this fact. This is the only case I am aware of, however, in which a translator of the Era did not, or apparently did not, use a Tyrwhitt-based text in translating one of the Canterbury Tales.

[4]The reader is reminded that all passages cited from Robinson's text have been collated with the text Ogle most likely used: Urry's. Variants abound of course, on account of Urry's peculiar editing, but only those variants are mentioned which have significance. There can hardly be any doubt that Ogle knew and used the black-letter editions as well as Urry's. I cite Urry's as the most likely because, in his three-volume collection of Chaucer translations published in 1741, Ogle reprinted the Life of

Chaucer from Urry's edition and also published Boyse's version of Gamelyn, the original being printed for the first time in Urry.

[5]In the original Ogle translation (1741), no such error appears, for this second Delia is there a Glaura (III, 166).

[6]J. Burke Severs, The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's "Clerkes Tale" (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1942), pp. 5-6.

[7]In 1739, 1741, 1794, and 1795.

[8]Despite the contrary evidence in Chapter IV of Maria Edgeworth's short novel, The Modern Griselda. See Item No. 11.

[9]Evidence for this is admittedly sparse. It is curious that the earlier publication, though small and privately printed, is the only one mentioned by CBEL and Spurgeon; they do not mention the 1801 publication. Miss Hammond has neither of the items. In the published catalogue of the Library of Congress, only the later publication is listed. This is the case also with the Lehigh University Library, whose copy of 1801 I used. According to Arthur Pound, in The Penns of Pennsylvania and England (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 309n., there was an edition of John Penn's work called Critical, Poetic and Dramatic Works, 2 vols., 8vo, published at London, 1798. I have not seen this work, and none of the major Chaucer bibliographers, so far as I have been able to determine, refers to it. This work could also contain The Squire's Tale.

[10]Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Chaucer devant la Critique (Paris: Hachette, 1911), p. 205.

[11]The Ogle arrangement is as follows, with translators as Ogle gives them. Vol. I. Prologue to the Tales [up to the "characters"], by Ogle. The characters: Kn, Sq, Sq's yeoman, Pr, Mk, Fr, and Merch, by Betterton; Clk, by Ogle; ML and Frankl, by Betterton; the Haberdasher, Weaver, Carpenter, Dyer, and Tap'stry-maker [given expanded treatment], and Ck, by Ogle; Ship, Phys, WB, by Betterton; Pars, by Dryden; the Plowman, Mil, Manc, Rv, Sum, and Pard, by Betterton. Prol to KnT [this is equivalent to conclusion of Gen Prol, as given in modern texts], by Ogle; KnT, by Dryden; Mil Prol, by Ogle, and MilT, by Cobb; Rv Prol, by Ogle, and RvT, by Betterton.

Vol. II; Ck Prol [equivalent to Ck Prol and CkT in present canon], by Ogle, and The Cook's Tale [i.e., Gamelyn], by Boyse; ML Prol by Ogle, and MLT by Brooke; Sq Prol, by Ogle, SqT by Boyse, and "The Squire's Tale, continued from Spenser," by Ogle.

Vol. III: Merch Prol, by Ogle, and MerchT, by Pope; WB Prol, by Pope, WB Prol, continued by Ogle, and WBT, by Dryden; Fr Prol, by Ogle, and FrT, by Markland; Sum Prol, by Ogle, and SumT, by Grosvenor; Clk Prol, Clk T, and "The Conclusion to the Clerk of Oxford's Tale," by Ogle.

[12]"May I have leave to do myself the justice . . . to inform my reader, that I have confined my choice to such tales of Chaucer as savour nothing of immodesty." The Works of John Dryden, Scott-Saintsbury ed., XI, 231.

[13]Alfred Tobler, Geoffrey Chaucer's Influence on English Literature, Inaugural Diss., Zurich (Berne: Haller, 1905), p. 91.

[14]See Lounsbury, III, 198, in connection with the Pope matter. In the course of a selective collation, I found that Lipscomb did not change anything but the capitalization in the following line from Ogle's printing of Pope's "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale" (III, 64): "Had but my Husband piss'd against a Wall" (the reference in Lipscomb is II, 103); that he reprinted without apparent qualm the "Prologue to the Sumner's Tale," which Ogle had translated without loss of coarseness; and that he faithfully recorded Grosvenor's version of the Summoner's Tale, wherein the episode in which the friar receives a gift is presented in polite but plain eighteenth-century terms.

[15]In their arrangement Ogle and Boyse were of course following Urry, whose table of contents reads:

> The Cooke's Prologue, and Tale of an unthrifty Prentice [translated by Ogle as "The Prologue to the Cook's Tale"]
> The Cooke's Tale of Gamelyn [translated by Boyse as "The Cook's Tale"]
> The Man of Law's Prologue and Tale.

Tyrwhitt had rejected Gamelyn from the canon. From Section XIII of Tyrwhitt's Introductory Discourse (ed. 1830, I, clxxxiii-clxxxiv), we learn that Tyrwhitt excluded Gamelyn because, though it was "annexed" to the Cook's Tale in some MSS., it was "not to be found in any of the MSS. of the first authority," and because "the manner, style, and versification, all prove it to have been the work of an

author much inferior to Chaucer." Lipscomb, quite rightly, especially since he reprinted this very Discourse, followed Tyrwhitt in the text of the translation but somehow must have neglected to adjust the table of contents accordingly.

[16]The difference between Ogle and Lipscomb in this matter of the Merch Prol is readily explained. The warrant for Ogle's version is found in Urry's text, which runs as follows:

Page	Line Nos.	Text
64	-692	SqT, concluded.
65	693-728	A 36-line passage headed "Here followeth the words of the Marchaunt to the Squier, and the words of the Host to the Marchaunt" (equivalent in Robinson to F, 673-708, except that, in the heading and the text, wherever Urry has "Marchaunt" Robinson has "Frankeleyn").
65		Page ends with "Thus end the words of the Host, and the Marchaunt, and here follows the Marchaunt's Prologue."
66	629-760	The Marchaunt's Prologue given in toto, 32 lines (corresponding to E, 1213-44, in Robinson's text).

Ogle, for his version of the Merchant's Prologue, paraphrased the two passages from Urry, ll. 693-728 and 629-760, and combined the result in a single long passage. This of course made the contradiction in the two passages (the Merchant complaining, in the first, about a grown son and, in the second, about a wife he had married but two months before) all the more apparent. On incontrovertible MS. authority Tyrwhitt (see his Introductory Discourse, Art. xxv) transferred the first of these passages to its present position between the Squire's Tale and the matter that belongs to the Franklin. Lipscomb followed Tyrwhitt.

[17]Bell did not include the translations from Chaucer in the volumes devoted to Dryden -- Vols. XL-XLII (all dated 1784 in the Library of Congress copy).

[18]See p. 113above. It is also apparent that he had never seen The Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden (London, 1760), for in Vol. IV of that edition he would have found the translations from Chaucer, including the "Cock and the Fox." Besides, the printing there of the "Wife of Bath,

her Tale" ends with ten lines falling on a recto.

[19]There is a possibility that Pope had a hand in this translation. In Spurgeon, I, 370, under the year 1728, there is mention of a work of Jeremiah Markland bearing the title The Altar of Love and containing "Modernizations of Canterbury Tales." Miss Spurgeon states that "no copy of this book has been found." Her information is drawn from a contemporary advertisement of the work indicating: "'The Tales from Boccace to Chaucer are moderniz'd in a smooth and easy manner by Mr. Markland of Peterhouse.' The advertisement claims that Pope had 'a large share in it.'" Without obtaining a copy of The Altar of Love one has slender chance of determining whether Markland's modernization of the Friar's Tale was included among these "Modernizations of Canterbury Tales."

[20]Inasmuch as Markland was contemporary with Ogle rather than Betterton, I have regarded Urry's text as the most likely basis for his translation. The word "purchase," however, indicates that Markland may have been using an older text or at least was collating Urry with an older text. At this point, Urry reads "purpose" (l. 187), but Stowe (1561) reads "purchase," as Markland has it. Speght 1687 has "purchasing."

[21]This combination, which appears thus in the original Ogle, must have been the result of arbitrary choice on Ogle's part. At least there is no authority for it in Urry's text, which in this matter agrees with both Tyrwhitt and Robinson.

[22]Counting the FQ stanzas referred to in Tobler's statement, one arrives at a total of 78. However, these are represented in the translation by only 74 stanzas (Nos. CXLI-CCXIV). The discrepancy is readily accounted for. Though Stanzas 31-34 of Book IV, Canto ii, do refer to Cambell and Canace and to the lost tale, they are in the main devoted to a eulogy of Chaucer, containing, for example, the famous line, "Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyled." These stanzas Ogle has not translated, but begins instead at Canto ii, Stanza 35, where Spenser, in what constitutes a flashback in his own story, begins his continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale. Ogle's translation then proceeds, in stanza-by-stanza correspondence with FQ, through Stanza CCXIII, equivalent to Canto iv, Stanza 1. At this point, in slight variance with Tobler's statement, Ogle's translation and the FQ original part company, for in Canto iv, Stanza 2, the thread of the story which Spenser had dropped at Canto ii, Stanzas 31-32, is picked up again, and Ogle, in Stanza CCXIV, provides a conclusion to the whole tale as he and Boyse have presented it.

[23]This limitation of the passage to lines 661-666 would seem to exclude a Sterling treatment of E, 667-670, in which Chaucer speaks of "Cambalo" and his fight for Canace, "in lystes with the bretheren two," and promises to return to the story of Canacee and her hawk ("And ther I lefte I wol ayeyn bigynne," l. 670). Although Tobler gives a resume (pp. 33-34) of Sterling's conclusion, it is not altogether clear just how much of this final portion of Chaucer's promise is treated.

[24]For interest's sake, I give the 49th stanza from Canto iii, from The Faerie Queene, (Cambridge ed., p. 440) and Ogle's version of that same stanza:

> XLIX [The 73rd stanza of the Chaucer continuation, counting Canto 2, Stanza xxxi as the first].
>
> Of which [the nepenthe] so soone as they [Cambell and Triamond] once tasted had,
> Wonder it is that sudden change to see:
> Instead of strokes, each other kissed glad,
> And lovely haulst, from feare of treason free,
> And plighted hands for ever friends to be.
> When all men saw this sudden change of things,
> So mortall foes so friendly to agree,
> For passing joy, which so great marvaile brings,
> They all gan shout aloud, that all the heaven rings.

Here is the Oglean equivalent (Lipscomb, III, 103):

> CCIX [the 69th stanza of Ogle's continuation].
>
> Soon as they tasted once the juice divine,
> Wonder it was the sudden change to see;
> From deadly stroke in kind embrace they join,
> And hands they plight, no more to disagree;
> In amity such enmity to close,
> And foe with foe, as friend with friend to yield,
> And faithful friends to rise from mortal foes;
> This turn of things amaz'd the crowded field;
> The crowded field with joy and wonder rise,
> One loud applause ensues, re-echoing through the skies!

The expansion, as accomplished in this particular stanza, does not altogether follow the pattern described by Tobler (see p.160 , above). Actually, the first five lines of Spenser seem to have been compressed by Ogle into four lines. But lines 6 and 7 of Spenser's stanza are then expanded into

lines 5 to 8 of Ogle's. The last two lines of the latter are equivalent to the last two lines of the original stanza.

The Ogle stanza, as verse, bears many of the marks of its own era: (1) the firm masculine rhyme, largely monosyllabic, (2) the antithesis and paradox so highly regarded by the Augustans (i.e., "From deadly stroke in kind embrace they join"), (3) balanced diction, together with alliteration and interplay of sound (i.e., "In amity such enmity to close,/ And foe with foe, as friend with friend to yield,/ And faithful friends to rise from moral foes"), and (4) repetition (i.e., " . . . amaz'd the crowded field;/ The crowded field with joy and wonder rise").

[25]According to Geoffrey Tillotson, in his edition of some of Pope's work, entitled The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1954), pp. 14 and 58, "January and May" was first published in 1709, by Tonson, in Poetical Miscellanies: The Sixth Part; "The Wife of Bath Her Prologue," in 1713, also by Tonson, in Poetical Miscellanies, Consisting of Original Poems and Translations (bearing the date 1714). Tillotson says that Pope chose these pieces "because they are comic pieces -- comic pieces about marriage, a subject then very much under discussion -- and because Chaucer was esteemed by Pope's age mainly as a comic poet" (p. 5). Pope used the Speght 1687 text (pp. 10 and 12).

[26]Stanzas 14-17 and the last two stanzas of "The First Fit" (in Robinson's ed.) are irregular. Tyrwhitt theorizes that these irregularities are due to the loss of a part of the stanzas as they originally stood. He is able to restore the 15th stanza to regularity, creating two stanzas in the process. (Tyr, 1775, IV, 317, note to v. 13722.) Tyrwhitt prints the last two stanzas of "The First Fit" as a single stanza, still irregular (II, 238, vv. 13810-18). His edition prints the poem continuously, without any breaking of it into "fits."

[27]In Speght 1687, the two lines in question are found on p. 149 as the 51st and 52nd lines of NPT. Robinson prints the couplet in a Textual Note to Fragment VII, l. 2870.

[28]Late criticisms that deserve mention are to be found in Horne, Chaucer, Modernized (1841), pp. xvii and xix-xxi, and Blackwood's, LVIII (1845), 114-115 (in No. VI of "North's Specimens of the British Critics").

[29]A third review, not discussed here, appeared in The Gentleman's Magazine, LXV (June, 1795), 495. It is quite brief, amounting to little more than an annoucement, with an

outline of the contents. The reviewer refers to Lipscomb as one "whose poetical merit is well known."

[30]These lines, reading "Apollo whirleth up his chaar so hye,/ Til that the god Mercurius hous, the slye --" in Robinson, do not appear at all in Anderson's edition (1795). In Tyrwhitt's edition (1775-78), the lines appear only in the Notes, where, in his note to line 10984 (last line of Part II of SqT), Tyrwhitt rejects them as ungenuine, with a guess "that they were originally scribbled by some vacant reader in the blank space, which is commonly left at the end of this tale, and afterwards transcribed, as Chaucer's, by some copyist of more diligence than sagacity." His basis for the rejection is that though these lines appear in the editions and some MSS., they are "wanting in all the best MSS."

[31]See Note 18 in The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt, ed. S. Adams Lee (Boston, 1857), I, 289.

[32]Whether the Squire really means what he says or is merely teasing the company and whether such admission befits the character as it is presented to us in the General Prologue are questions which need not concern us here, except in this respect: if Chaucer intended to present the Squire as ironically understating his rhetorical abilities in order that he (the Squire) might have some fun with the company, or to give them the fun of recognizing him as a good but guileful "felawe," if Chaucer had such an intention, then the translator's high-flown image of a low-flying muse has at least the virtue of intensifying the irony. My own feeling is that Chaucer's Squire is aware, painfully aware, that he is no Gawain or Lancelot, as his sardonically admiring references to those knights indicate, and that, however good he may be at loving, singing, or fluting, his verbal powers are not such as go with high chivalry. I think our rather exalted view of squires generally and our tendency to discount the protests of Chaucer's Squire come from our knowledge that Chaucer himself was once a squire. I dare say that among the squires of Chaucer's time there were many more like the crude Ellis de Thoresby in Anya Seton's novel Katherine than there were like Chaucer.

[33]There is, however, one piece of what seems to be a direct literary borrowing. Canace, out on her early morning walk, is described as seeing a falcon perched

. . . . . upon a lone and blasted tree, [360]
Whose "top was bald with dry antiquity."

I have been unable to identify source of the expression quoted by the translator.

[34]In the glossaries of Tyrwhitt and of Robinson, the Chaucer Concordance, and the OED, I find no evidence that the word "forme" was in Chaucer's day, like "figure" in ours, especially applicable to the dance.

[35]Here we have an example of the translator's assertion of independence of some of the Augustan conventions. Dryden will frequently run the thought of a triplet on from the first line to the second and on still from the second line to the third, but I have found no instance of his running the thought past the triplet, as the translator does here.

[36]Robinson's note: "Whether the repetition of style was felt as a pun, or was merely a case of identical rime, it is hard to judge." That Chaucer meant to pun seems inescapable, however.

[37]Upon the last mention of the name, at v. 10981, Tyrwhitt discusses the matter at some length in a note. He believes that the "Camballo" of v. 10981 (F, 667) is intended as Canacee's lover, not her brother.

[38]The best evidence of this is the fact that in 1798, only two years after the publication of this translation, the second edition of Tyrwhitt's work appeared, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in two handsome quarto volumes.

[39]In the present item, the author's name will appear in capitals, as it was signed to this article. Subsequently, the name will be given in lower case, in quotation marks.

[40]The OED lists eke and trow as archaic, sithe as obsolete, and snib as dialectal and Scotch. The illustrative quotations indicate that little change in usage has taken place since the period of our inquiry.

[41]See Robinson, p. 480, wherein reference is made to the "'quaintness' falsely ascribed to Chaucer's speech by those to whom it is simply unfamiliar."

[42]In Heath's Standard French and English Dictionary, ed. J. E. Manion, Part I, the u is classified as a semi-consonant and would be pronounced as the u in muet, huit, lui, etc.

[43]In the Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, Part I, Sec. viii (1775, IV, 26-28).

[44]In OED the latest recorded use of suffisaunce in the sense in which Chaucer used it in this passage (i.e., sense 2: "Sufficient quantity of") is dated 1544.

[45]Garland Greever, ed., A Wiltshire Parson and His Friends: The Correspondence of William Lisle Bowles together with Four Hitherto Unidentified Reviews by Coleridge (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 4.

[46]See above, p. 245.

[47]Citations of the original will normally be made from the Tyrwhitt 1775 text, a likely basis of Penn's translation. The line numbering according to Robinson's edition is included in brackets for the convenience of the reader.

[48]In Hints from Horace, ll. 423-436, we find Byron's criticism:

> Ye, who seek finish'd models, never cease
> By day and night to read the works of Greece.
> But our good fathers never bent their brains
> To heathen Greek, content with native strains.
> The few who read a page, or used a pen,
> Were satisfied with Chaucer and old Ben;
> The jokes and numbers suited to their taste
> Were quaint and careless, anything but chaste;
> Yet whether right or wrong the ancient rules,
> It will not do to call our fathers fools!
> Though you and I, who eruditely know
> To separate the elegant and low,
> Can also, when a hobbling line appears,
> Detect with fingers, in default of ears.
>
> The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron, ed. Paul E. More (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1905), p. 262.

[49]The figure before the colon refers to the page; that following the colon, to the line or lines. I adopt this mode of reference as being the most convenient.

[50]It is interesting to compare what Leigh Hunt did in his free treatment of the Tale, entitled "The First Canto of The Squire's Tale of Chaucer, Modernized," in the Liberal, II (1823), 317-331. Despite what the title indicates, Hunt's version did reach into the beginning of the second canto. Here, however, it is the Khan himself, back from a trial flight on his new horse, who sends the gaping company off to bed. (See below, Item No. 16.)

[51]It must be admitted, however, that Boyse, in his version, does not preserve the figure. In Lipscomb, III, 59-60, his handling reads:

> "Not Adam, who for one his Eden lost,
> "With all the sons of his degen'rate race,
> "Could equal art with this impostor boast,
> "Or act the counterfeit with such a grace.
> (Stanza CXX, ll. 5-8.)

[52]The 1794 version reads "'tho," which here was probably meant to be spelled "though."

[53]Yet another instance of Penn's syntactical lapses. Unless Penn is guilty of plain anacoluthon, sense and syntax would be reparable by a shift of the phrase "trooping at her call" to either the beginning or the end of the line.

[54]"The Genre of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," JEGP, XLI (1942), 286.

[55]Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, 2 vols. (New York, 1941) -- hereafter cited as Journals.

[56]Ed. E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1940-49) -- hereafter cited, generally in the name of the original editor, De Selincourt, as Works.

[57]The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Later Years, arr. and ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1939) -- hereafter cited as LY -- II, 999.

[58]The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Middle Years, arr. and ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1937) -- hereafter cited as MY -- I, 458c.

[59]The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth (1787-1805), arr. and ed. Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford, 1935) -- hereafter cited as EL -- p. 541.

[60]Here cited directly from Poems by William Wordsworth: Including The River Duddon; Vandracour and Julia; Peter Bell; The Waggoner; A Thanksgiving Ode; and Miscellaneous Pieces, Vol. III (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), p. 175. The text of Wordsworth's "Prioress's Tale" is found not only here, pp. 175-186, but also in The Miscellaneous Poems of William Wordsworth (published in the same year by the same firm), Vol. III, pp. 115-126.

[61]As rime riche, this was considered a beauty in Chaucer's day.

[62]Definition 2. in Johnson's Dictionary (4th ed., 1773) reads: "The practice of taking interest. It is commonly used with some reproach."

[63]In Essays in Criticism, Second Series (London: Macmillan, 1913), pp. 30-31.

[64]Ed. Walter W. Skeat (Oxford, 1897), pp. 347-358. Chaucerian and Other Pieces, hereafter to be cited as Chaucerian, is Vol. VII (a supplement) in the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Skeat, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1894-97).

[65]Skeat says that this stanza was also omitted by Bell, indicating that the omission was due to "an oversight" (Chaucerian, p. 528), but Skeat's own textual note to lines 201-205 says that whereas the stanza is to be found in the Bodleian and other MSS. it was omitted by Thynne. It is not surprising to find by inspection that the stanza is also missing from the texts of Stow, of the 1687 Speght, and of Urry. Thus it is missing from the editions of Bell and Anderson, who printed the poem from Urry, and from Chalmers, who printed from Speght. Skeat is surely mistaken in ascribing the omission by Bell to "oversight."

[66]In Spurgeon (II, 75), the number is erroneously given as 4522.

[67]According to De Selincourt's apparatus criticus, MS. 1 reads "the devil" here, in place of "perdition," thus repeating the Chaucer exactly.

[68]This passage contains another triplet, formed in the telescoping process. I give the last five lines (ll. 220-224):

> My son be like the wise man who restrains
> His tongue at all times, save when taking pains
> To speak of God in honour, and in prayer.
> 'Tis the first virtue, and the one most rare,
> My son, to keep the tongue with proper care.

To see how this triplet came about, let us take the lines from Anderson which correspond to these and add to them the next line, which is the first line of the second passage omitted by Wordsworth:

> My sone, thy tonge shuldest thou restreine
> At alle time, but whan thou dost thy peine
> To speke of God in honour and prayere:
> The firste vertue, sone, if thou wolt lere,

Is to restraine and kepen wel thy tonge;
Thus leren children whan that they be yonge.
[Anderson, ll. 225-230 (equivalent to Robinson, H, 329-334).]

Since he broke off translating at the end of line 229 of Anderson, and since line 229 was the first line of a couplet, Wordsworth simply altered the line in such a way as to rhyme it with the preceding couplet, thus creating a triplet.

[69] In The Grasmere Journal, day follows day, the weather is now fine and sunny, now snowy and rainy, illness follows upon health, health upon illness, the domestic chores are followed by walks and the walks by reading, people drop in, letters arrive and are sent -- there are no causes in Dorothy's world.

[70] Wordsworth wrote Powell (in late 1839, according to De Selincourt's dating): "For myself I cannot do more than I offered, to place at your disposal the Prioresses Tale, already published, the Cuckoo and the Nightingale, The Manciple's Tale, and I rather think, but I cannot just now find it, a small portion of the Troilus and Cressida" (LY, II, 992-993).

[71] The widow of Christopher Crackanthorpe (Cookson), Wordsworth's "Uncle Kit." Living on in Newbiggin Hall after her husband's death, she seems to have been a woman of considerable means. The Crackanthorpes had greatly antagonized Wordsworth, even to the extent that upon his uncle's death Wordsworth did not call on his aunt (Moorman, p. 448). Hence there would be need for much "resolve" if he were to visit her at this late date, and it would have taken more than a "fine day" to push him to it; it could have taken a "letter from the Frenchman." Miss Moorman, believing that he stayed with the Clarksons, at Ensemere, which lies near Penrith but on the Grasmere side (Dorothy gives "Penrith" unmistakably), suggests that in his brief two-hour visit with Mary, he may have told her about Annette for the first time. Miss Moorman feels (p. 555), however, that it is more likely that Mary already knew. (My reference is to Mary Moorman's William Wordsworth, a Biography. The Early Years, 1770-1803 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957].)

[72] Is this better?

"I am betrayed!" and her hair she tore,
And barefoot ran, down to the sea-lashed shore.

I hardly think so, I have "ran" in place of "faste . . .

wente" or "in haste . . . went," but the cost of getting "ran" is that "rent" is superseded by the less dramatic, or at any rate, the more hackneyed, "tore." In the matter of the rhymes, the modernizer has no problem -- he simply keeps Chaucer's rhymes, needing only to make "to rente" into "she rent."

[73]There is one difference between Tyrwhitt and the older editions that should be noted. In Stowe, Speght, and Urry, the Franklin's Prologue (F, 709-728) follows directly upon the Host's Stanza at the end of the Clerk's Tale. Tyrwhitt, however, incorporated into the Franklin's Prologue the passage in which the Franklin addresses the Squire and the Host addresses the Franklin, which in Robinson, as F, 673-708, precedes the Franklin's Prologue but is not treated as a part of it. In Tyrwhitt's printing of the Franklin's Prologue, there is only a break in the text at the point where in Robinson this Franklin-Host passage ends and the Franklin's Prologue proper begins. I see no way, however, in which this distinction between Tyrwhitt and the older editions can be made to shed light on the question of which text was the basis for Wharton's translation.

[74]Wharton first employs this term in note k, pp. 8-9, in connection with his translation of Dante.

[75]Robinson's text is cited. The question of which text or texts were actually used by Wharton cannot be given a certain answer here. The fact that Wharton paraphrased (rather than modernized) makes it almost impossible to determine the matter through comparison of words, phrases, and lines. In the "Franklein's Tale," Wharton's spelling of the name which appears in Robinson at F, 1388, as "Stymphalides" may be significant. Tyrwhitt's reading is "Stimphalides," much like Robinson's. Stowe, Speght (1687), and Urry all give " Simphalides," and Wharton's reading, "Simphalidessa," is closer to theirs than to Tyrwhitt's. However, an explicit reference to Tyrwhitt appears in Wharton's "Introductory Advertisement" to Vol. II, p. vi. Nothing definite can be concluded, however, regarding Wharton's basic text. My procedure therefore has been to cite Robinson's text as the basis. All passages so cited have been compared with their counterparts in both Urry and Tyrwhitt, and the reader is assured that, in the absence of explicit comment, no significant variants exist.

[76]His translation of the Franklin's Tale may be found in Troilus and Cressida and The Canterbury Tales By Geoffrey Chaucer with Modern English Versions of Both Works, in Great Books of the Western World, No. 22 (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), p. 366.

[77]Here the translation is closer to Tyrwhitt, whose reading is substantially the same as Robinson's, than to Urry, whose text reads: "That freshe ywas, and jollie of arreye,/ As to my dome, as is the monthe of Maye."

[78]For a more mordant discussion of these same matters, see Lounsbury, III, 205-206.

[79]In adopting the name "Maimoune" for this good spirit, and particularly in some of the imagery he planned to describe her with, Wharton found he had been prevented by Southey. As the matter provides an interesting insight into the subject of plagiarism, I present it here (from Note h, pp. 43-44). The note begins with the mention that the Genie is drawn from the Arabian Nights story of Camaralzaman. The note continues:

> I was the more led to adopt the name, because I learnt, from Mr. Turner's account of his Embassy to Thibet, that Mahamoonie, in Sanscrit, signifies Great Saint, and is the denomination of the principal Idol in that country. In the first draft of this poem the appearance of Maimoune was thus described --
>
> > Light, as the filmy down of Gossamer,
> > With folded arms she floated in the air:
> > Behind her length of tresses loosely spread,
> > In a bright lambent train her path display'd:
> > Like lights that, glimmering o'er the northern snow,
> > Wave in broad streams and tremble as they glow.
>
> During the course of last summer, in an old Number of a Review, which had never fallen in my way before, I found a criticism on Mr. Southey's Thalaba, a poem which I had not been so fortunate as to see: and the reader may judge of my surprize, when I not only found that Mr. Southey had also made use of this name Maimoune, but had applied to the description of her this very idea, by way of simile, in the following lines --
>
> > Her white hair flowing like the silver streams
> > That streak the northern sky. --
>
> I immediately altered my own verses: but I cannot help mentioning the circumstance, as it shows how very unjustly we may be accused of stealing the thoughts of contemporary authors. I have not thought it necessary to change the name, because that I had originally taken from a book well known: and had I not done so, the plagiarism would not have been of great importance.

So ends Wharton's note. Here are the lines as they finally were printed, with the Northern Lights image replaced (p. 44):

> Light, as the filmy down of Gossamer,
> With folded arms she floated on the air:
> Behind, her length of tresses loosely spread,
> In a resplendent train her course display'd;
> Like the bright path which Barks at midnight leave
> When Phosphor dances on the parted wave.

[80]René Huchon, George Crabbe and His Times, 1754-1832: A Critical and Biographical Study, translated from the French by Frederick Clarke (London: John Murray, 1907), p. 29.

[81]Tyrwhitt, in substantial agreement with the other texts I have been citing, reads: "I wol no more as now speke of hire ring." In the remaining lines of Wharton's quotation other variants can be noted, no matter which of these other texts -- Stowe, Speght (1687), Urry, or Tyrwhitt (either 1775 or 1798) -- is compared. Either Wharton used another text altogether, or he was a careless transcriber.

[82]Stowe, Speght (1687), Urry, and Tyrwhitt all agree in spelling these names with a double l -- "Camballus" and "Camballo."

[83]Alfred Tobler, Geoffrey Chaucer's Influence on English Literature (inaugural diss. Zurich, 1905), pp. 20-40.

[84]One difference in punctuation works a change in the reading of the fifth line. In Ogle 1741, this reads: "All I intend, to forward that you seek." So in Lipscomb.

[85]In support of this conclusion, we need but compare Lipscomb's version of the Prioress's Tale, which, published in 1795, was done in heroic couplets, with Wordsworth's version of 1801, done in Chaucer's own rime royals.

[86]LY, II, 993 (in a letter to Thomas Powell, written 1839): " . . . in respect to the poems in stanza, neither in the Prioresses Tale nor in the Cuckoo and the Nightingale have I kept to the rule of the original as to the form and number and position of the rhymes, thinking it enough if I kept the same number of lines in each stanza."

[87]For the translator who recorded his work on paper with an 1811 watermark to have known Wordsworth's modern-

ization of the Prioress's Tale, either he would have had to see it as a result of some personal relationship with Wordsworth, or he would have had to be writing on paper that was at least nine years old. Wordsworth's version was not published until 1820.

[88]No. 22, Chaucer, of Great Books of the Western World (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), has a claim to consideration in this respect, as it includes modern English versions of both Troilus and Cressida (by George Philip Krapp) and The Canterbury Tales (by J. U. Nicholson). With 8239 lines of the former added to the 17,385 lines (using the same Tyrwhitt total, which excludes Melibeus and The Parson's Tale) of the latter, we have 25,624 lines altogether, thus surpassing an estimated total of 24,000 lines (assuming that the first volume had 12,000 lines also) for the 1811 work.

[89]The item is extremely rare. The copy I examined is in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress, housed in the Rosenwald Galleries, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. This Collection holds another booklet, to which the present item was evidently intended as a companion. It is titled A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures, Poetical and Historical Inventions, Painted by William Blake, in Water Colours, Being the Ancient Method of Fresco Painting Restored: and Drawings, for Public Inspection, and for Sale by Private Contract. Just after this, in Blake's own handwriting (according to descriptive note supplied by the Rosenwald Galleries and inserted in the front of this copy) appears "At N 28 Corner of Broad Street Golden Square." The publication information at the bottom of the title page is as follows: "London: Printed by D. N. Shury, 7, Berwick-Street, Soho, for J. Blake, 28, Broad-Street, Golden-Square. 1809." On p. ii appear the "Conditions of Sale," the second of which reads:

> The Pictures and Drawings to remain in the Exhibition till its close, which will be the 29th of September 1809; and the Picture of the Canterbury Pilgrims, which is to be engraved, will be Sold only on condition of its remaining in the Artist's hands twelve months, when it will be delivered to the Buyer.

The "Index to the Catalogue" (pp. v-vi) contains (p. v) "No. III. The Canterbury Pilgrims, from Chaucer . . . p. 7." Turning to page 7, we find: Sir Geffery Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims on their Journey to Canterbury. Then follows Blake's famous descriptive and critical commentary, beginning "The time chosen is early morning, before

sunrise, when the jolly company are just quitting the Tabarde Inn." Miss Spurgeon (II, 42-46) cites several passages from this essay.

Besides these booklets the Rosenwald Collection contains some fine prints of the Blake engraving.

[90]The asterisk at the beginning of the second line is reprinted from the Speght 1687 text, where it is intended to give emphasis to the proverbial expression. In Speght 1687, the correct reading of the fifth line will be found: "Here in this tale . . . . "

Chapter IV. New Modernization and Old Chaucer, 1815-1836. Items No. 15 to No. 24.

The years 1815-1836 will constitute the next period in this study of Chaucer translations of the Romantic Era. Ten items will be examined. Though it did not have the stature of its predecessor, this period too could count among its Chaucer translators both one with literary prominence and one with the literary energy to produce an extensive work of translation. As for the former, Leigh Hunt not only proved a rather competent translator, but because he published both his work and a good deal of criticism on Chaucer translation, he must be regarded as exercising considerably more influence in this area than Wordsworth did. It was he who first gave popular expression to the new method of translating Chaucer, that is, the method we have termed modernization, although he never gave himself whole-heartedly to the practice of it. The other translator alluded to, the one who might be considered as inheriting Lipscomb's mantle as a producer of an extensive work of translation, was Charles Cowden Clarke. He differs from Lipscomb, however, in that his translation, Tales from Chaucer, to be studied below as Item No. 23, was in prose and that, certainly as far as the Canterbury Tales alone were concerned, it was not as comprehensive as Lipscomb's.

The older method of translating Chaucer -- by paraphrasing him -- still had its practitioners in the particular

period we are about to study, but in general it is the new method, modernization, that dominates the scene. This is in no small part due to the spirit of the Romantic Era itself. Things distant in time or place acquired the power to charm, and the medieval period, including the times of Chaucer, was found to be especially charming, particularly as an aura of the antique still clung to the literary remains of that far-off time. As far as Chaucer's work was concerned, the aura of the antique could be retained in translation only if the work were modernized rather than translated. Thus the new modernization was to a considerable extent a method of transmitting Chaucer old.

Item No. 15 (1815). [Unknown]. "Chaucer's Dying Ode. Gode Counsaile of Chaucer. [Below this title and subtitle, a text of the original poem is given. Then follows what must be regarded as the remainder of the title:] Attempted in Modern English. The Poet's last Advice." The Monthly Repository, &c., X (No. cxiii) (May 1815), 309.

Like the Squire's Tale, Chaucer's ballad Truth was popular among the translators of the Romantic Era. I have already referred to the fact that in Walter Harte's paraphrase it appeared in 1801 and in 1810 (see p. 72 above). It will be recalled that Harte's piece was not admitted among the regular items, but was treated instead as work that belonged properly to an earlier era, like that of Dryden and Pope. In a sense this present item might be treated in the same way, for it too is a reprint of a translation made in an earlier era. The original is to be found in Biographia Britannica, 1748

(Vol. II), and in the second edition, 1784 (Vol. III). Since the item appears in the Monthly Repository without any recognition of its prior existence (beyond whatever its presence in a Repository would indicate in that respect), I have chosen to regard the translation as a contemporary Monthly Repository reader would probably have regarded it, that is, as a product of his own times. Therefore I treat it here as a regular item.

The original text of this ballad and this translation of it are the opening selections in a brief (pp. 309-310) section headed "Poetry." I give the whole of the matter:

Chaucer's Dying Ode.*
Gode Counsaile of Chaucer.

I.

Flie fro the prese and dwell with sothfastnesse,
  Suffice unto thy gode though it be small,
For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilnesse,
  Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all,
  Savour no more then The behovin shall,
    Rede well thyself, that othir folke canst rede,
  And trouthe The shall delivir it is no drede [indentation si

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redresse,
  In trust of her that turnith as a balle,
Grete rest standith in litil businesse,
  Strive not as doith a crocke against a walle,
  Beware also to spurre again a nalle,
    Demith thy self that demist other's dede,
    And trouthe The shall delivir it is no drede.

III.

That The is sent receve in buxomenesse;
  The wrastlyng of this world askith a falle,
Here is no home, here is but wildirnesse,
  Forthe pilgrim forthe o best out of thy stalle,
  Loke upon high, and thank thy God of all;
    Weivith thy luste and let thy ghoste The lede,
    And trouthe The shall delivir it is no drede.

*In a MS. in the Cotton Library, this title is inserted; A Balade made by Giffry Chaucyer, upon his Dethe Bedde, lying in his grete Anguysse. [In the actual text, this note is not interposed, but is placed at foot of first column. I present it here for clarity's sake.]

Attempted in Modern English.
The Poet's last Advice.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou hast tho' it be small,
To hoard brings hate; nor lofty thoughts pursue,
He who climbs high endangers many a fall.
Envy's a shade that ever waits on fame,
And oft the sun that raises it will hide;
Trace not in life a vast expansive scheme,
But be thy wishes to thy state ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyself severe;
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune shall befriend;
Inconstant she, but be thou constant still,
Whate'er betide, unto an honest end.
Yet needless dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot against a nail;
Or from experience the solution crave,
If wall and pitcher strive which shall prevail?
Be in thy cause as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He scapes all ill, whose bosom is resign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Besides, thy home's not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then hie thee on thy way;
Look up to GOD, intent on heavenly bliss,
Take what the road affords and praises pay;
Shun brutal lusts, and seek thy soul's high sphere;
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

This whole matter may be found either in the "Chaucer" article in Vol. II (1748) of Biographia Britannica, pp. 1293-1308, where it is found as footnote "[P]," pp. 1303-04, or in the reprint (to which additions were made from Tyrwhitt's work) in the second edition, where the article occupies pp. 450-482 of Vol. III (1784). The full note appears on pp. 1303-04 of the former and on p. 462 of the latter. The two notes are virtually identical, so that it will be sufficient to make my references only to the later edition. It is of course possible that the Monthly Repository editor found this matter in some intermediate printing, but the possibility is an unlikely one. At least Miss Spurgeon refers to no other version of Truth between that of Walter Harte, 1727 (Spurgeon, IV, 84) and that now under study, of 1815 (II, 80-81). In fact, though she refers to the Chaucer articles in both editions of Biographia Britannica, she overlooks the presence in them of this translation of Truth.

The translator is unknown. The Monthly Repository has no information to offer, and the only concrete clue is the initial "C." signed to the original article. But no one knows who "C." is. Even Spurgeon, who among Chaucer bibliographers was in the best position to know, offers no explanation, not even a conjecture, heading her entry on the "Chaucer" article in the 1748 edition with a bald "Unknown" (I, 395). Even if the identity of "C" were

established, however, there would still remain the problem of determining whether "C" wrote the translation of Truth himself, or whether he drew it from another source. There is one candidate to be advanced for the authorship of "Chaucer's Dying Ode," whether or not the "C" at the end of the article be an honest initial. The author of the Ogle (1741) version of the Squire's Tale, Samuel Boyse (d. 1749), employed therefor the same stanza as was employed in this version of Truth, with but one difference -- that the last line of the "Squire's Tale" stanza is an alexandrine, whereas, in "Chaucer's Dying Ode," it is iambic pentameter, like the other lines. Otherwise the two stanzas are the same, right down to the indentation of lines 2, 4, 6, and 8. The fact that this stanza is not of a common type enhances the possibility that Boyse is the author of this version of Truth.

If the author was not Boyse, it was one who was similarly prone to expand an original. Each stanza has been expanded to ten lines from the original seven. As one would expect, the translation is a paraphrase -- a fairly free one. Therefore it is somewhat difficult to determine just how the translator read the fourth line in stanza 1 of the original: "Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all." This would seem to say that the crowd is envious and will destroy one's wealth by fire. In Robinson's text, where the line is "Prees hath envye, and wele blent overal," one can make

better sense, arriving at ". . . prosperity deceives in every respect." Anderson, who printed from Urry, has ". . . wele is blent oer all," which makes no sense at all, unless, perhaps, one reads "wele" as "well," the adverb, and thus understands that the crowd, and not prosperity, is deceived. Our translator seems to have risen above this difficulty, for he wrote, "He who climbs high endangers many a fall," which, though it presents a syntactical problem of its own (Is not "fall" the subject and should not "He" read "Him"?), together with the two following lines accurately renders the drift of the original line.

If in the second stanza lines 5-8 of the translation are compared with lines 4-5 of the original, one will find that the order in which the basic images appear (foot against nail and pitcher against wall) has been reversed. A glance at Robinson will indicate that it is the original text, as given above, that is out of step. Apparently the switch was made by the one who transcribed "Chaucer's Dying Ode" for the Monthly Repository, or it may have been done by the printer. In the Biographia Britannica articles, lines 4 and 5 of stanza 2 of the text of the original stand in their proper order.

In this same part of the poem, in view of the fact that his original reads "again a nalle," the translator is not to be blamed for offering the translation "against a nail." In Robinson the line reads:

Be war also to sporne ayeyns an al,

and the last phrase is translated: "against an awl."

What is most interesting about this version of Truth, and about other versions to be dealt with later, is the nature of the context in which they appear. The context in the case of this Monthly Repository version is essentially a religious and moral one. The first, apparently, but certainly the most obvious, purpose of the Monthly Repository was to provide Unitarianism with a voice. The very first article in Volume X is a "Memoir of the late Rev. Joseph Priestly, LL.D. F.R.S. &c." At the end of this article, pp. 12-13, there is a good account of Priestley's theology. We are told that though he passed "through all the changes from Calvinism to Arianism, Socinianism, and finally to an Unitarian system in some measure his own, he remained through the whole progress a firm believer in the Jewish and Christian revelations. . . . The essentials of the system in which he finally settled were, the proper humanity of Christ, including the rejection of his miraculous conception, and of the doctrine of atonement; and a future state, in which punishment is to be only emendatory, and all rational beings are to be finally happy . . . ." Indeed, if one wished to explore the grammar of dissent in the early nineteenth century, one could not do better than to thumb through the volumes of the Monthly Repository. The tone is vigorously controversial and partisan, but not militantly so. The appeal is rational rather than emotional. Thus it is not

surprising to find Chaucer's Truth, with its even-minded recognition of the value of the Golden Mean as a guide to the good life, appearing -- in original and version -- in this particular magazine.

Item No. 16 (1815-1841). Hunt, Leigh. Various pieces.

The Examiner for October 1, 1815, carried an essay, No. 21, entitled "On Chaucer."[1] Authored by Leigh Hunt, the essay contained recommendations for a method of translating Chaucer and illustrated the recommendations by providing modernizations of three short excerpts from the Squire's Tale. Thus began a highly irregular and various production of translations of Chaucer from the hand of Leigh Hunt -- a production that continued throughout the period of my study and considerably beyond. From 1815 to 1841, Hunt produced eight recognizably individual units of translation (by unit, I mean either a single item or a group of items), appearing 1815 (and 1817), 1820 (2 units), 1823, 1831, 1835 (2 units), and 1841. In extent, these range all the way from short selections to whole tales. In method, they tend for the most part to be modernization, but they do at times move all the way to the other end of the scale and reveal themselves to be Drydenesque paraphrase. This variety bespeaks the man. Too pleasant a writer to be as forceful as he might, too personal to be as objective as a Chaucer translator perhaps should be, sometimes esthete and sometimes moralist, sometimes bee and sometimes butterfly, Leigh Hunt

is changeable without really changing; for in all his modes he is still Leigh Hunt, genial (at least when not verbally assaulting the Prince Regent), companionable, talkative, responsive, a bit tender-skinned perhaps, but with a tough spirit dwelling inside.

I shall present this various production chronologically, even though to do so means that different versions of the same piece must be treated separately. There is change and even development in his Chaucer translations, and these can best be followed if a chronological organization is adopted. As Leigh Hunt is, to my knowledge, unique in this matter of showing development (Dryden's translations, it is true, are not entirely of a piece, but the differences do not seem to be the result of development), it seems best to follow his progress as he made it. Our work is at once aided and complicated by the fact that, with Leigh Hunt, practice is rarely without its critical commentary. Hunt's Chaucer criticism is considerable, and much of it is good, but I shall endeavor, as much as possible, to confine my concern with the criticism to those remarks of Hunt's that bear more or less directly upon the actual translations.

The first passages of Chaucer to be translated and published by Hunt are to be found in the essay mentioned above, which Hunt contributed to <u>The Examiner</u> for October 1, 1815. In that periodical, as No. 21, it was entitled simply "On Chaucer." Hardly more than a year later it was

republished in William Hazlitt's The Round Table, as follows:

> H[unt]., L[eigh]. "[Essay] No. XVI. On Chaucer." [In] The Round Table: A Collection of Essays on Literature, Men, and Manners, By William Hazlitt [in 2 vols.]. Vol. I [pp. 124-141]. Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London. 1817. [Verso of title-page reads:] Printed by George Ramsay & Co.

In Volume I, pages v-vi, there is an "Advertisement" signed by Hazlitt under the date of January 5, 1817. Hazlitt explains that the work fell short of the original intention. Hunt had proposed, he says, that a series of essays of the Spectator-Tatler type be published in The Examiner, with the individual essays to be contributed by a number of different people and with Hunt himself to serve as editor of the series and "to take the characteristic or dramatic part of the work upon himself." "The Round Table" was agreed upon as the most suitable name for the series. The plan ran into trouble, according to Hazlitt, as a result of the editor's being called from belles-lettres into politics by Napoleonic exigencies. As Hazlitt apologizes that this work was left to the one who "was least able to give life and spirit to the original design," one cannot help visualizing Hunt in a characteristic turn, announcing with shooting-star exuberance a new project, only to go butterflying off to fresher fields, leaving a steadier, less "dramatic" colleague to piece matters together. Thus we are not unduly surprised when, after being told by Hunt in essay No. XVI that more essays on Chaucer will be

forthcoming (p. 133), we look through the remainder of the series and find none. To return, Hazlitt closes the "Advertisement" by stating that all the papers in the two volumes were written by himself and Hunt, except a letter from a friend in the seventeenth number, and that "out of the fifty-two numbers, twelve are Mr Hunt's, with the signatures L. H. or H. T. For all the rest I am answerable."

We shall look now at "No. XVI. On Chaucer." It contains three pieces of translation, all from the Squire's Tale, but as these are integrated in the essay, I shall present them in their context, deferring most of my own remarks to the end.

The essay, which deals with the proper rationale and form for translating Chaucer, depends for its material upon the Squire's Tale. It is organized about a letter from a "Correspondent" signing himself "B." "B" of course can be no other than Hunt himself or Hazlitt, to judge not only by Hazlitt's own statement in the "Advertisement" but by internal evidence.[2] Hunt in his own person provides a brief introduction to this letter and then subjoins a commentary.

The essay begins with Hunt's welcome of the correspondent to "a hearing at our ROUND TABLE." The Correspondent's fondness for Chaucer and the Arabian Nights, Hunt goes on, is "as instant a bond of fellowship with us, as talking of dishes with a voluptuary, or of sunshine with a stray

Italian, or . . . ," and the list goes happily forward to the next page. Hunt adds: "From the nature of our establishment, we have a more than ordinary sympathy with King Cambuscan and his festal board; we become doubly conscious of our state and dignity . . . and feel as if we were mutually acting the commencement of the story over again, -- we, as the king with his men about him, and he [the Correspondent], as the strange knight coming up the hall; only our visitor retains nothing of that personage but his courtesy; and we instead of sitting down, diademed and o'er canopied, to a course of swans, are obliged to be content with plain heads of hair and a shoulder of mutton" (p. 125). Hunt's fancy rarely frees itself from the flesh.

The letter itself, occupying pages 125-132, begins with a statement by the "Correspondent" that, from the failure of scholarly opinion to discover anything to the contrary, it must be concluded that Chaucer indeed left the Squire's Tale unfinished. Tyrwhitt, receiving incidental praise as one "to whom the lovers of our ancient Bard are under the greatest obligation," is quoted as saying he had not found a "probable origin" of the Tale. The Correspondent infers, however, that Tyrwhitt considered the original tale to be one of the "class of Arabian fictions" and that Chaucer got it through a translation and adopted it "as matter highly congenial to his splendid fancy, and awaiting only the consecrating powers of his verse" (p. 126). Next this "Correspondent" comments on Spenser's supplement to the story, observing

that Spenser dealt with the combat in the lists for Canace, as perhaps fitting better the design of The Faerie Queen, but that he omitted the account of the steed of brass, which was potentially of greater interest. It would be unprofitable to speculate, says he, "how far the wild adventures of the horse of brass were within the grasp of his rich but moral imagination." The Correspondent's mind is bent, however, on inquiring what supplement "may be offered": it would be too bold, he finds, to "presume that we have settled the very incidents, which would have completed this delightful fiction." (Pp. 126-127.)

Next the "letter" recapitulates the events of Part I of the Squire's Tale, ending with a slap at kings (understandable in the light of Hunt's having been imprisoned for speaking his mind about the Prince Regent): "The sword of our knight heals as readily as it wounds, and has certainly been disused [Hunt must mean only with respect to its healing properties] by monarchs ever since the days of Cambuscan" (pp. 127-128).

The second part of the Squire's Tale, up to the conclusion, is most summarily dealt with in the "letter," but the conclusion itself is given fuller treatment: the "Poet then promises, first to recount the warlike achievements of Cambuscan [Wharton's point, we recall, is that no such promise is made (see above, Item No. 10)]. He will after speke of Algarsife, who won Theodora for his wife, and of

the perils from which he was relieved by the horse of brass; and finally, of Camball fighting in the lists with the Brethren for Canace. [The hint of incest is thus done away with, as in Spenser's continuation.] Of the horse of brass he tells us nothing, but that, having quietly endured the gaze, and the philosophy too, of the vulgar, it was displayed by the Knight fully to his Majesty" and that then it vanished (p. 128).

The Correspondent's belief is that the tale is an "Arabian fiction" and that there may be found "adventures in the Mille et une Nuits, that admirably answer the promise of the Poet, if, indeed, they were not the very inventions which Chaucer designed to adopt. We allude to the story of the Enchanted Horse" (p. 129). On pages 129 to 132, the Correspondent summarizes this story from The Thousand and One Nights: the King of Persia, at Schiraz, is celebrating an important anniversary. An Indian enters on an enchanted horse, which, like Chaucer's, turns out to be operable by means of pins. The King's son makes a rash trial of the horse and is carried away. Finally, discovering a second pin, the Prince is able to bring the horse down, and finds himself descending on the summer palace of the Princess of Babylon. "Why should we display their mutual surprise?" asks the Correspondent in a thoroughly Huntian manner. "The beauty of the princess was a wonder that a horse full of enchantments could never hope to equal, and beauty exerts its usual power even amidst the feats of magic" (p. 130).

The Prince takes the Princess on the magic horse and carries her away to his home. All rejoice at his return, except the incarcerated Indian, who, though he is then freed, is vengeful, inasmuch as "causeless imprisonment does not always leave the mind full of gratitude for the end of it" (p. 131). (Hunt's two years in the Horsemonger Lane Gaol had ended February 3, 1815.) The Indian, by a ruse, gets the Princess of Babylon on the horse and carries her away with him to Cashmir. The King of Cashmir punishes the Indian with death, but then desires the Princess for himself. To avoid the consequence, she feigns madness. Cashmir physicians naturally fail to find a cause for her condition, but the Prince of Persia, disguised, "arrives with the only medicine that could effect her cure" (p. 131). They escape on the horse and return to Schiraz.

The Correspondent concludes that this "most lovely fiction" could easily be adapted to Chaucer's Squire's Tale. "The attempt at Chaucer's style and versification might confound the best of us, but there could be no objection to new model [an interesting verb] and translate the whole into either the rhymed couplet of Dryden, with his vigour and freedom, or perhaps it might grace, and be graced by, the swelling stanza of Spenser" (p. 132).

The "Correspondent" does not say -- nor does Hunt in his own person, in the remarks that follow the letter -- how the "Arabian fiction." which satisfies only part of the design

enunciated by Chaucer at the end of Part 2, is to be integrated with the other elements. Even if the combat-in-lists motif is carried through on the lines laid down by Spenser, there remains the Falcon's love story to be resolved. But these difficulties are permitted to cast no shadow on Leigh Hunt's enthusiasms as they now unfold themselves in the concluding part of the essay.

Hunt sympathizes with the "Correspondent" in the matter of the desirability of completing Chaucer's unfinished story but is dubious about how it should be done and by whom. Speaking to the first question, he doubts the desirability of adopting Chaucer's manner. He eschews all stanzas -- and though he does not specify it, he must have the Spenserian uppermost in his mind -- as being "as unfit for the ease and freedom of narrative poetry, as a horse which should have a trick of stopping at every twenty yards, whether you wanted him to get on or not" (p. 132). This analogy can be immediately refuted by a reference to Spenser himself and the skill with which he uses his stanza in narration. In The Eve of St. Agnes Hunt's young friend Keats was soon to provide yet another refutation. The best measure, in Hunt's opinion, would be the couplet, "nor would it be any drawback on its merits,if the reader were occasionally reminded of Dryden, for the best parts of Dryden's versification are some of the best music of which English rhythm is capable; or, in other words, are imitated from the best part of the

versification of Chaucer himself, -- an assertion that may make some persons smile, who always think of the Father of English Poetry as a mere clown compared with his children" (pp. 132-133). Thus does Hunt's criticism move from ridiculousness to sublimity, from thoughtless, meaningless analogy to fresh, perceptive judgment. Hunt will be found again and again affording the reader new insight into Chaucer's work; therefore we can the more readily overlook his not infrequent banalities.

Hunt now lays down requirements that he who would "finish a story of Chaucer" must fulfill. He "should come to his task, not only with as much rhythmic vigour as Dryden, but with twenty times his nature and sentiment, and with at least a great portion of the abstract poetical luxury of Spenser" (p. 133). In "nature" and in "sentiment" Hunt is referring to qualities dear to the Romantic heart. I should suppose that by "nature" Hunt must have meant much of what Wordsworth would have meant,had he, rather than Hunt, been speaking -- that is, regard for Nature, regard for both her outward forms and her indwelling spirit. Though Hunt is speaking of a continuer, it seems to me that he would agree to let these terms stand for a translator also.

Hunt, apparently for the moment thinking from the reader's point of view, says that one able to "relish" Chaucer "must demand that which delighted him in Chaucer, -- that is to say, idiom and simplicity of style, and real unsophisticated, strait-forward nature in the manners, sentiment,

and description; but how difficult to get hold of these, when the style of our poetry has been little else, for these hundred and fifty years, but a kind of classical cant, and some of those, who have latterly undertaken to improve it, have substituted another sort of cant, a business of yeas and haths, for simplicity?" (Pp. 133-134.)[3]

Now Hunt makes the point cleanly: "A continuer of Chaucer must write as Chaucer wrote, in the best kind of his own every-day language; -- like Chaucer, he must dare to speak and think as nature tells him, and not as the French tell him, or his books: -- but to do all this, he must be a true poet as well as his original" (p. 134). Citing the fact that even the great Spenser was reluctant to take up what Chaucer had laid aside -- and he quotes for evidence the stanza of The Faerie Queene, Book IV, Canto 2, beginning "Then pardon, O most sacred, happie spirit" -- Hunt concludes: "The plain fact is, that none but true poets can continue, as none but such can translate, each other; and this is the reason why there have ever been, and are ever likely to be, so few good translations; for a true poet will generally feel the ambition of originality as well as his fellows, and endeavor to make work for the translators himself." (Pp. 134-135.) In the justness of its matter and in the clarity and force of its expression, this criticism is worthy to stand beside Dryden's best.

Having made his point, Hunt backs away from its implications. He would not wish, he says, to see Chaucer's story

finish "by the very best modern hand." There is a bit of ambiguity in the way Hunt has put this, no doubt unintended, that needs discussion. First of all, I think it safe to assume that "by the very best modern hand" he does not mean his own -- his modesty is too genuine for that. The question is this: Does Hunt imply that, whereas the very best modern poet ought not to assay the task of completing the Squire's Tale, it would be all right for a poet of the second rank, like himself, to do so? The wording permits us to think this, and indeed, as we shall see when we get to his contribution to The Liberal, 1823, Hunt actually did embark upon the project. But there Hunt's humility atones for the temerity of the venture. Here it is simpler, and probably more accurate, judging from the reasons Hunt advances for his opinion, to assume that he means that the piece should not be continued even "by the very best modern hand." From the reasons he gives for advancing this opinion, it may be inferred that it was not personal in its intention.

Here are Hunt's reasons. First, he says, it "would take away a certain venerable grace and interest, which accompanies the very idea of a noble fragment, and which seems, in the same way, to have struck the Italian sculptor, who refused to supply the limb of an ancient statue." Secondly, "modern versions, strictly so called [it must be assumed that, in the terms of my study, he means "paraphrases"], of an old poet, tend to divert attention from the illustrious

original, and to foster an additional ignorance of him, in consequence of what are supposed to be the rudeness of his style, and obscurities of his language." (P. 135.)

Hunt concludes this part of his commentary with a promise, in "two or three future numbers,"[4] to deal "with the subject of Chaucer's genius, and on the proper way of reading and enjoying him, accompanied with specimens, and a comment" (p. 135).

Let us summarize. Assuming that what Hunt has said about a "continuer" of Chaucer he would also apply to a "translator" of Chaucer (for obviously one cannot continue the Squire's Tale in modern language without translating the Tale itself into modern language also), we find Hunt saying (1) that the most satisfactory translation of Chaucer is one in which the essence of Chaucer -- matter, feeling, and spirit -- is transmitted by the translator in the translator's own words and (2) that, if the result is to be of any value, the translation must be done by one who is himself a great poet. He then does an about-face: a modern version, even if done by the best modern hand, is unsatisfactory in that it "tends to divert attention from the illustrious original."

Thus, having invalidated one best method of translating Chaucer, the paraphrase, Hunt is ready with another "best method" of translating Chaucer, the modernization:

> ... here we shall anticipate an observation on what appears to us to be the best method of modernizing the Father of English Poetry, if modernized he need be at all; and even

> then we would always have the original kept by the side. It should be, we think, after the mode of the Italian rifacimento, altering only just as much as is necessary for comfortable intelligibility, and preserving all the rest, that which appears quaint as well as that which appears modern, -- in short, as much of the author, -- his nature, -- his own mode of speaking and describing, as possible. By thus preserving his best parts, we should keep the model of Nature, his own model, before us, and make modern things bend to her, -- not her, as is the custom of our self-love, bend to every thing which happens to be modern. (P. 136.)

Thus there is an ambivalence in Hunt's attitude toward translation of Chaucer, pulling him now toward paraphrase, now toward modernization. The problem is one which Hunt, it seems to me, never quite resolves, but whatever principle may govern him at any particular time, Hunt's desire to maintain the integrity of his author remains firm.

Hunt concludes his article by giving three passages from the Squire's Tale, all done in the manner he has just described. In each case, Hunt gives the original first, evidently in Tyrwhitt's text, and then his modernization. About the first passage, the equivalent of vv. 10362-71 (F, 48-57), he comments: "Those who know how to read the author with the proper attention to the vowels after the manner still used in France, will see in it the beauty of his versification as well as description" (p. 136). I present the passage as cited by Hunt:

> Phoebus the sonne ful jolif was and clere,
> For he was nigh his exaltation
> In Marte's face, and in his mansion
> In Aries, the colerike hot signe:

> Ful lusty was the wether and benigne:
> For which the foules again the sonne shene,
> What for the seson and the yonge grene,
> Ful loude songen hir affections:
> Hem semed hem han getten hem protections
> Again the swerd of winter kene and cold. (P. 137.)

In transcribing this passage, Hunt has introduced an extra "hem" in the next to the last line (i.e., after "semed").[5] To modernize this passage, says Hunt, requires "little more than a change of spelling" (p. 137):

> Phoebus the sun full jolly was and clear;
> For he was nigh his exaltation
> In Mars's face, and in his mansion
> In Aries, the cholerick hot sign; --
> Full lusty was the weather and benign,
> For which the birds, against the sunny sheen,
> What for the season and the crisp young green,
> Full out in the fine air sang their affections;
> It seemed to them that they had got protections
> Against the sword of winter, keen and cold.

For the first five lines all goes well, but it seems to me that, in the sixth line, "the sunny sheen" is a bad replacement for "the sonne shene." It is true that it keeps the sound, the measure (except the feminine ending), and the rhyme of the original, but to accomplish this it changes noun into adjective and adjective into noun, and, instead of a shining sun we get only a sunny sheen. Most of the remainder is good. For the syllable in "yonge" that must be lost in translation, Hunt has supplied "crisp," which certainly maintains the freshness Hunt so much admires in Chaucer. The next-to-last line is particularly good, as Hunt has taken a line that, at first glance, looks to be quite far from modern English and has modernized it without making any essential

changes in grammar or in diction. The characteristic movement of Chaucerian verse is gone, but the replacement has an easy, natural forward flow that is not unfriendly to the original. The only weak spot left is in the third line from the end. This line, through plain modernization, must undergo the loss of three syllables, as may be readily seen;

Full loud sang their affections.

Because the line now has a feminine ending, Hunt must think in terms of an eleven-syllable line, so that actually he has four syllables to add. His answer, to replace "loude" with "Full out in the fine air," has an unnatural, expletive look about it.

I give the other two passages without the accompanying originals, the equivalents of vv. 10390-402 (F, 76-88) and vv. 10699-708 (F, 385-394). Here is the first of the two:

> And so befell, that after the third course,
> While that this king sat thus in his nobley,
> Hearing his minstrels their productions play
> Before him at his board deliciously,
> In at the great hall door all suddenly
> There came a knight upon a steed of brass,
> And in his hand a broad mirror of glass;
> Upon his thumb he had of gold a ring,
> And by his side a naked sword hanging;
> And up he rideth to the royal board. --
> In all the hall there was not spoke a word
> For marvel of this knight: him to behold
> Full bisily they wait, both young and old. (P. 138.)

In this Hunt has done a good piece of modernization, replacing here and there a syllable not sounded in modern English with quite appropriate diction, as in the case of "the great hall door", which replaces "the halle door." The only questionable

change is in the third line. The original as Hunt gives it reads:

Herking his ministralles her thinges play.

Obviously,if the meter is to be preserved, something must be done about "thínges." Granted that a substitution rather than an expletive seems in order, it would appear that "instruments" is a replacement much to be preferred over "productions." Be that as it may, the delightful vagueness of "thinges" so typical of the Squire's professed rhetorical inadequacy, is going to be lost.

Hunt then concludes with one of those "morning touches" (pp. 139-140) of Chaucer, in which he takes so much delight. Canace rises

> As ruddy and as bright as the young Sun
> That in the Ram but four degrees has run;
> No higher was he, when she ready was;
> And forth she walketh easily a pace,
> Dress'd, with the lovely time of year to suit,
> Lightly to play and walk about on foot,
> With only five or six in company;
> And in a trench forth in the park goes she.
> The vapour, that up glided from the ground,
> Made the sun seem ruddy, and broad, and round.

In the original as Hunt gives it, the fifth and sixth lines stand:

> Arrayed after the lusty seson sote
> Lightly for to playe, and walken on fote.

Comparing these with the translation, we find that Hunt, with quite minor changes in the meaning, has cleverly managed to retain the rhyme. The obvious solution, that of changing "sote" to "sweet" and "fote" to "feet" will not do, of course,

as it is quite proper to have Canace walking about "on foot" and mere words-wasting to speak of her as walking about "on her feet."

In the last couplet, Hunt strained for his rhyme, changing Chaucer's "erthe" to "ground" and moving it to the end of the line and then, in the last line, adding the word "round" in order to complete the rhyme. Although the next to the last line is good, even excellent, the last line is poor, as we quite justly have the feeling that expletives are being put upon us.

These then are the earliest known pieces of translation of Chaucer by Hunt. It may be seen that, whatever his realization of the virtues of paraphrase, Hunt is, in his own practice, strong for modernization and that when, of sound and sense, one must be sacrificed for the other, he is at least as favorable to sound as he is to sense. This will change.

But, for now,let us hear Hunt's own last word on these early pieces of modernization (pp. 140-141):

> In this manner perhaps, it might be warrantable to touch Chaucer's language, but still with himself by the side to see it done reverently, and to correct the passages which an inferior hand might leave faulty. It is possible, that something of a vapour, at least to common eyes, might be thus removed from <u>his</u> glorious face; but to venture any further, we are afraid, would be to attempt to improve the sun itself, or to go and recolour the grass it looks upon.
>
> L. H.

The next unit consists of two passages from the Knight's Tale that are really only modernized spelling rather than translation. They deserve at least a brief notice, particularly since the Dryden counterpart of one of the passages is presented. These passages are found in an essay entitled "May-Day," in The Indicator, April 26, 1820, pp. 228-231, an essay which was devoted to describing the May festival as it was enjoyed in earlier times and to deploring the fact that "all this worship of May is now over." My references are to a reprint of this essay: "XXXV. -- May-Day," pp. 71-74 in the first (Indicator) part of a volume entitled The Indicator, and The Companion; A Miscellany for the Fields and the Fireside by Leigh Hunt (London: Edward Moxon, 1845).

The two passages of Chaucer cited in this essay are vv. 1035-71 (A, 1033-69) (this is broken at end of v. 1064 for a comment, but then v. 1064 is repeated and the passage resumed) and vv. 1493-1517 (A, 1491-1515). The passages are found on p. 72 and p. 73, respectively. Hunt begins his consideration of Chaucer in connection with May-Day with the following comment (p. 72):

> ... when morning pleasures are to be spoken of, the lovers of poetry who do not know Chaucer, are like those who do not know what it is to be up in the morning. He has left us two exquisite pictures of the solitary observance of May, in his Palamon and Aroite. They are the more curious, inasmuch as the actor in one is a lady, and in the other a knight.

Hunt, in courtly fashion, announces that "as in duty bound" he will begin with the lady, leaving unsaid the fact

that her passage comes first in the original poem. Pointing out "how she sparkles through the antiquity of the language, like a young beauty in an old hood," Hunt starts by quoting the first lines of the passage from Tyrwhitt's text:

> "Thus passeth yere by yere, and day by day,
> Till it felle ones in a morowe of May,
> That Emilie --"

and here he interrupts to rewrite the passage. "We will alter the spelling where we can," he says (p. 72)," as in a former instance, merely to let the reader see what a notion is in his way, if he suffers the look of Chaucer's words to prevent his enjoying him". By the "former instance," Hunt may mean the modernizing of the Squire's Tale passage he did for The Round Table, but since there he changed more than the spelling, as we have seen, he may have reference to some other item that simply has not come to light. Here are the first few lines of the passage, equivalent to vv. 1035-44 (A, 1033-42):

> Thus passeth year by year, and day by day,
> Till it fell once, in a morrow of May,
> That Emily, that fairer was to seen
> Than is the lily upon his stalk green,
> And fresher than the May with flowers new,
> (For with the rosy colour strove her hue;
> I n'ot which was the finer of them two)
> Ere it was day, as she was wont to do,
> She was arisen and all ready dight,
> For May will have no sluggardy a-night.

Whatever advantages this method has, it is clear that it has its limitations. The "stalk green" in the fourth line is unmetrical here, but in Tyrwhitt's text "stálkĕ grene" is perfectly metrical. In the sixth line, the strain of maintaining both the integrity of his respelling method and the integrity of the meter becomes too great, and Hunt changes Chaucer's

"rósĕ colour" (Tyrwhitt) to "rosy colour." Thus he preserves the meter, but by no means has he retained the meaning. From the context it is clear that Chaucer meant "rose," not "rosy." The distinction may be small, but it exists, and Hunt, by choice or by oversight, did not regard it. Interestingly Nicolson solves the problem in his modern English version thus: ". . . with the rose's colour strove her hue" (Great Books: Chaucer, p. 177).

At this point Hunt refers to Sir Walter Scott, who,

> in his edition of Dryden, says upon the passage before us, and Dryden's version of it, that "the modern must yield the palm to the ancient, in spite of the beauty of his versification." We quote from memory, but this is the substance of his words. [The original remark is found in Scott's edition (1808), I, 500. Hunt has come sufficiently near it.] For our parts, we agree with them, as to the consignment of the palm, but not as to the exception about the versification. With some allowance as to our present mode of accentuation, it appears to us to be touched with a finer sense of music even than Dryden's. It is more delicate, without any inferiority in strength, and still more various.

This last may be verified, I think, by a look at the first eight lines of this passage in Dryden's version. I quote from Scott's edition (1808), XI, 257:

> Thus year by year they pass, and day by day,
> Till once, -- 'twas on the morn of cheerful May, --
> The young Emilia, fairer to be seen
> Than the fair lily on the flowery green,
> More fresh than May herself in blossoms new,
> For with the rosy colour strove her hue,
> Waked, as her custom was, before the day,
> To do the observance due to sprightly May.

Interestingly, Dryden's solution for "rose colour" is the same as Hunt's. There is no way of telling whether Hunt modernized

the line independently from the original or was influenced by Dryden's version. In any case, Hunt's argument for preferring the original to Dryden's seems on the basis of this comparison quite sound: Chaucer's lines are more delicate and various and are not less strong than Dryden's.

Next in the essay (p. 73) Hunt gives the Knight's Tale passage vv. 1493-1517 (A, 1491-1515), in this modernized spelling form, beginning:

> The busy Lark, the messenger of day,
> Saleweth in her song the morrow gray.

Tyrwhitt 1775 reads:

> The besy larke, the messager of day,
> Saleweth in hire song the morwe gray.

In some subtle way "morrow gray" is metrically distinguishable from "morwe gray." Except for such distinctions, the modern line is too close to the original to be classified as modernization, that is, in our special sense of the term. The rest of the passage handles Chaucer in about the same way, except that where the couplet vv. 1511-12 in Tyrwhitt's text reads

> And loud he song agen the sonne shene,
> O May, with all thy floures and thy grene --

Hunt writes:

> And loud he sung against the sunny sheen:
> "O May, with all thy flowers and the green."

We have observed Hunt handling Chaucer's "sonne shene" in this way before. (See above, p. 514.) Putting the preservation of Chaucer's meter and rhyme above the preservation of his meaning, Hunt has changed the noun "sonne" to

the adjective "sunny" and the adjective "shene" to the noun "sheen." Here we have what may be called modernization, however restricted, rather than merely modernized spelling. Hunt would have done better to seek a more radical solution.

Hunt then gives the Dryden equivalent, finding it to fall short of the original in the "freshness of the sentiments" (p. 73). Dryden's lines are "beautiful," he says, "but they do not come home to us with so happy and cordial a face." Pointing to a number of places where Chaucer in freshness, vividness, and naturalness is far superior to Dryden, Hunt completes his criticism with this perceptive comment:

> Dryden's genius, for the most part, wanted faith in nature. It was too gross and sophisticate. There was as much difference between him and his original, as between a hot noon in perukes at St. James's, and one of Chaucer's lounges on the grass, of a May-morning.

Hunt's interest in Chaucer seemed to center in a few specific Tales: notably, the Squire's Tale, the Knight's Tale, the Pardoner's Tale, and the Manciple's Tale, together with certain portraits in the General Prologue. There is little indication that he interested himself greatly in the scheme of The Canterbury Tales, or in the non-Canterbury pieces. With regard to a given tale, however, his interest tended to be consistent. Such is the case with the translation we shall now consider:

[Hunt, Leigh?]. "Death and the Drunkards." Olliers Literary Miscellany, No. I (1820), pp. 48-53.

As its full title -- Olliers Literary Miscellany in Prose and Verse by Several Hands to Be Continued Occasionally -- indicates, this Miscellany began life hopefully. Published in London by C. and J. Ollier, friends of Hunt's, it was dedicated to the proposition that for a publication to sell it need not identify itself with one party ("in politics or religionor literature") and then proceed to abuse opposing parties. The proprietors tell us in their "Advertisement" (p. iii) that they "think a miscellany may be amusing and impartial at the same time, and the present experiment is made under that impression." It would appear that the public preferred partiality, for no other number ever appeared.

In this periodical, a prose translation of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale was printed, pp. 48-53, called "Death and the Drunkards." It was unsigned, and no proof of authorship has come to light; however, there is evidence for assigning the piece to Leigh Hunt. Twenty-five years later in the New Monthly Magazine, LXXIV (Aug., 1845), 509-512 (Landré, II, 504), Hunt published his verse translation of this same tale.[6] The title of that work, "Death and the Ruffians," is remarkably similar to the title of the piece in Olliers. There is also the evidence of Hunt's close association with the Olliers. Landré (I, 88) speaks

of Leigh Hunt's turning to Charles Ollier for help after an unfortunate squabble over the rights to Rimini. This was 1816, and the association became closer in the ensuing years. Besides, in this very Olliers one will find a work signed "L," The Universal Pan; a Poem (pp. 40-41), beginning "Not in the Town -- not in the busy Town," which is surely by Hunt. It is printed by H. S. Milford in The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt (Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), pp. 746-747, with the note that it has not been traced to any other author and that T. L. Peacock in Paper Money Lyrics, 1825, "speaks of it as by the 'Cockney poet.'" Another interconnection is found in the fact that Thomas Love Peacock is represented in the Olliers Literary Miscellany also, by his The Four Ages of Poetry, p. 183. Spurgeon (II, 126) offers more direct evidence, attributing the item to Hunt "on account of its similarity to parts of the passage from his Mayday, of the same year." Miss Spurgeon does not give details, however. In examining the full essay entitled "May-Day," which originally appeared in the Indicator, Apr. 26, 1820, pp. 228-231 (Spurgeon, II, 124-125), and which we have already discussed with respect to its Knight's Tale passages, I found no specific evidence of the kind indicated by Miss Spurgeon. Landré (II, 488) lists, as possibly Hunt's, another essay on the same general subject, published about the same time. This was "On May Day," in The London Magazine, I (May, 1820), 489-492. My examination of this essay produced

the same negative result. Landré (II, 489) lists "Death and the Drunkards" in his bibliography of Hunt's works but appends a question mark. He does comment, however, that the tone recalls that of Leigh Hunt; he also makes reference to the similarly titled piece in the 1845 New Monthly Magazine. I am dubious about determining the authorship of this translation on the basis of its tone, for it is too close to the original for that, but the translator has appended a note, which, for content as well as tone, certainly bespeaks Hunt. All in all, the evidence is sufficient to assure me that "Death and the Drunkards" is by Leigh Hunt.

Here are the first two paragraphs of the translation (p. 48):

> There was in Flanders, once, a company of foolish gallants who spent their time in taverns and stews, and indulged themselves in gambling and debauchery of all kinds. Night and day they did little else, but dance to the sound of lutes and harps, and play at dice, and eat and drink beyond their might; so that by such abominable superfluity, they, in a cursed manner, made sacrifice to the Devil with in his own temple; attended in their orgies by tumblers, and young idle fruit girls, and singers with harps, and old bawds, which be the very Devil's officers, kindling and blowing the lecherous fire that is annexed to gluttony.
>
> It was grisly to hear these gallants swear, their oaths were so great and damnable; and, as if the Jews had not done violence enough to our blessed Lord, they, in their imaginations, tore his body, each of them laughing at the daring wickedness of the others.

Let us compare these paragraphs to the original Chaucer. In Robinson, the equivalent lines are C, 463-482; in Tyrwhitt,

vv. 12397-416. It is well to point out here that Robinson differs from Tyrwhitt in the divisions made in the Pardoner matter. In Robinson there is a three-fold division: The Introduction to the Pardoner's Tale (C, 287-328), The Pardoner's Prologue (C, 329-462), and The Pardoner's Tale (C, 463-968). The two paragraphs above are found to be a translation of C, 463-482, or the beginning of the Tale proper. Matters stand a bit differently in Tyrwhitt, who divides the Pardoner matter into The Pardoner's Prologue, vv. 12221-62, and The Pardoner's Tale, vv. 12263-902, the former being what Robinson calls The Introduction and the latter combining Prologue and Tale, as they stand in Robinson, into a single piece, except that between v. 12396 and v. 12397, where Robinson makes the division between Prologue and Tale, Tyrwhitt has made a slight break in his text. It is just after this break, occupying vv. 12397-416, that we find in Tyrwhitt the original of the two paragraphs of translation given above. In making comparison of translation to original, I shall use the Tyrwhitt 1775 text. We have established this text as a likely basis for the translation we have already examined, and I see no evidence that would warrant a change.

A look at vv. 12397-416 (C, 463-482), will reveal that Hunt has made one basic change in the order. After translating vv. 12397-405, he omits the passage about the oaths and goes right on to v. 12411 translating thence to v. 12416.

Then for the second paragraph, he picks up the omitted passage vv. 12406-10 and translates it. I am at a loss for an explanation for this change. There is no authority for it in any text Hunt might have used which I have seen. In some ways it is typical of Hunt: he is sometimes whimsical, and might have had an impulse to make this change. He is sometimes careless or hasty, and perhaps, having omitted the passage, he noticed the omission immediately, and, instead of inserting it or rewriting from the beginning, simply carried on. It does not seem typical of Hunt, however, when we consider the great respect he had for Chaucer. Whatever the reason, it is not an indefensible change, as it allows the superfluity of entertainment to be added directly to that of eating and drinking and, by presenting in a separate paragraph the passage about the oaths, gives the latter passage a greater emphasis.

The translation itself may be described as sometimes quite literal, sometimes quite free, but always as staying close to the meaning of the original. For instance, when the translator gives the oaths as being "so great and damnable," he is being most literal, and when he expresses "yonge folk, that haunteden folie" as "foolish gallants who spent their time in . . . ," he is being rather free. This sort of inconsistency is quite like Leigh Hunt.

The lines "The holy writ take I to my witness,/ That luxurie is in wine and dronkenesse" (vv. 12417-18 [C, 483-484]), which follow and are properly a part of the passage

we have just been speaking of, are omitted from the translation. Omitted also is the whole passage of sermoning beginning with the reference to the "dronken Loth," v. 12419 (C, 485), and ending at v. 12594 (C, 660), with the Pardoner's return to his story. Translator Hunt obviously is concerned only with the action line.

The third paragraph, carrying on the story from v. 12595, reads:

> These three rioters were one morning drinking as usual in a tavern, and as they sate they heard a bell clink before a corpse which was being carried to its grave. Then one of them called to his boy and said: "Go and ask readily what corpse this is now passing forth by the gate, and look thou report his name well."

When Chaucer wrote, as Tyrwhitt gives its "Thise riotoures three, of which I tell" (unless, stretching the diction a bit, we read the line as "Thise riotoures, three of which I tell"),[7] he could well have forgotten that in the first part of the tale he had not spoken of <u>three particular</u> rioters. This does not matter, because, after the lengthy lecture intervening, the reader has forgotten too. But in this translation, "these three rioters" fairly pounces upon the reader. "What <u>three</u> rioters?" he is surely justified in asking.

A few miscellaneous observations deserve mention.

In the first place, the archaic tone of the original (that is, as it seems to moderns) is preserved. This may happen for the most part incidentally, as a result of Hunt's

merely adopting Chaucer's language where he can, because he enjoys it, or because it is easier for him to do so, or Hunt may be consciously seeking to impart an archaic flavor. The latter supposition is strengthened when we consider the fifth paragraph (p. 49):

> "By Saint Mary," said the host of the tavern, "the child says truly; for this fearful thing hath slain this year, within a village about a mile hence, both men, women and children, so that I trow he has his habitation there. It were a great wisdom to be well advised about him."

In this passage, the equivalent to vv. 12619-24 (C, 685-690), though Hunt changes "the child sayth soth" to "the child says truly," thus missing an opportunity, if he wished it, of retaining an archaism, he does keep the archaic "trow" when he might as easily have changed it to "believe." In Hunt's case, however, it is risky to infer his purpose from his practice.

It is clear, however, that he is not squeamish about repeating the oaths in the Pardoner's story. For example, I quote the beginning of the sixth paragraph (p. 49):

> Then up spake one of the rioters and said: "God's arms! is it such a peril to meet with him? I vow by Christ's bones that I'll seek him by stile and street . . . ."

In the twelfth paragraph, the translation is extremely close; in places it is word for word. In my terminology, if I may apply it to prose translation, it is modernization:

> "Now sirs," then quoth this old man, "if you truly wish to find Death, turn up this crooked way, for by my faith, I left

> him in that grove under a tree, and there he will stay nothing hiding himself for all your boasting. See ye that oak? right there shall ye meet him; and Christ that bought again mankind save and amend you!" (P. 50.)

The equivalent in the original is vv. 12694-701 (C, 760-767).

As might be expected, Hunt's "Death and the Drunkards" stops short of an account of the practical use to which the Pardoner would put his tale, respecting the Pilgrims. The translation closes with these paragraphs, the 27th and 28th, equivalent to vv. 12819-28 (C, 885-894):

> And with these words he took the bottle where the poison was, and drank, and gave it to his fellow; and anon there came upon them strange signs of poisoning, and they perished.
>
> Thus ended be these two homicides; and also their false companion; and thus did they find Death under the oak in the old grove. (P. 53.)

A glance at the original will reveal that the translator has made some changes. In the first place, the translation is shorter than the original, despite the fact that Hunt has put an extra clause in the summary. He has also omitted the reference to Avicenne in v. 12823 (C, 889), and with it goes the potent suggestiveness of the original as to the signs of poisoning which were exhibited; the word "strange" has not come near what it replaces.

To the translation is appended a brief note by the translator (p. 53):

> The above is a prose modernization of one of the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer. The reader, who has been deterred from the pages of this great poet, in consequence of the vulgar opinion that they are insurmountably obsolete and difficult, will perhaps be struck with the grand and simple power shewn here; and when he learns that the words are Chaucer's own, he may get rid of his timidity and go at once to the original works, where he will be richly rewarded for a little preliminary trouble. This is the only aim of above; for every alteration of Chaucer is an injury.

Both the tone and the sentiments of this note are Hunt's. Hunt's too is the tendency to believe he has done one thing when he in fact has done something different, for, although it is a just commentary on this piece to say that it reflects the "grand and simple power" of the original, it is not altogether a fact that the "words are Chaucer's own." Many of them are, of course, but many others of them are not. Furthermore, he has changed some words that he need not have changed, if indeed it was his desire to keep the original vocabulary intact as much as possible.

In the 1857 edition of his poetry,[8] appears the verse version of the Pardoner's Tale already alluded to as first published in 1845 in the New Monthly Magazine. Prefixed to it is a note (I, 218-220) which contains sentiments so much like those expressed in the note above that we cannot help concluding that the same person is responsible for both. Certainly there is the same humility, the same respect (I, 219):

> The reader will do me great injustice, if he thinks that modernizations like these ["Cambus Khan" will also follow] are intended

> as substitutes for what they modernize. Their only plea for indulgence is, that they may act as incitements towards acquaintance with the great original.

As a kind of coda to my remarks on "Death and the Drunkards," I should like to refer to "Death and the Ruffians," the poetic version in the book I have just now quoted from. First published in 1845, it lies outside the limits of my study, but it merits brief attention.

Like its prose counterpart,it follows the action line of the Pardoner's story, cutting out the moralizing that occupies vv. 12419-594 (C, 485-660), of the original. So reduced, the original amounts to 256 lines and thus is still longer than Hunt's poetic version, which amounts to 190 lines. It is somewhat more reticent, perhaps, than the prose version with regard to the inclusion of oaths, though we do find a "By G--" at line 121, the dash being more likely the American editor's than Hunt's. Unlike the prose version, the poetic one makes no attempt to retain Chaucer's diction or phrasing or to impart any antique flavor. Rather it would seem that Hunt is simply a poet paraphrasing another poet. Since, in this case, a poet of the second or third rank is paraphrasing a great master, the result is not always a happy one. For instance, this verse paragraph does not come near the original:

> Their doors were ever turning on the pin
> To let their timbrellers and tumblers in,
> Sellers of cakes and such-like; -- every one
> A devil's own help to see his business done,
> And blow up fires, far better, Sirs, made less,
> Out of th' accursed fuel of excess. (I, 221.)

The helpless "such-like" is a poor substitute for Chaucer's enumeration, and the last line, to be read metrically at all, must be read with a most unnatural emphasis on some of the syllables:

Oút ŏf/ th'ăccúrs/ĕd fú/ĕl ó/ ĕxcéss.

A passage like this is sure to start one who knows the original to longing after it.

The opening and closing passages are good, however, to the extent at least, that we are less likely to think of them in terms of superiority and inferiority, more likely to think in terms of difference. Hunt's verse at its best is direct, simple, and strong, as I think the reader will find it in these passages:

> In Flanders there was once a desperate set
> Of three young spendthrifts, fierce with drink and debt,
> Who, haunting every sink of foul repute,
> And giddy with the din of harp and lute,
> Went dancing and sat gambling day and night,
> And swilled and gorg'd beyond their nature's might,
> And thus upon the devil's own altar laid
> The bodies and the souls that God had made.
> (I, 220-221.)

This is the opening verse paragraph. Of course it is far below Chaucer, but the second line and the last couplet are good. Incidentally the heroic meter is maintained steadily throughout, with no triplets for variation. The text is divided into verse paragraphs of varying lengths, but each contains an even number of lines and ends with a full couplet. This is a departure from the early Hunt, who in the version of the first part of the Squire's Tale, that

appeared in the 1823 Liberal, consciously followed Chaucer's practice of dividing a couplet between verse paragraphs. It would seem that the later Hunt, in his translation practice, was turning back to the Augustans.

The three short verse paragraphs that close the piece are particularly strong (I, 226):

> What needed more? for even as their plan
> Had shaped his death, right so hath died this man;
> And even as the flasks in train were set,
> His heirs and scorners fall into his net.
>
> "Ace thrown," quoth one, smiling a smile full grim;
> ["]Now for his wine, and then we'll bury him."
>
> And seizing the two flasks, each held his breath
> With eyes to heav'n, and deep he drank his death.

Hunt's first major verse translation of Chaucer, a version of the Squire's Tale, appeared in 1823 in The Liberal. I give the full bibliographical information:

> [Hunt, Leigh]. "The First Canto of the Squire's Tale of Chaucer, Modernized." [In Table of Contents of No. IV, on recto of interleaf between p. 192 and p. 193, the item is indicated to be "Chaucer's Squire's Tale, modernized, Canto I."] The Liberal. Verse and Prose from the South. Volume the Second. London: Printed for John Hunt, 22, Old Bond Street, by C. H. Reynell, Broad Street, Golden Square, 1823 (No. IV),[9] pp. 317-331.

Taken as a whole, this piece cannot be regarded as translation despite Hunt's referring to it as "Chaucer, Modernized" and despite the fact that it includes much Chaucer translation. Three reasons can be given for denying it such a classification.

First of all, the piece is actually only the beginning of what was intended to be another completed Squire's Tale

in modern dress. To this end, like Boyse and Wharton before him, Hunt was impelled to introduce non-Chaucerian material into Chaucer's own part of the story. The first occasion of this comes at the end of the passage in which the stranger explains in detail how the horse is to be operated. The stranger is quoted directly, to the effect that his master says that Cambuscan is "fitter far than he" (p. 325) to enjoy the great powers of the horse and admits himself to be "too sensual and too satisfied" (p. 326). At this point, in a brief notation, Hunt observes: "In making these additions to the original, the author had an eye to a continuation of the story, which he would willingly conclude, if he had health and leisure." Apparently Hunt never carried out his plans. In the 1857 edition of his Poetical Works, I, 289-290, Note 24 (to page 234) reads: "In making these additions to the original, the author had an eye to that continuation of the story,which he has mentioned." The remark about his willingness to conclude, "if he had health and leisure," is dropped. Perhaps the labor of having done for R. H. Horne an actual translation of the Squire's Tale had satisfied his urges with respect to this first version. In any event, though this version does not get beyond the beginning of Canto II, its conception goes beyond what Chaucer had left, and thus, with the additions Hunt made in carrying out this conception, the piece as a whole cannot be regarded as translation.

Another disqualifying factor is seen in Hunt's failure to preserve the illusion that this was a tale told orally by

a pilgrim on the Canterbury road. Near the outset, where the Squire disclaims the ability to describe Canace's beauty, Hunt gives (p. 318):

> . . . a dear daughter, Canace by name,
> Whose perfect beauty puts my pen to shame.

It would seem that Hunt's pen has taken the words out of the Squire's mouth. But Hunt is not consistent. The verse continues:

> If you could see my heart, it were a glass
> To show perhaps how fair a thing she was;
> But when I speak of her, my tongue appears
> To fail me, looking in that face of hers.

Hunt is speaking now, not writing, and we note that he speaks as one who had himself seen Canace. The image of the heart as mirror, incidentally, is not in Chaucer. Evidently, the freedom Hunt is indulging in, that of enlarging and concluding the whole poem, causes him to feel he has the license to change any details. But before the description of Canace ends, he has returned to the writer's point of view (p. 318):

> 'Tis well for me that I regard not those,
> Who love what I do, as my natural foes;
> Or when I think how dear she is to be
> To one that will adorn this history,
> And how her heart will love him in return,
> My paper, sooner than be touched, should burn:
> But she knows nothing of all this at present,
> She's only young, and innocent, and pleasant;
> And sometimes by her father sits and sighs,
> On which he stoops to kiss her gentle-lidded eyes.

Leigh Hunt, arch Romantic, has fallen in love with his heroine already, and hereby serves notice upon her lover that he had better mind his step or he will be disposed of by Hero Hunt -- in the fireplace. This passage seems to indicate that Hunt's

design for the whole work had been completed, or nearly so, but, so far as I know, Hunt left no other indication, in letter or in journal, of his plan. At any rate, it is clear from the passage above, that Hunt is not treating this as an integral part of the Canterbury Tales.

The third reason for denying this piece classification as translation is to be found in the departure at the end into personal reference. This occurs after Hunt carries the account down to the beginning of Part II of the original, when the dreams of the courtiers, their revels over, are described, in much expanded fashion (p. 330):

> Yet still in bed, and dozing oft between,
> Their fading words recalled what they had seen:
> Still of the ring they mumbled, and the glass,
> And what amazing things might come to pass:
> And when they slept, a thousand souls that night
> Were riding on the horse with all their might;
> They skim, they dive, they shoot about, they soar,
> And wonder that they never rode before.

It is worth noting that Chaucer's Squire gives no detail; in fact, he says there is really no detail to give (vv. 10671-73 [F, 357-359]). As before, I cite the Tyrwhitt 1755 text:

> Hir dremes shul not now be told for me;
> Ful were hir hedes of fumositee,
> That causeth dreme, of which ther is no charge.

Hunt has ignored Chaucer's certainly valid observation about the nature of dreams dreamt by the well drunken, and has given those dreams a "charge."

Here then, at the equivalent of v. 10673 (F, 359) of the original, ends that part of Hunt's work that might, by a greater stretching of the term than I should approve of,

be called translation. The Squire of the original text has at this point given us 351 lines of his tale, the last 13 of which are in Part 2. The equivalent in Hunt has run to 409 lines, the difference being a measure of the extent to which Hunt has made additions and embellishments.

Hunt's work does not end here; instead it goes on (pp. 330-331) for another 30 lines, divided into two verse paragraphs, of 21 and 9 lines. The longer verse paragraph contains some Huntian philosophizing about fact and fancy. I quote the beginning of it, as it seems to indicate an attitude toward Chaucer that typifies a considerable segment of the Era's attitude toward him: that Chaucer is the poet of dreams and fancies. In this light it is no wonder that the age took an especial delight in the Squire's Tale and in the pseudo-Chaucerian Flower and the Leaf. Here are the first 10 lines of the 21-line, next-to-last verse paragraph (p. 330):

> Aye: such, quoth the wise wit, is human life:
> We dream of joy, and wake, and find one's wife:
> Nay: quoth the wiser wit, the best way then
> Is to wake little, and go sleep again.
> Wake much, if life go right: if it go wrong,
> Learn how to dream with Chaucer all day long:
> Or learn still better, if you can, to make
> Your world at times, sleeping or awake;[punctuation sic]
> The true receipt, whether by days or nights,
> To charm your griefs, and double your delights.

The closing passage of nine lines, following the above, is intensely personal. I shall turn to it at the close of this discussion of "The First Canto of the Squire's Tale of Chaucer, Modernized." It is enough here to say that these closing

departures of Hunt into philosophy and the personal are of themselves sufficient to deny Hunt the use of the term he himself used in the title: ". . . Chaucer, Modernized." By the terms of this study, Hunt's work is not even translation, let alone modernization, and though it is clear that Hunt was not employing the term "Modernized" in the restricted sense in which I employ it, it is not clear how Hunt could apply the term at all, in any proper sense, to this particular work.

In toto, then, the work is not translation. It is true, however, that the characters and the main lines of the Squire's story are preserved, and that certain passages may definitely be classed as translation. Let us look at Hunt's work now in this latter light. First we make a few general observations.

In versification, Hunt has preserved Chaucer's basic meter, iambic pentameter, but the verse emerges as Hunt's. One distinction is in the use of triplets, of which I counted eleven, and of alexandrines, of which I noticed at least four. Since all these alexandrines end verse paragraphs and two of them end triplets, the practice would seem to make for verse like Dryden's, but it does not. Dryden is more careful with rhyme, and, as already indicated in this study, his alexandrines usually are balanced upon, or exhibit some kind of tension at, a medial caesura. A triplet, with third line an alexandrine, which best illustrates the kind of gentle looseness and good-fellow ease

that marks perhaps ninety percent of Hunt's poetry, including this piece, occurs at the end of a verse paragraph (pp. 328-329) which Hunt has added. Here Hunt pictures the Khan as he tries his new sword on an oak tree, felling it at a blow. Not content, the Khan is eager to ride his new horse (p. 329):

> And leaping on the horse as suddenly,
> He touched the pin, and bade the fair good bye,
> And, 'midst their pretty shrieks, went mounting
> to the sky.

This verse does not move like Chaucer's or like Dryden's; the rhyme is somewhat loose, both with respect to sound and to number of syllables in the rhyme word; and though the closing alexandrine has a medial caesura, it does not serve to divide the thought or heighten the tension, as it generally does when Dryden writes it. The impression one gets when one regards the versification of this piece is that this is just as much Leigh Hunt as anything else he might write. Clearly Hunt is paraphrasing rather than modernizing.

This impression is reinforced when one turns from the verse to the diction. There seems to be little of the antiquarian in Leigh Hunt, at least so far as his practice in regard to Chaucer translation is concerned, even though on occasion he may borrow Chaucer's wording. For example, when the stranger first describes the operation of the horse, he says:

> This same stede shal bere you evermore
> Withouten harme, till ye be ther you lest,

> (Though that ye slepen on his back or rest)
> And turne again, with writhing of a pin.
> (Vv. 10438-41 [F, 124-127].)

Hunt retains this word "writhing" (pp. 320-321):

> The thing is like a thought [Hunt has substituted this simile for the eagle image of the original], and cuts the air
> So smoothly, and so well observes the track,
> The man that will may sleep upon his back.
> All that the rider needs when he would turn,
> Or rise, or take him downwards, you may learn,
> If it so please you, when we speak within,
> And does but take the writhing of a pin.

I quote the word in context so as to show that "writhing," though Chaucer's word, has retained none of its Chaucerian flavor, a loss which the Huntian charm can hardly make up for. Consider another example (p. 322):

> "Lastly, my lord, this sword has such a might,
> That let it meet the veriest fiend in fight,
> 'Twill carve throughout his armour the first stroke,
> Were it as thick as any branched oak."

In his use of "veriest" in the second line, Hunt was mistaken if he used the word with the idea that it imparts a notion of the antique. It does not. The third line is hopelessly bad verse, as, in reading it, one is forced to accent the "the" of "the first stroke": how very bad it is will become dramatically vivid when we see, in a moment, how Chaucer rendered the line. But the fourth line is Chaucer himself. Compare the original:

> This naked swerd, that hangeth by my side,
> Swich vertue hath, that what man that it smite,
> Thurghout his armure it wol kerve and bite,
> Were it as thicke as is a braunched oke.
> (Vv. 10470-73 [F, 156-159].)

Chaucer's "bite," with all its power, is sacrificed in the

translation.

I should like to dispose of a brief assortment of matters before citing key passages. In two matters Chaucer is very well represented by Hunt. The first of these concerns Hunt's care in accentuating the name of the king, with stress on first and last syllables: Cámbus Khán (p. 318, line 1). Previous translators of this tale, doubtless influenced by the accentuation employed by Milton in Il Penseroso ("The story of Cămbúscăn bold"), had versified the name so that it must be accented on the second syllable. This is the case with both Boyse and Penn (see Items No. 4 and No. 7, above). Hunt has left a note at this point in this 1823 Liberal, but it does not concern the pronunciation of the name. It is safe to conclude that he was conscious of the matter at this early stage, but for his actual comment we must wait for a note in the 1857 edition of the Poetical Works (Note 18, p. 289, referring to the title "Cambus Khan," p. 227). The note begins by referring to Milton's lines and quoting them; it then continues:

> It is strange that Milton should have pronounced the word Cambùscan; nor is it pleasant, when his robust line must be resounding in the ear of every one to whom the story is called to mind, to be forced to obey even the greater dictation of the original, and throw the accent, as undoubtedly it ought to be thrown, on the first and last syllable. On no theory, as respects Chaucer's versification, does it appear intelligible how Milton could have thrown the accent on the second syllable, when the other reading stares us in the face throughout Chaucer's poem.

The other matter in which Hunt's version accurately represents Chaucer is the practice of dividing a couplet between two verse paragraphs. Chaucer does this freely and frequently, especially in this Tale. As I have pointed out, the Augustans seemed to balk at this practice, finding it no doubt at variance with their idead of propriety and regularity, and when they translated Chaucer they habitually made certain that each verse paragraph began and ended with a full couplet. In the Squire's Tale the very first verse paragraph, vv. 10323-41 (F, 9-27), ends with the first line of a couplet:

> A faire person he was, and fortunate
> And kept alway so wel real estat,
> That ther n'as no wher swiche another man.
> This noble king, this Tartre Cambuscan,
> Hadde two sones . . . . . (Vv. 10339-43 [F, 25-29]

Here is the first verse paragraph of Hunt's version, in which the 19 lines of the original are reduced to 17, but which in the particular point under observation follows Chaucer's practice unfalteringly. To these are added the first three lines of the second verse paragraph (pp. 317-318):

> At Sarra, in the land of Tartary,
> There dwelt a king, the best beneath the sky:
> In prime of life he was a valiant man,
> And Cambus was he called, the noble Khan.
> No where, in all that region, had a crown
> Been ever worn with such entire renown.
> Hardy he was and wise, true to his word,
> He kept his oath as stoutly as his sword.
> His presence marked so well the soul within,
> Men trembled when they heard his pomp begin;
> And yet his ways were gentle and benign;
> But there seemed something in his star, divine;
> For not more fresh was he for arms anew,

Than sure to beat where'er his trumpets blew;
And therewithal he ever kept a state
So fit to uphold a throne so fortunate,
That there was no where such another man.

This noble king, this Tartar, Cambus Khan,*
Had by the late Queen Elfeta, his wife,
Two sons, named Cambalu and Algarsife.

The asterisk following the king's name is Hunt's. His note, appearing at bottom of page 318, is as follows: "This commencement of a fresh paragraph with the second line of a couplet (together with the couplet itself) is retained from the original. It has a fine air of resumption with it, at least to my ear; and is the only good thing which the French have had taste enough to retain from their old poetry." It seems to me that Hunt has expressed the matter very well. In a narrative poem, the act of bringing each paragraph to or near a dead stop with a couplet is certainly a questionable procedure. In most eighteenth-century verse the stopping power of the couplet was made all the greater by the heavily accented monosyllables which normally formed the rhyme. Chaucer's practice helps the story move, and Hunt is to be commended for following it, both because it makes for accurate translation and because it is right.

The reference to the "late Queen Elfeta" in the next-to-last line of the passage above brings me to the next point I want to discuss: Hunt's changes in the actual matter of Chaucer's Tale.

In the original, Elfeta is referred to only once, in

v. 10343 (F, 29), in which we learn that Cambuscan "hadde two sons by Elfeta his wif." The readiest assumption is that she is alive, well, and present at court. Hunt, however, has chosen to make her the "late Queen Elfeta." In the original, the only evidence for this view is entirely negative: she is never named, mentioned, or alluded to a second time. The 1857 edition of Hunt's poetry, which prints both this work and "Death and the Ruffians," carries a prefatory comment to this pair of pieces. Speaking of his "Cambus Khan," Hunt says (I, 220):

> It was the beginning of an attempt, many years ago, to make a complete story for Chaucer's fragment out of my acquaintance with stories of the East. Never, for an instant, did the preposterous idea of emulation enter my head. I could not pretend to complete the fragment in Chaucer's manner; and therefore intended, with many loving apologies, to relate the whole story, as well as I could, in my own. Chaucer's words, however, as the reader may perceive, would still haunt me; Milton's wish to have heard the rest of the story from the old poet, began to haunt me too, and to frighten me; and in spite of many longings to bring my beloved Arabian Nights into play on the subject, I let the project go from me, with the assistance of many cares.
>
> Why then do I here republish it? Because, apart from the perilous shade which it conjures up, I think there is something of "tropical blood" in it, not too common, or undesirable, in English verse-making; and because also there is something in Eastern stories of all kinds, which, being loth to part with it myself, I am apt to suppose equally in favor with the lovers of story-telling in general.

In the light of these remarks, we can suppose that Hunt had some very good reason, no doubt based on one of the thousand and more tales from the Arabian Nights, for speaking of the

"late Queen Elfeta." These remarks make it quite plain what Hunt was about when he replaced "Gawain with his olde curtesie" (v. 10409 [F, 95]) with "Roustan" and "Hatem Tai" (p. 320). They explain Hunt's evident relish in painting in those details of an Eastern court scene, which Chaucer, in vv. 10372-76 (F, 58-62), barely does more than suggest (p. 319):

> The galleries on two sides have crowded slants
> Of ladies leaning over and gallants;
> And o'er the doorway, opposite the king,
> The proud musicians blow their shawms and sing.

The descriptive term "crowded slants" is clumsy; normally Hunt does much better.

Turning from this variety of matters, we give now such key passages as have not already been given. We prelude these, however, with a four-line stanza which Hunt has himself prefixed to the "Tale" to act as a summary:

> Of Cambus, the great Tartar King,
> And his fair flower blossoming;
> And what came riding in the hall,
> When he held his festival.

Such a verse summary, being Spenserian, seems hardly appropriate to a Chaucerian piece. On the other hand, Spenser was himself greatly interested in the Squire's Tale, as his desiring to write a sequel shows. That Hunt was keenly aware of Spenser's connection in the matter is made plain in his Round Table essay on Chaucer.

Having already presented the opening lines, I move forward to the passage in which the onset of the spring is

described, vv. 10356-71 (F, 42-57). Hunt reduces this passage to eleven lines (pp. 318-319):

> And so befel, that when this Khan supreme
> Had twenty winters borne his diadem,
> He had the feast of his nativity
> Cried throughout Sarra, as it was wont to be.
> It was in March [Hunt cuts out the astrological references]; and the young lusty year
> Came in with such a flood of golden cheer,
> That the quick birds, against the sunny sheen,
> What for the season and the thickening green,
> Sung their affections loudly o'er the fields:
> They seemed to feel that they had got them shields
> Against the sword of winter, keen and cold.

This passage has all the genial inconsistency that is Hunt's consistency. The first two and even the first four lines and the last line are pure modernization, with Hunt rightly retaining Chaucer's "swerd of winter" image. The sixth line, "Came in with such a flood of golden cheer," is the freest sort of paraphrase, it being impossible to determine certainly which particular line of the original, if any, it is supposed to be a translation of. This might not matter if it were a good line, but it is not: "such a flood of golden cheer" is weak, lacking the concreteness of the other images in the passage and certainly serving as no effective substitute for "Ful lusty was the wether and benigne" (v. 10366). On the other hand, Hunt's solution of the problem of what to do with the unidiomatic "protections" (v. 10370) has merit, for "shields" provides an effective extension of the "swerd" image. In 1841, for the Horne volume, Hunt's treatment of these matters is pure modernization, even to the extent of keeping "protections" in rhyming position. (Chaucer, Modernized, p. 263.)

Hunt handles the dramatic entrance of the stranger as follows (pp. 319-320):

> And so befel, that when the last was set,
> And while the king sat thus in his estate,
> Hearing his minstrels playing from on high
> Before him at his board deliciously,
> All on a sudden, ere he was aware,
> Through the hall door and the mute wonder there,
> There came a stranger on a steed of brass,
> And in his hand he held a looking-glass;
> Some sparkling ring he wore; and by his side
> Without a sheath a cutting sword was tied.
> And up he rides unto the royal board:
> In all the hall there was not spoke a word:
> All wait with busy looks, both young and old,
> To hear what wonderous thing they shall be told.

Hunt's retention of Chaucer's "bras . . . glas" rhyme I have already alluded to favorably, in my treatment of Penn's version (Item No. 7), because of the naturalness of the rhyme and its placement of emphasis on key words. The redundant "cutting" and the banal "tied" are certainly not praiseworthy, however. The spelling "wonderous" was changed to "wondrous" by the time of the 1857 edition. Hunt should not be blamed for the tense shifts occurring in the last four lines, for these shifts are found in the original. This is at best, however, a rather uneven performance. Hunt manages the passage much better in the version he did for Chaucer, Modernized, 1841.

At one point Hunt's somewhat slapdash methods give rise to the inevitable: a syntactical slip that permits a line to give an impression opposite to the one intended. On p. 320, in translating the passage in which the stranger first speaks, Hunt says (p. 320):

> [My lord, king of Araby and India, sends you]
> This steed of brass; which, in a day and night,
> Through the dark half as safely as the light,
> O'er sea and land, and with your perfect ease,
> Can bear your body wheresoe'er you please.

It must be presumed that Hunt means the dark half of the world, not that the horse transports one through the dark only half as safely as he does through the light.

I shall cite only one other passage of what might be called translation. We recall that though Hunt designates this work "The First Canto . . . ," it actually carries into the beginning of the second canto. After Cambuscan has conducted his non-Chaucerian tests of the sword and the horse, the company

> all go back again
> To their warm room, but do not long remain:
> For late, and long, and highly-wrought delight
> Cannot, at will, resume the giddy height;
> And so his story told, and flatteries paid,
> He kindly waved his gaping court to bed;
> For that they did gape, ladies e'en and lords,
> Our bard, a courtier, specially records;
> By which we must suppose that courtiers then,
> In some respects, resembled natural men.

I should imagine that in making that last remark Hunt had in mind the chief courtier of England, whom he had once referred to as "a corpulent man of fifty," a "companion of gamblers and demireps" (Landré, I, 66).

Of course in this passage Hunt has not included Chaucer's person Sleep. But the word "gaping" seems to have evoked considerable reaction from Hunt, at least enough to cause him to give an explanation. Here in this version this no doubt is

all of a piece with the jibe at the Court already alluded to, but later, in 1841, in the Horne volume, Hunt exhibits some tenderness about the word. The expression "gaping mouth" is given a note (Horne, p. 275): "A curious evidence of the difference of manners in those days (for the reader need not be told that poets then painted the manners of their own time, no matter where the scene of their story was laid)." For Chaucer's showing Cambuscan as "gaping" in company, Hunt seems to be all too eager to apologize. Hunt cannot bear it that his beloved Orient should be depicted with no better manners, and he seems most solicitous of his Victorian readers, lest they be offended. By 1857 the word itself must have been deemed too crude for polite society, for it does not appear in the edition of that year.

The 1857 version follows the 1823 Liberal version with but a few differences. The title is altered to "Cambus Khan. A Fragment." There is a difference in length, 1857 amounting to 423 lines, 16 lines less than 1823. H. S. Milford in The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt, pp. 116-126, prints the 1823 version, but gives in footnotes the variants for 1855 (Stories in Verse) and 1857 and 1860 (The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt). Both because Milford's edition is easily available and because the revisions made by Leigh Hunt -- all except the last -- are minor in nature, it will not be necessary to deal with them here.

It is to the closing passage from The Liberal version,

a passage dropped from 1857, that I wish now to turn. The closing movement of the poem -- from the last part of what may conceivably be called translation to the end of the piece -- is delightfully typical of Leigh Hunt.

After the dreams of the sleeping company are described (p. 330) comes a verse paragraph of 21 lines devoted to a bit of philosophizing about dreaming and being awake, about fancy and fact. In 1857 the first 15 lines of this verse paragraph, with only one line undergoing any considerable change, are reprinted. The last 6 lines of the verse paragraph are dropped, but they, being nothing more than an elaboration of the main thought of the verse paragraph, do not constitute the particular excision I had in mind.

After this verse paragraph, there is a concluding verse paragraph of nine lines, reading as follows (p. 331):

> See -- like the others, whom I've sent to bed,
> The horse itself is put out of my head:
> Ring, sword, and mirror, all of them depart,
> While the dear kind one clasps me to her heart;
> And I intend to have a dream divine,
> With arm across her, and her hand in mine.
> Like all, however, when we've rested well,
> We'll meet again; and talk of what befel
> The lady of the ring within a warbling dell.

Of this passage only the last three lines will be found in the 1857 edition. Hunt must have decided that the first six were a bit too personal to be retained. In any event, it is pleasant to think of them as giving us the climax to a little domestic story which begins between the lines of the passage

in which Hunt describes the dreams of the sleeping guests. Can we not see the poet at his writing desk? Aglow with enthusiasmfor his task, he has translated and reworked the material of Part I. But now,as he begins on Part II, the night is far advanced, and much remains to be done. He does the passage on sleep that stands at the beginning of Part II. Ahead lies the Falcon's story, which is long, and which, to judge from the Round Table essay, Hunt finds not nearly so interesting as the Stranger Knight episode. Besides, he may still be in doubt as to how he will apply the Part II material in the story as a whole. In the Round Table essay one found Hunt explaining how the Stranger Knight episode might be completed along the lines of one of the tales in The Arabian Nights, but he gave there no explanation of what might be done with Canace's Falcon and the Falcon's story. At this point in the present poem Hunt finds it easier to philosophize:

> Aye: such, quoth the wise wit, is human life:
> We dream of joy, and wake, and find one's wife.

But the wife "one wakes to find" has, in Hunt's case, long since retired. Writing of sleep, he thinks of his wife sleeping. The philosophizing about sleep soon gives way to sleepiness itself. Thoughts of the strange gifts quite driven from his head, he puts down his pen, yawns, and goes off to bed. Years later, when he is to contribute to the Horne volume, he will translate the whole of the

Squire's Tale, but here, despite his promise to continue this particular effort when he has "rested well," he never again takes up his pen to do so.

Chaucer wrote (vv. 10661-63[F, 347-349]):

> The norice of digestion, the slepe,
> Gan on hem winke, and bad hem taken kepe,
> That mochel drinke, and labour wol have rest;

and Leigh Hunt could not help following the suggestion.

The next work of Leigh Hunt's to be considered is a series of brief selections, three altogether, which were translated for The Tatler in 1831. I give the bibliographical description and the full item in each case, interspersing my own comment as occasion demands. The first selection:

> [Hunt, Leigh]. "Chaucer's Knight/ (Going to St. Thomas's Shrine at Canterbury with the other Pilgrims)" [a translation of two passages (Gen Prol. A, 61-62, 67-78) from the portrait of the Knight]. The Tatler. A Daily Paper of Literature, Fine Arts, Music, and the Stage, II (No. 257, Thursday, June 30, 1831), 1027.

This is the only item in a section entitled Poetry. It is preceded by a short piece entitled "A Former Famine in Ireland. -- Death of Spenser the Poet" and is followed by a regular feature called "Chat and Miscellanies." Here is the item in its entirety: I have added line numbers in brackets.

CHAUCER'S KNIGHT

(Going to St Thomas's Shrine at Canterbury with the Other Pilgrims)

[In the passages that we propose to extract out of this great Poet from time to time, the spelling will be modernized, and the lines (with all humility) new framed on occasion; so as to accommodate general readers, and warrant the insertion where obsoleteness of language might otherwise be complained of.]

At mortal battles had he been fifteen,
And foughten for the faith at Tramisene;
And evermore he bore a sovereign price;
And though that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid:
His tongue no villany [sic] had ever said
In all his life to any the least wight:
He was a very perfect, gentle knight.
As to his horse, 'twas good, but nothing gay;
His doublet was of fustian, strong and grey,
All smutted with his iron habergeon,
Which he but lately morn and noon had on,
For newly had this Knight come over sea,
And to the shrine betook him soberly.

Miss Spurgeon has ascribed this and the two selections following to Leigh Hunt (II, 181-182), and Landré (I, 193) says that during most of the first year, Hunt "reüssit ce tour de force de composer son quotidien presque sans aide, choissant lui-même les ouvrages et les passages cités, rédigeant presque toute la partie originale." Even without their authority, one could hardly take the introductory remarks for anyone's but Hunt's, especially the profession of humility, such as we have seen before; and the translation itself is, with perhaps one exception, thoroughly Huntian. The exception, being a matter of basic importance, will be dealt with immediately. A comparison of this translation to the original passage reveals that the first line is equivalent to A, 61 and the last to A, 78. (Spurgeon, in reporting the passage as equivalent to lines 60-74, errs.) But this is a passage of 18 lines, whereas the translation comes to only 14 lines (numbered by me in the passage above for convenience of reference). If the four-line discrepancy

were merely the result of a boiling-down process, I should need to make no apology for Hunt, but it does seem to me uncharacteristic that he has quite omitted A, 63-66 (vv. 63-66 in Tyrwhitt 1830) without mentioning the fact or without even leaving a gap between the third and fourth lines of his text. To my mind, this exceeds the license he has given himself in the term "new framed" and does not altogether accord with his profession of humility. But inconsistency is one of Hunt's most consistent characteristics; so we should not be unduly surprised. To review what Hunt has done, we find that lines 1-8 of his version are a modernization of A, 61-62, 67-72, running line by line and rhyme by rhyme. Hunt retains much of Chaucer's diction, even such as time has given an archaic flavor to, like "sovereign price" and "of his port as meek as is a maid." On the other hand, he is careful in line 6 to reduce to a single negative the triple negative of v. 70 (A, 70):

He never yet no vilanie ne sayde,

and he reduces the quite obsolete phrasing of "unto no manere wight" to "to any the least wight." But with the last 6 lines, modernization altogether gives way to paraphrase. Chaucer's v. 73 ("But for to tellen you of his araie") disappears from the translation except in the brief "As to" that introduces line 9, and Hunt's line 12 is not to be found in the original, except by inference. The rhyme too is quite altered, except in the case of lines 11-12, and even

there "habergeon" is moved to the second line of the couplet and given a different mate, "had on," in place of "gipon." I grant that even the strictest modernizer could not very well keep the ". . . gipon . . . habergeon" couplet very close to the original Chaucer, but Hunt could have modernized the preceding and the following couplets instead of paraphrasing them. It must be admitted, however, that the modernizer would have difficulty with the rhyme of the last couplet and with the accent in the last foot of each line: "viage . . . pilgrimage" serve Chaucer far better than their modern counterparts would serve a modernizer. Thus Hunt was probably right in paraphrasing the last couplet, and it must be admitted that he has done it rather well.

At this point a brief word about the general nature of The Tatler is in order. The subtitle, "A Daily Paper of Literature, Fine Arts, Music, and the Stage," gives some notion of its purpose and range. A glance at the table of contents of Volume II indicates that the paper interpreted its charter feely, for we find such a miscellany of titles as the following: "An eternal game of chess," "Bonnets, large ones, at Theatres," "Late Theatrical Hours," "Dreadful Famine in Ireland," "Spines and Tight-Lacing." The current cultural life of England is given regular notices and critiques. Perhaps the best notion of the nature of this magazine is afforded by a lead article in No. 301 (Sat., Aug. 30, 1831),pp. 173-174, entitled "Our Change of Price."

As it also contains an allusion to Chaucer that I have not found elsewhere, it is worth a closer look. With this issue the new reduced price of one penny went into effect. In his article (though unsigned, the article must be Hunt's), the author describes the man who would not spend a penny for Tatler. In a technique that appears in our own day in the form of an advertising cartoon captioned, "In Philadelphia Nearly Everybody Reads the Bulletin," he gives a long list of items the Tatler interests itself in, and says that the man who would not spend a penny for the Tatler obviously does not care for these things. The list begins:

> He does not care for books.
> He does not care for pictures.
> He does not care for music.

It continues with such items as "the whale," "Master Regondi," "jokes" (incidentally, some of those published in this magazine are surprisingly good), "Shakspeare," "Mozart," "a good hat," and even "anybody." Finally, toward the end, we read:

> He does not care for the French.
> He does not care for the Poles.
> He does not care for posterity.
> He does not care for Chaucer.
> He has no care, prospective or retrospective.

And the list is carried through five more items. The inclusion of Chaucer is due both to the fact that Hunt has lately been printing the translations of Chaucer and to the fact that the reference fits the Prospective:Retrospective scheme very well. A reader might well think that in this

reference he had been given earnest of more Chaucer to come, particularly if he should recall Hunt's mention, made at the time he published the first Chaucer excerpt modernized, of "the passages that we propose to extract . . . from time to time." However, there were to be no more Chaucer items in The Tatler. After the Knight's Portrait excerpt, discussed above, there were two additional passages of the same type, but these had already appeared at the time of Hunt's "He does not care for . . ." article. As in the case of almost all his enthusiasms, Hunt's enthusiasm for Chaucer would have these periodic flowerings. They indicate a basis, however, of Hunt's abiding interest in Chaucer.

We consider now the second excerpt:

> [Hunt, Leigh.] "Chaucer's Squire" [a translation of a passage (Gen Prol, A, 79-100) from the portrait of the Squire]. The Tatler. A Daily Paper of Literature, Fine Arts, Music, and the Stage, III (No. 262, Wednesday, July 6, 1831), 18.

The item, found in the same general context as "Chaucer's Knight" was described as having, reads:

CHAUCER'S SQUIRE.

The Knight his son had with him, a young Squire,
A lusty gallant full of love and fire,
With locks as crull as they had been in press.
Of twenty years of age he was, I guess.
In shape and stature, right of breadth and length,
And wonderfully nimble, and great of strength;
And he had passed with the fresh chivalry
To Flanders, and Artois, and Picardy,
And borne him bravely, for his little space,
In hope to flourish in his lady's grace.
Embroider'd was his doublet, like a mead,
All full of flowery summer, white and red.
Singing he was, or fluting all the day:

He was as fresh as is the month of May.
Short was his cloak, with sleeves both long and wide;
His seat on horseback shew'd how he could ride;
He could make songs, and dance, and tell his tale;
He slept, they say, no more than nightingale.
Courteous he was, withal, and serviceable,
And for his father carv'd and stood at table.

Though the correspondence line for line between this and the original is greater than in the case of "Chaucer's Knight," still Hunt's version is two lines shorter than the original. As a result, I have deemed it simplest to number the lines one to twenty instead of trying to apply line numbers correspondent to Robinson's. Hunt's first 16 lines do, however, correspond with the original, line by line. Over half of these might be regarded as modernization, but in view of the freedom taken with respect to the other lines, they must be regarded as passing into paraphrase. The changes made in the second line might be considered to fall within the bounds of modernization owing to the fact that bachelor no longer rhymed with Squire as it had done in Chaucer's day. This is not the case, however, with the changes made in the first line. Hunt has taken "With him ther was his sone a yonge, SQUIER" (Tyrwhitt 1830, v. 79) and "new framed" it as you see. But the change was not necessary for the achievement of his indicated purpose, that of modernizing spelling and "new framing" lines "to accomodate general readers, and warrant the insertion where obsoleteness of language might otherwise be complained of." Why then he would alter the wording of line 1 and yet keep the obsolete "crull" in line 3 is something that can be explained only as one more product

of Hunt's habitual inconsistency.

Line 7, with its obsolete "chevachie" (v. 85), of course called for "new framing," but in using the word "chivalry" Hunt has quite changed the meaning of the line. Either he was exceeding his license or he was interpreting his term "new frame" rather broadly.

Line 17 of Hunt's version represents three lines (vv. 95-97) of the original. It is difficult to see why Hunt should thus depart from the line-by-line translating that has been going on for 16 lines. The expression "So hote he loved" disappears altogether. Perhaps Hunt felt it a bit strong, but then he might have modified it. As Hunt now has it, the reader is left to believe that the Squire spent his nights singing, dancing, and telling stories. The original makes it clear that his nights were otherwise spent.

The third and last of the Tatler Chaucer passages is thus described:

> [Hunt, Leigh.] "Beautiful Simile" [a translation of Book III, ll. 1233-39, of Troilus and Criseyde]. The Tatler. A Daily Paper of Literature, Fine Arts, Music, and the Stage, III (No. 265, Saturday, July 9, 1831), 31.

Unlike the other two items, this one is not found in a section called "Poetry" -- indeed such a section is lacking in this number -- but appears in another regular section, "Chat and Miscellanies." After a number of miscellaneous prose items, there follow, without any introduction or heading, seven poetic extracts, all more or less brief. Dante, Spenser, Davenant, Sir John Beaumont, and William Browne, besides

Chaucer, are represented by these extracts, which seem to have been given editorial heads, such as "Enjoyment of Nature" (Spenser), "Affected Plainness and Wealth" (Davenant and Beaumont). The Chaucer extract is second, following the Dante. Here it is, in its entirety:

BEAUTIFUL SIMILE.

> And as the new-abashed nightingale,
> That stoppeth first when she begins to sing,
> If that she heareth any herdsman's tale,
> Or in the hedges any wight stirring,
> And then securely doth her voice outring,
> Cressid, right thus, when that her terrors went,
> Open'd her heart, and told him her intent. CHAUCER.

This is followed immediately by an ottava rima headed "Enjoyment of Nature," from Spenser. There is nothing to remind the reader that the Chaucer bit is really translation or to say who is responsible for it. However, the rather clever "new framing" accomplished in this stanza indicates that here again we have the handiwork of Hunt. Here is the original, as printed in Chalmers, p. 260 (Bk. III, ll. 1233-39):

> And as the newe abashed nightingale,
> That stinteth first, whan she beginneth sing,
> Whan that she heareth any heerdes tale,
> Or in the hedges any wight stearing,
> And after siker doeth her voice out ring:
> Right so Creseide, whan that her drede stent,
> Opened her herte, and told him her entent.

By a rather deft stroke, Hunt has retained the rhyme-sound of the closing couplet: he has simply substituted "went" for the obsolete "stente." Again a change of meaning is involved, but the new word accomplishes the general end of

the original. It would seem, however, that in this case Hunt is putting retention of sound ahead of retention of sense. We have seen him do this before. To round out this brief comparison, I would point to the replacement of the obsolete "siker" in line 5, with "securely," the added syllable being neatly offset by the changing of the preceding "after" to a "then."

Hunt may or may not have been the first to observe the beauty of the simile that constitutes this stanza, but he certainly is not the last. Thomas P. Harrison, in They Tell of Birds (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1956), pp. 46-61, praises Chaucer for this "striking simile."

It is a four-year jump from these Tatler modernizations to the next candidate for our consideration. This too takes the form of excerpts included in a series of articles published in a periodical. The series, entitled "Characteristic Specimens of the English Poets," devotes its first parts to Chaucer. The purpose of the series, as far as Chaucer is concerned, is basically that of the Tatler items, that of making an appreciative presentation of Chaucer to those who might not otherwise know him. Here, however, the excerpts are attended by a considerable quantity of commentary, indeed in some respects are subordinated to it. The periodical is changed also, but not the editor, as we find this series appearing in Leigh Hunt's London Journal, 1835. There is from my point of view a more critical difference: the specimen's appearing in "Characteristic Specimens . . ." are

neither Hunt's nor are they, in fact, "translations," under the definition I have chosen to employ. Hunt drew the text for his specimens directly from "the volumes lately given to the world by Mr Clarke, entitled the 'Riches of Chaucer,' in which the spelling is modernized, and the old pronunciation marked with accents, so as to show the smoothness of his versification." The quotation comes from the first number of the series (p. 180). Hunt is referring to the work discussed below between Items No. 24 and No. 25, The Riches of Chaucer, by Charles Cowden Clarke. A look at the text of the various extracts and a collation of them with Clarke's text will quickly confirm the facts presented in Hunt's statement.

It is not easy to classify Clarke's work in The Riches of Chaucer as to whether it should be called translation, particularly modernization, or whether it should be called simply a text of Chaucer, with the spelling modernized. Hunt's statement would indicate the latter to be the case. This matter will receive attention when the Clarke item is taken up. For the moment, I should observe that the particular passages which Hunt has taken from Clarke for use in this "Specimens" series, seem indeed to be as Hunt has described them, namely, Chaucerian texts with only spelling modernized and the accents marked.

It seems best to deal with this item by presenting a tabulation, which I have endeavored to make brief:

Hunt, Leigh. [Miscellaneous extracts from Chaucer appearing in] "Characteristic Specimens of the English Poets."[10] Leigh Hunt's London Journal [with individual numbers, dates, and pages and brief description as follows:]

No. 63 (June 13, 1835), pp. 180-181: "No. 1 -- Chaucer." [Specimens entitled:] "Specimens of Chaucer's Portrait-Painting and Humor. (From the set of characters at the beginning of the Canterbury Tales.)" [Included are excerpts from the General Prologue portraits of the Knight, Squire, Yeoman, Prioress, Monk, Scholar, Sergeant of the Law, Sailor, and Parish Priest. Transcription from Clarke's text is reasonably accurate; about the only conscious change seems to be in the italicizing of occasional lines, Hunt's evident purpose being to call the reader's attention to them. Hunt has added brief comments, slightly pedagogical in tone, and generally of an appreciative or merely indicative character. The editorial comment is rather superficial, a result no doubt of editorial haste. The introduction that precedes the section of "Specimens," though of the same appreciative order, has been done with more care. I quote from it:

> Chaucer (with Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton) is one of the Four Great English Poets; and it is with double justice that he is called the Father of English Poetry, for . . . he helped to form its very language. Nay, it burst into luxuriance in his hands, like a sudden month of May. Instead of giving you the idea of an 'old' poet, in the sense which the word vulgarly acquires, there is no one, upon acquaintance, who seems so young, consistently with maturity of mind. . . . [Chaucer's] nature is the greatest poet's nature, omitting nothing in its sympathy . . . and he combines an epic power of grand, comprehensive, and primitive imagery, with that of being contented with the smallest matter of fact near him. . . . His gaiety is equal to his gravity, and his sincerity to both. . . . Chaucer excels in pathos, in humour, in satire, character, and description. His graphic faculty, and healthy sense of the material, strongly ally him to the painter. . . . His faults are coarseness, which was that of his age,-- and in some of his poems, tediousness, which is to be attributed to the same cause.

And there is more, but this is a sufficient sample.]

No. 64 (June 20, 1835), 187-188: "No. II. -- Chaucer, (continued)." [Specimens headed:] "Physical life and Movement." [The excerpts, all from The Knight's Tale, include the description of Arcite rising early to "do his observance to May" (a passage which Hunt has praised before, in the Indicator, April 26, 1820) and the description of the two "warrior kings."]

No. 65 (June 27,1835), pp. 195-196: "No. III -- Chaucer (continued). His Pathos." [Hunt prefaces the excerpts, taken from The Knight's Tale and The Man of Law's Tale, with this opinion: "Chaucer's pathos is true nature's: it goes directly to its object. His sympathy is not fashioned and clipped by modes and respects; and herein, indeed, he was lucky in the comparatively homely breeding of his age, and in the dearth of books. His feelings were not rendered critical and timid. . . ." The criticism is superficial, but the instinct is right.]

[Spurgeon (II, 195) gives Nos. 63-68 as containing installments in the series, but there is no installment in No. 66.]

No.67 (July 11, 1835), pp. 218-219: "No. IV. -- Chaucer (continued). Story of Griselda." [Hunt recounts The Clerk's Tale, giving occasional excerpts. In the opening comment, Hunt attempts to answer the question why with such seemingly impossible characters and events the Griselda story has maintained its affective power. "The secret is," he says, "that a principle -- the sense of duty -- is set up in it above all considerations. . . . We are not expected to copy it, much less to approve or be blind to the hard-heartedness that fetches it out; but the blow is struck loudly in the ears of mankind, in order that they may think of duty itself. . . ."]

No. 68 (July 18, 1835), p. 228: "No. V. -- Chaucer (continued). Further Specimens of his Pleasantry and Satire." [Hunt gives the opening 24 lines of The Wife of Bath's Tale, several shorter excerpts from the Pardoner's explanation of his purposes and methods in preaching, and the bit in the Nun's Priest's Tale in which Chantecleer purposely mistranslates the Latin. In a brief introductory criticism Hunt calls Chaucer "one of the Reformers of his time." He finds that in exposing religious

abuses Chaucer nevertheless measures his satire . . . according to its desert, and is severest upon the severe and mercenary." In the "exquisite banter" of the opening lines of the Wife of Bath's Tale, Chaucer "rallies the mere jovial and plebeian part of the church, the ordinary begging-friars, with a sly good-humour." To prevent a reader's missing the point of the passage, Hunt has italicized the last line: "There is no other incubus but he."]

No. 70 (Aug. 1, 1835), 250-251: "No. VI. -- Chaucer (concluded). Miscellaneous Specimens of his Description, Portrait-Painting, and Fine Sense." [The excerpts are variously drawn from the Squire's Tale, the Franklin's Tale, the Pardoner's Tale, the Nun's Priest's Tale, Troilus and Creseida, The Book of the Duchess.]

[With No. VI, as indicated, the series was essentially concluded. However, a rather extensive passage had by mistake of editor or printer been omitted from No. VI. It was supplied two weeks later, as follows:]

No. 72 (Aug. 15, 1835), p. 268: "Favorite Specimen of Chaucer's Description of External Nature." [The specimen consists of lines 16-35, 43-56, 64-126, of the Flower and the Leaf (the line numbering is that of Clarke's Riches). In the preceding numbers Hunt has been fairly careful to indicate gaps and skips with spaced periods. Here, however, he has printed the lines as a single passage, with no indication that two stanzas have been omitted.]

Such is the series of "Characteristic Specimens" presented by Hunt to his London Journal Readers. Returning for a moment to the beginning, where he announced the purpose of the whole series, we find him saying that his object was "to give as thorough an insight into the qualities of our best poets, of whatever degree, as it is in the editor's power to convey through the medium of brief criticisms, and within

the limits of the JOURNAL. It is a work of love with him; and he hopes he may be enough animated by it to put readers of taste, hitherto less acquainted with them, in something like real possession of a knowledge of their merits." He concludes this introduction with an expression of hope that such readers will through these "Specimens" "be enabled, by their own lights, in addition to those furnished them, to speak of the poet for themselves" (p. 180).

It must be admitted that,however limited his purpose, Hunt has carried it out very well in this Chaucer series. By selecting his passages carefully and by using Clarke's modern-spelling text and adopting the brief diction notes that Clarke gives, he has been able to give his readers, in terms they could understand, a genuine notion of the original Chaucer. This is indeed the modernizer's purpose, as opposed to the paraphraser's. It is only that we may wonder why, if Hunt were willing to go so far, he should not go the whole way and simply give the reader the text as Chaucer wrote it.

In the editorial matter Hunt prepared for this series, there are now and then references to matters that have a connection with my particular interest: translation. In No. II, for example, the versification of Dryden's translation is compared briefly to that of the original, and the latter is found to be "as superior in its impulsive melody . . . as a thoroughly unaffected beauty is to a beauty

half-spoilt." The reference, a familiar one, for Hunt has made it before, is to the description of Arcite getting out early to celebrate May (p. 187). There are additional references to Dryden and one to Pope, all of approximately the same kind, favoring the original over the translation.

I close this item with a Hunt reference to the element of "quaintness" in Chaucer, for this is an element which is frequently involved in the translations of the Romantic Era, having made its first thoroughly conscious appearance in "Trinitarius," 1800. The reference is found in No. VI, under a heading entitled "Portrait of a Female" (p. 250). The passage under Hunt's examination is from Troilus and Cressida, Book I, ll. 169-172. Here are comment and passage:

PORTRAIT OF A FEMALE

> This is in the pure unfaltering style of the old Italian painters. The simile in the third line is one of the quaintnesses of an age in which books were rare, -- the key to almost all the quaintnesses of Chaucer. The rest of them are connected with his adherence to the originals from which he translated, and only appear strange from difference of time or national customs. A want of consideration to this effect led Mr Hazlitt into an error, when he instanced that pleasant, scornful admonition to the sun in Troilus and Creseida, (to go and sell his light to them that "engrave small seals") as an evidence of Chaucer's minuteness and particularity.
>
> The original of Troilus and Creseida was by an Italian; and in Italy the seal-engravers of those times were famous, and in great employ; nor was anything more natural for a lover, angry with the day-time, than to tell the sun to go and give his light to those that so notoriously needed it.

> Among those other folk was Creseida
> In widow's habit black; but nathéless
> Right as our first letter is now an A,
> In beauty first so stood she makéless.

[And Hunt continues with quoting and comment.]

It is clear that Hunt was well aware of the matter of quaintness in Chaucer. That he was also aware that "quaintness" posed a problem for the translator of Chaucer will appear. Hunt's practice of translation of Chaucer seems continually to swing pendulumlike between extremes: the complete abandonment of "quaintness," as in "The Squire's Tale," The Liberal, 1823, and the complete preservation of "quaintness," of which this present item, though technically not a translation, will serve as an example. By definition the modernizer is committed to the latter, insofar as he must keep diction which, though archaic, is still understandable and readable. The paraphraser is free of any such commitment, and, though he may keep archaic language if he wishes to, he usually sees his task as one in which the old language of Chaucer is to be turned out in modern dress. The issue between paraphraser and modernizer as here joined concerns the question of fitness. What is "quaint" in Chaucer today was, Sir Thopas excepted, not at all "quaint" to his original audience. Now, should the translator seek to eliminate quaintness from the translation, so that Chaucer may be to the modern reader as he appeared to readers of his own times? Or should the translator, simply admitting that Chaucer as written does

indeed seem quaint to the modern ear, see his job as one in which he tries to preserve this quaintness? As Hunt writes these Chaucer "Specimens," we see him swinging about as far out as he can go on the modernizing side. But before our study of Hunt is over we shall see his view of the translator's duty swing back again.

Another item in this same London Journal, found in an extensive essay called The Streets of the Metropolis and constituting what Hunt called the "Supplement to Leigh Hunt's London Journal," warrants mention, though it too is really but a partial modernization of spelling:

> Hunt, Leigh. [Lines 1-9 of the portrait of the Manciple in the General Prologue (A, 567-575), given in Chaucer's text, but with spelling modernized, in] "The Streets of the Metropolis," Chapter the Third. Leigh Hunt's London Journal: Supplement for Part I (London: H. Hooper, [1834]), p. xviii.

The Streets of the Metropolis was reedited and published in 1848 as The Town: Its Memorable Characters and Events (London: Smith, Elder and Co.) Here is the particular item, together with Hunt's accompanying remarks:

> The oldest mention of the Temple as a place for lawyers, has been commonly said to be found in a passage of Chaucer, who is reported to have been of the Temple himself. It is his character of the Manciple, or Steward, whom he pleasantly pits against his learned employers, as outwitting even themselves: --
>
> A gentle manciple was there of a temple,
> Of which achatours (purchasers) mighten take ensemple,
> For to ben wise in buying of vitaille,
> For whether that he paid, or took by taille,

> Algate he waited so in his achate,
> That he was ay before in good estate.
> Now is not that of God a full fair grace,
> That such a lewed (ignorant) mannes wit
> shall pass
> The wisdom of a heap of learned men?*
>
> *[Hunt's note:] Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. We quote no edition, because, where we could, we have modernised the spelling; which is a justice to this fine old author in a quotation, that nobody may pass it over. . . .

Though Leigh Hunt says that "we quote no edition," he is obviously following Tyrwhitt's text. A collation of this passage with vv. 569-577 in the 1830 edition of Tyrwhitt reveals that, in every case where Hunt has retained an ancient word or form, the spelling is that of Tyrwhitt's text. To indicate how definitive a correspondence this is, I cite a few select words from the passage as printed by Morell in 1737: "Acatouris," "myght," and "Ensample" (l. 2), "Vitayle" (l. 3), "Acate" (l. 5), and "lewdé Manys" (l. 8).

The year 1841 saw Leigh Hunt's production in the area of Chaucer translation reach a kind of climax. Three works by Hunt appeared that year, all of them in the volume edited by Richard Henry Horne entitled The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized. (See Item No. 28, below.) The two items contributed by Wordsworth to this volume have already been examined. Hunt receives much favorable critical attention in Horne's long "Introduction," and there is other pertinent critical matter, but first it will be well to examine the translations themselves. They are as follows:

Title	Pages in Horne
"Prologue to the Manciple's Tale"	89-94
"The Manciple's Tale; or, Phoebus and the Crow"	95-106
"The Friar's Tale; or, The Sumner and the Devil"	195-209
"The Squire's Tale; or, The Adventures of the Tartar King, and His Family"	261-287

As translation, these are all very much of the same order; so I shall take them up together. I begin with length and language.

Hunt has reduced his originals by a greater or smaller amount: the Manciple's Prologue, from 104 lines to 102; the Manciple's Tale, from 258 lines to 236; the Friar's Tale, from 364 lines to 312; and the Squire's Tale, from 662 lines to 574 lines. The size of the discrepancies is indicative of the extent to which Hunt followed his original on a line-by-line basis. His "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale," for example, is extremely close in this respect. With regard to The Friar's Tale," Hunt follows his original fairly closely down to where the story proper ends, at D, 1641 (v. 7223 in Tyrwhitt). The closing 23 lines, in which the Friar sermonizes, are not translated by Hunt. The reduction remaining is accomplished, as it is in "The Manciple's Tale" and "The Squire's Tale," for the most part by a gradual process rather than by omitting groups of lines, a process

which involves language more than it does content.

With regard to the language employed by Hunt for these translations, one might say that it is both more like Chaucer's than one finds in the Liberal (1823) version of the Squire's Tale, and more like Hunt's own characteristic language than one finds in his close modernizations of Chaucer, as in the Round Table essay (1817). This may be the result of a positive effort on Hunt's part to curb his own free poetic tendencies and follow the method of translation advocated by the editor in his Introduction. Horne says that all theories of how Chaucer is to be rendered most truly in modern language fall between two extremes. At one extreme is the theory that if Chaucer is to be rendered truly, it "must be done in the spirit rather than in the letter" (p. xxxi); at the other extreme the theory is that "all the substantial material and various rhythm of Chaucer should be adopted as far as possible" (p. xxxii). To Horne the best method is that which moves between these two extremes (p. xxxiii):

> But, inasmuch as there is a large portion of the original which needs but little alteration, (except in the opinion of those who may consider they best render Chaucer by merging his identity in their own,) while at the same time there is so large a portion which requires to be entirely remodelled, it seems plain that the greatest amount of the original will be obtained from between these two extremes; the only distinguishing marks of the different methods being a general predominance of this or that principle.

Horne then withholds judgment as to the merits of the various methods, but does state plainly that "no one among the contributors to the present volume has attempted the first method" (p. xxxiii). Putting the statement into the terms of concrete example, I should say Horne's meaning is that no one has presumed to convert Chaucer's language into his own in the manner of Dryden or Pope. This, as we have seen, is indeed true of Wordsworth's contributions, and we shall see to what extent it is true of the others' contributions when we take up Horne's volume as No. 28. With respect to Leigh Hunt, however, I think it is more accurate to say that he has achieved a kind of fusion between his own style and Chaucer's. In finding language for his versions, Hunt does not seem altogether forced, as so many others are, to choose either to reject Chaucer's language in favor of his own, or to reject his own in favor of Chaucer's. Strictly regarded, Horne's theory belongs in the latter school, for he holds by the doctrine of altering only that which needs alteration: in other words, he is a modernizer.

In fusing his own and Chaucer's language, Hunt is returning to the ideas he originally expressed in the Round Table essay of 1817 (p. 134): "A continuer [from the context it is feasible to regard his remark as true of a "translator" as well] of Chaucer must write as Chaucer wrote, in the best kind of his own everyday language; like Chaucer he must dare to speak and think as nature tells him . . .

-- but to do all this, he must be a true poet as well as his original. He must be born of the same breed, or how shall he take to the same atmosphere? He must have a like grace and vigour of wing, or how shall he sport about at will, -- how shall he descend, and gambol, and sparkle, and soar?" Hunt is no second Chaucer, of course, but he has some of the same "grace and vigor of wing," and this quality certainly is visible in the works he contributed to the Horne volume, both when he is following Chaucer's language rather closely and when he departs from it. We shall endeavor to see this in specific examples in a moment. First we shall look at some statements of Horne's that conduce to such a notion of Hunt's achievement.

First of all, it is clear from some remarks of Horne's made long afterward that Hunt was not in agreement with Horne and the other contributors in the matter of a ruling principle of translation:

> Writing to Sir E. L. Bulwer, the principle I proposed for acceptance was, that the best way of doing the work would be gracefully and poetically to retain as much of the original language of Chaucer as possible. Wordsworth had at once coincided in this; so had Miss Barrett, and so did all the rest but Leigh Hunt, who did not altogether coincide. And the more he worked at the modernization, the less he agreed with the principle, and I fully admit there is much to be said for his view of the matter.[11]

Incidentally, this is good evidence that Hunt made his versions for this particular occasion, in sharp contrast to Wordsworth, who had simply revised modernizations composed almost forty years before.

Later in the same chapter (pp. 114-117), Horne comments in more detail on this departure of Hunt's. Under Horne's editorship, considerable effort was made to exchange proofs, so that one translator might have the advice of others. When Hunt dealt with Horne's proofs,Horne, by reason of Hunt's "seniority in years and literary experience, in addition to his early studies of Chaucer and critical essays" expected "abundant difficulties." These were greatly aggravated, however, by Hunt's announcement that he was opposed to the leading principle, that translation be conducted on a "plan of as close a literal reading as was compatible with poetical as well as metrical requirements." (Pp. 114-115.) To continue with Horne's statement:

> He announced this, in returning the proofs of my version of the "Prologue to Canterbury Tales," crowded with revisions on the opposite theory. Of course I accepted as much as I could without violating my own ideas of truthfulness; and I am quite prepared to admit that in all difficult or doubtful passages, a rendering in the spirit would probably be far superior to adhering to the letter. The door, however, Leigh Hunt proposed to open would let in "black spirits and white." (P. 115.)

Horne's point is that Hunt, "though an elegant and delightful poet," is not equal to his method, being neither a great poet nor "at all like Chaucer." After holding up the translations of Shelley from Greek and other languages as nearly perfect examples of this kind of translation, Horne returns to Leigh Hunt:

> The opinion of Miss Barrett as to his renderings of Chaucer seems to me quite correct; and most gracefully as he did his part in the "Chaucer Modernized," I prefer what was done by Wordsworth and Miss Barrett, with the understanding that the poems they selected would not be so interesting in themselves, to most people, as those selected by Leigh Hunt. (P.117.)

In all fairness to Hunt, we must remind ourselves of his numerous protests of insufficiency on this same score. Nevertheless it may indeed be that, with his "seniority in years and literary experience," he has acquired a bit of overconfidence, and that he perhaps should have acquiesced in the only method open to mediocrity. This is what Horne's criticism of Hunt comes to. But Horne must have forgotten what he had himself said in the Introduction to his Chaucer Modernized, wherein he comments (pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii) on lines from Hunt's newly published and presented drama The Legend of Florence which he finds possess the rhythm of Chaucer. This work, he says, "contains abundant examples of verses which are precisely on the principle of Chaucer's rhythm." This being the case, perhaps Hunt must after all be considered as well qualified, perhaps the best qualified among the contributors to the Horne volume, to depart from the modernizing pattern and translate Chaucer in the spirit. At any rate, Horne's statement supports my observation that Hunt has achieved, in some measure, a fusion of styles.

Let us now examine some actual passages, starting with the opening lines of the "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale" (p. 89):

> WOTTEST thou, reader, of a little town,
> Which thereabouts they call Bob-up-and-down,
> Under the Blee, in Canterbury way?
> Well, there our host began to jest and play,
> And said, Hush, hush now: Dun is in the mire.
> What, sirs? will nobody, for prayer or hire,
> Wake our good gossip, sleeping here behind?
> Here were a bundle for a thief to find.

Admittedly, if this sample were representative of Hunt at his best, we should have to agree with Horne and admit that it were better if Hunt had simply modernized the whole passage as he modernized the third line and the fifth and sixth lines (except that the "Hush, hush now" is an addition). It nevertheless reveals itself as the product of a certain kind of energy, an energy that is at once Hunt's and like Chaucer's. Here, for example, are the original lines (cited from Tyrwhitt 1830) equivalent to lines 6-8 above:

> Is ther no man for praiere ne for hire,
> That wol awaken our felaw behind?
> A thefe him might ful lightly rob and bind.
> (Vv. 16955-57 [H, 6-8].)

It is clear, that, had he wished to, Hunt could have simply modernized that last couplet, taking it over practically word for word. Instead Hunt, while retaining the rhyme and the basic meaning of the couplet, has paraphrased, introducing the words "gossip" and "bundle." They are not Chaucer's words, but they have the Chaucerian energy and light good humor.

But since the "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale," where Hunt is at his worst when he is most the paraphraser, as in the description of the Cook's fall from his horse, and at his

best when he is most the modernizer, as in the last six lines of the piece, offers better support for Horne's argument than for mine, I pass on to "The Manciple's Tale."

Here, in his translation of the Manciple's protest that he is "a man not textuel" (v. 17184 [H, 235]), which Hunt renders as "no text-spinning man," we see the Chaucerian flavor retained. More significant is what Hunt has done with the sermon with which the Manciple concludes (vv.17267-311 [H, 318-362]). The best Wordsworth could do, perhaps inadvertently but more probably out of annoyance, was simply to omit parts of it, but Hunt gives us a version of the whole, reduced by only 4 lines to 41 lines in length. Hunt's treatment of the passage is explained in a note, p. 104, apparently by Horne:

> [This] sententious sermon . . . might have had a purely serious intention in Chaucer's time, when books were rare, and moralities not such common-places as they are now; yet it is difficult to believe that the poet did not intend something of a covert satire upon, at least, the sermonizer's own pretentions,especially as the latter had declared himself against text-spinning. The Host, it is to be observed, had already charged him with forgetting his own faults, while preaching against those of others. The refashioner of the original lines has accordingly endeavored to retain the kind of tabernacle, or old Woman's tone, into which he conceives the Manciple to have fallen, compared with that of his narrative style.

Hunt does indeed achieve the homiletic tone, in part through a heightened use of archaic diction, especially verbs with -eth endings, and in part through a giving the verse a kind

of sing-song regularity. In using the -eth verb endings, Hunt was only following Chaucer, but in making the lines a bit jingly, he was attempting to capture the very tone and spirit of the original. At least he was, in this case, more successful than his greater contemporary, Wordsworth.

Better support for my point is provided in "The Friar's Tale." While avoiding the blunt word "fornication" that occurs at v. 6886 (the fourth line) of the original, Hunt uses a word that retains much of the energy and wry humor that is Chaucer lurking behind the Friar. In Hunt's version, the Archdeacon

> . . . . boldly did the work of his high station
> In punishing improper conversation.

If it is understatement, so be it: that is a technique that Chaucer himself frequently employed. Or let us take lines 75-78 of Hunt's version. The equivalent in the probable original, Tyrwhitt, reads:

> And so befell, that ones on a day
> This Sompnour, waiting ever on his pray,
> Rode forth to sompne a widewe, an olde ribibe,
> Feining a cause, for he wold han a bribe.
> (Vv. 6957-60 [D, 1375-78].)

When in translation "ribibe" is left behind, as indeed, being obsolete and unknown, it must be left behind, what is to become of the bubbling vivacity of the word? Unless the translation is done in the spirit, then the essence must be lost with the word. Let us see how Hunt handles matters (p. 199):

> And so befell that once upon a day
> This Sumner, prowling ever for his prey,
> Rode forth to cheat a poor old widow'd soul,
> Feigning a cause for lack of protocole.

The first couplet, except for "prowling," is pure modernization. It is to the second couplet, however, that I wish to direct attention. It is clever paraphrase, not altogether close,but Hunt has caught something of the spirit, movement, and flavor of the original. The word "protocole" is such a word as one might associate with Chaucer, even though he never used it.

By and large, however, the validity of my notion of a fusion of Hunt's manner with Chaucer's can be satisfactorily proved only through a consideration of passages too extensive to be supplied here. The reader is assured, however, that this is the feeling the writer has acquired in his journey through Hunt's translations of Chaucer. Hunt was of a buoyant disposition, and he could touch a subject with gentle but sharp-sighted humor or satire. He was aware of the nature of things and approached life philosophically. His style was warm, light, and nimble. These are the very qualities which we associate with Chaucer. Though Hunt did not have these in the full measure that Chaucer did, he had sufficient to ensure that when he translated Chaucer the result would be Chaucerian and Huntian at the same time. Throughout his long career in Chaucer translation -- and it had yet more years to run[12] -- Hunt had vacillated between the extremes of paraphrase and modernization. The ambivalence was evident in the Round Table essay of 1817, and it is still evident in his change of mind while the Horne volume of 1841 was in

preparation. But Hunt seems at last, both in his thinking and in his practice, to have achieved a resolution of the ambivalence, a resolution which becomes apparent in these Chaucer, Modernized pieces of his. Here he seems to relax a bit, paraphrasing or modernizing as he pleases, and all the time getting more of Chaucer than many a better poet has done -- all because, whether he is conscious of the fact or not, he is himself somewhat like Chaucer.

Item No. 17 (1822). Thurlow, Edward Hovel, Lord Thurlow [Second baron Thurlow]. The Knight's Tale: and, The Flower and the Leaf: by Edward Hovel Thurlow, Lord Thurlow, 2nd ed. London: William Booth, 32, Duke Street, Manchester Square. 1822. [The first edition, entitled Arcita and Palamon and containing only The Knight's Tale, modernized, was published in London, also in 1822 (Hammond, p. 228). According to Spurgeon (II, 148), there was an edition of the Flower and the Leaf the following year, as follows: Thurlow, Edward Hovell, Lord. The Flower and the Leaf after Geoffrey Chaucer. London: J. Warwick, Brook St., Holborn, 1823.]

In his Introduction to Chaucer, Modernized (Item No. 28), Horne, included Thurlow's translations among those he classified as good. His main reason for doing so was that they were modernizations, in contrast to the translations of the Augustan Era, which, being paraphrases, very free ones, he classified as bad. Of Thurlow's "Knight's Tale," he says that it is "admirable for its fidelity, generally, and for its versification, -- not on the model of that uniformity of syllables and position of accents which may be regarded as the school of Pope" (p. xxix). If, according to Horne, Thurlow had avoided Augustan versification,

we are apparently not to assume that he had therefore captured the versification of Chaucer, for in adverse criticism, Horne adds: "He has quite given up the peculiar harmonies of the rhythm of Chaucer."

Depending on what illustrative passages one selects, one may either support Horne's criticism or "prove" that it is utterly mistaken.

In the matter of fidelity, Thurlow's translation, if compared to Dryden's, must be regarded as the very soul of fidelity. Even so, its 2510 lines, occupying pages 7-123 and conveniently numbered by tens, represent an increase over the original (A, 859-3108) of 260 lines. On the very face of it, this means that Thurlow has not attempted to follow the strict modernizer's goal of achieving a line-by-line correspondence. Still the expansion is not particularly great, in view of the length of the piece. It is effected, not by the addition of a few separate and distinct passages, but by a somewhat even, integrating process in which a line may be interpolated here and there, or a passage of two or three lines in the original may be expanded to four or five. Sometimes there are passages of an opposite character, in which the original is slightly decreased. In all such cases, obviously, Thurlow is paraphraser rather than modernizer. Even in paraphrasing, however, Thurlow usually stays close to the original, though he is not above supplying occasional embellishment, sometimes even in the form of a

new figure of speech, such as Dryden was wont to provide, except that the new figure is kept brief, not extended like many of Dryden's.

The other part of Horne's comment has to do with Thurlow's versification. Here again the reader finds some inconsistency in Thurlow's practice, such as to make accurate generalization virtually impossible. In some respects, Thurlow's versification is Augustan in nature. The heroic couplet employed in the original is also the basic meter of Thurlow's version, as it was of Dryden's. Thurlow varies this basic meter with frequent triplets and alexandrines. To the extent that he does so, he is of course following Dryden rather than Chaucer. However, when we look at specific cases, we shall find, more often than not, that Thurlow's triplets and alexandrines are not like Dryden's. Let us take one example (I put line numbers, per Thurlow's numbering -- with Robinson equivalents where desirable -- in parentheses):

> For surely he was strong, and great of bone,
> Invested him [that is, a chamberlain invested
> Arcite, alias Philostrate] with service,
> where unknown,
> Morning and evening oft he gaz'd his soul upon.
> (Ll.634-636 [approx. A, 1423-27].)

Gliding over the fact that the rhymes here would surely have set Augustan teeth on edge, as would the plain ineptness of "gaz'd his soul upon," we do note that Thurlow observes here a typical Dryden pattern: a triplet the last line of which is an alexandrine. The resemblance is but superficial,

however. The characteristic Drydenesque division and balance in the alexandrine are altogether missing here. Nor if we examine the first two lines of the triplet, do we find the caesura coming after either the fourth or fifth syllable, where Pope was fond of placing it. In the first line, the caesura comes after the sixth syllable, and in the second line it is in a rather un-Augustan place, after the seventh.

This is, of course, but one triplet in a very long poem, but it is fair to say that it is representative of much that Thurlow has done. If I understand Horne correctly, he is actually praising Thurlow's versification because it is not, through "uniformity of syllables and position of accents," after the school of Pope. I think, however, that whatever praise may be accorded the piece because it is not like the school must then be immediately denied it because it does not exhibit the powers of the masters of that school. We can agree, of course, with the statement that it is quite without "the peculiar harmonies of the rhythm of Chaucer." This would seem to leave Thurlow with a versification all his own, and this is perhaps, for the most part, the case. It would also seem to imply that Thurlow's versification is not particularly good, but this is not, for the most part, the case. Thurlow's versification will be further considered below.

For the moment, however, let us examine Thurlow's

practice with regard to diction and imagery. Here our main observation must be that it too exhibits ambivalent tendencies: it has some ties with Augustan practices, but in other ways has an affinity with its own era.

In the use of classical imagery and poetic diction the verse often has an Augustan look. Let me illustrate with the following passages, pertinent words and phrases being italicized:

> The duke will have a course at him, or two,
> With hounds, *like Zephyr*, flying through the dew,
> Such hounds as gave him pleasure to command,
> Born of *chaste Dian's breed*, and brought up by
> his hand. (Ll. 933-936 [A, 1694-95].)

> Came with Arcita, as in books we find
> The great Emetrius, the king of Inde,
> (Inde is a country, where all wealth is born,
> Against the *blazing chambers of the Morn*.)
> (Ll. 1453-56 [A, 2155-56].)

> The Sunday night, ere day began to spring,
> The lark of Palamon was heard to sing;
> The lark was heard to sing two hours ere day,
> Or fair *Aurora in the East 'gan play*
> *Her ruddy reins, and drive her chariot* on the way.
> (Ll. 1514-18 [A, 2209-12].)

All the underlined expressions above are Augustan in nature, and they are all additions -- in fact, the entire lines 936, 1455-56, and 1517-18 are sheer embellishment on Thurlow's part. In passing, we note that lines 936 and 1518 are alexandrines: metrically the first is Augustan, but the latter is pure Thurlow.

In one case, instead of merely embellishing with Augustan figures, Thurlow replaced Chaucer's figure with a figure Augustan in nature. Where Chaucer wrote, "As fer as

God hath maked see or lond" (A, 2104),[13] Thurlow put: ". . . wherever are/ The beams of morning" (11. 1398-99).

But Thurlow retains much antique diction. This practice puts him squarely among the Romantics, who were antiquarian-minded, with a bias in favor of things medieval, and sets him sharply off from the Augustans, who turned Chaucer into the language of their own times, often even refurbishing his images and allusions to suit their own tastes. One need not seek far for examples. In fact, in the passage last quoted above, in the very middle of the Augustan splendor of line 1517, is the Chaucerian 'gan. In the same passage, the first line, which is pure modernization, carries the characteristically Chaucerian way of referring to the dawn. In this one passage we have the antique and the Augustan styles in uneasy fellowship.

To illustrate all these and other matters, I quote the following passages. First, the opening lines:

> In the old time, as the old stories say,
> A duke in Athens did the sceptre sway,
> His name was Theseus, and of mighty state,
> And such a victor in his time and date,
> Under the bright Sun there was none more great.
> (Ll. 1-5.)

Except for his handling of the first and fifth lines, which may perhaps be considered modernization, Thurlow has paraphrased his original, which reads:

> WHILOM, as olde stories tellen us,
> Ther was a duk that highte Theseus.
> Of Athenes he was lord and governour,
> And in his time swiche a conquerour,
> That greter was ther non under the sonne.
> (Tyrwhitt 1775, vv. 861-865 [A,859-863

Thurlow has replaced "Whilom" in the first line, with "In the old time," probably to fill out the measure rather than to avoid antique diction, for a few lines later he introduces a "Nathless" that Chaucer does not use, that is, at that point. When we look at the result, however, we find that Thurlow has produced a first line that is virtually impossible to read metrically. If his intention were that the line be read as regular iambic pentameter, then the line is a poor one, for accents will fall on both of the unemphatic <u>the</u>'s. The best reading -- Ín thě / óld tīme,/ăs thě/ōld stó/rĭes sáy -- leaves us with a highly irregular reading, unthinkably irregular from Thurlow's point of view, when one considers the Augustan influences still at work in his verse. It is fair to conclude that, on the whole, Thurlow is not a good metricist.

These few lines contain another example of the ineptness with which Thurlow occasionally expresses himself. In line 2, "did the sceptre sway" is hardly to be considered correctly phrased. One may say "hold a sceptre" or "hold sway." But does one ever speak of a monarch "swaying" a sceptre? According to my impression, Thurlow normally handles diction fairly effectively, but he produces such banalities from time to time.

In line 4 we note that Thurlow has resorted to a redundancy: "time <u>and</u> <u>date</u>." We must not be unduly severe

with Thurlow in this matter. Does not Chaucer do the same in line v. 863, with "lord and governour"?

Moving on to lines 378-383 (equivalent to A, 1189-1193), we find Thurlow at or near his worst:

> Now to my tale: It happen'd on a day,
> (I mean to tell it shortly, as I may;)
> Perithöus, a duke of mighty state,
> Who to duke Theseus was the dear co-mate,
> And had been, with a love, that did surpass,
> Since they were little children on the grass.

The expression "dear co-mate" hardly does as a replacement for Chaucer's "felawe," nor that banal last line, for "Syn thilke day that they were children lite." In fact, the expression, "little children on the grass," is typical of Thurlow's own era. Wordsworth would not have written it, but it never would have been written before Wordsworth.

It would be unfair, however, to leave Thurlow without showing what he can do at his best. An explanation of the success of the passage I am about to quote is that it is a rather close modernization of one of Chaucer's greatest passages, from the description of the horrors represented in the decorations for the Temple of Mars (A, 1995-2023). In Thurlow, these 29 lines are translated into 31 (ll. 1267-97) as follows:

> There saw I first the dark imagining
> Of felony, and all the compassing;
> The cruel ire, as red as burning coal;
> The pick-purse; and pale fear, with ghastly soul;
> The smiler, with the knife under the cloke;
> The stables burning with the pitchy smoke;
> The treason of the murdering in the bed; (1273)
> The open war, whose wounds for ever bled;

Contest with bloody knife, and menace keen;
And full of scritching cries the doleful scene.
The slayer of himself then saw I there,
His own heart-blood had bathed all his hair;
The nail, too, driven in the skull at night;
The cold death with the gaping mouth upright;
Amidst of all the Temple sate Mischance,
With great discomfort and pale countenance;
And saw I madness, laughing in his ire;
Armed Complaint; Outcry; and fierce desire (1284)
Of fiery Outrage; in the bushes put,
I saw the corpse of his, whose throat was cut;
And flow'd the crimson blood on slaughter's bed,
A thousand slain, and not of sickness dead;
The tyrant, with his prey from subject reft;
The town destroyed, and not a rafter left; (1290)
The burnt ships dancing on the wave I saw;
The hunter strangled in the wild bear's paw;
The child, eat by the fretting sow in cradle;
The cook, too, scalded, maugre his long ladle;
And every mortal act in every part;
The carter, over-ridden with his cart,
Under the wheel full low he lay adown.

This must, it seems to me, be regarded as excellent translation. It is true that it is, in the main, very close modernizing, but before we give all the credit to Chaucer, let us look at one or two of the changes which Thurlow has made.

To lines 1273-76 of the translation, vv. 2003-06 (corresponding to A, 2001-04) are the equivalent, reading:

The treson of the mordring in the bedde,
The open werre, with woundes all bebledde;
Conteke with blody knif, and sharp manace.
All full of chirking was that sory place.

Certainly, "full of scritching cries" is a powerful substitute for Chaucer's "full of chirking." A bit later in the passage, lines 1284-87 are a free rendering of A, 2012-13, but they are quite worthy of the original. At l. 1290, Thurlow's "and not a

rafter left" is perhaps even better, because more specific, than Chaucer's "ther was nothing laft" (v. 2018), though the point is debatable, inasmuch as Chaucer is here, as he often is elsewhere, highly effective with his larger terms -- they have after all a kind of finiteness that specifics cannot match.

Now a penultimate observation. Later in the description of the Temple of Mars, as rendered by Thurlow, we come upon these lines (1298-1300):

> The armourer was there with visage brown;
> The bowyer; and the smith, whose furnace roar'd,
> To forge upon the anvil the sharp sword.

Here are the original lines, according to Robinson (A, 2025-26):

> The barbour, and the bocher, and the smyth,
> That forgeth sharpe swerdes on his styth.

It would appear that, where he should have "barber" and "butcher," Thurlow has "armourer" and "bowyer." But Thurlow was, of course, following Tyrwhitt, whose text reads (vv. 2027-28):

> Th'armerer, and the bowyer, and the smith,
> That forgeth sharpe swerdes on his stith.

Tyrwhitt's note to v. 2027 explains the difference between his text and Robinson's: "The Editions and all the Mss. except Dr. Askew's, read -- The barbour and the bocher, [Tyrwhitt evidently did not include Morell, whose edition (1737) reads (line 1167): "The Labourer, the Bocher, and the Smyth."] I was glad to avail myself of the authority of

those two Mss. to insert Th'armerer instead of The barbour, and in consequence of that emendation I have ventured (from conjecture only) to substitute the bowyer for the bocher." It is one of the few places where Tyrwhitt's emendation does not rest on some authority. But Robinson points out in his note to the line (A, 2025) that barbers and butchers are proper members of Mars's "division."

As one in perusing Thurlow's "Knight's Tale" ponders the question of whether Thurlow is a paraphraser or modernizer, one must come to the conclusion that he is never one or the other very consistently or very long. My impression is that in the earlier stages of the translation he leans rather to paraphrase, but that, as he proceeds, he tends more and more to modernize. However that may be, he certainly turns paraphraser at the very end. Here is his closing passage (ll. 2504-10) with each line classified:

And Emily him loves so tenderly,	(modernization)
And he again her serves so perfectly,	(loose modernization)
There never was a jealous word between	(modernization at first
The happy pair, to mar the golden scene;	but changing to paraphrase)
Their life was, like a Summer's lake, serene.	(free paraphrase)
And thus ends Palamon, and Emily:	(modernization)
God to each loving pair give like felicity!	(paraphrase)

In that closing line, which he could have modernized (as "And God save all this pleasant company"), Thurlow seems to be casting a final vote for paraphrase, or perhaps, which amounts to almost the same thing, he was expressing a poet's desire

for independence. We observe that it is an alexandrine, but certainly not one of the Augustan kind. Rather does it have a sort of Romantic flavor. If the next-to-last couplet is Augustan, at least in sound and movement, then the final couplet is fittingly Romantic, and thus comes a bit closer to the Chaucerian essence than Popean pomp and perfection can manage.

The rest of the volume is occupied by Thurlow's version of The Flower and the Leaf, the "Argument" being found on page 127 and the text of the poem on pages 129-158. The poem was a great favorite among the Romantics, who regarded it as Chaucer's and to whom it was available, not only in Bell's Chaucer, where Keats came across it, but in Anderson (1795) and Chalmers (1810). One might therefore suppose that it would have been given more attention by the Chaucer translators of the Era. Instead, for the entire 50-year period of my study, not counting the modernization by Thomas Powell, which after all stands at the very end of the period, in Chaucer, Modernized, 1841, this piece by Thurlow is the only translation of the Flower and the Leaf to be carried out. This is no sign of lack of interest: it is rather an indication of the continuing pre-eminence of Dryden's version, first published in 1700 in his Fables. Throughout most of the Romantic Era it would doubtless have been best known to readers in Scott's edition of Dryden's works, 1808 (Vol. XI, pp. 354-375).

As he did for "The Knight's Tale," Horne (Chaucer, Modernized, p. xxix) also had a word of praise for Thurlow's "The Flower and the Leaf," which he said was "such, in its execution and fine appreciation, as might be expected of a true poet." My comment would be that in its execution and appreciation it is no more than might be expected of a verse-maker who was not himself a true poet, but who kept before him a true poet (i.e., Dryden) as a model. Metrically this is rather of a piece with "The Knight's Tale" than it is a recapturing of the prosodic nature of the original, for whereas the original poem is in the rime royal stanza, this version is all in the same measure as that used in "The Knight's Tale." The basic meter is the heroic couplet, but this is varied by a generous application of triplets and alexandrines. As pointed out above, this sort of verse is in the Dryden pattern. Indeed, it would seem that Thurlow's inspiration for this Chaucer translation must have come from Dryden, for the evidence, though not conclusive, is considerable: the two pieces which Thurlow selected for translation were both among those translated by Dryden; Thurlow used the heroic measure for both poems, as Dryden did, even though one of them was not in that measure originally; and there are hints and touches in Thurlow's "The Flower and the Leaf" that suggest Dryden. An instance of the last occurs at the point in the tale where, the rainstorm having soaked the Flower faction, the knights have built fires for drying the

wet clothes and, for those who have suffered sunburn, ointments are applied to blisters and salads are eaten for refreshment. At this point in the original (l..414 per Chaucerian, p. 374)[14] the Lady of the Leaf invites the Lady of the Flower to sup with her. There is no specific mention of the onset of night although a bit later a nightingale, which "al the day/ Had in the laurer sete" (ll. 435-436), is mentioned. Here is how Thurlow handles the invitation (p. 149):

> The Lady of the Leaf then 'gan to move
> (I call them from their worship, and their love,)
> [Thurlow does not usually set off such gratuitous interpolations in parentheses]
> Her of the Flower, that she would sup with her:
> For twinkled now Night's milky harbinger,
> Of slumb'rous beds and dreams the messenger.

This last couplet has no counterpart in the original. In Dryden's version, however, we find (I quote from Scott, 1808, XI, 369):

> The lady of the Leaf ordained a feast,
> And made the Lady of the Flower her guest:
> [I omit the rest of the verse paragraph, some twelve lines devoted to the description of a bower that "ascended on the plain," wherein the festivity takes place -- a decorative addition by Dryden for which the original's invitation to "soupe" affords no warrant.]
> The sun was set; and Vesper, to supply
> His absent beams, had lighted up the sky.

It is possible that Thurlow's "Night's milky harbinger " was suggested by this mention of "Vesper."

We refer again to Chaucer, Modernized for one last criticism by Horne, an adverse one: he says that Thurlow "has

interpolated several lines in almost every stanza" (p. xxix). Overlooking the indication here that Horne, perhaps trusting to memory, seems to believe that Thurlow's version, like the original, was in stanzas (it is actually, like "The Knight's Tale," in verse paragraphs, widely various in length, and bearing no regular relation to the stanzaic pattern of the original), we may consider briefly the extent to which Thurlow is faithful to the original.

In length, it is true that expansion has taken place. The original, which has 595 lines, is turned out by Thurlow in 637 lines. Expansion here occurs at about the same rate and in about the same way as it does in "The Knight's Tale." Certainly Horne's remark about "interpolation" is, in a general way, borne out. Even so, Thurlow is the soul of restraint in this respect, compared to Dryden. It is true that he will add a figure or image here and there, as we saw above with regard to "Night's milky harbinger." But he resists the urge to embellish, to decorate the decoration, that so strongly possessed Dryden. One of the fine images in the poem is that of the "fair laurer" (l . 304), so great and thick that a hundred persons might be sheltered from either sun or rain under its branches. The description is essentially a simple one, and it is economical, requiring only about 12 lines (304-315). In Dryden the description (XI, 365-366) begins pretentiously --

> Amid the plain a spreading laurel stood,
> The grace and ornament of all the wood; --

and runs on for another 14 lines, with the tree's capacity as host extended to include "hosts of birds" and "flocks of sheep," and its accommodation for humankind exactly doubled:

> A hundred knights might there at ease abide,
> And every knight a lady by his side.

Thurlow, resisting such urges, follows his original much more closely.

In fact, my impression of the work as a whole is that this is a fairly close translation. There are two exceptions, however. Thurlow opens his version with a moralistic address to ladies (p. 129), introduced -- for it is not in the original -- in part, perhaps, to get over the difficulty that the piece seems to have been written by a woman:

> Listen, ye lovely ladies, while I tell
> What to a lady, like yourselves, befell;
> The Vision that she saw, within a bower,
> O' the Lady of the Leaf, and the Lady of the Flower:
> A lovely dream, if dream it were; to charm
> The natural ear; and the pure soul to arm
> With adamant of virtue: ladies, hear;
> 'Tis she herself, that speaks unto your ear.

The other exception, occurring at the very end, is of opposite character, as Thurlow drops all reference to the closing stanza of the original, in which the writer addresses the poem itself -- "O litel book."

As might be expected from the shifting of the meter from rime royal to the heroic, Thurlow's predominant tendency here, in contrast to that in "The Knight's Tale," is to paraphrase rather than modernize, although there are many lines

that fall in the latter classification.

With respect to diction, Thurlow's practice is again an inconsistent one, as in "The Knight's Tale." He seems to make an attempt to retain some of the Chaucerian diction, at least insofar as it would still be intelligible to his contemporaries. For instance, he employs on occasion the word 'gan, although usually as merely began with the first syllable lopped off, rather than in its more characteristically Middle English use as an auxiliary meaning did. But also, as in "The Knight's Tale," there is a powerful admixture of the word ways of the eighteenth century, powerful enough, in my view, to give the whole poem an Augustan flavoring. This is never more apparent than in the closing passage (pp. 157-158). The equivalent in the original is the penultimate stanza and the first lines of the last stanza, reading thus in Chalmers (I, 399):

> [The authoress's informant is still speaking.]
>
> "For here may I no lenger now abide,
> I must follow the great company
> That ye may see yonder before you ride,"
> And forth as I couth most humbly,
> I tooke my leue of her as she gan hie,
> After them as fast as euer she might,
> And I drow homeward, for it was nigh night
>
> And put all that I had seene in writing
> Under support of them that lust it to rede.

Let us see now what Thurlow does with this passage:

> "For here I may no longer now abide:
> But with Diana I make haste to ride,
> Diana, and her troop, that yet you see:
> For now your eye is cloth'd with perspicuity:

> Daughter, farewell." I bade, farewell, again:
> And kiss'd her garment's hem. She scudded o'er the
> plain
> [Dryden used "scudding" in his version, at line
> 195: "The fawns came scudding from the groves."]
> After Diana, and her maiden train;
> Like a fleet-footed deer, or morning light:
> And I drew homeward, for it touched on night:
> And put what I had seen in writing fair:
> Shone fix'd the Polar light, and broadly blazed
> the Bear;
> And then night wan'd, and Hecate fled away:
> I sought my dreamy couch, before the day:
> Having first thank'd the Heavens, that show'd
> me such a play.

Thus ends Thurlow's "The Flower and the Leaf." This last passage may be regarded as typical of the entire poem. Basically in the heroic measure, it offers considerable variety, as there are two triplets and four alexandrines. Three lines -- the first, ninth, and tenth -- may be considered modernization, but all the rest are paraphrase, for the most part rather free paraphrase. The diction, except in the modernized lines, is decidedly Augustan in character.

When we place such findings alongside those made in connection with Thurlow's "The Knight's Tale," the conclusion that seems to force itself most cogently upon us, is that Thurlow is an inconsistent workman, or we might say that, although the resulting style has a certain individuality, it has been produced eclectically, made of fourteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century materials, and probably to some extent haphazardly, seemingly the product of no considered philosophy or principle of translation. At least, Thurlow's volume has

no editorial material to tell us otherwise, except perhaps for one footnote. Line 949 of "The Knight's Tale" (p. 51) reads in its entirety: "He smote his horse with spurs." The abbreviated character of the line is explained thus: "These half-lines are not negligently left, but made of set purpose, as Spenser has used them in the 'Faerie Queene.'" Yet this note rather supports than contradicts my findings. As far as his eclecticism is concerned, this must now be regarded as touching yet another era not previously mentioned, the Elizabethan. As for the other matter, except to show that, in metrics at least, Thurlow had put some thought on principles, the note tells us nothing about the philosophical basis of Thurlow's translating, if indeed there was one.

Item No. 18 (1824). [Unknown]. "The Good Parson," pp. 179-180n in "Art. X [untitled except for running title "Works of Chaucer"]." Retrospective Review, IX, Part I (1824), 172-206.

When the Retrospective Review began publication in 1820, the editor wrote an introduction (Vol. I, pp. i-xvii) in which he explained that the purpose of this "Review of past literature" was "to recal [sic] the public from an exclusive attention to new books, by making the merit of old ones the subject of critical discussion" (p. viii). He says further: "Criticism, which when able and just, is always pleasing,we shall combine with copious and characteristic extracts, analyses, and biographical accounts, so as in some measure to supply the dearth of works on the history of literature in

our own language" (p.ix). This purpose is well carried out in the article that contains the item of translation we are about to consider.

This article, which I shall call by its running title, "Works of Chaucer," is headed only by a listing of four editions of Chaucer: three being of the works--Thynne, 1532 and 1542, and Speght, 1598 -- and the other of the Tales only, being Tyrwhitt's second edition, 1798. Though these editions, especially Tyrwhitt's, get some attention in "Works of Chaucer," the writer's primary purpose is rather to awaken the reader to a sense of the worth and importance of Chaucer and to "extend his familiarity" with Chaucer and "facilitate his enjoyment of the intellectual treasures" to be found in his works (p. 178). The writer then speaks of the "considerable difficulties" that lie in the way of the reader who would know and enjoy Chaucer. First there are the "barbarous corruptions of the text," of those parts not edited by the "diligent and ingenious" Tyrwhitt (p. 178). But Tyrwhitt notwithstanding, there is the obsolete language and spelling to contend with, as well as the changes in pronunciation, "particularly," says the writer, "with respect to syllabication, and the seat of the thesis, or percussive accent, and that indolent elision of the vowel, which our Midas' ears have suffered to be carried to such an extent, and by which so many of our dissyllables have been melted, or rather crushed, into mono-

syllabic words" (pp. 178-179).

The writer suggests that the way to make such difficulties disappear is to provide an edition of the Chaucer's works which "would obviate the obscurity without impairing the venerable features of antiquity" and "would soften down some of those grossnesses of diction, in the looser tales, which the fashion of Chaucer's days somewhat too freely admitted, without precisely substituting that fastidious phraseology with which modern prudery disguises its looser thoughts" (p. 179). In this last statement, made well before the era we term Victorian, we have one of the best criticisms I know of, of the peculiarly hypocritical turn that Victorian notions of morality often took.

At this point, in a note on this and the following page (pp. 179-180), the writer is moved to provide an example of the kind of edition he recommends, selecting for his purposes the character of the Parson from the General Prologue. I shall give the version entire, together with the discussion with which it is introduced. Here one may see the modernization theory that marks the Romantic Era opposed sharply to the paraphrase theory of the Augustans:

> We shall quote, in another place, the same passage, verbatim, from the collated text of Mr. Tyrwhitt, taking only the liberty of a little modernization of the spelling; and it will be seen how slight, in every other respect, are the innovations we would propose. [This intention is never carried out, as neither in this article nor in its 1826 sequel is such a passage to be found.] Pope, in his beautiful

and splendid versions of the January and May, &c. has polished away almost every mark and vestige of venerable antiquity; and Dryden, in his smoothly flowing (sometimes abridged and sometimes dilated) translation of Palemon and Arcite, in some of the most delightful passages of our author, sacrifices the pathos, by losing the simplicity of the original. Certainly neither one nor the other can give the modern reader a correct idea of the native style and peculiar beauties of Chaucer.

THE GOOD PARSON

A true good man ther was there of religion,
Pious and poor--the parson of a town.
But rich he was in holy thought and work;
And thereto a right learned man;--a clerk
That Christ's pure gospel would sincerely preach,
And his parishioners devoutly teach.
Benign he was, and wondrous diligent,
And in adversity full patient,
As proven oft; to all who lack'd a friend.
Lothe for his tithes to ban or to contend,
At every need much rather was he found
Unto his poor parishioners around
Of his own substance and his dues to give:
Content on little, for himself, to live.
Wide was his cure; the houses far asunder,
Yet never fail'd he, or for rain or thunder,
Whenever sickness or mischance might call,
The most remote to visit, great or small,
And, staff in hand, on foot, the storm to brave.
This noble ensample to his flock he gave
That first he wrought, and afterward he taught.
The word of life he from the gospel caught;
And well this comment added he thereto,
If that gold rusteth what should iron do?
And if the priest be foul on whom we trust,
What wonder if, the unletter'd layman lust?
And shame it were in him the flock should keep,
To see a sullied shepherd, and clean sheep.
For sure a priest the sample ought to give
By his own cleanness how his sheep should live.
He never set his benefice to hire,
Leaving his flock acomber'd in the mire,
And ran to London cogging at St. Paul's [sic]
To seek himself a chauntery for souls,
Or with a brotherhood to be enroll'd;
But dwelt at home, and guarded well his fold,
So that it should not by the wolf miscarry.
He was a shepherd, and no mercenary.

Tho holy in himself, and virtuous,
He still to sinful men was mild and piteous:
Not of reproach imperious or malign;
But in his teaching soothing and benign.
To draw them on to heaven, by reason fair
And good example, was his daily care.
But were there one perverse and obstinate,
Were he of lofty or of low estate,
Him would he sharply with reproof astound.
A better priest is no where to be found.
He waited not on pomp or reverence
Nor made himself a spiced conscience.
The lore of Christ and his apostles twelve
He taught: but, first, he followed it himselve.

A moment's comparison with the original (explicitly Tyrwhitt's and presumably the second edition listed at the beginning of the essay) will serve to show that this is a modernization, though not so pure a one as the introductory remarks would lead us to believe. In the comparison to be made, I use Tyrwhitt's text and Tyrwhitt's numbering of the lines. The lines of the translation are numbered as the corresponding lines in Tyrwhitt.

One might quarrel perhaps with the translator's handling of the first line: it would seem that since he has taken a ten-syllable line, "A good man ther was of religoun," and transformed it into an eleven-syllable line, there must be some gratuitous addition in it. The problem is that Chaucer's "religioun" loses a syllable in modern pronunciation. To compensate, the translator has added not only the word "true" but also a second "there." His modernization may here be defended, perhaps, on the ground that besides losing a syllable "religioun" may be accented in the modern pronunciation only on the second syllable. Perhaps the translator

felt that the resultant feminine ending made the line sound more Chaucerian, but I doubt whether any prosodist, Chaucer himself or a later one, would altogether approve rhyming the unaccented last syllable of "religion" with the accented "town," not to mention the disparity in sound.

The third line (v. 481) is pure modernization: there is but one change--"of" into "in"--and that is demanded by idiom. The changes made in the third line, perhaps dictated by the shift in the accent of "also" from the second syllable to the first, seem nevertheless gratuitous. But his "thereto" seems no more successful metrically than would "also" had he kept the original line, and to make up for the syllable lost by the dropping of "He," we have a "right." The sole defense of these changes is that the result at least sounds Chaucerian. Thus it may be allowed that the translator is yet abiding by his principle: to give a "correct idea" of Chaucer's style.

In strange contrast to line 479, in which a line of ten syllables is transformed into one of eleven, line 486 may be regarded as reduced from ten syllables to nine, on the assumption that the modernizer does not intend that the Chaucerian syllabication and accentuation of "patient" (pá-tĭ-ént) be retained. So far as sense only is concerned, of course the line may be used just as originally written, so that the modernizer must choose between the preserving of meaning at the cost of meter and the converse. Perhaps

this modernizer was consciously choosing the former. But if that is so, why did he introduce in the preceding lines the words "pious," "right," and "pure" if he were not choosing to put meter before meaning? The most likely answer to this inconsistency, or seeming inconsistency, lies in the writer's curious theory about Chaucer's metrics. This theory, as presented in this article (pp. 175-176 and n, 194 and n) and in the sequel (Retrospective Rev, XIV, 319-320n, 345-347n), is inadequately defined and developed, so that one cannot tell whether his modernizing practice is consistent with it. In sum, it is that Chaucer's verse is to be measured only in accents, not in iambic feet. The writer makes a number of derogatory allusions to the practice of counting off syllables on the fingers and recommends the use of the ear instead. When, however, he advances the notion that Chaucer wrote hexameter verse (XIV, 345-347n), one wonders if one can trust this particular gentleman's ear. One's doubts increase as one sees him in a number of examples apparently seeking to put Chaucer's verse into dactylic and trochaic molds. Returning, with this inadequate recapitulation of an inadequately presented theory, to the line in question--"And in adversity full patient"--I believe that the modernizer thought Chaucer intended his line to scan, and himself intended his modernized line to scan, as follows: "And in ad/versity/ full pa/tient." If we should remonstrate that this is hardly an hexameter line, our writer could point to the conclusion

of his note (XIV, 347), where he admits this sort of line as an "occasional substitution." But his theory is only half formed, or at least only half presented, as he virtually grants, when at the very close of the note he refers to an intention, apparently never realized, of presenting a "meditated analysis of the versification of Chaucer."

Of the twenty-six rhymes of the original, all but six (or seven, if the couplet at vv. 497-498 be regarded as essentially discrepant) have been retained, at least with respect to sound if not to word. Obviously the rhyme of vv. 487-488 may not properly be retained in a modernization because of the obsolete character of sithes. This fact did not deter "Trinitarius" (Item No.6) from retaining the word; indeed it encouraged him to do so, so that its archaic character might flavor his translation. Our present translator seems to approve the general end of giving an archaic cast to one's translation of Chaucer, but except perhaps in the very last word of his version, "himselve," he seems to avoid achieving it by the self-conscious retaining of words obviously archaic or obsolete. His principle therefore is essentially different from that of "Trinitarius": instead of archaism for archaism's sake, as with "Trinitarius," it is archaism for Chaucer's sake. His purpose is, we must remember, to give "the modern reader a correct idea of the native style and peculiar beauties of Chaucer" (p. 179). In my opinion, if one takes his version as a whole and reads

it at a normal pace, one will find that he has achieved this purpose rather well. He employs a variety of methods -- the retention of Chaucer's rhyme, the use of words with a Chaucerian cast, such as "ensample" (498), "acomber'd" (510) -- but his successful transmission of Chaucer, if such may be admitted, seems mainly due to his retention or recapture of Chaucer's phrasing. In the next-to-last verse paragraph, for example (517-526), there are many changes in words, but something of the flow of Chaucer's phrases is still there.

On the whole, his translating of Chaucer is good, and it is perhaps to be regretted that he did not himself undertake the extensive modernization of Chaucer he recommended. But he is a man with other things to do. In this essay, with his mind on its main purpose--"to remove, as far as the nature of our function will admit, the cloud that involves this temple of the elder muse" (p. 180) -- the writer goes on to devote his attention to a biographical survey (pp. 181-197) and a very sketchy account of the printed progress of Chaucer's works (pp. 197-199). The biographical survey is marked by the usual errors resulting from the ascription to Chaucer of the spurious Court of Love and Testament of Love, but it is none the less a scholarly performance, as witnessed by the full note on the value of money in Chaucer's day (pp. 188-190), written to dispose of Speght's assertion that Chaucer's income was £1000 a year.

The closing pages (pp.199-206) of the essay are devoted to the Canterbury Tales. After praising the editorship of Tyrwhitt, the writer discourses on the dramatic nature of the whole work, explaining that if Homer may be regarded as the father of ancient tragedy, Chaucer may be regarded as the father of modern comedy. He cites the passages from the General Prologue (vv. 722-744) and from the Miller's Prologue (vv. 3152-86)[15] as containing Chaucer's conscious claims of the "dramatic privilege," i.e., that of presenting persons as they naturally are. This regard for the dramatic nature and the dramatic integrity of the Canterbury Tales (more fully exhibited in the sequel to this article), though not unique in the Romantic Era,[16] is certainly rare, for the Romantic enthusiasm tended to be at once expansive, roaming freely over wide literary areas, and impulsively selective, catching at isolated "beauties" and "amenities" and offering assorted "illustrations."

In citing these passages from the original, the writer modernizes the spelling and even the form of words in a way that brings the passages very close to the borderline that divides Chaucer text from Chaucer translation. For instance, not only does "remenant" (v. 726) become "remnant" but "everich" (v. 735) becomes "every" and "o word" (v. 740) becomes "one word." He does this, of course, for the reader's benefit. In the sequel, he extends this technique to the point where the borderline does indeed seem to have been crossed. But this is the matter of our next Item.

Item No. 19 (1826). [Unknown]. [Various passages from the Canterbury Tales, only slightly altered, with particular emphasis on the prologues and links, passim in] "Art. VI [untitled except for running title "The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer"] ." Retrospective Review, XIV, Part II (1826), 305-357.

This article, as we learn on page 305, is a continuation, by the same author, of the Retrospective Review (Vol. IX) article which included the piece just dealt with as Item No. 18. The list of Chaucer's works given at the beginning of the previous article (Works of 1532, 1542, and 1598, and the Canterbury Tales, ed. Tyrwhitt, 2d ed., 1798) is repeated, and Urry's edition of the works (1721) and the Ogle modernizations of the Canterbury Tales (1741) are added. In the text of the article (p. 307), a seventh item is added: a second edition (1740) of Morell's work, which, as was seen above in Chapter II, included translations of the General Prologue and the Knight's Tale, the former done chiefly by Betterton (or Pope) and the latter by Dryden.[17]

As for the article itself, it offers first a critique of the translations presented in the volumes of Morell and Ogle (pp. 306-313). From this writer's own practice of modernizing, which was discussed in Item No.18, we can well understand that his criticism of the work of the Augustan paraphrasts is unfavorable. At page 314, however, the writer returns to his favorite subject, introduced in the previous article,Chaucer's place as the "Father of English

Comedy," a place secured for him chiefly by "that comprehensive and yet unrivalled production, the Canterbury Tales" (p. 315). The bulk of the article (pp. 315-353) is then given over to a survey of the Canterbury Tales, with particular emphasis on the character and role of the Host and on the various links and prologues that give dramatic life to the work as a whole. Liberal citation of passages from the original text, though altered in a manner shortly to be dealt with, occurs throughout this section of the article. On pp. 352-353, the reviewer concludes this section by expressing trust that he has "sufficiently substantiated the claim of Chaucer to the merit of dramatic invention and interest, in the two grand requisites, the structure of his fable or action, and the delineation, sustainment, and felicitous grouping of comic character."

The concluding pages (353-356) are devoted to a discussion of the general plan of the Canterbury Tales and include an interesting comparison of it to the plan of the Decameron. In his closing remarks, the writer lists three tasks the accomplishment of which might provide "all that might be desired by the great patriarch of our national poetry" (p.357). One of these is the sort of modernized version of the entire works for which he had furnished an example in the first article, in his "Good Parson" piece. The other two tasks he hoped to carry out himself in future articles: an analysis of Chaucer's other works, similar to that accorded in this

and the previous article to the Canterbury Tales, and a "clear developement of the metrical system and versification of Chaucer" (p. 357). This last is an admission that his comments on this subject in these essays were, as I indeed found them to be, not very clear. So far as I know, these purposes were never realized, but the writer leaves us at the end, with some notion of what he expected to accomplish through an analysis of Chaucer's "metrical and rhythmical system":

> We should be enabled in some degree to ascertain what our language has lost, in point of harmonic power, from the misdirection of an erroneous theory of prosodial criticism, as well as what it has gained by the diligence of literary culture, and the progress of civilization and refinement.

Such is the article by our unknown reviewer. It remains now briefly to present and analyze the type of quotation from the Canterbury Tales with which he has furnished his analytical survey.

The first quotation in this survey is from the General Prologue, vv. 749-785 (A, 747-783), being the passage in which the Host is introduced and in which he first speaks to the Pilgrims. The basic text is, I assume, the Tyrwhitt 1798, although the reviewer has the older texts before him and, as is obvious from a note on p. 319, does make a practice of collating the Tyrwhitt with them. He describes the text as actually presented in his article, as "just so far modernized as to render it intelligible without the assistance of

a glossary" and "at the same time [to] leave the quaintness of antiquity, and the characteristic style of the author, unimpaired" (pp. 315-316). I now give the first nineteen lines of this passage just as they appear in the article, except that I omit the symbols used to indicate footnotes:

> "Great chēēr made our host us every one, [749]
> And to the supper set he us anon:
> And serv-ed us with victuals of the best.
> Strong was the wine, and well to drink us lest. [752]
> A seemly man our host-e was with all
> For to han been a marshal in a hall.
> A larg-e man he was with ey-en steep,
> A fairer burgess is there none in Cheap: [756]
>
> Bold was his speech, and wise, and well ytaught,
> And of manhood him lacked rightly naught.
> Eke, thereto, was he a right merry man,
> And, after supper, playful he began, [760]
> When that we hadden made our reckonings,
> And spake of mirth amongest other things;
> And said he thus: "[punctuation sic] Now lordings trew-e-ly
> Ye been to me right welcome heartily:
> For, by my troth, if that I shall not lie [765]
> This year I saw not such a company
> At one time in this harbourage as is now."
>
> (Pp. 316-319.)

In a footnote, p. 316, the writer reminds of the rule he made in his previous article regarding his mode of quotation:

> Wherever the rhyme and the structure of the verse permit, [the method is] to reduce the spelling as near as possible to the modern standard, and endeavour to accommodate it to the modern pronunciation: but with this especial reservation--that wherever the terminative vowels are preserved, except where they are followed by an initial vowel, they must be so pronounced as to preserve a syllabic quantity. Wherever an exception necessarily occurs to this rule, we mark the mute vowel by an italic.

This explanation is not as clear as it might be: the last sentence seems at first to deal with exceptions to the whole rule, including the exception named in the preceding sentence, whereas it is really meant only to implement that exception. Thus the italicized -e in "wine" (v. 752) and in "none" (v. 756) are not meant to be pronounced. How the italicizing of amongest is related to the given rule escapes me altogether.

It is clear that, so far as the writer's basic intention is concerned, this method of quoting is productive of a text of Chaucer rather than of a translation. But when one looks at his actual practice, one wonders if the result may be so classified. I now quote the beginning of this passage as it appears in Tyrwhitt (the 1775 text is cited), vv. 749-758:

> Gret chere made oure hoste us everich on,
> And to the souper sette he us anon:
> And served us with vitaille of the beste.
> Strong was the win, and wel to drinke us leste.
> A semely man our hoste was with alle,
> For to han ben a marshal in an halle,
> A large man he was with eyen stepe,
> A fairer burgeis is ther non in Chepe:
> Bold of his speche, and wise and wel ytaught,
> And of manhood him lacked righte naught.[18]

First of all, we note the changes in spelling: "chere" becomes "chēēr" (though, through the marks to indicate length and an explanatory note, the writer hopes to preserve the dissyllabic nature of Chaucer's "chere"); "everich on," "every one"; "vitaille," "victuals" (though here, as pointed out in a note, the difference in pronunciation is but slight);

"burgeis," "burgess"; and so on. Such changes, as in the case of Clarke's Riches of Chaucer (see below, p. 674), may be considered as not exceeding the limits allowable in a text of Chaucer. But what are we to say when modernization of spelling causes the loss of the final syllabic -e, as it does in the last words in each of the lines 751-756?[19] It seems to me that when the two-syllable Chépĕ is replaced by the one-syllable Cheap, we are getting something other than a text of Chaucer. When we get to line 758 and see that the adverb "richte" has been replaced by the adverb "rightly," we may regard the borderline between edition and translation as having been crossed.

As the survey of the Canterbury Tales proceeds, many another passage is given, altered in much the same way as the passage above has been altered. In my opinion, the changes are sufficient to warrant my including these passages in my list as Item No. 19.

Item No. 20 (1827). Johnstone, John, comp. "The Prioress's Tale" [Wordsworth's version], pp. 176-184, and "The Character of a Good Parson" [Dryden's version], pp. 184-187, in Specimens of Sacred and Serious Poetry, from Chaucer to the Present Day; Including Grahame's Sabbath and Other Poems, and Blair's Grave. With Biographical Notices and Critical Remarks, By John Johnstone. Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-Court; and Geo. B. Whittaker, London. 1827

In her listing of this item, Miss Spurgeon (II, 165) gives only the following description: "The Prioresses Tale and Character of a Good Parson, modernized, with a brief

account of Chaucer prefixed." She does not give the authors of these versions,nor as a matter of fact does Johnstone give them in this little (16mo) volume he has compiled. One need but glance at them, however, to determine that they belong to Wordsworth and to Dryden, respectively.

Wordsworth's modernization, with the title here given as "The Prioress's Tale," is cited in full. The text is drawn most probably from the printing in The Miscellaneous Poems of William Wordsworth (London, 1820), Vol. III, pp. 115-126. In that very same year, 1820, Vol. III of Poems by William Wordsworth was published, with "The Prioress's Tale" appearing on pp. 175-186. In stanza 12, line 7, and in stanza 28, lines 1-2, where significant differences occur between the two 1820 texts, Johnstone's text follows that of the Miscellaneous Poems. In the same year that Johnstone's book was published, 1827, a five-volume edition of Wordsworth's Poetical Works appeared, with "The Prioress's Tale" found in Vol. IV, pp. 105-116. Though in the critical readings mentioned, Johnstone also agrees with 1827, it is improbable, if not impossible, that Johnstone drew his text from that source.

"The Character of a Good Parson," occupying pages 184-187 in this compilation, is drawn from Dryden's piece of the same title, but Johnstone has cited only the first 105 lines, or three fourths, of that piece. Since the rest applies almost solely to matters of Dryden's own times,[20]

it did not suit Johnstone's purpose to include it, as we shall see. For a moment, I should like to glance at the question of the exact text of Dryden used by the compiler. The logical source would be of course Scott's edition of 1808, but there are curious discrepancies. To begin with, Johnstone does not print, as Scott does, the brackets indicative of the presence of triplets. This difference is quite understandable,as this use of the brackets was going out of fashion. But another older practice, one which goes back to Dryden himself and which even Scott did not adopt, is employed by Johnstone: the practice of writing as 'd the past tense or past participle endings of weak verbs when the ending is not to be pronounced as a separate syllable. An example occurs in the very third line, reading in Johnstone: "His eyes diffus'd a venerable grace." Scott prints "diffused." The respective practices are maintained consistently in both texts. Another indication that Johnstone was using an older text occurs in line 39 (for ease of reference see the Scott-Saintsbury ed.), which he gives as follows:

As harbingers before th' Almighty fly.

Thus the line reads in the original edition of Dryden's Fables (except of course that the second word is there capitalized), the elision of the before Almighty being indicative of the Augustan Era's penchant for justifying every line in accordance with the decasyllabic pattern. Yet Scott printed "the Almighty," thus in the modern way giving the

reader the option of dropping the syllable through elision or of keeping it as the first syllable of an anapestic foot. Two other discrepancies, of a different order, as they seem to be due to errors of transcription, deserve mention. Johnstone's readings for lines 18 and 38 are as follows:

Though harsh the precept, yet the people charm'd;

and

Lightning and thunder (heaven's artillery).

Scott's edition, in agreement with the reading in the original Fables (not counting capitalization), for "people" reads "preacher" and for "Lightning" reads "Lightnings." In the non-capitalization of nouns, however, Scott and Johnstone are in almost complete agreement. All the discrepancies might be explained of course on the basis of peculiarities in Johnstone's own transcription and editing, but there still seems sufficient reason for assuming that Johnstone used some other text than Scott's, possibly that which appeared in the Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden (London, 1760), III, 238-244, which contains the peculiar readings mentioned as printed by Johnstone.

Returning to matters of more central significance, we shall examine the purpose of Johnstone's book and his reason for including these translations of Chaucer.

Perhaps the best indication of the general direction and flavor of this compilation is found on pages iii-iv of the "Advertisement":

> There never were so many readers of compilations and extracts as now; and yet, but for certain accidental lights streaming in upon the pages of the ordinary caterers for the general taste, it could scarcely be guessed that poetry or the art of printing was above a half century old in a country which has for ages possessed the richest, and the most copious and varied literature in the world.--There is no better nor surer means of elevating the tastes and bracing the minds of a people beginning to be enervated by a feeble and diffuse literature, than to multiply cheap editions of the best parts of the works of those who were the true and manly fathers of the national mind. Nor, in this point of view,can a greater blessing be conferred on a people, than by clearing away the rubbish from those golden mines which they have long unconsciously possessed, and which they must prize the moment they are thrown open. Those precious spoils of time have been the exclusive property of the rich and the learned so long, only because the general class remained ignorant of the value of the common inheritance.

This paragraph speaks volumes about the changes, not only in the audience for literature, but in society itself. The days when a writer or editor addressed himself to his peers is rather a thing of the past. Instead he is become like a missionary, bringing truth and beauty to the unenlightened "general class." The basic point of view of the writer is still that of the aristocrat, but whereas he once looked only around at his peers, he now looks out beyond them to a larger, but lower, audience. Observe, however, that there is a genuine democratic faith on Johnstone's part that the "general class" are educable.

A considerable part of the book, pp. 1-165, is devoted to the life and poetry of two men, James Grahame and Robert Blair. In the following description of the former's work

as sub-curate of St. Margaret's in Durham (p. 25), we can see how Johnstone would be led to include Chaucer's character of the Parson in his book:

> The parish was populous--the church deserted. Animated by the zeal of duty, and the consciousness of powerful talent, he devoted himself manfully to his task, and soon attracted the most numerous and cultivated audience in the city, subduing the pride of learning and the vanity of fashion to the power of the gospel. He was now become what is called a popular preacher; and he was, in the best sense of the word, a faithful pastor, exemplary in life, and sound in doctrine, affectionate and zealous for the spiritual improvement of his flock.

Page 167 bears the half-title: Specimens of Sacred and Serious Poetry, from Chaucer to the Present Day. The following section occupies the remainder of the book and is made up of "Preliminary Observations," pp. 169-174, and the "Specimens" (including biographical and critical notices), pp. 175-560.

The "Preliminary Observations" offer a survey of British sacred poetry from the time of the Reformation. It is interesting to note that despite "a few small pieces" (of which "The Character of a Good Parson" presumably is one) Dryden is specifically denied the title of "sacred poet" (p. 172), whereas Wordsworth is named as pre-eminent among a group of contemporaries--including Southey, Campbell, and Coleridge--from whose writings "there may be selected a mass of poetry of the most beautiful kind, which breathes a sincere love of pure religion, undisturbed by sectarian distinctions,

and untrammelled by petty scruples--and an earnest desire to convey solid instruction through the universal and fascinating medium of verse" (p. 172). At the close of his "Preliminary Observations," Johnstone explains why, though called "sacred," not all of the selections are "directly religious":

> From that serious, lofty, and contemplative poetry which is fitted to strike the imagination, and to exert a deep and hallowing influence over the affections, many of the finest specimens are taken, to which, though some readers may refuse the name of religious, they cannot deny a purifying and elevating tendency, disposing the mind to the reception of divine truth, as the strains of the organ sooth, and prepare the heart for a more spiritualized worship. (Pp. 173-174).

In this category, the two pieces selected to represent Chaucer belong. After a memoir of the poet (pp. 175-176), which because of its brevity contains fewer of the errors that long since had become standard biographical material, Johnstone says that, though Chaucer cannot be accounted a sacred poet, "his genius has done homage to religion in many memorable instances." One of the instances is that of "beautiful legend of the Little Christian Martyr, whose story we have given as told by that gentle Prioress, who was herself 'all conscience and tender herte'" (p. 176).

It is thus the content of Chaucer's poetry rather than the manner that concerns Johnstone, so that for his purposes the translations by Wordsworth and Dryden serve as well as the original--or better, when one considers the kind of audience he wished the book to have. Yet is it curious that

he neither gives the names of the translators nor even announces that the selections are translations.

Perhaps this failure to acknowledge the source of his "Chaucer" selections gave Johnstone a twinge of conscience. The very next year (1828) he published a companion volume entitled Specimens of the Lyrical, Descriptive, and Narrative Poets of Great Britain, from Chaucer to the Present Day: with a Preliminary Sketch of the History of Early English Poetry, and Biographical and Critical Notices (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd). Though Chaucer was not included in the "Specimens" part of the work, he did receive considerable attention in the "Preliminary Sketch." Among the remarks there made we find reference to the "eminent modernizers," Dryden and Pope, and Dryden is praised for having done "Chaucer's beautiful allegory," the Flower and the Leaf (p. 33). Then Johnstone continues:

> Both poets [Dryden and Pope] have been more successful in the lofty and serious than in the comic or pathetic; and whoever would truly relish the beauties of Chaucer must master the few difficulties of his language, and read his own thoughts in his own words. Mr. Wordsworth has recently made a version of the Tale of the Prioress so feelingly and so faithfully, that it is to be hoped he will not stop here: -- The Clerk's Tale, that of Griselde, one of the most pathetic that Chaucer has left, is a subject equally worthy of his powers; and as his poetical creed approaches much nearer Chaucer's than did that of either Dryden or Pope, more confidence might be placed in his version, both in the simplicity of the letter and in the integrity and fine humanity of the spirit. (P. 34.)

Surely it must be granted that any reader of the "general class" who read his "Chaucer" first in Johnstone's Specimens of Sacred and Serious Poetry and then followed the advice above and read the same pieces in the original would agree with Johnstone's closing point.

Item No. 21 (1827). [Unknown]. "The Friar, Of one of the Mendicant Orders": [a translation of the character of the Friar in the General Prologue, in an item headed] "Chaucer" [in a section called] "Magaziniana." The London Magazine, VII, N.S. (Jan. 1827), 139-140.

The maker of this translation of the character of the Friar calls it a modernization. But in the strict sense in which the term is used in this study, it will hardly pass as such. It comes out to the same number of lines as the original--64--and it preserves the same basic meter--the heroic couplet--but most of the piece is paraphrase, with little attempt made to preserve the basic Chaucerian diction and rhyme.

I give now the opening lines together with the unknown writer's own introductory comment and his footnote to "'squires" in line 7.

> A modernization of Chaucer's Tales, and some of his other poems, we have long considered a desideratum. It is in part done by Dryden; admirably in some instances has he reconceived the ideas of the author; but he in general departs too much from his text, and at any rate has left much to be done. We consider the following a very fair specimen of what is wanted.

THE FRIAR,

Of one of the Mendicant Orders.

Next was a wanton and a jovial friar,
As wanton as fair saint could well desire.
So fair of speech was this accomplished brother,
All the four orders had not such another:
All ease, and smiles, and complaisance was he;
A noble prop of his fraternity.

His company by all the 'squires* was sought,
For ever some new jest or song he brought:
Great was his favour with good women, too,
And their confessions found him much to do;
For sweetly did he hear them, while detailing
Each graver error and venal [sic--probably venial was meant, for venal would better describe his own failing] failing;
And sweetly did he use his elocution,
In giving them a pleasant absolution. (P. 139.)

*In the original, frankeleins, nearly corresponding to our modern term "country gentlemen." (P. 139.)

In a similar note on the next page, to "love-days," the translator gives an explanation and then refers the reader who seeks a "more particular explanation," to "Tyrwhitt's edition of the Canterbury Tales." This seems sufficient evidence for assuming that Tyrwhitt's text was the basis for this translation; hence, for purposes of comparison, the Tyrwhitt 1775 text of the Friar's portrait will be used.

To judge from this prefactory comment the translator seems to be unaware that his "desideratum" had in a manner already been met, insofar as the Canterbury Tales themselves were concerned, by Lipscomb (see above, Item No.4). Of course insofar as the Lipscomb work was made up of the translations

from Ogle 1741, translations of the very sort characterized in the comment above as departing too much from Chaucer, it would not satisfy this writer's requirements. Still, Lipscomb's own more accurate, if less literary, contributions should have qualified it for honorable mention. It thus seems likely that he did not even know of the Lipscomb volumes. Nor would he of course be dependent upon them for his knowledge of Dryden's translations. These he could easily have seen in the original Fables, in The Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden (1760), or in Scott's edition of Dryden's works.

The following quotation from the portrait of the Friar as it appears in Tyrwhitt 1775 will serve to show that our present translator does not altogether practice what he preaches:

A FRERE ther was, a wanton and a mery,
A Limitour, a ful solempne man.
In all the ordres foure is non that can
So moche of daliance and fayre langage.
He hadde ymade ful many a mariage
Of yonge wimmen, at his owen cost.
Until his ordre he was a noble post.
Ful wel beloved, and familier was he
With frankeleins over all in his contree,
And eke with worthy wimmen of the toun:
For he had power of confessioun,
As saide himselfe,more than a curat,
For of his ordre he was licenciat.
Ful swetely herde he confession,
And plesant was his absolution.

These are roughly the equivalent of the lines from the translation cited at the beginning. Thus in translation Chaucer's 15 lines are reduced to 14 lines, but the reduction is only momentary, as the next 4 lines of the translation are

merely an elaboration of the "pleasant absolution" expressed in line 14. Here they are, exhibited as the product of one who said that Dryden "in general departs too much from his text":

> So pleasant, they would almost risk their soul [15]
> To have so sweet a doctor make it whole;
> They almost found a pleasure in compunction,
> To have it softened by such soothing unction.

Paraphrasing as free as this would have been perfectly at home in Ogle's volumes. We note also another Augustan trait: the translator's refusal to follow Chaucer in a favorite maneuver, that of beginning a verse paragraph with the second line of a couplet. The last line of the preceding portrait, telling us that the Monk's "palfrey was as broune as is a bery," is the first line of the couplet, which Chaucer then completes with the first line of the Friar's portrait. Our present translator begins with a full couplet. It will be observed also--and this could be a sign of the prudery that in his own era was beginning to make itself felt--that he has omitted Chaucer's archly satirical mention of the Friar's amatory proclivities in vv. 212-213 (see Robinson's note to A, 212-213). Perhaps, however, these lines suggested that curious reference to the Friar as being "as wanton as fair saint could well desire" (l. 2). Just how this line is to be understood, however, I am at a loss to explain.

As a dramatic illustration of how far indeed is the present writer's translation from serving as a fit example

of the "desideratum" he sets forth, let us examine two other translations of the first fifteen lines of Chaucer's portrait. First, we take that of Betterton, as fairly illustrative of the type of translation abjured by this critic, although admittedly Betterton does not depart as freely as Dryden does in his "Character of a Good Parson." I cite the passage from Morell, pp. 217-218:

The FRYER.

A Fryer next, to ev'ry Female dear,
All the four Orders never had his Peer.
Wanton, diverting still in Prose, or Rhime;
He many Couples married in his time:
Some young ones at his own Expence he wed,
And to their Husbands Grief soon brought to Bed.
A frank Companion, secret, often try'd;
To gentle Dames, a Confessor, and Guide.
Licentiate of his Order once, and then,
For one the Curate had, he shrifted ten.
He with a Smile would their Confession hear;
No soul had cause his Penances to fear;
His Absolutions pleasant, soft, and mild;
He stroak'd 'em as a Parent does his Child.

If this is no closer to Chaucer than the work of our present translator is, it is yet no further away. The omission of the reference to the Franklins is counterbalanced by the inclusion of the satirical comment on the Friar's making marriages at his own expense. Thus the work of our critic fulfills the requirements he has laid down no better than the type of work he rejects.

Let us look now at a sample of the kind of translation this critic's remarks would lead us to expect:

A FRIAR there was, a wanton and a merry;
Licensed to beg, a wondrous solemn man.
In all the orders four there's none that can
So much of dalliance wrap in language fair.
Full many a marriage had he brought to bear
For women young, and paid the cost with sport.
Unto his order he was rare support.
Right well beloved, in fellowship was he
With jolly franklins all, and yeomanry;
And eke with women, of each town the flower,
For in confession he possess'd a power
More than a curate, as himself could state,
Being of his order a licentiate.
Full sweetly would he hear confession made;
Pleasantly was his absolution said.

This is R.H. Horne's, from Chaucer, Modernized, 1841 (see below, Item No. 28). Though not always as accurate as it might be, this is clearly modernization, rather than paraphrase. When changes are made, they are virtually forced because of shifts in accentuation (langáge becomes lánguage, for example) and the loss of syllables in pronunciation (dal-i-ance becomes, or may become, dal-liance). It is in line with what others of this critic's time were calling for: Leigh Hunt in the Round Table, 1817, and the reviewer in the Retrospective Review, 1824 and 1826. It would seem to be in line with what this critic is calling for too, but when we look at his sample, we find that it is not. Instead he gives only what the eighteenth-century paraphrasts produced in great profusion.

In his behalf, it must be admitted that the remainder of this translation is somewhat closer to the original than is the opening passage. Occasionally he preserves the rhyme.

Vv. 233-234--

His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives,
And pinnes, for to given fayre wives--

are rendered:

He kept a stock of ornamented knives,
And other toys, to give to comely wives.

The rhyme is kept, but much else is altered. The words "stock" and "ornamented" are sadly inferior in pictorial power to Chaucer's "tippet" and "farsed ful," and the specific "pinnes" has given way to the general "toys."

On more than one occasion this translator departs so far from his text as to include figures of his own making. For example, his equivalent to vv. 249-250 reads:

But above all his honest gains to help,
He fawned and flattered like the best bred whelp.

That last simile accords with Chaucer's presentation of the Friar as being "lowly of servise" so long as profit might come of it, but the figure itself does not occur in the original portrait at that particular point or in that particular way.

When Chaucer, a few lines later at v. 259, does introduce the image, it is in quite a different connection:

And rage he coude as it hadde ben a whelp.

The translation closes with the following verse paragraph, being lines 55-64, the equivalent of vv. 259-270 or the 52nd through 63rd lines of the original portrait:

Our friar on love-days was in great request, [55]
The very soul and spirit of the feast;
No half-starved cloisterer with thread-bare cope,
But rather like a cardinal or pope,--
As plump in flesh, and comfortably clad,--
And when he spoke, a gentle lisp he had, [60]
To make his English sweet upon his tongue;
And when he play'd upon a harp and sung,
There kindled in his eyes a glistening light,
As the stars twinkle in a frosty night.

These are closer to the original than are the opening lines, and one line (61) is retained without change from v. 267, except in spelling. The last couplet is also rather close. But these lines of modernization, coupled with only a very few others, fall far short of counterbalancing the very free paraphrasing indulged in by this translator. Finally, observe that he has not translated the last line of the original portrait: "This worthy limitour was cleped Huberd." Perhaps he felt this line was simply unnecessary to his purposes. I do not think, however, that he was deterred by the fact that its rhyming mate was the first line of the next portrait. To have expanded the line to a couplet would have been well within the scope of this paraphraser.

Item No. 22 (1828). Tytler, Henry William. "Sir John of Bounds, or, The Cook's Tale of Gamelyn, From Chaucer." And "Walter and Grisild; or, The Clerk's Tale; From Chaucer." Respectively, pp. 43-159 and 161-220, in Miscellanies in Verse consisting of Poems, Tales, Translations, &c. By the Late Henry William Tytler, M.D. Calcutta: Printed by V. Holcroft, at the Asiatic Press, No. 3, Council-House Street, 1828.

Henry William Tytler had provided this posthumous volume with a Preface (pp. iii-vi). Opening with an apology for his book, Tytler explains that the pieces in the volume, except "one or two," though written more for his own amusement than for publication, are brought out now because he has been told "they will be read with some degree of pleasure" (p. iv). A remark at the close of the Preface indicates that Tytler planned to publish further volumes of "this miscellany," promising translations of other tales by Chaucer, if the public found the two herein "agreeable" (p. vi). The posthumous publication of this volume and the lack of evidence of the existence of any further "Miscellany" indicate that in the midst of his plans he was overtaken by death, which occurred August 24, 1808. How this book came to be published in India two decades after the author's death is a question to which I have discovered no answer. Neither DNB nor Michaud's Biographie Universelle mentions this particular work of Tytler's, and neither speaks of his having resided in India. The title of another of his books, A Voyage Home from the Cape of Good Hope, indicates that he was something of a traveler, however. It can

only be assumed that Tytler's MS. somehow fell into the hands of the Calcutta printer and that the latter himself decided to publish it. The number of errors, particularly of punctuation, indicate that no one capable of properly representing the deceased author was on hand to see his book through the press.

Pages v-vi of the Preface are devoted to a discussion of the Chaucer translation in the volume. Tytler begins as follows:

> In the two Tales translated from Chaucer, I have endeavored to imitate the method of Pope, and Dryden, adhering as close to my original, as if he had been a Greek or Latin Classic, and whoever deviates from this rule and thinks to make the Tales more agreeable, by a pompous imitation, or interspersing passages of his own, as has been done by Mr. Ogle, and others, will find that his performance will be neglected at last. (P. v.)

That Tytler's performance was itself "neglected at last," if not at first also, should not be taken as indicative of the fact that Tytler failed to adhere to the principle enunciated here. On the contrary, his translating is very faithful, far more so than that of Dryden and Pope. Though Tytler seems to be thinking of their translating of the classics rather than their paraphrasing of Chaucer, it is true that with regard to the latter these two authors did not practice the method ascribed to them by Tytler. Instead, they were guilty, if not of "pompous imitation" (unless that term were applicable to Pope's Temple of Fame), certainly of "interspersing" passages of

their own. The only difference between them and Ogle in this respect is one of degree, not of kind. Tytler's translation is like that of his admired masters, however, in that it is paraphrase. Tytler does not strain to preserve the wording of the original, though he may on occasion keep closely to it. My impression is that such occasions are rare; Tytler is almost constantly paraphrasing. The reason for the neglect suffered by his Chaucer translation is not to be sought in the work itself, which is reasonably successful, but rather in the simple fact that Tytler was no Dryden or Pope.

One fact emerges from this, however; whether he recognizes it or not, Tytler is clearly under the influence of modernization theory insofar as that theory concerns the scope a translation is permitted in dealing with the matter of the original. Dryden and Pope in their own Era were even commended for their departures and embellishments. The Romantic Era, in general, did not sanction such procedures.

To resume quotation from the Preface:

> If the Tale of Walter and Grisild have any fault in Chaucer, it is too long; and of this he seems to have been sensible, by dividing it into six parts, and thus giving a breathing place to the Reader, at the end of every 200 Lines or so; by which means the whole appears shorter, and it is read with greater pleasure on account of this division. Very different has been the method of Mr. Ogle in his imitation [i.e., of the Clerk's Tale], who has swelled it up into a sort of Heroic Poem, almost entirely divested of that humour and naîveté [sic] which marks the original; and by extending the piece to above twice its original size, without any division; he has

> made it so insufferably tedious that . . . I found it impossible to read it through. (P. v.)

Tytler reveals here the typical Romantic impatience toward lengthiness in a composition, even if the composition be Chaucer's. The Twentieth Century no doubt shares Tytler's opinion of Ogle's embellishment, but it is rare to find anyone, in any Era, who will suggest that Chaucer made the Clerk's Tale "too long."

For the same reason, Tytler condemns the version of Gamelyn which was really done by Boyse but which he mistakenly credits to Ogle also, finding it,

> if possible yet more amplified; indeed so much, that we scarce get a sight of Chaucer from beginning to end. In him it is merely an old English Historical Ballad and as such it is here translated. (Pp. v-vi.)

Tytler's mistake in regarding Gamelyn as Chaucer's was that of his times, though Tyrwhitt in his "Account of the Works of Chaucer" (Vol. V, 1778, p. xxii) had expressed doubt that the piece was rightly Chaucer's.

Tytler says that "Ogle," in trying to make this "old English Historical Ballad" into a heroic poem, "has sometimes betrayed himself into strange absurdities." He gives as an instance the occasion when the original Gamelyn puts on his spurs prior to mounting his horse to ride off to his wrestling appointment.

> Mr. Ogle, wishing to heighten this idea, according to his pompous method adds, that after Gamelyn had put on his spur. [punctuation sic]
>
> "He look'd like Hermes just prepar'd to fly."

> We have seldom found a more unnatural, or bombast comparison. (P. vi.)

Surely Tytler is right: the introduction of classical imagery into this English ballad is ridiculous. This indicates that we may trust that Tytler will not resort to similar "absurdities."

Pages 1-42 are devoted to a piece called the Marriage of Belphegor, "imitated," the title says, "from the Prose, of the Famous Nicholas Machiavel." Then, forming a unit, with the running title, Translations from Chaucer, and occupying pages 43-159 and 161-220, respectively, come the versions of Gamelyn and the Clerk's Tale.

The title page (p. 43) for the former reads: Sir John of Bounds, Or, The Cook's Tale of Gamelyn. From Chaucer. In the following discussion, this version will be referred to simply as "Gamelyn." The original was first published in Urry, 1721. From the comment with which Tytler introduces his version (pp. 43-44), it seems certain that a copy of Urry was available to him. It is possible, of course, that he depended on a more recent edition. In the Preface he speaks of the "repeated Editions of our British Poets, lately made" (p. iv). Gamelyn had appeared in Bell's edition of the British poets, 1782 (VI, 5-72), and the latest collection of poetical work in which he could have found Gamelyn was that of Anderson, 1795, wherein the piece, as The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, is found in Vol. I, pp. 203-

217. In his "Life of Chaucer" prefixed to the works, Anderson says that he has retained the Tale of Gamelyn, along with three others also omitted by Tyrwhitt, "though all evidence, internal and external, is against the supposition of their being the production of Chaucer" (I, vi). The fact that Tytler, apparently a careful man,[21] refers unreservedly to this piece as Chaucer's argues somewhat against his use of Anderson.

Here are Tytler's introductory remarks:

> The original of the following Tale was first published in Mr. Urry's Edition of Chaucer, in the year 1721; and seven years after the death of the Editor which happened in 1714, soon after he had published Proposals for a Subscription to a new Edition of the works of Chaucer, in which he promised three additional Tales, and of those nobody doubts but the following was one. He assures us that he had found it in so many manscripts, that there was no reason to hesitate about its being genuine.

Urry's statement about finding Gamelyn in many MSS. appeared in the Urry edition on p. 36 as a headnote to the Tale, and presumably Tytler drew it from that source. The reference to the "Proposals, . . . in which he promised three additional Tales" is more curious and gives strong evidence not only that Tytler used Urry but that he used a particular copy of Urry. Tytler states that Urry died in 1714 (it was March 18, $17\frac{14}{15}$ [Spurgeon, I, 332]) and that shortly before his death his "Proposals" were published. In 1714, Urry wrote a "Sketch of a Preface [to] Edition of Chaucer's Works," but this was not published until 1721 (Spurgeon, I, 330),

when it was printed -- that is, a part of it was printed -- in the edition itself. More important, the part printed does not contain the reference to the "three additional Tales." The "Proposals for Printing Chaucer's Works" were not by Urry, but they do contain the promise of the addition of "three entire New TALES." According to Spurgeon (I, 344), this item, bearing the date June 30, 1716, was "inserted before the title page of the interleaved and annotated copy" of Urry in the British Museum. This copy, containing notes by Timothy and William Thomas, the brothers who between them were responsible for much of the apparatus to the Urry edition, had been presented by William to the British Museum (Spurgeon, I, 354-355). Since Tyrwhitt made use of this copy (1775, I, xx n), it would have been available to Tytler as well. It is highly unlikely that Tytler would have seen these "Proposals" in a separate copy; therefore he must have seen them in this particular copy in the British Museum. This does not mean, of course, that he was confined to the use of this particular copy when it came time to compose his version of Gamelyn. Otherwise the publication of Tytler's version on the other side of the world would be yet more perplexing than it already is.

I continue with Tytler's introductory remarks:

> [The poem Gamelyn] is perhaps not in Chaucer's best stile, but it seemed not unworthy of a place in the present Miscellany, among other Translations from this celebrated Poet, both because it is believed

> by several Commentators on Shakespeare, particularly Dr. Gray and Mr. Upton, to have been the original of the beautiful Comedy "As you like it" and likewise because, except the Miller's Tale, which is inferior to this, it is perhaps the only Old English Story in the whole Collection; the rest being either visions[,] translations from foreign Authors, or the scenes of them laid in Foreign Countries.
> (P. 44.)

Gamelyn was, of course, the remote source rather than the direct basis of As You Like It, which was a dramatization of Rosalynde, Euphues' Golden Legacie by Thomas Lodge. Lodge had based his story on Gamelyn, then only in MS. (William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill, eds., The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, Boston, 1942, pp. 211-212.) Few would agree with Tytler that Gamelyn is superior to the Miller's Tale.

Tytler now describes the poem itself and his method of handling it:

> The original is in short stanzas of eight and six syllables consisting of four lines each, and it is probably the longest Poem of this kind in the English language. That the Translation might be more exact, the same measure has been followed; it has likewise been endeavoured to preserve the original turn of expression, as far as the difference of Language would permit and even to retain such of the old words, as being to be met with in Shakespeare and Milton, are still generally understood, that the Poem might not entirely lose its air of antiquity: and it probably conveys some historical anecdotes, not to be met with in any other author.

The text of the poem follows, occupying pages 45-158. Let us see how Tytler's practice squares with the preceding statement.

The version consists of 449 stanzas, each organized (with a certain exception) as Tytler says, upon the original pattern, the ballad stanza. The opening stanzas are as follows, with the originals, from Anderson, given just below:

I.

Now sit ye down, and listen well,
And hearken all aright,
And ye shall hear me tell a Tale,
Of an illustrious Knight.

II.

Brave, courteous, affable and free,
Sir John of Bounds his name;
As full of wit and learning he,
As were his Parks of game.

III.

This worthy Knight three Children had,
And each of these a Son,
The younger good, the eldest bad;
Full early he begun.

The original (Anderson, p. 203):

Now lithin and listinith, and
Herkinith you aright,
And ye shullin herè me tell
You of a doughti knight.
Sir Johan of Boundis clepid was
This ilkè knight' is name;
Wele coudin he of noriture,
And eke of mochil game.
Thre sonnis this knight had, and with
His bodi he them wan;
The eldest was a moche shrew,
And sonè he began.

One difference in the prosody is apparent. Tytler has arbitrarily denied himself one liberty which rightly "following the same measure" would have afforded him. Whereas

in the stanza of the original only the second and fourth lines rhyme, in Tytler's stanza the first and third lines also rhyme. This burden of extra rhyming Tytler does not bear easily, for he is not a particularly good rhymer. In the first place, his rhymes are frequently imperfect. An instance appears in the very first stanza, in which he rhymes "Tale" with "well." This is license that even his own times would permit him, of course, but when he goes so far as to rhyme "made" and "had" (101st stanza) and then exceeds that liberty to rhyme "spoke" and "neck" (151st stanza), he might better have abandoned the notion of rhyming first and third lines altogether. His imperfect rhymes do furnish some freshness and surprise; else, his rhyming would hardly be above the level of doggerel.

Summarizing other elements in Tytler's prosody, we find his meter fairly regular and even on the whole, but he can scarcely be considered a really competent metrist; else he would not have been guilty of composing the following stanza:

CXXXII.

A while stood Gamelyn within
The ring, still as a stone,
Expecting wrestlers to come in,
But there approach'd him none.

The first line above is awkwardly run on, coming to an abrupt halt after the first foot of the second line. The awkwardness is partly due to the fact that Tytler has divided the prepo-

sitional phrase, "within/ The ring," between two lines. The caesura in line 2 is itself productive of awkwardness, inasmuch as a line of only three feet is hardly long enough to admit one successfully. The effect of it seems to be to bring the reading practically to a halt, an effect that is assured by the following trochee, with the very next syllable, "still," demanding both stress and length. After this the reading can hardly get underway again. Rebuttal might be made that this conveys the sense of the scene perfectly, but it seems to me that the prosody here should suggest stillness, not cause it. Let us see how this is handled in the original stanza:

> Gamèlyn in the plàce stode
> Stillè as any stone
> For to abidin wrastiling,
> But there ycomith none.
> (Anderson, I, 207.)

Whether we accept the placing of accent marks in this stanza, a legacy of Mr. Urry, we must agree that the prosody is far superior to that of the version. The first line ends with a strong word, a verb, which, though the sense is run on, induces a slight pause at this natural place, before the reader moves on to the second line, which is entirely devoted to the important image and is properly without caesura. Tytler's not infrequent use of run-on lines indicates at least that he is reasonably free of the restrictive tendencies of eighteenth-century poetic tradition. He even is given to permitting the sense to run on from one stanza to another,

though here he is often crossed by a less enlightened printer, who usually puts a period at the end of such stanzas anyway (Nos. 88, 185, 231, 376). However, the frequent use of syncope -- for example, "flatt'ring" in stanza no. 82 and, better, "Fri'rs" in no. 266 -- and of elisions -- "t'enthrall" in No. 278 -- indicates that Tytler is thinking, in part at least, in the rigid terms of exact meter which the era just before him had been so fond of.

Whatever may be said about his manner, Tytler must be commended for his faithfulness in handling the matter of his original. He has made only two changes, one minor one at the beginning and a major one at the end, and he has fully explained them to his readers. Gamelyn, the youngest of three sons among whom their father had divided his estate fairly, finds his eldest brother continually endeavoring to cozen him out of his share. Gamelyn, a youth of remarkable physical powess, naturally opposes his brother in this matter, and the original story, in a sort of Robin Hood ending, shows Gamelyn turning the tables on his elder brother in a court scene. As a result the brother, who had hoped to see Gamelyn hang, is himself hanged, along with the justice and the twelve jurors.

The first change occurs at stanza 4, which Tytler gives as follows:

IV.

Two lov'd their Sire, but he [the eldest son]
grew worse;

> Of him [the eldest son again, presumably]
> they stood in fear:
> For he deserv'd his Father's curse,
> As shortly ye shall hear.

At this point Tytler breaks the text to explain (bracketed comment mine):

> The fourth stanza runs thus in Chaucer,
>
> > His [i.e., the eldest's] Brother in[sic]lov'd
> > their Fadir,
> > And of him [the father, presumably] were aghast;
> > Th' eldist deserv'd his Fadir's curse,
> > And had it at the last:
>
> From the sense of which the Translator thought himself, in some measure obliged to depart, in order to keep up the probability of the story. For whatever the eldest son might have done in his Father's lifetime (of which the Tale makes no mention) it will presently be seen that, so far from having "his Fadir's curse at the last," his Father left him the Family-Estate; and, except in one general reflection, dictated by affection to his youngest Son, and which applied no more to the Eldest, than to any other person in the same situation, he seems to have made no distinction between the Brothers. (Pp. 46-47.)

This explanation is not very clear. In his MS. this may have been but a scribbled note that Tytler had not revised. What seems to trouble him, though, is the reference to the Father's curse. In the original the Father dies without cursing his eldest son, nor does the latter, at that point, seem to merit a curse. True, the dying Sir John of Bounds is advised by the peers he has summoned to his bedside, to divide his goods among the first and second sons only, with the stipulation that the brothers give Gamelyn land "whan that he godis koude" -- the equivalent, I take it, of "when Gamelyn was of proper age." But the account does not

implicate the eldest son as conspiring in this proposed division. The original is indeed somewhat inconsistent here, but Tytler seems to me a bit oversensitive on the point. It may be that a stanza of the original in which the eldest son is depicted as conniving in the arrangement has been dropped out. I should have thought it better for Tytler to supply such a stanza, or simply to let the inconsistency stand, than to make changes in Stanza 4. In any event, Tytler's remarks give the impression that the eldest son was particularly favored in the will. This is simply not the case, for the dying lord, angrily rejecting the recommended division, wills one of his own, in which the two older sons each receive five plows of land and Gamelyn is specifically awarded the rest of the estate, a considerable portion, and then beseeches the executors,

> For Gamèlyn' is love that
> Thus my bequest may stond.
> (Anderson, I, 204.)

The other change is fundamental. Let us again listen to Tytler, in a comment that appears at the end of the text of "Gamelyn" (pp. 158-159):

> The Translator, by saving the eldest Brother whom Chaucer makes to suffer indiscriminately, with the rest, has ventured to make an alteration in the catastrophe of the foregoing piece. For Gamelyn himself is far from being a perfect character; he had broken the neck of his Brother's Porter, upon no other provocation than obeying his Master's orders, terribly mauled a company of Ecclesiastics only because they refused to set him at liberty, which perhaps was not in their power, without ex-

> posing,[punctuation sic] themselves to a criminal prosecution, and afterwards gone on in a practice of robbing every person of that order, whom he could lay his hands on. Had he added to all this the death of his eldest Brother who, whatever he designed against him, had been able to execute nothing, the whole would have given gave [sic] such an appearance of inhumanity to his character, as to make him undeserving of the good fortune he met with in the end. By this means only one Stanza of the original is omitted, the sense of another reversed, and one or two more somewhat altered. The whole consists of just four lines more than in Chaucer. The imperfect Stanzas being supplied from passages of different manuscripts given by Mr. Timothy Thomas in his Preface to the works of that excellent Author. The conclusion, as it now stands, is sufficiently tragical; and for the alteration may likewise be pleaded the authority of Shakespeare, who saves the Usurping Duke in the Play, commonly said to be founded on this Tale.

A dissertation might be written on this statement and on the assumptions which underlie it, but I shall restrict myself to a few remarks.

As to the number of lines, Tytler is in error in saying that his version is only four lines longer than in "Chaucer." By Urry's numbering, which is followed by Bell, Gamelyn has 1787 lines. A line count made of Anderson's Gamelyn had the same result. In all these calculations, the missing line which would be the 226th and is indicated in all three editions by a row of periods is not counted. Tytler's 449 stanzas of four lines each give the piece a total of 1796 lines, 9 more than the original has. Tytler's statement accounts in a general way for the difference in length. The 57th stanza, for example, the one which lacks a line, is simply completed in the version. Two passages, ll. 476-481 and 530-535, each printed in Anderson (pp. 206-207) as

a six-line stanza, are each turned into two regular stanzas by Tytler, who was guided in the process by the passages which Timothy Thomas had found in other MSS. and printed in the Preface (to Urry's edition) to show how the lacunae might be filled. This accounts for five lines of the discrepancy. The other four lines are accounted for in the changes Tytler made in order that Gamelyn be shown as sparing his brother. Tytler replaced a single stanza (Urry, ll. 1732-35) with three stanzas (Nos. 435-437), thus increasing the gap to 13 lines. A few stanzas later, however, this is reduced to the stated 9 lines, when 3 stanzas of the original (ll. 1748-59) are given in only 2 stanzas (Nos. 441-442) in the version.

The actual change in content that underlies the differences in length deserves attention. Lines 1732-35, which follow the oldest brother's plea for mercy after Gamelyn has overturned the court proceeding, are rendered thus in the original:

> Therefore, seidè yonge Gamèlyn
> Havè you Crist's curse,
> For if thou werin maistir yet
> Shuldin I farè worse.

Gamelyn then proceeds to hold an inquest, the speedy result of which is the hanging of all his enemies: the justice, his brother the sheriff, and the twelve "sisouris." Here is how Tytler, with more tender-mindedness than common sense, refashions the matter (stanzas 435-437):

CCCCXXXV.

Then Gamelyn began to feel
  Soft pity touch his breast;
He thought to save his Brother still
  And only doom the rest.

CCCCXXXVI.

Wherefore he said, rememb'rest thou
  The speech thou spak'st so fair;
If I consent to save thee now,
  Shall I be still thine heir?

CCCCXXXVII.

The Sherriff joyful made reply,
  Sure as my life you save,
My heir you are, and when I die,
  My whole estate shall have.

This promise satisfies Gamelyn, who then proceeds to the execution of all except his brother. Such is the solution that an age of sensibility if not of sense would provide. It overlooks the fact that the oldest brother is an arrant villain who has cheated Gamelyn and lied to him throughout. Every indication is that should Gamelyn heed his plea for mercy, he would only be free to resume his lying and cheating. Gamelyn knows this, as the stanza quoted from the original indicates, and proceeds to administer justice. Granted that the justice is untempered with Christian mercy, it is a far more honest justice than that which Tytler has him administer, in which the reprieve is granted on terms by which Gamelyn expects to derive personal benefit and twelve jurors and a justice hang while the man that set them all on against Gamelyn goes free.

This brings us to the curious assumption on which Tytler bases his criticism of Gamelyn's character and of the plot of the story: the assumption that the character of a hero of an epic or a romance should somehow be spotless. "Gamelyn himself is far from being a perfect character," he says, as though he would rather see Gamelyn a "faultless monster" than the red-blooded youth he is, fighting back against the wily oppression of his enemies. Faults he has, it is true, but Tytler's indictment is altogether unfairly drawn up. To bemoan the fate of the porter and the punishment meted out to the ecclesiastics is to overlook the villainy of the master, whose tools and abettors they were. As for his robbing the men of the church, this was only after he was forced into outlawry by his brother, and then his conduct was quite of the Robin Hood order, with the clerics, quite understandably, his only victims. As for the brother's being able to "execute nothing" -- if we overlook his mismanagement and arrogation of Gamelyn's inheritance -- this is due to no lack of effort on the villain's part, but rather to the fact that Gamelyn proves somewhat too muscular for him. Tytler's one-sided view of Gamelyn is indicative of aristocratic sympathies -- Gamelyn is a democratic and revolutionary story -- and his basic assumption that somehow a fictional hero ought to be a paragon shows the man whose reading has included more Richardson than Fielding.

The text of Tytler's version of the Clerk's Tale is found on pages 162-220. The piece has its own title page (p. [161]), reading: "Walter and Grisild; or, The Clerk's Tale; from Chaucer." Below the title, a quotation appears, as follows:

> ------ ------ ------ -- my Maistere dere
> ------ Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
> Of rethorike, ------ -- ------ ---- ----
> ---- Superlative as poete laureate,
> In moralitee, and eloquence ornate.
>
> James I. King of Scotland.

Tytler translates only the Clerk's Tale itself, omitting both the Clerk's Prologue and the Host's stanza (E, 1212^{a-g}). Had he chosen to print the latter, it would have been available to him either in Urry, in the regular text (ll. 2234-40), or in Tyrwhitt, who prints it only in his note to v. 9088. Bell's edition includes this particular note (III, 145-146).

That he used Tyrwhitt's text rather than Urry's is readily established from the position of his translation of the "archewyves" stanza (E, 1195-1200). In the "Lenvoy de Chaucer" group of six 6-line stanzas that stands at the end of the Tale, this stanza stands last in Urry, but fourth in Tyrwhitt. (Tyrwhitt and Robinson agree in the placement of this stanza.) As the translation follows Tyrwhitt's edition in this respect, Tytler's use of a Tyrwhitt text is virtually proved. Of the four texts of Tyrwhitt he might have used -- the first and second of Tyrwhitt, Bell's, and Anderson's --

I have found no way of determining which was the edition Tytler actually used. As a matter of fact, more than one might have been available to him, and he might have had Urry's to consult as well. Since Bell's is perhaps most likely the edition he used for Gamelyn, it is most probably the one used for the Clerk's Tale also. As the various editions of Tyrwhitt are generally quite uniform, the text of the Clerk's Tale as first printed by Tyrwhitt (1775) will serve for purposes of comparison.

Tytler's version is divided into six parts, as in Tyrwhitt (and as indicated in Robinson), except that they are called cantos. Stanzaically, there is perfect correspondence between the version and its original. However, Tytler has not observed the rime royal of the original. His basic stanza is an eight-line stanza made up only of heroic couplets. Occasionally two of these are run together into what appears a sixteen-line stanza, but such occasions seem due to aberration on the part of the printer. The "Envoy" stanzas are, however, rendered by Tytler in stanzas of six lines. These are not like the six-line stanzas of the original, for, as with Tytler's regular stanzas, they are made up of heroic couplets, without any rhyme linkage from stanza to stanza. There is but one exception to the general pattern. This occurs in Canto V, wherein the third stanza has ten lines instead of eight. Here again, however, the stanza is in couplets.

As in his "Gamelyn," there is frequent use of elision and syncope, which tends to put Tytler in the eighteenth-century tradition, and of the run-on line, which tends to free him from it. However, his use of the heroic couplet when the original was in rime royal indicates that, even if this version was written as late as 1806, it still is very much a part of the eighteenth-century poetic tradition.

Tytler's method is to translate stanza by stanza, expanding each stanza to eight lines. This is usually accomplished by his taking a single line of the original and stretching the thought out to two lines. The first two stanzas will furnish an example of the process. Here are the original stanzas from Tyrwhitt (vv. 7933-46):

> THER is right at the West side of Itaille
> Doun at the rote of Vesulus the cold,
> A lusty plain, habundant of vitaille,
> Ther many a toun and tour thou maist behold,
> That founded were in time of fathers old,
> And many another delitable sighte, [v. 7938]
> And Saluces this noble contree highte.
>
> A markis whilom lord was of that lond,
> As were his worthy elders him before,
> And obeysant, ay redy to his hond,
> Were all his lieges, bothe lesse and more:
> Thus in delit he liveth, and hath don yore, [v. 7944]
> Beloved and drad, thurgh favour of fortune,
> Both of his lordes, and of his commune.

The lines indicated by the number in brackets are the ones that undergo expansion in the version, v. 7938 becoming lines 6-7 of the first stanza, and v. 7944 becoming lines 5-6 of the second stanza, as follows:

> In western climes of Italy behold,
> Stretch'd at the foot of Vesulus the cold,

A spacious plain, with corn and verdure crown'd:
Where cities rise, and lofty tow'rs abound,
That, from old Fathers their foundations drew;
And many another sight delights the view, [6]
Most pleasing to the eye, well known to fame, [7]
And fair Salucia is the country's name.

A youthful Marquis here was Lord of yore,
As were his worthy Ancestors before;
And faithful, still, obedient to his call
Prov'd all his Lieges whether great or small:
Thus in delight he liv'd and pass'd his time
With pleasure governing the fertile clime;
Through Fortune's favour was belov'd and fear'd
And both by Lords and Commons much rever'd.

With these stanzas before us, some additional observations may be made. In the first place, though Tytler has retained some of the rhyme -- "behold . . . cold," "yore . . . before" -- and used or adapted some of Chaucer's diction -- "Lieges," "Fortune's favour" -- and even kept an entire line almost intact (the second line of the second stanza), this is clearly paraphrase rather than modernization. It needs but little consideration to conclude that Tytler has taken much away and added little or nothing of his own. What has happened to the magic of "That founded were in time of fathers old"? Certainly "That, from old Fathers their foundations drew" does not preserve the magic, and it is even questionable whether the thought is preserved, as "old Fathers" and "fathers old" do not convey the same meaning. In the same way, in the next line, "And many another sight delights the view," all the magic is lost in the maneuvering for a rhyme: "drew" and "view." In the last line, Tytler has moved the epithet before "contree," so that,

changed to "fair," it is applied to Salucia. This does not make sense, as the name of the country is "Salucia," not "fair Salucia," In "tow'rs," in line 4 of the first stanza, we have an example of the syncopation which is Tytler's fairly regular practice. It clearly shows his taste for "exact meter." With respect to "Gamelyn" Tytler told us he had "endeavoured to preserve the original turn of expression . . . that the poem might not entirely lose its air of antiquity," and, in general, it must be admitted that he to some extent achieved his purpose. His use of "yore" in the passage above must not, however, lead us into thinking he aims to do the same thing in "Walter and Grisild," for the diction of this poem, like its versification, is quite of the eighteenth century.

The poem as a whole may be commended for its integrity as translation. There is nothing in it of the anachronistic enlargements and embellishments such as Ogle provided in his version of the Tale. But when we recall Tytler's prefatory indictment of his predecessors for their methods and particularly his citing an "unnatural, or bombast comparison" used in the earlier "Gamelyn," we cannot help observing that Tytler too may offer unnaturalness and bombast, only that his are found in the manner rather than in the matter. Consider the following stanza, the sixth in Canto II, and equivalent to E, 232-238:

On this poor Damsel, Grisild, sitting by,
The noble Marquis oft would cast his eye,
If he perchance had out a hunting rode,
Or pass'd, at other times, by her abode;
And he beheld her not, with wanton look,
As virtue had his youthful breast forsook,
But musing turn'd his eyes with deepest thought,
And oft her living to remembrance brought.

A comparison of this with the original will reveal how much the charm of Chaucer's verse resides in the ease and naturalness of the structure and in the grace of the feminine endings. How harsh and awkward is Tytler's stanza, as the translator torments his syntax in order to end on a strong word and a masculine sound. This is not to condemn strong words and masculine sounds generally; it is only to show how much of Chaucer a writer with Tytler's poetic instincts is bound to lose.

If Tytler can criticize the translation of his predecessors for its occasional absurdities, his verse can offer some of its own. The quality of his composition sinks to its nadir in the following instances. I give only canto and stanza number, by which the equivalent in Tyrwhitt or Robinson may be readily located.

The people came into the house without,
And marvell'd much, as they beheld about,
How she attentive kept her aged Sire
With honest living, and with chaste desire.
(Canto II, Stanza 20.)

. . . and she was held so just
In ev'ry point committed to her trust,
That all declar'd, this Lady had, from Heav'n,
To save the state, and heal their wrongs been giv'n.
(Canto II, Stanza 35.)

He turn'd his steps from out the room to go.
(Canto III, Stanza 10.)

Incidentally in the same stanza that this last quotation is taken from, Tytler mistranslates "a furlong way or two" (v. 8392; E, 516). It is a time reference, as Robinson informs us in his note to MLT, B, 557, but Tytler gives it thus:

> And still resolv'd to try if she were true
> Walk'd from his house a furlong off or two.

Having shown our translator at his worst, I think it only fair to cite some passages that seem rather well done, not only as translation but also as poetry. In the following stanza, quoted entire, all is good, I think, except the phrase "strange you meet" in the fourth line:

> A foolish people! changing as a vane,
> And, like the moon, now full and now in wane;
> Puff'd with vain rumours, ever undiscreet,
> And only pleas'd with new, and strange you meet,
> In whom proud, ranc'rous and unsteady join,
> Beneath the value of the basest coin;
> Your constancy is nought, your hearts untrue,
> And great the fool that sets his love on you.
> (Canto VI, Stanza 9.)

The equivalent of this stanza may be found in Tyrwhitt, vv. 8871-77, and in Robinson, E, 995-1001. The sixth line provides fairly suitable translation of "dere ynough a jane," though we miss the concreteness of Chaucer's image.[22] Incidentally, though here Tytler rhymes "join" with "coin," in accordance with modern pronunciation, elsewhere in this piece he rhymes it as Pope does, with such words as "dine."

The following lines are good, if Augustan rather than Chaucerian:

> No more he said, nor waited more replies,
> But went his way, continuing still t'admire
> Her mild obedience to his hard desire.
> (Canto IV, Stanza 9.)

Such passages as these are, I fear, not so frequently to be found in Tytler's works as those before cited. He works in the general manner of the Augustans, using paraphrase and, here in the "Clerk's Tale," the heroic couplet, but his skill does not come near that of the better Augustan writers. Some evidence of later influences may be found in his work. With respect to "Gamelyn," Tytler's Grandisonian view of the fictional hero and his tender, if in this case misguided, feeling for fraternal relationships are indicative rather of the influence of Richardson and his era. There is just a touch of the prosodic freedom won and enjoyed by the Romantics, in Tytler's rather frequent use of the run-on line, although this is more observable in "Gamelyn" than in the "Clerk's Tale."

Let us close our examination of the "Clerk's Tale" and of Tytler's work as a whole by citing his translation of one of the most affecting of all literary moments. I give the Chaucer first, as in vv. 9053-58 (E, 1177-82) of Tyrwhitt's edition:

> Grisilde is ded, and eke hire patience,
> And both at ones buried in Itaille:
> For which I crie in open audience,
> No wedded man so hardy be to assaille
> His wives patience, in trust to find
> Grisildes, for in certain he shal faille.

And here is Tytler:

> Grisild is dead, nor more her patience found,
> But buried with her in Italian ground;
> Wherefore I cry aloud, that all may hear
> Let none of wedded men so sadly err

> In hopes of finding Grisilds, e'er t'assail
> Their Spouses' minds; for surely they shall fail.
> (Canto VI, Stanza 35.)

Perhaps Tytler was happy with his "found . . . ground" rhyme: he is at home with stout monosyllables. In the process, however, the key word in the first line, "patience," is relegated to interior position, and in the second line "Itaille" loses all its dignity in the loss both of its substantiveness and of its position. Had Tytler been a better poet, he would have done better by Chaucer than this; had he been a better critic, he probably would not have attempted to translate Chaucer at all. Apparently he was not aware that in its way his translation of the Clerk's Tale was as surely fatal to "that humour and nâiveté that marks the original" as was Ogle's, which he had condemned in these terms in his Preface.

Item No. 23 (1833). Clarke, Charles Cowden. Tales from Chaucer, In Prose. Designed Chiefly for the Use of Young Persons. By Charles Cowden Clarke. Illustrated with Fourteen Wood Engravings. London: Published by Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange. 1833.

The pieces here translated are the General Prologue, the tales of the Knight, Man of Law, Wife of Bath, Clerk, Squire, Pardoner, Prioress, Nun's Priest, and Canon's Yeoman (Clarke has "Canon-Yeoman"), together with the prologues, or parts of the prologues, of the Man of Law, Clerk, Pardoner, Prioress, Nun's Priest, and Canon's Yeoman, and the pseudo-Chaucerian Gamelyn.

The prefatory material consists of an "Address to My Young Readers" (pp. iii-vii) and an "Advertisement" (pp. ix-x). In the former, Clarke describes his task: "to put these tales, written by one of the finest poets that ever lived, into modern language, and as easy prose as I could, without at the same time destroying the poetical descriptions, and strong natural expressions of the author" (p. iii). His object was threefold. First, he hoped that through the example of the "sweet and kind creatures" in Chaucer's Tales (Clarke could hardly have been thinking of the Pardoner or of Walter, the Marquis, when he said this) his young readers "might become wise and good." Secondly, he hoped they might derive improvement through the "beautiful writing," adding quickly, perhaps lest the statement be regarded as either foolish or presumptuous: "I have been careful to use the language of Chaucer whenever I thought

it not too antiquated for modern and young readers." Finally, he hoped to create in his readers an "ambition to read these same stories in their original poetical dress." (Pp. iii-iv.)

Clarke admits that those with an ear for harmony who read the original work will know how much it has lost in his own "dull prose," although, he says, "I have laboured to render my narratives as much like poetical prose as I was able" and "to give them the air of ancient writing, newly dressed up" (p. iv). This latter goal was, as we have seen, a favorite one with most of the translators of the Era, from "Trinitarius" on. Clarke then makes an ambiguous statement: that he is aware of having "in no instance omitted to introduce a beautiful or natural thought, when I could do so with ease and propriety, and without interfering with the quick progress of the story" (p. iv). It is not clear whether the "thoughts" he is talking about are his own or Chaucer's. When Clarke does introduce something of his own, it is usually either minor supporting detail or merely a matter of expression rather than a "beautiful or natural thought." He has a trick, however, of introducing into his text an expression within quotation marks which is obviously neither Chaucer's nor his own. There is an instance in his translation of A, 606-608, from the portrait of the Reve:

> He had a handsome house upon a heath
> "bosomed high" in green trees: and, in short,
> was better provided than his master.

The expression "bosomed high," drawn apparently from Milton's L'Allegro, may be one of the "beautiful and natural thoughts" Clarke was referring to above.

In this "Address," Clarke next tells his young readers that he has not retained the "long discussions, which you would find uninteresting at any age," nor unpleasingly quaint expressions (except when he felt "they would preserve the old character of the narration" and were not "too old-fashioned to be understood by you") (pp. iv-v).

After remarking upon the fact that some of the Canterbury Tales are "of so coarse and indelicate a character, as to be unfit for perusal" (p. v), Clarke refers to Dryden's and Pope's having "recomposed some of Chaucer's Tales in modern verse." He says that they, "in doing so, have failed to maintain that very simple and vivid mode of description which renders his poetry so charming to those who feel, as they read, what he wished to describe." Clarke therefore feels that he need only recommend, not that his readers "refrain from reading any modern verse translation" of Chaucer, but that they "cultivate [their] taste for old poetry," until they are able to read the original Chaucer as easily as they read Clarke's translation (pp. v-vi). My impression is that this worthy end was far less likely to come about from Clarke's recommendation than from his speak-

ing of some tales as being "unfit for perusal." Any young person of spirit would already be in his father's library seeking out an honest text of Chaucer.

In his "Advertisement," Clarke addresses himself to the "Adult Reader." Here he goes over much the same ground as in the "Address," though he covers it more rapidly and more apologetically. The task he had set himself was difficult and perplexing, requiring, he says, that he be at once "modernly antique, prosaically poetic, and comprehensively concise" (pp. ix-x).

Pages 1-50 are devoted to "A Memorial of Geoffry [sic] Chaucer." There is a life proper (pp. 1-34), which includes the great bulk of inherited misinformation, including the tradition that Chaucer attended both Cambridge and Oxford (pp. 3-4) and all the business of his exile and disgrace and suspicion of apostasy that were accorded him as long as the Testament of Love was considered to be truly his and truly autobiographical. Pages 34-50 are concerned with miscellaneous matters, including criticism. Chaucer's pictures of early morning are praised for their "marvellous truth and freshness," being compared favorably in this respect with Rembrandt's Castle Landscape. They are the product of Chaucer's temperate habits, he says (p. 40). On p. 42 we are told that in religion Chaucer was a "reformer, nor a seceder." Finally (pp. 47-49) the "extraordinary fidelity of his portraits" is described and il-

lustrated, and (pp. 49-50) young readers are again urged to overcome the obstacles of "obsolete dialect and antiquated spelling" for the reward of reading Chaucer in the original.

A few passages will serve to show how Clarke has dealt with Chaucer. The translation of the General Prologue begins with the following paragraph:

> In that pleasant season of the year when the April showers and the soft west wind make the grass and flowers to spring up in every mead and heath, and birds welcome the shining days, it is the custom with people from all parts of the country to set forth on pilgrimages to foreign lands, and more especially to pay their vows at the shrine raised in Canterbury to the holy martyr St. Thomas à Becket.

Though, almost by definition, a prose translation would be expected to be paraphrase, not modernization, the phrasing here is not as close to Chaucer's own as we might look for after Clarke's remarks in his "Address." For instance, instead of "shires ende," which he might have retained as "shire's end," he gives us "all parts of the country." This is indeed, in Clarke's own words, "dull prose."

Clarke is certainly careful to omit anything that might be considered offensive. In the portrait of the Squire, he does not translate the couplet beginning "So hote he loved . . ." (Tyrwhitt 1830, vv. 97-98) quite as Chaucer had it:

> Courteous, humble, and dutiful was this fair young man; and withal so devoted to his lady-love, that he would outwatch the doting nightingale.

He does on occasion live up to his assurance of having been "careful to use the language of Chaucer whenever I thought it not too antiquated for modern and young readers." In the portrait of the Monk, verses 168-171 are thus translated:

> Many a capital horse had he in stall: and as he rode along, one could hear his bridle gingling in the whistling wind like the distant chapel bells.

Clarke will introduce bits of matter for which the original affords but meager sanction and which can hardly be allowed to be, as he puts it in the "Address," a "beautiful or natural thought." An instance appears in the following passage from the character of the Franklin, in the reference to the Franklin's dining hour:

> . . . for he was a true son of Epicurus, believing that the most perfect happiness consisted in perfect enjoyment. He possessed a noble mansion, and was the most hospitable of entertainers. He dined at quality hours -- always after one o'clock; and so plenteously stored was his table, that his house may be said to have snowed meat and drink.

One will look in vain in Chaucer for the equivalent to "quality hours -- always after one o'clock." Another instance, this time more serious, occurs at the end of "The Pardoner's Tale: The Story of the Death Slayers" (in the disposition to amplify or embellish titles, Clarke is like many another translator of Chaucer, including Dryden). Clarke's translation runs: "So ended the lives of these

homicides, and their poisoner." Instead of stopping there, as Chaucer does, Clarke must add: "The old man they met was -- 'Death,'" thus dispelling a fascinating mystery.

To summarize impressions, I should say that on the whole Clarke has translated Chaucer fairly faithfully, although the examples adduced are sufficient to indicate that this is not an ultrafaithful translation. Of course the poetry is all but gone, not just because this is a prose translation, but because it is a prosaic one. The poetry that remains is due chiefly to the retention here and there of Chaucerian phrasing. As he promises, Clarke is careful to exclude coarse diction, the strongest diction that I observed, though it could hardly be called "coarse," being found in the Pardoner's preachment against gluttony and drunkenness (pp. 236-237). As for Chaucer's "antique quaintness" ("Advertisement," p. ix), Clarke has retained thou's and thee's and thy's and here and there a beshrew, but my impression is not of antiqueness; rather is it of nineteenth-century prose at its most prosaic, except of course where Clarke follows Chaucer's words and rhythms closely.

Clarke's Tales from Chaucer evoked some critical attention. In the following year (1834) the book was reviewed anonymously in the Athenaeum and in the Gentleman's Magazine. The latter review will be considered shortly,

as Item No. 24. An anonymous reviewer in the North British Review glanced at this book as late as 1849 (Vol. X, p. 297), though rather unfavorably. An indication of the success of the book -- whether deserved or not is another question -- is the fact that in 1870 a second edition appeared.

Item No. 24 (1834) [Unknown]. "[Specimen of ideal modernization, from the Knight's Tale, p. 173, in review of] Tales from Chaucer, in Prose, chiefly designed for the use of young persons. By Charles Cowden Clarke. Illustrated by Fourteen Wood-engravings." Gentleman's Magazine, II, N.S. (Aug., 1834), 173-174.

The reviewer of Clarke's effort raises a question:

> If even a Dryden or a Pope attempts to paraphrase Chaucer, he loses something of his original splendor. What, then, can be said of the attempt to reduce some of his most attractive and beautifully written tales into plain prose?

The only thing that can be said, he feels, is that "some idea of Chaucer's spirit is imparted to the multitude" and that "it is better to know a good author through the imperfect medium of a translation, than not to know him at all" (p. 173).

He proposes another method of modernizing. There is, he says (p. 173),

> an intermediate and very simple mode of making Chaucer intelligible, which has not yet been tried -- we mean dismissing the antiquated orthography in which his writings have reached us, through copies printed after the MSS. in which they were preserved before the typographic art was invented.

As a specimen of this technique, he presents a passage from the Knight's Tale, vv. 1035-57 according to the Tyrwhitt numbering, thus (p. 173):

> "Thus passeth year by year and day by day, [1035]
> Till it fell once in a morrow of May,
> That Emily that fairer was to seen,
> Than is the lily upon his stalk green,
> And fresher than the May with flowers new,
> For with the rose colour strove her hue, [1040]
> (I know not which was the finer of them two)

Ere it was day, as she was wont to do,
She was arisen, and all ready dight,
For May will have no sluggardie anight,
The season pricketh every gentle heart,
And maketh him out of his sleep to start,
And saith, Arise and do thine observance.

This maketh Emily have remembrance,
To doing honour to May, and for to rise,
Yclothed was she fresh for to desire,
Her yellow hair was braided in a tress,
Behind her back a yard long I guess,
And in the garden as the sun uprist,
She walketh up and down, and where as her list,
She gathereth flowers party white and red,
To make a subtle garland for her head,
And as an angel heavenly she sung.["]

"There is no alteration in the above," the reviewer says, "save in the spelling of the words." This is substantially, if not strictly, the case, as a collation with the most likely basic text, Tyrwhitt 1830, vv. 1035-57, will reveal. To this in a moment. First I should like to call attention to the reviewer's statement that this particular method "has not yet been tried." If he means: "not yet tried in a full edition of Chaucer," then he is correct, for the first application of this method to a significant body of Chaucer's works was still one year away, in the form of Clarke's Riches of Chaucer. However, this is not the first time that this method has been recommended, and utilized in short passages such as this. In the Retrospective Review articles on Chaucer, especially the second one, 1826 (see above, Item No. 19), this method is adopted in almost all the quotations from Chaucer. Going back a bit further, one finds a curious coincidence, if indeed it is one. In the

Indicator essay for April 26, 1820, entitled "May-Day," Leigh Hunt applies the very same method to the first ten lines of the very same passage and, with minor exceptions (Hunt has "n'ot" in v. 1041 instead of "know not" and embraces both v. 1040 and v. 1041 in a parenthesis), gets the same result (see above, Item No. 16). One is tempted to think that the author of this review of Tales from Chaucer is Hunt himself and that he is simply re-using old material. The review is critical, but in a not unfriendly way, and the reviewer praises where he can. In this respect, it is quite similar to Hunt's review of his friend Clarke's Riches of Chaucer:[23] a criticism friendly in tone, but criticism all the same. But the considerations against the theory of Hunt authorship are too heavy. In the first place, the most likely assumption with respect to the ambiguous "not yet been tried" is that the reviewer was simply ignorant of the earlier examples of the use of his method. Furthermore, the very full bibliography of Hunt by Landré does not mention this review, and the Gentleman's Magazine was not among the publications to which Hunt would have been likely to contribute. Finally, though this writer's style is not unlike Hunt's, it does not have the Huntian bounce and geniality, characteristics which I doubt Hunt would subdue even for the Gentleman's Magazine.

We are ready now to deal with the collation of this passage with its counterpart in Tyrwhitt 1830. First, we

note the fact that although v. 1038 has the standard decasyllabic length it cannot be read metrically. This is due to the loss of the syllabic -e in stalk. Hunt handled the line similarly in "May-Day." But with respect to the two points already mentioned -- the use of "know not" in v. 1041 and the parenthetical punctuation of that line -- this reviewer departs from the Tyrwhitt text, which prints "n'ot" and encloses both lines 1040 and 1041 in a single parenthesis. The first change could have resulted merely from the modernizer's following his principle, but the second change, if it does not indicate careless transcription, could mean that some other text was used. However, the readings in Tyrwhitt 1775, Anderson, and Chalmers all agree with Tyrwhitt 1830 in these two points, but these editions by no means exhaust the possibilities. At line 1049, the modernizer works a change in the grammar, substituting "To doing" for "To don." The problem, however, rests not in the infinitive but in the fact that the accent of "honour" has shifted from the second to the first syllable. On points of this sort, this method of modernizing only the spelling breaks down. Our reviewer must turn full modernizer, or paraphraser, or else give up the fiction that he is giving his readers Chaucer in verse. In v. 1050 "desire" is given instead of "device," the latter certainly having been intended. It may be that the printer was at fault. The changes in v. 1053, "as" appearing instead of "at," and in v. 1054, where an

"and" is introduced -- superfluously, so far as the Tyrwhitt text is concerned -- are difficult to explain. The first change is due perhaps to the fact that the reviewer read "uprist" as a verb instead of an a participle. Here is Tyrwhitt's note to v. 1053:

> I should have had no objection to the reading of Ed. Urr [y]. as the sonne uprist, i.e. upriseth, if I had found it in any Ms. The common reading is supported by Lydgate, Th[ynne] l. fol. 364. a. where uprist is used for uprising.

This particular discrepancy is readily explainable if we can believe that our reviewer was using Urry's text. The addition of and in the next line, however, can only be explained as an attempt to make it clear that "where as her list" belongs grammatically with the following line.

This particular review is unusual in that it cites two translated versions of the same passage, besides the text, or near-modernization, that we have just been examining.

Dryden's version, the next to be cited (173), is in 31 lines (Bk. I, ll. 170-200, according to the Scott-Saintsbury numbering). He states that the paraphrase" is "spirited" and that "some of the ideas are beautifully amplified" and others "weakened by being drawn out" (p. 173). After briefly illustrating this statement, he goes on to present the equivalent passage as done by the "prose paraphrast," Clarke (p. 174). I give Clarke's version in full, as herein cited:

One May morning, it happened that Emily, who was more

> beautiful to behold than the lily, upon its tall and slender stalk of green, and fresher than the young flowers of May, for her complexion rivalled the wild blushing rose, had arisen, according to her custom, at break of day, to do honour to that sweet season of the year; for the slothful and ungentle heart claims no kindred with the lovely May. Her dress was elegant and precise, and her golden hair, braided in tresses, flowed down her back. As the sun was climbing the heavens, she walked up and down in the garden, gathering the many-coloured flowers, to weave into a garland for her head; and, like an angel, she sang in the clear air of the morning.

Before presenting the reviewer's observations on this passage, I should like to make one of my own, regarding Clarke's manner of translating "at the sonne uprist" (Tyrwhitt reading). Although he has "As [italics mine] the sun was climbing the heavens," this is not to be taken as necessarily meaning that in Clarke's text the passage stood, "As the sonne uprist" (Urry reading). In his Riches of Chaucer, published in 1835 (see below, p. 674), the line (193, by Clarke's peculiar numbering) reads: "And in the garden at the sun uprist." A glossarial note to "uprist" informs the reader that it means "uprising." Morell (1737) concurs in the Tyrwhitt reading, a fact which leaves Urry as the only likely source for our reviewer's reading, assuming that he did not arrive at it independently, through his own interpretation.

Let us now hear the reviewer's criticism of the passage quoted from Clarke's translation (p. 174):

> There is no great deviation in the above from the original; the rose-like complexion of Emily is

> converted into the wild rose, the blush of which every stroller by the hedge-side knows, is very pale. She weaves a garland for her head -- not a subtle or artfully contrived garland, as the original has it; by the addition, therefore, Chaucer has gained nothing in propriety -- by the omission he has lost one of those finishing touches for which all his descriptions are so remarkable.

The criticism seems quite just. For interest's sake, I quote Lord Thurlow's translation (see above, Item No. 17) of vv. 1055-56, in which Emily is depicted as making her garland:

> The flowers she gather'd, partly white and red,
> To make a lovely garland for her head,
> And flower to flower with subtle art and
> fragrant hands she wed.

Thus Thurlow keeps the word "subtle," but even if his expansion of a couplet into a triplet be accepted as not unsuccessful, it is to be doubted how much of the notion of subtlety and delicacy is transmitted by the fourteener that closes the triplet. One cannot help thinking that the line would have been much improved had Thurlow contracted it to standard pentameter length by omitting "and fragrant hands."

The reviewer catches Clarke in an inaccuracy. First he cites an excerpt from the portrait of the Franklin, with spelling modernized in the manner he had recommended:

> After the sundry seasons of the year,
> So changed he his meat and his suppere,
> Full many a fat partrich had he in mew,
> And many a bream and many a luce in stew.

Then he quotes Clarke's handling of the passage:

> His suppers were furnished according to the season. Many a fat partridge had he in his preserve, and stewed bream and pike was a common dish at his board.

The reviewer then observes that Clarke, despite the evident antithesis between "mew" and "stew," has translated the latter, which here means a pond or tank, as though it were the term for the culinary dish.

The criticism ends on a positive note, however, as the reviewer denominates as praiseworthy Clarke's effort to make Chaucer intelligible to young readers while retaining something of the poet's "distinctive character" (p. 174), for he feels that

> an intimate acquaintance with the founders of English literature tends to cherish in our hearts national character, to unite past and present ages in one bond, to stimulate an honest national pride, and to make us desirous to offer our best gifts and acquirements, and, in times of public danger, all that is most dear to us, on the altar of our country.

Pronouncements of this sort do not rattle the pages of our present literary reviews. To hear them, we must go to the political rostrum.

At this point in conjunction with Items 23 and 24 and in part by way of bringing this chapter to a conclusion, I should like to treat the following work:

Clarke, Charles Cowden. The Riches of Chaucer: In Which His Impurities Have Been Expunged; His Spelling Modernised; His Rhythm Accentuated; And His Obsolete terms Explained. Also Have Been Added a Few Explanatory Notes, and A New Memoir of the Poet, 2 vols. London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1835.

In the copy in the University of Pennsylvania Library, the two volumes are bound together, though each has its own title page and separate paging. Subsequent editions -- in 1870, 1877, and 1896 -- were published as single volumes, paged consecutively throughout.

From the information provided in the title as well as from the fact that Miss Hammond (p. 229) includes this item under The Canterbury Tales, in section E: "Modernizations, Imitations, and Translations," it may be seen that there is some ground for the inclusion of this as a regular item in my list of translations. At first I planned to do so, but riper consideration has led me to regard this as a text of Chaucer. However, since there are elements in Riches that are common also to translation, the item merits brief consideration.

In his "Preface," pp. v-xi, Clarke describes the genesis of the work, its methods, and its purposes. It is clear that he hoped his volume would accomplish a kind of renaissance

of interest in Chaucer, leading not to mere lip-service, but to solid knowledge and appreciation of the poet's work. "Let not our poetry be quite forgotten," he pleads, in reference mainly to the growing tendency to exalt the "useful" over the "ornamental," "and above all, our old poetry: let not the eloquent simplicity -- the only well-wearing eloquence after all -- (like simple mechanism) the sudden, and electrical pathos of old Chaucer . . . [Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton are similarly introduced] -- let not the works of these giants become the subjects of mouth-honor only . . . but let them be healthily prepared, ruminated, and thoroughly digested; -- when their ethereal fumes will ascend into the brain, and prompt the mouth to 'speak great things'" (p. x). It was for purposes similar to this that several of the translations dealt with in this study were attempted, especially those of Clarke himself in Tales from Chaucer in Prose (Item No. 23), and of Horne, in Chaucer, Modernized (Item No. 28).

Another feature of Clarke's purpose in Riches is the addressing of his work principally to young persons (p. xi), as was the case in respect to his prose modernizations, especially to "those ornaments of this civilized age, and patterns to the civilized world, the ingenuous, intelligent, well-informed, and artless young women of England" (p. x). To make his book what he regarded as fit for this group, as well as to conform to his publisher's restriction of the length to 600 pages, Clarke had to make his selections with

care. Here too we are reminded of translators who had similar concerns in mind -- Lipscomb, who omitted the Tales of the Miller and the Reve as not conducive to the moral betterment of his readers, and Wordsworth, who declined to release his version of the Manciple's Tale for publication in Horne, on the ground that elements in the story were out of keeping with the moral tone of the times. Accordingly Clarke made the following selections: for Vol. I (devoted to The Canterbury Tales), The Prologue, The Knight's Tale, The Man of Law's Prologue and Tale, The Wife of Bath's Tale, The Friar's Prologue and Tale, The Clerk's Prologue and Tale (including, without heading or even a break in the text, the "Envoy"), The Squire's Prologue and Tale (The Falcon's complaint being omitted from Part 2), The Franklin's Prologue and Tale, The Prioress's Prologue (equivalent to B^2, 1625-42, in Robinson, but with the Host's jocular and rather broad references to the Shipman's story omitted) and The Prioress's Tale (equivalent to Prologue and Tale, as found in Robinson), The Nun's Priest's Prologue and Tale, The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale; for Vol. II (devoted to the non-Canterbury works), Troilus and Creseida (all five books being represented), from The Legend of Good Women the legends of Thisbe, Lucretia, Ariadne (well favored by the Romantics), Phyllis, and Hypermnestra, and, from the Prologue to the same work, a passage (Robinson, Text F, ll. 29-58, 104-137) headed "Chaucer's Love of Rural Nature"

and a passage (Robinson, Text F, ll. 197-246) headed "Vision of the God of Love," and numerous other items, including Queen Annelida and False Arcite, the apocryphal The Flower and the Leaf (but still regarded as Chaucer's), selections from The House of Fame, The Romaunt of the Rose, and The Assembly of Fowls, and finally, a group of ballads, some of them not now regarded as Chaucer's, which culminate in another great favorite of the Era -- Good Counsel of Chaucer (i.e., Truth). Though much abides in Riches, much has been omitted, and one is not surprised by the omission, among other pieces, of the Wife of Bath's Prologue and the Tales of the Miller, Reeve, Summoner, Shipman, and Manciple.

But in the matter Clarke has presented, comparison with the original will reveal frequent omissions, many of but a line or two, others of considerable length. The omissions, particularly when they are short, are indicated by a line of asterisks. Longer omissions, especially when caused by Clarke's taking only the applicable part of a Prologue, as in the case of the Prologue to the Nun's Priest's Tale (from which he uses but the last 13 lines), may not be indicated at all. In fairness to Clarke, however, I should say that he is reasonably faithful in indicating omissions.

The omissions have been dictated by any one or more of three considerations. One of these, largely mechanical in nature, results from the fact that certain passages that fall within the links become irrelevant because of the

omission of tales they relate to. This explains the omission of the opening lines of the Nun's Priest's Prologue, referring to the Monk's Tale, a tale Clarke did not print. This last fact leads us to the second consideration. The Romantic Era, though Medieval-minded in certain respects, did not have Medieval patience. Much of the digressive, protracted, or expatiative matter that Chaucer's own audience must have loved was only boring to the Romantics, as admittedly it often is to present-day readers. In this connection, we recall Romantic impatience with the long complaint of the Falcon in the Squire's Tale. (See, for instance, Item No. 10, above.) If we turn to page 239 of Vol. I of Riches, we shall find that Clarke too, has omitted this complaint. He has used the asterisks, however, and has included a comment, reading in part: "The deserted fair one being somewhat prolix, and withal not interesting in her complaint, we will, with the reader's consent, pass on to the conclusion of the tale." For like reason, Clarke has omitted the complaint of Dorigen in the Franklin's Tale (F, 1367-1456).

The most interesting reason for the omission of matter is what might be called the moral one. A few examples will soon show what Clarke has done in this area. Thus we are not surprised when line B, 30, of the Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale, called The Man of Law's Prologue in Riches, is represented therein by a row of asterisks (I, 144),

for the original line contains the Host's coarse but effective use of the term "Malkynes maydenhede." In the same piéce, at the passage, B^1, 82-85, which contains the allusion to the wicked deed of Antiochus, the reader is confronted by another row of asterisks (I, 146). In the General Prologue description of the Summoner, the line "As hoot he was and lecherous as a sparwe" was excised, with only a row of asterisks to mark its place (I, 78). In this same connection, we come to what might be called Bowdlerizing. Clarke tells us in his "Preface" (p. ix):

> In a few instances . . . words and phrases occur in the original text which modern refinement would discountenance. These, rather than omit the whole passage, I have softened, or paraphrased, taking care, however, to denote the circumstance by means of the inverted comma. I should conjecture, that the necessity for taking this liberty with my author has not occured a dozen times during the whole course of my labour.

One of these occurs in the otherwise unassailable portrait of the Parson in the General Prologue: "And shame it is, if a prest take keep,/ A shiten shepherde and a clene sheep" (A, 503-504). We find the couplet thus in Riches (I, 74):

> And shame it is, if that a priest take keep
> To see a 'fouléd' shepherd and clean sheep.

In the latter line the differences in reading (addition of "To see" and dropping of "a" before "clean") between Clarke's text and Robinson's do not mean that Clarke is adjusting the wording for the sake of meter. If it did, and if this were common practice throughout, then Riches

would have to be classified as modernization in the terms of this study. However, the line, as rendered in Tyrwhitt, the only likely source, was "To see a shitten shepherd and clene shepe."

Clarke's Bowdlerizing is not without its hazards and inconsistencies. We wonder, for example, why Clarke printed this stanza from the Man of Law's Tale (B^1, 708-714) without touch of Bowdler or addition of asterisk, as follows:

> They go to bed, as it was skill and right,
> For though that wivés be full holy things,
> They musten take in patiénce a-night
> Such manner necessaries, as be pleasings
> To folk that have ywedded them with rings,
> And lay a lite their holiness aside
> As for the time, it may no bet betide.

For some reason this passage escaped the blue pencil of prudence or prudishness. Unless the inclusion was due to pure oversight, we may assume that the reference to matrimony provided the proper sanction, or it may be that Clarke thought the "ornaments of this civilized age," being more "ingenuous" than "intelligent," less "well-informed" than "artless," needed the advice.

A crowning example of the foolish readings that come out of this well-intentioned but misguided process of Bowdlerization may be seen in Clarke's handling of these lines (I, 185) with which the Friar's Tale opens.

> WHILOM there was dwelling in my countree
> An archédeacon, a man of high degree,
> That boldély did executión
> In punishing of fornicatión,
> Of witchcraft, * * * *
> Of defamation, and avoutery.

If those asterisks did not send the "young women of England" scurrying to their fathers' libraries in search of a full edition of Chaucer, then they were more ingenuous or less intelligent than one would believe them to be. When their curiosity was satisfied and they had found that the culprit was (in Tyrwhitt 1830) "bauderie," they must have wondered what moved Clarke to excise this term without excising "fornication" in the preceding line. Such are the vagaries of the Bowdlerizer.

Even so, I am not sure that Clarke is not to be commended for his integrity. This is not the opinion of the anonymous reviewer in the North British Review, who in a footnote (X [1849], 297) grants that "there are many passages in old Dan Chaucer unsuited for the eyes or ears of juvenile gentlewomen" but thinks these "Mr. Clarke ought quietly and unostentatiously to have omitted." Such a procedure, however, has its own way of interfering with a reader's knowing Chaucer truly. As to deciding whether Clarke's procedure or the one recommended by the reviewer is better, much depends on the age, character, and intelligence of the young persons addressed. Certainly the question is too subtle to be argued here.

In one respect, however, time has proved the anonymous writer in the North British Review quite mistaken. Referring to Clarke's Tales from Chaucer, Horne's Chaucer, Modernized, and Deshler's Selections from . . . Chaucer (1847), as well

as to Riches, the reviewer has this to say (ibid.):

> They have failed one and all [i.e.,] in the attempt to bring readers "again face to face with the father of our [poetry]", for this good and simple reason, that they satisfied the requirements of no class of readers. Tiresome to the indolent for whom they were intended, they in vain endeavoured to rival with them the attractions of the slightest novel of the day; useless to the vain-glorious, for it was impossible to boast of such an acquaintance with the poet as they conveyed, and to the better class of readers, the learned and serious, not holding out even the promise of satisfaction, they fell, as might have been anticipated, nearly still-born from the press.

Among the works included in the indictment, Riches at least managed to exhibit the clearest signs of life. I am not referring to Leigh Hunt's praise of this work and his adoption of passages from it in his London Journal series of Chaucer "Specimens" (see above, Item No. 16), for such attention was no more than would be expected from a long-time personal and literary friend. Rather do I refer to the fact that in 1870 there was still sufficient interest in Riches for a second edition to be called for (London: C. Lockwood). In 1877 a third edition (London: C. Lockwood) appeared, and, in 1896, a fourth (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.), All this is certainly a surprising show of vitality in a work that was held to have fallen "nearly still-born from the press."

Thus we bring the present chapter to a close. The period represented, 1815-1836, has seen both the explicit statement of principle with respect to the modernization as a method of translating Chaucer and the rise of this

method to a position of predominance. Leigh Hunt, first to enunciate the method and perhaps the one most responsible for its growth in popularity, nevertheless was not, we observed, wholeheartedly given to it in his own practice, being inclined at last, in his productions for the Horne volume (though these were actually done in the ensuing and final period of this study), to lean rather strongly in the direction of the paraphrase.

These developments in the theory and practice of modernization were accompanied by, if not at least in part caused by, the great interest in antiquity. Though not new, this interest was sustained and even enhanced, as well as directed more toward medieval Britain, by reason of numerous influences usually denominated Romantic -- the freeing of the imagination and the resulting delight in the distant, the belief in the innate goodness of man with its accompanying doctrine of the "Noble Savage" and recognition of Gothic values, and the quickened responsiveness to the beauty of external nature being perhaps the chief of these influences.

We have seen another factor at work in the progress made by the modernization. This was the ever increasing readership. Writers like Charles Cowden Clarke and the one who did the article for the Retrospective Review were moved to introduce Chaucer to this wider, and perforce less well educated, audience, and since a desire prevailed among them

to present Chaucer with all his own flavor still about him, they naturally gravitated to the modernization as a means of accomplishing their ends.

Notes to Chapter IV.

[1]Louis Landré, Leigh Hunt (1784-1859): Contribution à l'histoire du Romantisme anglais, 2 vols. (Paris: Société D'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres," 1935), II, 488-- hereafter cited as Landré.

[2]The "Correspondent" refers more than once to the readers as "our readers" where we should expect to find "your readers."

[3]It is tempting to think that Hunt has in mind the Lakers' rebellion against the artificial poetic diction of the eighteenth century. Wordsworth himself seems hardly to be guilty, if that is the word, of a too liberal use of yeas, nor is he inclined to be lavish with haths, except in the Intimations Ode -- and who would object to them there? -- and perhaps a few other places. If Hunt is not simply tossing out another of his superficial criticisms, it is best to assume a reference to attempts to recreate the simplicity of the earlier language by the rather too easy means of occasionally introducing archaic terms into the vocabulary. "Trinitarius" (see Item No.6, above) made an explicit attempt of this kind.

[4]In the Round Table series, these of course were never to make their appearance. This promise was, however, in a measure fulfilled years later in a series called "Characteristic Specimens of the English Poets," in Leigh Hunt's London Journal, 1835. Nos. 63-68, 70, and 72 were devoted to Chaucer and included modernizations which will be dealt with in the present item.

[5]In collating the passage as quoted by Hunt with the Tyrwhitt 1775 text, vv. 10362-71, I found, besides this introduction of "hem" in v. 10370, only a few minor differences in spelling and punctuation. In the many collations of this sort that I have made in doing this study, I have rarely encountered such close correspondence between a quoted text and a possible source. This, plus his actual mention of Tyrwhitt earlier in the essay, is sufficient to establish his use of Tyrwhitt on this occasion, though not necessarily of this particular edition. This of course does not rule out the possibility that Hunt had available for use, and did make use of, some of the earlier editions -- Urry's and the black-letter editions.

[6]Milford (pp. 112, 759-760), overlooking this appearance of "Death and the Ruffians," gives the date of first publication as 1855, in Stories in Verse.

[7]Chalmers (1810), who reprinted Tyrwhitt's text and whose edition could very well have been the particular one used by Hunt, prints the line exactly as Tyrwhitt 1775 does (I, 96):

Thise riotoures three, of which I tell.

Robinson does not commit himself, omitting all punctuation within the line. The same is true of Anderson (1795).

[8]The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt, ed. S. Adams Lee, 2 vols. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1857), I, 218-226.

[9]Vol. I contains Nos. I and II. It is dated 1822.

[10]With the exception of the overlooked extract from The Flower and the Leaf in No. 72, this entire series was republished in Chapters XXV through XXX of Part I of The Seer; or, Common-Places Refreshed, by Leigh Hunt (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), pp. 55-66.

[11]Richard Hengist Horne, Chapter II: "Chaucer Modernized," in Vol. I, pp. 95-127, Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne . . . with Comments on Contemporaries, ed. by S. R. Townshend Mayer, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1877), pp. 100-101. Hereafter this work shall be referred to as Horne, Letters.

[12]I have already alluded to his "Death and the Ruffians," published in the New Monthly Magazine, LXXIV (1845), 143-148. In the next-to-last year of his life, Hunt did an imitation of Chaucer: "The Tapiser's Tale attempted in the manner of Chaucer," Fraser's Magazine, LVII (May, 1858), pp. 609-610. (Landré, II, 504 and 509.) In his "Chaucer" essay in Wit and Humour (London, 1846), Hunt included a number of selections from the original Chaucer. For these he provided a running prose translation at the bottom of the pages on which the selections appeared.

[13]The reader is reminded that on occasions of this kind, when the modern text is used for convenience' sake, the reading has been compared with that of the text most certainly used by the translator -- in this case Tyrwhitt 1775 (or a subsequent reprint). In the absence of specific comment, the reader may feel assured that no significant variants exist. Conclusive evidence of Thurlow's use of Tyrwhitt is advanced in my text.

[14]I have been unable to establish the basic text used by Thurlow for his translation of the Flower and the Leaf. A good candidate is the text of Chalmers (1810), I, 394-399. Accordingly, this text will be considered the basis, and passages of length will be drawn from it. However, for short quotations and for references involving line numbers, I shall use for convenience' sake the text of Skeat in Chaucerian and Other Pieces. The reader is assured that all quotations from this source have been compared for significant variants with the Chalmers text.

[15]In Robinson the equivalent passage is thirty-seven lines (A, 3150-86) instead of thirty-five, as in the Tyrwhitt text cited by the writer of "Works of Chaucer." The lines A, 3155-56, are not given in Tyrwhitt's text, but he does cite them in his note to v. 3156, saying that they "are found in so many Mss. that perhaps they ought to have been inserted in the text."

[16]See for example Crabbe's Preface to Tales in Verse, 1812 (Spurgeon, II, 57), though with Crabbe the regard is somewhat negative in character.

[17]The edition is listed thus in the Retrospective Review article, p. 307: "The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, in the original, from the most authentic Manuscripts; and as they are turned into Modern Language by several eminent hands. With references to authors, Ancient and Modern; various Readings & Explanatory Notes. The second edition. London, printed for J. Osborn, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row. 1740." Miss Hammond (p. 205) describes this edition as a reprint of the 1737 edition, with a slight change in the title page. She believes it an "attempt to work off unsold copies."

[18]This line given as corrected in Tyrwhitt's list of errata in 1775, I, xxxvii.

[19]That all these e endings are syllabic and not merely scribal is indicated by their having been retained in Robinson, A, 749-754, for it was Robinson's intention to remove all final e's that were incorrectly added in transcription (p. xxx).

[20]Scott's note (in his ed. of Dryden's Works, 1808, XI, 398) to line 101 reads: "This passage is obviously introduced by the author, to apologize for the splendid establishment of the clergy of his own community. What follows, applies, as has been noticed, to the non-juring clergy, who lost their benefices for refusing the oath of allegiance to King William."

[21]Michaud's Biographie Universelle, XLII, 326, says that Tytler "a donné au public plusieurs traductions en vers de poëtes anciens, très-estimées pour leur fidélité."

[22]Translation of some sort was mandatory, for the word "jane" was not in general use. It is not given in Johnson's Dictionary; it is given in Thomas Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English (2 vols., London: Bohn, 1857).

[23]In "Three New Books," Leigh Hunt's London Journal, II (March 25, 1835), 89. See above, Item No. 16.

Chapter V. "The Last of the Modernizations," 1837-1841 Items No. 25 to No. 30.

To obviate misunderstanding of the title of this chapter, "The Last of the Modernizations," I should explain that it is borrowed, for reasons that will appear, from a critic who applied the term to the Horne volume, The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized, treated in this chapter as Item No. 28. The critic was none other than the redoubtable T. R. Lounsbury, and the term is found as a running title to pages 213-229 of Volume III of his Studies in Chaucer. Two distinctions must be made with regard to Lounsbury's use of this title. First, he was not using the term modernizations in the limited sense in which we find it used in this study; by it he meant all translations of Chaucer into modern English. Secondly, in so describing the Horne volume, he was expressing what he himself was prepared to admit was more a hope than a fact.

Now transferred to a position at the head of the chapter in which we are to take up Items No. 25 to No. 30, the last of those which make up the 50-year period of our study, this title has a somewhat different application. Though its reference is still basically to the Horne volume, it is not meant to be taken in the rather literal way in which Lounsbury apparently intended it. In the first place, it cannot properly be herein applied to the Horne volume, even with the term

modernizations being understood in its restricted sense, for Horne is followed by Powell's "Nun's Priest's Tale" (Item No. 29), which is, for the most part, a modernization. Even if we raise the term modernization to the generic level, we still may not strictly apply the title, for "The Persoune of a Toun" (Item No. 30), a paraphrase, is still to come. Then if we look beyond the 1841 boundary of this study, to consider what has happened since, we realize that, Lounsbury's hopes notwithstanding, there has been considerable activity in the field, with modernization the dominant mode, at least in verse translation. Lumiansky, in prose, and Coghill and Nicolson, in verse, are among the most recent of those whose work bears out the statement.

Rather is the title, "The Last of the Modernizations," to be taken emblematically, for in a very true sense The Poems of Chaucer, Modernized and the items that accompany it may be regarded as marking the end of something. What that "something" was will be made clear as we examine these final items.

Item No. 25 (1837). [Unknown]. "Griselda, The Clerke's Tale. Re-made from Chaucer." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XLI (May, 1837), 655-667.

This "remaking" of the Clerk's Tale appears in Blackwood's without introduction or any other explanatory matter. There is no mention of the translator's name, his reasons for doing this particular translation, or the principles and methods he adopted.

We proceed directly to a citation of the opening passage:

> In fair Saluzzo, lovely to behold,
> Down at the root of Vesulus the cold,
> A Marquis whilom ruled that pleasant plain,
> O'er towns and towers, and all the wide domain,
> The lineal prince, through fortune's favour clear, [5]
> By lords and commons held in love and fear.
> In bloom of youth, and in his person fair,
> His noble features and his royal air,
> And the dark flashes of his wilful eye
> Beseemed the gentlest born of Lombardy. [10]
> Frank, courteous; oft on pleasant toys intent,
> Yet wise withal in art of government,
> But too much time he let in pleasure slide,
> Eager to hawk and hunt on every side;
> To pass the present day was all he sought, [15]
> And to the future never gave a thought,
> Nor was inclined, for all his lieges said,
> To entertain a wife at board and bed.

At first glance, these lines, in which the rime royal stanzas of the original are turned into heroic couplets, seem to indicate an eighteenth-century translation that has somehow been printed in the nineteenth century. Indeed the heroic verse obtains throughout, with the lack of triplets and alexandrines being more suggestive perhaps of later than of earlier eighteenth-century practice. The text is divided into verse paragraphs

that vary in length from 6 to 56 lines but that always begin and end with a full couplet. This too is a practice of the eighteenth-century translators; Chaucer himself never hesitated to divide a couplet between verse paragraphs. There is evidence too of the poetic diction so dear to eighteenth-century hearts. In line 3 above, we have "pleasant plain," which glances in that direction, and elsewhere in the poem we find birds referred to as the "feathered people of the wood" (657:7)[1] and we see the Marquis riding out "his sylvan game to seek" (657:33). All these are marks of the eighteenth century.

But there are marks of contemporary literary practices as well. Though the rhyme is for the most part masculine, it does not seem quite so predominantly monosyllabic as we find the rhyme of Ogle and his colleagues to be, and it contains some interesting combinations that the Augustans would probably not have approved of: for example, "evermore . . . emperor," "transmew her . . . knew her," "seemed to all . . . magestical," "before her . . . o'er her," and "courtly ring . . . passioning." It is in the diction, however, that we are most often reminded that the writer is after all of his own century. I cite these passages, italicizing the words or expressions that in my opinion bear the mark of the nineteenth century:

> . . . . . .Griselda went,
> Drew water, and sped home with this intent,
> To do her household business out of hand,
> And with her fellows at the door to stand,
> To see the bridal pomp. (658:3-7)

> Then the court-ladies, though it hurt their pride,
> Went to her chamber with the blushing bride;
> They did his bidding, but were nothing glad
> To touch the clothes wherein the maid was clad;
> And in her bridal robes arrayed her there.
> They combed her glossy hair, and twined with pearls
> The shining top-knot of her braided curls.
> (659:4-10)

> But then she bore a lively bouncing boy,
> His sire's delight and all the country's joy.
> (661:47-48)

> Oh, dear! oh, young! oh, tender children mine!
> Your woful mother thought you dead long syne.
> (667:23-24)

In this last instance, though the expression long syne. (667:23-24) was probably introduced for antique effect, it still bespeaks the era of this study rather than an earlier era, because of its probable source in the poetry of Burns. It also suggests Scottish authorship of this translation, as does of course publication of the piece in Blackwood's.

The dating of some of the expressions is open to question, of course. The term top-knot, if applied to a ribbon used to tie up the hair, would belong, so OED indicates, to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Used of the hair itself, as it seems to be in the passage cited, it would appear to belong more to the nineteenth century, though OED's evidence is sparse. In any event, the top-knot is the translator's own addition: there is no top-knot in Chaucer. Upon blushing and bouncing (the latter in the sense of big, healthy) when found in normal contexts, the nineteenth century has no particular claim, but used with bride and boy, respectively,

they become the modern clichés, here shown to date from the nineteenth century.

Our translator's indiscriminateness in matters of diction does not end here. He makes what appears to me a conscious effort to salt his translation with Chaucerian words. If we refer to the opening passage, we find "whilom" (l. 3), "Beseemed" (l. 10), and "withal" (l. 12), and throughout the rest of the poem we meet such expressions as "on a day" (for "one day"), "lickerish fancies," "Whether I make thee laugh or inly smart," "They did his bidding, but were nothing glad," "certes," "welkin." Perhaps no more than thirty-five or forty such cases may be found in the poem. Though this is not many in a work that runs to 738 lines, it is enough, I think, to provide it with something of an antique flavor. One might think that with this intermingling of fourteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century diction, the result would be a mish-mash, but somehow the two later cousins do not themselves squabble and admit their ancestor to their company without fuss and strain.

I have been calling this piece a translation, and indeed such it is up to a point. As translation, it is paraphrase rather than modernization, as is evident in the very fact that the rime royal of the original is translated into heroic verse. A process of reduction takes place also. For instance, the passage of the original that corresponds to the opening 18 lines quoted above is E, 57-84, or 28 lines. This rate of

reduction obtains rather consistently throughout. The last part of the Tale is not fully translated. The final denouement is here, but instead of the genealogical details that Chaucer provides at the end (E, 1128-41), the translator offers only the following couplets:

> Thenceforward happy was Griselda's life,
> Her lord's sweet solace, and undoubted wife,
> And towards Paradise did calmly glide,
> No more mistrusted, and no longer tried.

For the purpose of comparing original and version in length, it will be sufficient to regard the translation as covering the whole of the tale proper, that is, A, 57-1141. For these 1085 lines, the version gives 738.

With one major exception, the matter of the original is fairly closely followed in the translation. The latter's opening lines, already quoted, furnish a good example of its general accuracy. Almost everything is there except that Walter's name is not given (it occurs instead in the 28th line, but then only incidentally, as one of his subjects addresses the Marquis as "Lord Walter"), nor is the Clerk's forthright "I blame hym thus" (E, 78). After all, since nothing of the frame that Chaucer provided appears in the translation, it would only confuse his readers for the translator to retain such indications of the point of view.

We come to the exception just now alluded to. Earlier I said that this piece could be called translation "up to a point." The translator, as we shall still call him, makes one change in

the plot that proves to be a fundamental one indeed. At the point in the story where the first child has been carried off by the sergeant, we are told nothing of the disposition of the child. Most probably, a reader who was making his first acquaintance with the Clerk's Tale through this translation would believe, with Griselda, that the child was going to be killed. This same silence is maintained with respect to the disposition of the son also. The reader of the original knows, of course, that the children have been conveyed to Bologna, there to be brought up by Walter's sister and her husband. Even at the end, when Griselda's third trial is over and she is reunited with her children, we learn only what Griselda herself is told:

> "Thou art my wife, none other wife I have,
> So may our God my soul from ruin save!
> This, whom you thought my bride, your daughter fair,
> This boy, her brother, is our son mine heir.
> Both thy sweet body bare [use of the archaic past
> of bear is unfortunate], thy bosom fed;
> Both at Bologna privily were bred. (666:59-667:4)

This is all that the reader is told about what Walter did with the children.

The effect of the alteration is to secure, perhaps, a more striking surprise at the end of the story. With Chaucer we know that the children are alive and well. We are sure that Walter will not harm the children and that deep in his mind is a plan to restore them to Griselda, though of course we do not know just when and how he will take action. In the translation, there is none of this. Whatever our suspicions, we know

no better than to assume that the children are dead. The surprise restoration at the end may be effective; however, the procession that brings the young bride and her brother into Saluzzo for the occasion has such a staged look to it, that even the rather imperceptive reader must get a notion of who the young people are. It is plain, however, that the translator was endeavoring to manage his plot so that Griselda's happy surprise would be the reader's as well.

The effects of this change are far-reaching. By not showing the details of Walter's plotting -- the secret trips of the sergeant to Bologna, Walter's charges of secrecy to the sergeant and to his sister and the Earl -- the translator denies Walter much of the share of attention he gets from Chaucer. Obviously this has the effect of giving Griselda an even greater share of the spotlight than in the original. This is not to say that the translator has deprived Walter of all of the characterization, with its accompanying commentary, which Chaucer gives him. Earlier, the translator had followed Chaucer (E, 456-462) in telling the reader how to view Walter's decision to try Griselda's virtue:

> How tyrannous is man! -- how strangely bent
> To try the ground-work of his own content!
> How apt to doubt, or without doubt to prove
> By cruel sleights a meek and patient love!
> Some think such conduct shows a subtle wit,
> But ill such tricks a husband's rule befit,
> To try his consort when no need appears,
> And make her heart-sick from incessant fears.
> (659:60-660:6)

Once this view has been stated, however, the translator seems

not particularly prone to give us reminders (though we scarcely need them) of the strangeness and cruelty of Walter's testing program. In Chaucer we are reminded of it -- for instance, at E, 890-893, where Walter, having told Griselda she might keep the smock she was wearing, speedily "wente his way, for routhe and for pitee." This display, slight though it be, of humanity on Walter's part serves to point up all the more the inhumanity of his treatment of his wife. The translator omits this touch --

> "Have thy request, one garment only take,"
> He said and went away when this he spake (664:43-44) --

and leaves us with our thoughts concentrated only on Griselda. This, coupled with the omission of the account of the Marquis' machinations, indicates that Walter, who can be a source of discomfort for almost any reader of the Clerk's Tale, was particularly such for this translator. After all, he probably wanted to contribute this tale to Blackwood's because he saw it as having most of the characteristics readers would be looking for. First, it presented a picture of the ideal woman: beautiful, virtuous, dutiful and obedient, humble, industrious, competent in the performance of appointed tasks, patient, faithful, loving, steadfast -- the ideal woman of the Romantic Era, or of any era, perhaps. Twice before in the course of this study, we have seen the Clerk's Tale put to just this use: once by Angelica Kauffman in her Ladies Library of 1794 (Item No. 2) and again in Maria Edgeworth's The Modern

Griselda (Item No. 11), though in that story the portrait of the model Griselda was adduced to serve the ulterior purposes of a less-than-model namesake.

Returning to our Blackwood's translator, we can assume that he saw in Chaucer's tale not only a perfect Romantic heroine but a plot with many of the elements the Romantics loved: a plot in which were presented virtue tested and found not wanting, a bit of mystery with a sudden surprise unfolded, and a happy ending -- all's well that ends well. But to all these Romantic touches that the translator doubtless seeks to transmit through Chaucer's tale, Walter yet poses a subtle threat. Of course the translator needs him. Without Walter there would be no testing, no mystery, no climactic unfolding, no happy ending -- in sum, no story. Yet Walter's testing of Griselda is altogether so cruel and so unnatural a business that it continually threatens to make the story something other than the pleasant little Romantic fiction that the translator obviously wanted to present to his readers. I would therefore suggest that by cutting out appropriate parts of the Walter material our translator hoped to please the reader, not only by giving him a more striking surprise at the end, but by turning his mind from the unpleasantness of Walter to the nobility of Griselda.

Whether or not the translator felt that in making the changes he had achieved his aims, we have no way of knowing. But it is certain that the realities of the Walter issue were

apparent to him, for he knew what changes had to be made to make the tale "Romantic," as the term is defined above. Even at this late hour in the Romantic Period, it was still too early for the realistic, naturalistic views of life that were to be provided in the literature from across the Channel. Romanticism was still king in the hearts of British readers and would have yet a long time to rule without successful challenge. The pathetic and romantic verse of Béranger in this same volume of Blackwood's is a further example of what I am talking about. In fact, we are on the brink of tear-jerking Victorian sentimentality, and this translation of the Clerk's Tale seeks to fit the pattern.

Perhaps this work succeeded with its readers. Maybe they spent little time pondering the gratuitousness of Walter's behaviour, and much time sobbing the joy of Griselda's return to status. Such readers could no doubt shut their eyes to the implications -- that there is something unnatural about the whole business. Of course the story is not unnatural in one sense: given a Walter, and given a Griselda, the events will follow as they do, both in Chaucer and in this translation. It would indeed be out of order to depict Griselda as becoming enraged with Walter when the full truth is ultimately revealed to her. It is the underlying unnaturalness that I speak of. We cannot give over our uneasiness about this testing business: about the enormity of the tests themselves and of Walter's persistence in them over so long a period. It is inhuman,

unnatural. Of course Griselda's patient endurance is not natural either, but it is the unnaturalness of Heaven, and we accept it. But Walter's unnaturalness is of the Devil, and we do not know what to make of it, It is this issue which the translator seems to me to be trying to avoid. If this is a just statement, then we may conclude that he has permitted himself to be more strongly moved by a desire to give his readers what he thinks they want than by a desire to give them true Chaucer.

Touching the problem of Walter, as Chaucer saw it and handled it, there is an interesting analysis by Robert Kilburn Root in The Poetry of Chaucer (rev. ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1957), pp. 261-262. Pointing to the problem of presenting a Walter who is at once worthy of Griselda and capable of subjecting her to so severe a trial, Root says: "This fundamental inconsistency cannot be removed; but the art of the story is shown in the extent to which it is concealed." To this end, according to Root, Chaucer takes pains, at the beginning of the story to stress the favorable aspects of his character.

Of course it is true that Chaucer does perhaps all that can be done to endow Walter with natural humanity, but I rather believe that Chaucer, after all, was content to lodge in the minds of his readers a measure of uneasiness over Walter. But for those who desired it he did provide a resolution to the problem, but not within the Tale itself.

Actually, the Clerk's Tale cannot properly and fully be appreciated apart from its context in the Canterbury Tales. The ironical shafts which through his tale the Clerk hurls at the Wife of Bath give to the unnaturalistic elements of the story all the life, realism, and naturalness that may be required for the sublimation of the reader's uneasiness. When the Clerk comes down hard upon the word sovereignty, the very term used by the Wife, we know that the Clerk, while discharging his obligation to give the company a good tale, is also venting his anger upon the Wife for her contempt of man, for her making of man a kind of instrument for her own satisfaction. His satirical reminder at the end, to husbands, regarding the folly of their making similar trials of the patience of their wives, leaves us in no doubt as to his intentions in the story proper. His desire was to create a character as contrary to the Wife of Bath and her ways as could be created; therefore, from the Clerk's point of view, the more exaggerated the patience of Griselda, and the more severe the tests that Walter subjected her to, the better, for in the sharpness of the contrast, the company might the better see the Wife of Bath.

Chaucer's interests went beyond the borders of individual tales to concern itself also with the dramatic possibilities of the pilgrimage. Hence, at least in the marriage group, Chaucer's interest is greatly, if not mainly, dramatic. If one of the Pilgrims in displaying his own natural animus tells a tale with

unnatural elements, so be it. The dramatic interest justifies the proceeding.

Of course this Blackwood's translation is afforded none of the advantages that might accrue to it from the position of the Tale in the framework of the pilgrimage, Here there is no Prologue, no comment, as it were, injected by the Clerk, no Lenvoy by Chaucer. We have but the Tale itself. This fact might afford the translator some excuse for making such fundamental changes. But then, instead of translator, we must give him the title which in the heading of the poem he himself solicits: re-maker.

Intermediately between Items No. 25 and No. 26, there is a printing of Truth that I should like to treat, though briefly, inasmuch as Miss Hammond (p. 402) refers to it as "modernized." Really a text of the original poem, with only the spelling modernized, it appeared, without its middle stanza, as a selection in an anonymous article entitled "Of the Earlier English Moral Songs and Poems," in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XLIV (Oct., 1938), 453-468. The selection itself appears on pages 455-456 and is followed by a second selection, "Go forth, king," a little poem of two rime royal stanzas now assigned to John Lydgate. (Skeat, Chaucerian, p. lxxi.) This article, with its Chaucer allusions, seems to have been missed by Spurgeon.

The context in which these selections appear merits some comment. The article, rather pretentious in tone if humble in purpose, begins with an analysis of the moral force it finds inherent in poetry and of the indirection or apparent incidentalness of the manner in which that force operates. "The poet, as a pleasing and potent teacher of truth and goodness, will not in this view convey his lessons best by assuming the rod of the schoolmaster, or the gown of the sage," says the author (p. 453). It is the plan of this work, however, to deal with poetry that is "more directly moral and reflective" in nature. "In no country, better than in England," the article continues (p. 454), "has poetry performed her allotted function as a teacher of virtue and

wisdom. The names of Chaucer and Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, Pope and Goldsmith, Thomson and Cowper, Crabbe and Wordsworth, afford a proud and instantaneous proof of the assertion," and their moral precepts, we are told, have been expressed in "noble poems," which will "for ever exert a beneficial sway over the minds of men, even when the language in which they sung may have been numbered with the dead." But the business of the present article is "to gather . . . and to weave into a very humble wreath, some flowerets of a lovelier kind." These are more plainly referred to a moment later: "Scattered through our miscellaneous English poetry, especially of an earlier date, there are a number of smaller and chiefly irregular moral poems, of varying merit and popularity, which deserve consideration as a distinct class" (p. 454). Such is the verse that will be examined and presented in this Blackwood's article.

The first item quoted is a two-stanza piece beginning "Winter wakeneth all my care," supposedly of the thirteenth century. Then the Chaucer material follows (pp. 455-456):

> Passing over a century, we notice two little pieces, which have been ascribed, though perhaps groundlessly, to the father of English poetry, to whose work we owe a debt both of delight and instruction too large in amount to be sensibly affected by the addition or deduction of such trifles. Of the "Good Counsel of Chaucer," which contains some germs of beauty imperfectly expanded, the first and last stanza may be inserted.

This introduction is followed by the selections. I give the first stanza to show the way the text is handled, omitting,

however, the footnotes which gloss such words as "press" and "Read":

> "Fly from the press, and dwell with soothfastness:
> Suffice unto thy good, tho' it be small:
> For hoard hath hate, and climbing tickleness,
> Praise hath envy, and weal is blent o'er all.
> Savour no more than thee behove shall.
> Read well thyself that other folk canst read,
> And truth thee shall deliver, it is no dread.

I collated this stanza and the other quoted matter with their equivalent in Chalmers. The only essential differences were in spelling. I grant, however, that the differences were sometimes great enough to give these Blackwood's lines the appearance of modernization: for instance, "yeue" in line 3 of "Go forth, king" becomes "give" in Blackwood's, but it remains essentially the same word. In the case of "Read" in the sixth line above, it would appear to me that this spelling would only create confusion rather than clarity and that the Chalmers' reading, "Rede," would be much more satisfactory. However, there is the footnote explanation -- "counsel" -- to keep the reader straight.

After the "Go forth, king" selection, the Chaucer matter is concluded with a reference to a comparison drawn by Warton "between the premature and solitary rise of Chaucer's genius and the bright and brittle promises of a genial day in an English spring!" And reference is made to the "dreary barrenness" of the ensuing period in English poetry.

I have given this item a bit more attention than it would seem to merit, especially since it is not admissible as a

modernization. However, the article, with its reference to Chaucer and to Chaucer's Truth, is revealing in a number of ways. It testifies to the continuing appeal, through our period, of this poem, an appeal to be reaffirmed in Item No. 27 below. It reaffirms, which has never really been denied by any critic, even when deploring his "coarseness" in such tales as the Miller's, that Chaucer is a highly moral poet. It reveals, as do the great majority of the allusions to Chaucer made during the Romantic Era, a deep and abiding respect for Chaucer's genius. It does not, however -- and the position and importance of Blackwood's make this point yet more significant -- reveal any advance toward a scholarly understanding of Chaucer. Such advance was shortly to come, with the work of Wright and Saunders in the 1840's and that of Furnivall and the Chaucer Society in the 1860's. But in 1838, only three years before the close of our period, the anonymous writer's skipping over his own era to advert to the criticism of Thomas Warton may perhaps be regarded as appropriately measuring the extent of his own era's contribution to the scholarly understanding and appreciation of Chaucer. It is no exaggeration to say that the Romantic Era produced no really worthy successor to Warton and no successor at all to Tyrwhitt.

Item No. 26 (1839-1841). Grimes, J. A. Various pieces, as follows:

G., J. A. "The Prioress's Tale, From Chaucer" [including headnote, p. 191, and "Prologue to the Prioress's Tale," pp. 191-192], The Monthly Magazine, I (Feb., 1839), 191-197.

G., J. A. "The Story of the Tatar Cambuscan, Modernized from Chaucer" [including epigraph (first three lines of passage from Milton's Il Penseroso beginning, "Call up him who left half told"), p. 467; "I.-- The Squire's Prologue," p. 467; and "II.-- The Squire's Tale," pp. 467-480], The Monthly Magazine, IV (Nov., 1840), 467-480.

[Passages from various Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian pieces, modernized, in an unsigned review (by J. A. Grimes) of The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized, headed] "The Poems of G. Chaucer Modernized," [in] The Monthly Magazine, V (Jan., 1841), 71-102.

Of the other twenty-nine items in this study, all except No. 7 receive mention of some sort in at least one of three major bibliographical works that I have used: Hammond, Spurgeon, and CBEL. Item No. 7, John Penn's paraphrase of the Squire's Tale, I found as a result of seeing the volume that contained it listed in the Library of Congress Printed Catalogue of Cards, and although this particular printing escaped the notice of these bibliographers, they did not miss the item altogether, listing it under the date of its private printing in 1794.

But the case is different with J. A. Grimes. Neither he nor any of his work, except it be anonymous, is mentioned in any bibliography that I am aware of, and no memoir of the man will be found in D.N.B. Since his modernizations thus constitute something of a find, I think it worthwhile to begin

my discussion with an account of how they came to my notice.

In consulting a bibliography of the works of Richard H. Horne,[2] I encountered the following item:

> "A Letter in Defense and Explanation of Authorship of Poems of Chaucer Modernized," Monthly Magazine, Series 3, V, 71-103.

Upon examining Volume V (1841) of the Monthly Magazine, I found no article so entitled occupying the given pages. Instead I found the anonymous review of Chaucer Modernized listed at the head of this item, only that it ended on page 102 instead of on page 103. The review itself, though generally favorable to Chaucer, Modernized and quite affable in tone, was conducted in such a manner as was sure to infuriate those who had made the book. On one's first encounter with this review, it seems innocuous enough, perhaps unnaturally so, for, although it bespeaks the typical presumption of superiority of the critic over the creative artist, it has none of that sarcastic banter or raptorial aggressiveness which one so frequently finds in the criticism of the Era.

"We hail the appearance of the volume before us," announces the reviewer. He finds that it "has been selected, generally speaking, with excellent judgement, so as to avoid the grossness which was the fault of the times; and with an exquisite taste for displaying the richly varied powers of perhaps the most versatile in the calendar of our distinguished poets" (pp. 71-72). Horne's Introduction is then characterized

as "excellent" and Schmitz's prefatory biographical account of Chaucer as "clear and lucid" (pp. 72 and 73). At length he gets to the point of his review: the conduct of "a severe but courteous examination into the merits or demerits of the little fraternity that have dedicated their talents to the pleasing task of doing justice" to Chaucer by modernizing him (pp. 73-74). Except for the bombast, there is hardly anything so far to give offense.

It might have saved part of the hide that he was soon to lose, had he then simply proceeded with his stated task. He pauses, however, to advert to a weekly reviewer's comment that Chaucer, Modernized was the first attempt of its kind -- "that of assimilating, without materially altering, the text of Chaucer to the circumstances of time, and to the capacity of the general reader" (p. 74). Reacting to the claim that this was the "first attempt," he remarks: "This is not the fact; as we are proud to say, that it was our privilege to introduce the first to the public eye, through the medium of a bygone number, some eighteen months ago, a specimen of Chaucer upon the principles of the writers engaged in the volume under our notice." He then says he refers to the "Prioress's Tale," to which, he says, he added a brief explanation and apology for unwittingly competing with Wordsworth, "of whose attempt we were ignorant until our own was completed" (p. 74).

We begin now to have our doubts about this man, who, as

a supposedly well-informed critic, did not even know of Wordsworth's "Prioress's Tale." Wordsworth was after all recognized as the leading poet of his age, and his "Prioress's Tale" had long been out (since 1820) and frequently published. As for his boast that he was the first to introduce the new method, we might excuse his not knowing about "Trinitarius," but, besides Wordsworth, surely he ought to have known the contributions in this area of Leigh Hunt and the Retrospective Review writer.

His proud announcements are not yet over, for he refers to a second piece of his, done for the Monthly Magazine of the November preceding: the "Squire's Tale," "with its Prologue, which Mr. Hunt [who had contributed only the Tale itself to Chaucer, Modernized] has omitted in his" (p. 74). Still, it was through these announcements that I learned of the existence of Grimes's modernizations.

The man very likely unwittingly realizes his full capacity for annoying those he criticizes when he turns his attention to the individual pieces in Chaucer, Modernized. It is not that he is niggardly of praise. He is quick enough with praise for most of the writers, Leigh Hunt being rather an exception. But his praise is usually on the general level, and certainly more than counterbalanced by what he does with particulars.

A few instances will show well enough what he does.

He begins at the beginning with Horne's modernization

of the General Prologue. On pages 77-78, he selects for commendation Horne's version of the portrait of the Parson and prints it. But he does not print it intact. At A, 484, line 8 of the portrait, he simply removes Horne's line and substitutes "And in adversity full patient," the original line, and smoothly supplies the reader with a footnote, stating that he has "taken the liberty of inserting this line as Chaucer's own, in lieu of Mr. Horne's." Later in the passage, at A, 504, he exercises his liberty again, and substitutes "miréd" for "obscene," Horne's euphemism for Chaucer's "shiten." Whether the alteration was an improvement in Horne's line is beside the point; the practice was presumptuous, and quite justly called down upon his own head the ire of the victim, as we shall see.

Substituting lines from Chaucer is one thing, but substituting his own modernization is another. Eventually we come to learn that Grimes has larded his review with lines of his own making, turning up announced or unannounced, sometimes explicitly stated to be his own, sometimes disguised as "Chaucer's" or even dumbly assuming a position in the midst of lines he is quoting from one of the works he is criticizing. It is because of the presence of these various bits of translation, extending from single words to extensive passages, that I have included this review in the heading to this item.

It is neither practical nor necessary to give a full

exposition of the various pieces of modernization by Grimes which appear in this review. Of the quality of his work, sufficient treatment will be afforded when we look at his "Prioress's Tale" and "Squire's Tale." It is his application of modernization in this review that concerns us now.

On page 78, when he has finished with his peculiar puncturing of Horne's version of the Parson's portrait, he drops quotation and gives his own version of the Ploughman's portrait -- "as a foil," he says, meaning as a foil to Horne's portrait of the Parson, "and as a point of comparison." He gives the lines, he says, "almost in Chaucer's own words." How close he comes to this, let the reader judge as I give the last three lines of the portrait, first from Tyrwhitt 1830 --

> His tithes paied he ful fayre and wel
> Both of his propre swinke, and his catel.
> In a tabard he rode upon a mere (vv. 541-543) --

and from Grimes --

> And of his tithe full fairly he alway,
> Did of his cattle and his labor pay.
> In a tabard he rode upon a mare.

As far as the first two of these lines are concerned, to say that they are "almost in Chaucer's own words" is stretching matters a bit. Paradoxical though it may seem, in the last line, in which he appears to follow Chaucer exactly, he is actually most woefully mistranslating Chaucer. He condemns himself, in saying:

This last line Mr. Horne renders

"In a short frock he rode, &c."

> The meaning of the poet is, in at the Tabard, or Talbot, the inn at which they were assembling, he rode upon a mare.

Horne's interpretation is of course the correct one.

As one proceeds through Grimes's criticism, one becomes increasingly mistrustful every time lines from the modernizations are cited and then compared unfavorably with the lines as "in Chaucer." The latter rarely look like Chaucer. At first, unless one recalls the original outright, one may think that Grimes is merely modernizing the spelling, but when one refers to the original text, one will find, on occasion after occasion, that Grimes is not comparing the lines from Chaucer, Modernized with the original Chaucer at all, but with his own modernizations. Occasionally the reader is forewarned by a brief, general announcement, but more often such lines are simply presented without the reader's being given an inkling that they are anything but true Chaucer.

This practice reaches the zenith of presumption or of inadvertence, whichever it may be, when Grimes gives his attention to the translations done by Lehigh Hunt, which we have already examined in this study under Item No. 16.

I quote the following passages from Grimes's criticism of Hunt's "Squire's Tale":

> Chaucer says with great beauty --
>
> > "Ruddy and broad the sun look'd from the skies,
> > As he is wont when morning mists do rise" --

which Mr. Hunt thus philosophizes away: --

> "The vapour, breathing upwards on the road,
> Maketh the sun to seem ruddy and broad."
>
> . . . The beautiful line, in depicting the falcon,
>
> "And all so falconlie her head she bore,"
>
> is omitted by Mr. Hunt. (P. 86.)

If one should turn back to Grimes's own version of the Squire's Tale, published just two months earlier (that is, in Nov., 1840) in the Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV, one will find therein, on page 277, the two lines that Chaucer is stated above to have said "with great beauty." Similarly, it is no wonder that the "beautiful line" -- "And all so falconlie her head she bore" -- was "omitted by Mr. Hunt," for one will discover that that line, too, is Grimes's own.

Such, then, is J. A. Grimes's integrity as a critic. A performance of this kind merited critical retribution, and it was not long in coming. The very next issue (Feb., 1841) carried a temperately indignant reply, a signed reply, by R. H. Horne, editor and one of the chief contributors to Chaucer, Modernized. In the form of a letter to the editor, it may be found on pages 187-196 of Volume V. At first, according to Horne, the contributors felt that it was the editor of the magazine himself who had written the offending article. The fact that gentleman's name was Heraud occasioned a reference among them to "Heraud's slaughter of the innocents," a sign that the article had not disturbed

them to the point of destroying their sense of humor. But Horne was disturbed enough to make this reply. It is a workmanlike defense, exhibiting both critical integrity and critical acumen. Full of detail, it includes most of the critical observations which I have made above and many more, too numerous for treatment here.

At the end of Horne's reply, p. 196, there is a note by the editor: "We right willingly give insertion to Mr. Horne's communication, and have no doubt that our critic will reply to it in our next." After the gentlemanly flaying by Horne, one would think that Grimes would have had nothing more to say. But in the March issue he is back (Vol. V, pp. 237-250), with an air, perhaps not merely put on, of wounded innocence. Rapidly regaining his aplomb, he proceeds with an attempt to justify himself, not forgetting to indulge in recrimination when it would serve his turn. For such of Horne's critical thrusts as admit of no parrying or counterblow, he lamely pleads the pressure of time and the tricks of memory. At the end of the article, this perpetrator of a critical atrocity reveals his identity at last, in the signature "J. A. Grimes."

The general speciousness of this defense was apparent to Horne, who, though given another opportunity for rebuttal in the April issue of the Monthly Magazine, wisely confined his remarks to a letter of scarcely half a page, headed "Horne's Rejoinder to Grimes's Demurrer" (p. 426). His

general feeling is that Grimes's reply had only served to substantiate the points he had made in his first response. In a footnote he defends his resorting to the use on occasion of half or imperfect rhyme, a conscious feature of Horne's technique which in his "demurrer" Grimes attacks, giving several examples after patting himself on the back for his exercise of generous restraint in not criticizing Horne on this score in his original article.

Thus ends this critical battle, with Grimes, in my judgment, the deserving loser.

When we turn from his criticism, with which the modernization we have so far seen is so maculately involved, in order to consider the isolated productions of his pen in the realm of Chaucer translation, we are due for a relatively pleasant surprise: Grimes's translation is far better than his criticism. Let us begin with his "Prologue to the Prioress's Tale," quoted in toto from the Monthly Magazine, I (1839), 191-192:

> "Well said, by Corpus Domini!" quoth our host,
> "Now long may'st thou sail cheerly by the coast,
> Thou, gentle master, gentle mariner,
> And to the monk full many a like good year.
> Ha! ha! my sides do ache: Saint Austin save
> Our franks and wives from such a cunning knave.
> Right wittily he fooled both man and wife --
> No monk shall be my cousin, on my life!
> "But now, consider we, of all this rout
> Who next shall pass the merry tale about:"
> And with that word he doff'd his cap, and said
> (All courteously, as she had been a maid),
> "My lady Prioress, by your good leave,
> An' it your gentle pleasure do not grieve,
> I would demand a tale of your sweet telling,

If I might find in you accordance willing.
Vouchsafe you us the boon, my lady dear."
"Gladly," quoth she, and said, as ye shall hear.

His use of the expression "Corpus Domini" in the first line, which the original manuscripts make clear was intended to be "Corpus Dominus" -- bad Latin, but for that reason appropriate to the Host -- is evidence of his use of Tyrwhitt, who, apparently, silently corrected the Host's Latin for his edition, wherein, at v. 13365, the oath reads as given by Grimes. (See also Robinson's note to B^2, 1625.) It is true that Urry had also printed "Corpus Domini," but there is further evidence pointing to a use of Tyrwhitt. In the matter prefatory to the Prioress's Tale proper, Grimes followed Tyrwhitt in regarding as "Prologue" only vv. 13365-81. These lines may be identified in Robinson's text as B^2, 1625-42. Robinson does not treat them as part of the Prologue and prints merely the descriptive heading: " . . . the murie wordes of the Hoost. . . ." This matter is handled in the same fashion by Urry. What Urry (like Robinson) designates as the "Prologue" to the Prioress's Tale is by Tyrwhitt simply incorporated into the Tale. In all this, Grimes follows Tyrwhitt.

Grimes's slovenly ways, so frequently observed in his criticism, are apparent here, however. One would have thought that when he came upon the fourth line in his original, reading as follows (I quote from Tyrwhitt 1830) --

God give the monke a thousand last quad yere
(v. 13368) --

he would have consulted Tyrwhitt's notes for assistance in interpreting the curious expression, "thousand last quad yere." Had he done so, he would have discovered that it meant "a thousand last (ever so great a weight) of quad yere (bad years, misfortune)," and thus might have spared himself the folly of giving the line precisely the opposite interpretation. If he made the change wittingly, it is a case of sheer presumption, and of this he is capable too, as we have already seen.

Otherwise, however, the translation is faithful. I should classify it as a modernization, with occasional lapses (I do not use the term pejoratively) into paraphrase. Though not great poetry, there is a certain sprightliness about the verse that is not unlike Chaucer.

As samples of his work in the Tale itself, I present the following stanzas: 1, 8 (which the reader may compare with its counterpart in Item No. 13), 18 (in which he is a shade more forthright than Wordsworth in dealing with Chaucer's statement of where the boy's body was thrown by the murderers), 29 (the stanza selected by Arnold as a touchstone), and 34 (the closing stanza):

1 O Lord, our Lord, how wondrously thy name,
In this wide world is spread abroad (said she):
For not alone thy praise, like incense flame,
Is offer'd up by men of high degree;
But by the lips of prattling infancy
Thy bounty hath been sung: ev'n at the breast
Babes have grown wise, and (lisping) thee comfest.

8 Among these children was a widow's son,
A little clerkling of some seven years old;
Than whom more frequent at the school was none;
Or Jesu's mother's image to behold
(As he had been her worshipper enroll'd),
More lowly knelt, or piously did say --
Ave Marie! as he went his way.

18 I say the Jews him in a foul place threw,
Which they for vilest purposes did use.
The old ye have surpast, O Herods new!
Yet from your act what good to you accrues?
Murder will out: full surely you t' accuse
This blood outcrieth on your guilty head
For vengeance, which to God's great praise shall spread.

29 'My throat is cut, indeed, to the neck-bone,
And, following nature in her usual kind,
Certes, I had been dead long time agone,
But Jesus Christ, as ye in books do find,
Would have his glory ever kept in mind:
And for the worship of his mother dear,
Yet may I sing, O Alma! loud and clear.

34 Young Hugh of Lincoln, who wast slain also
Of cruel Jews, to Christ all implacable,
(As is well known, being not long ago,)
Pray, too, for us, poor sinful souls unstable,
That of his mercy, God, so merciable,
On us his greater mercy do dispense,
To do his mother, Mary, reverence.

J. A. G.

This is passable translation, but in no way particularly striking or unusual. As we have already observed, it is Grimes's criticism that is striking and unusual, and it is as well, for interest's sake, that Grimes did not submit his translation unaccompanied by criticism. There is a headnote, also signed "J. A. G." The first paragraph contains an unusual if not unique contribution to the theory of Chaucer translation:

> The intention of the translator of this, perhaps, best specimen of the simple unadorned pathos of Chaucer, was, to bring the language of the father of English poetry two centuries nearer that of his present readers: to make the muse of Chaucer speak the tongue of Spenser. In so doing, it has been the aim of the present versifier to preserve all the quaint force of the original, disencumbering it from the obscurity of the ancient text. As the charm of this "well of English undefiled," consists chiefly in simplicity and vigour, to the preservation of which no style later than that of Spenser is adapted, he has retained the language of that most luxuriantly imaginative of all our poets, to soften the rugged simplicity of his less fanciful predecessor. Whether the attempt has been successful or not, the judicious reader must decide. (P. 191.)

In his March, 1841, response in the Monthly Magazine, Vol. V, pp. 237-250, to Horne's criticism, Grimes gives the notion further treatment, explaining his belief that the task of the translator of Chaucer is to put his poetry, not into the language of the translator's own, but into that of the preceding era (philologically speaking), in this case Spenser's, and pointing out that Spenser had applied a similar notion in his own early verse. Had Grimes actually succeeded in his practice of this theory, we should have had some solid ground on which to evaluate it. It is true that he has sought to introduce words and phrases that have an archaic air, but the resultant verses seem not at all Spenserian.

Grimes concludes his headnote to the "Prioress's Tale" with an apology for not having learned, until his own version was already in the hands of the editor, that the il-

lustrious Wordsworth had done the tale. The only other version that he knew of, he says, was in prose. This undoubtedly is an allusion to the version done by Clarke in his Tales from Chaucer in Prose (Item No. 23). Clarke had included also a part of the Prologue (as the Prologue stands in Tyrwhitt), whereas Wordsworth had begun with the Tale itself (as the Tale stands in Tyrwhitt). All this appears to indicate how little known were the efforts of Lipscomb, who had himself done both the Prioress's Prologue and her Tale (Item No. 4).

We bring our study of Grimes to a close with a brief look at his version of the Squire's Prologue and Tale, which appeared in the Monthly Magazine for November, 1840. In this he was anticipated by Lipscomb and Boyse (Item No. 4) and, with respect to the Tale only, by Penn (Item No. 3 and No. 7) and by the unknown contributor to the early series of the Monthly Magazine, 1796 (Item No. 5), the latter having been reprinted in 1806 (Item No. 12). Besides these, there were Wharton, who had expanded and completed the Tale (Item No. 10), and Leigh Hunt, who had done a free version of the first part of the Tale for The Liberal in 1823 (Item No. 16). Grimes has a good claim, however, to being the first to do a proper modernization of the Tale. The first part is reduced slightly, but the second part is given in exactly the same number of lines, 324; however, some of Grimes's modernizing, as we have seen, exceeds the limits of the category to become paraphrase.

We begin by citing the opening lines of the "Squire's Prologue," which like the original (Tyrwhitt, vv. 10293-10322) is of thirty lines:[3]

> Now, quoth mine host, God in his mercy keep
> Me from such wife, or waking or in sleep!
> Lo, now what cunning sleights, and subtleties
> In women are: for busy ay as bees,
> A mazy web, beside the truth, they weave,
> Us silly men for ever to deceive.
> This, by our merchant's tale, too well we feel;
> Yet, ne'er the less, as true as any steel --
> I have a wife -- ay, poor, although she be;
> But of her tongue, a blabbing shrew is she.

In the opening couplet to the Tale itself, Grimes works a considerable change, even introducing a figure which, though appropriate, is not in Chaucer:

> At Surra dwelt a Tartar-prince, who had,
> Like to a wolf, Muscovie worried.

This is after the manner of the free paraphraser. In the next couplet, he becomes modernizer, however:

> Through which there died many a doughty man;
> This noble king was named Cambuscan.

The only change from the original, except in spelling, is in the substitution of "named" for the archaic "cleped." To the proper name, "Cambuscan," Grimes supplies a footnote, in which he explains that he has kept Chaucer's pronunciation of the name, in opposition to Milton's, "because I think the can to be the title -- as Khan of Tartarie -- thus Gengis Khan" (p. 467). In this he was anticipated, of course, by the practice of Leigh Hunt, who in his 1823 Liberal version (Item No. 16) had rendered the lines thus:

In prime of life he was a valiant man,
And Cambus was he called, the noble Khan.

The beautiful passage describing the onset of spring (F, 48-57) is translated by Grimes as follows:

Phoebus, the sun, full jolly was and clear,
For he was to his exaltation nigh,
In Mars his face, and in his mansion high
In Aries, that cholerick hot sign;
Full lusty was the weather and benign,
At which the birds did turn to the bright sun, [6]
By the soft season and green leafling won,
Brimful of gladsome and of grateful song,
As they the shelter saw from winter's wrong. --
Nor feared more his sword so keen and cold.

Beginning as modernization, the passage turns paraphrastical at about line 6. Lines 2-3 are cleverly modernized, as Grimes keeps the original fairly well intact, despite having to give up the rhyme because of changes in pronunciation and accentuation. A look at the original passage as printed in Tyrwhitt 1830 will make this observation clear:

For he was nigh his exaltation
In Martes face, and in his mansion
In Aries . . . . . (Vv. 10363-66.)

Grimes's handling of the dramatic passage depicting the entrance of the stranger is also successful, except for the awkwardness and woodenness of "desired" and "depended" in lines 8 and 9:

Now it befel that after the third course,
When that this king, amid his gallant train
Of nobles, listed to the minstrel's strain,
Who at his board did play deliciously,
In at the hall-door wide, full suddenly,
There came a knight upon a steed of brass,
And in his hand a mirror broad of glass;
A ring of gold was on his thumb descried, [8]
A naked sword depended at his side: [9]

And up he rideth to the dais-board --
In all the hall there was not spake one word
For marvel of this knight: him to behold
Full eagerly await both young and old.

With his version of the passage that ends the Tale, cited below, we leave Grimes. Notice that in an apparent effort to resolve the disturbing inconsistencies in the passage, he has employed the name Cambello, instead of Camballo, as it appears at the beginning of the tale, where it is applied, in the original and version both, to the second son of the king. The spelling "Cambello" and the context make clear to Grimes's readers that this is a lover of Canace rather than a brother.

First I will tell you of this Tartar-king,
Stormer of cities past my numbering;
And after will I speak of Algarsife,
And how he Theodora won to wife;
For whom thro' many a peril he did pass,
That had he not but for the horse of brass.
And the last of Cambello, stalwart and true,
That fought in lists with the stout brethren two,
For Canace, or ere he might her win --
And where I left, I will again begin.

* * * * * * *

J. A. G.

On the whole, Grimes may be regarded as a reasonably competent translator. Horne himself so regarded him, for, in the Monthly Magazine of February, 1841, at the end of his response to Grimes's review, he extends a sincere invitation to Grimes to contribute to the next volume of Chaucer, Modernized. The fact that no such volume ever appeared (see below, Item No. 28) does not invalidate the compliment.

Item No. 27 (1841). [Fox, William Johnson]. ["Britain's first poet" (from Table of Contents), sig. F8-F9, in] Hymns and Anthems [ed. William Johnson Fox]. London: Charles Fox, 67 Paternoster Row. 1845.4 [On verso of title page:] London: Printed by Levey, Robson, and Franklyn, Great New Street, Fetter Lane. [Small octavo.]

This item requires but little more than citation of its content. I give it in full. The first stanza and the last stanza are the translator's original addition, presented by way of introduction and summary to the translation of Truth, which is given in the intermediate stanzas:

CXXIII.

BRITAIN'S first poet,
Famous old Chaucer,
Swan-like, in dying
Sung his last song,
When at his heart-strings
Death's hand was strong.

"From false crowds flying,
Dwell with soothfastness;
Prize more than treasure
Hearts true and brave;
Truth to thine own heart
Thy soul shall save.

"Trust not to fortune;
Be not o'er meddling;
Thankful receive thou
Good which God gave;
Truth to thine own heart
Thy soul shall save.

"Earth is a desert,
Thou art a pilgrim:
Led by the spirit,
Grace from God crave;
Truth to thine own heart
Thy soul shall save."

Dead through long ages
Britain's first poet --
Still the monition
Sounds from the grave,
"Truth to thine own heart
Thy soul shall save."

The second, third, and fourth stanzas form a very free paraphrase of Chaucer's Truth, generally known during the Romantic Era, and before, as Good Counsail of Chaucer. A notion of just how free can be gained from a glance at the original. There is no way of knowing which text Fox used, but the one in Chalmers (1810), I, 401, is a likely candidate. Citation of the first stanza will be sufficient for our purposes:

> FLY fro the prease, and dwell with soothfastnesse,
> Suffise vnto thy good though it be small,
> For horde hath hate, and climbing tikelnesse,
> Prease hath enuy, and wele is blent ouer all,
> Sauour no more than thee behoue shall,
> Rede well thy selfe that other folke canst rede,
> And trouth thee shall deliuer, it is no drede.

Fox has thus taken the seven lines of Chaucer's rime royal stanza and reduced them to six. The iambic pentameter of the original has been replaced by a shorter line, which seems to be dactylic dimeter, though with variations. Fox's rhyme scheme, identical for all stanzas, is extremely simple: a b c d e d, with the d e d rhymes of all stanzas save the first being identical in sound. In fact, the last two lines of the last four stanzas are identically worded, corresponding in this respect to the last line of each of Chaucer's stanzas: "And trouth thee shall deliuer, it is no drede."

So far as the sense is concerned, what Fox has done seems to be to take the key word or idea of each stanza and work it up without the specific imagery used by Chaucer and with emphasis mainly on its positive aspects. A look at the

first stanza of the original reveals that the first half of line 1 and all of lines 3-5 give us what might be called negative counsel. In the translation (second stanza of Fox's poem), only the first line contains anything negative, and that is tucked into a dependent phrase. The key word or idea picked up by Fox is, in the second stanza, "soothfastness"; in the third, "fortune," though that fickle person is depicted in the original, not by name, but by the phrase, "her that tourneth as a ball"; and in the fourth, "pilgrim." I think the observation about Fox's greater emphasis on positive elements holds fairly well throughout these other stanzas, though several good Chaucerian images are sacrificed in the process. We no longer are plainly told not to strive "as doth a crocke with a wall" or that the "wrastling of this world axeth a fall." One observation more: when Fox takes the last two lines of a stanza, as

> Rede well thy selfe that other folke canst rede,
> And trouth thee shall deliuer, it is no drede,

and converts them into

> Truth to thine own heart
> Thy soul shall save,

he has made a short circuit of Chaucer's thought.

A brief description of the volume which provides a context for this poem is in order. It contains altogether 150 hymns, numbered consecutively throughout in blackface type and divided into two books, Book I consisting of Hymns I-LXX and Book II, of Hymns LXXI-CL. Each hymn is headed only

by its number: to ascertain the author, one must turn to the table of contents, which occupies the last four pages of the volume. Here, for each hymn, is given its number, the first line, the author, and the music, usually designated by the composer's name. Cowper's great hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way," appears in this collection as No. 33, with music designated as "Ravenscroft (Major's Collection)." Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope are all represented, as are most of the leading writers of the Romantic Era: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Scott, and even Byron, whom one would not expect to find represented in a collection of hymns. Among the younger contemporaries, Tennyson and Browning are here, and even the Americans, Longfellow and Bryant. Among women writers represented are [Mrs.] Sigourney, Mrs. Hemans, Joanna Baillie, and Sarah F. Adams, several of the latter's hymns being included. As one may infer from the nature of the work of some of the poets named, not all of the poems in this collection are such as we ordinarily think of as hymns. For instance, for Shakespeare we find: "The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces"; for Longfellow, "Tell me not, in mournful numbers." However, the pieces all seem to have been provided with tunes and otherwise adapted to the demands of hymnology.

It is strange, however, that, although "W. J. Fox" has his name in the author column opposite a number of hymns, he is silent as to his connection with the Chaucer piece, for

which the table of contents reads:

[Hymn no.] [First Line] [Author] [Music]

123. BRITAIN'S first poet, Chaucer . . . E. Taylor.

Nor does this volume elsewhere contain evidence that W. J. Fox was the translator of Truth or even that he was the compiler of the volume. That he was indeed the translator is evidenced in the N & Q note mentioned by Miss Spurgeon (see my note 4, this chapter). This is one of a series of notes, all in Vol. V of N & Q, first series, and together forming a brief colloquy, which may be given here, substantially entire. The colloquy begins with a query (in No. 136, June 5, 1852, p. 536):

> Lines on Chaucer. --
>
> "Swan-like, in dying
> Famous old Chaucer
> Sang his last song."
>
> Who is the author of the above lines? ELIZA.

An answer was forthcoming in the very next number (No. 137, June 12, 1852, p. 574):

> The lines about which ELIZA inquires are not quoted by her quite correctly. They are by Mr. W. J. Fox, and may be found in the little volume entitled Hymns and Anthems (published by Chas. Fox, 1845), used at the Unitarian Chapel in South Place, Finsbury.[5] No. CXXIII. begins thus:
>
> "Britain's first poet,
> Famous old Chaucer,
> Swan-like in dying,
> Sang his last song,
> When at his heart-strings
> Death's hand was strong," &c. JAYDEE.

The apparent inaccuracies of JAYDEE'S transcription elicited

yet another note, with which this colloquy comes to a close (No. 139, June 26, 1852, p. 621):

> The lines should be quoted: --
>
> "Britain's first poet,
> Famous old Chaucer,
> Swan-like, in dying
> Sung his last song
> When at his heart-strings
> Death's hand was strong."
>
> They are taken from Hymn cxxiii. of Hymns and Anthems, London, C. Fox, 1841. Γ.

This stanza agrees almost perfectly with the text in the copy of the 1845 edition I used, the N & Q version of 1841 offered by Γ. differing only in that "Britain's" is not printed in capitals and that no comma appears at the end of line 4. In all probability, the first difference is only a matter of the magazine's editorial policy and does not reflect the actual state of the 1841 text. The difference in punctuation at end of line 4, assuming N & Q's transcription to be accurate, has no significant effect upon the reading. When, however, we compare JAYDEE's version of the 1845 text with that text as I have cited it, instead of the perfect correspondence we should expect we get one significant difference: JAYDEE's version removes the comma after "swan-like" to the end of the line. It seems to me that to separate "in dying" from "swan-like" and to allow it to modify "sung his last song" affords the better reading: that is, Chaucer was "swan-like," not because he was dying, but because in dying he "sung his last song." The JAYDEE reading would be

all right, if "Swan-like in dying" meant the same as "Like a dying swan," but it does not. But there is a basic fault which no punctuation changes will remedy. It lies in the word last, which is redundant, certainly, and even misleading. A song sung by anyone or anything dying must perforce be the last song, and furthermore the word last is ambiguous. In the sense that it informs us that there will be no more songs from that source, it is of course correctly used in the poem, but it also can be taken as meaning that this song is the last of many. With Chaucer this is the case, but not with the swan, who according to the tradition, as I understand it, sings only at death. The only proper comparison is that, like the swan, Chaucer chose to sing when on the point of death.

This colloquy from N & Q does provide evidence, however, that the 1845 text is a trustworthy reprint of the text as it first appeared in 1841, which is the last year of this study. Further corroboration is afforded in the University of Michigan copy of Hymns and Anthems.

Bearing on its title page, in addition to the title, only the words: "South Place Chapel, London" this copy includes 400 additional hymns in a "BOOK THIRD." The half-title for this third book reads: "Hymns and Anthems, Selected and arranged 1873." The volume must have been published even later than this date, however, for in the "Index of Authors" (there are also an "Index of First Lines" and an "Index of

Subjects") a number of death dates are listed that are later than 1873, for instance, that of Harriet Martineau: "(b. 1802-1876)." The inconsistency of printing "b." without a counterpart "d." suggests that there was probably an intervening edition, with the more elaborate indexing of this latest volume, in which Miss Martineau, then still living, was listed as "b. 1802." No dates of birth or death are given in the 1845 edition.

Insofar as may be determined by selective collation, the first two books of the Michigan copy are a reprint of Book I and II of the 1841 edition. The "Chaucer" poem is in Book II, as in the 1845 edition, and also is still No. 123, although the Roman numerals for the hymns have given way to Arabic. The poem itself accords almost perfectly with the 1845 reading; even the indentation is the same. The only differences are that in the later copy at the end of the fourth line of the fourth stanza there is no punctuation and that the third line from the end reads "Sounds from his grave" (italics mine) instead of "the grave." The first change was probably the result of sheer inadvertence, for some punctuation is necessary at that point, and the second change seems intentional, though I see no good reason for making it.

The year 1834 was a critical one in Fox's life, according to the account in D.N.B. Domestic difficulties resulted in a separation between him and his wife, and his defense of his action had the further effect of getting him

disowned by his fellow ministers. His congregation at South Place Chapel split over the matter, but the majority remained loyal to him. As a result, the D.N.B. account continues, Fox was able to assume greater independence in the pulpit, and the service, under Eliza Flower's direction, became musical, with Fox himself contributing "some highly poetical hymns." Hymn No. 123 can certainly be so described, but its poetry is not that of Chaucer.

Having with Item No. 27 entered upon the concluding year of our study, 1841, we find yet a trio of items awaiting us. The first of these, No. 28, is particularly well fitted, I speak somewhat sardonically, to stand at the end of this fifty-year era in Chaucer translation: a hodgepodge book to stand at the end of a hodgepodge era.

Item No. 28. [Horne, Richard Henry (or Hengist), ed.]. The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized. London: Whittaker & Co., 1841.

Despite the caliber of some of the translators represented -- Hunt, Wordsworth, Elizabeth Barrett -- despite the extensive critical and biographical introductory matter, despite the considerable editorial effort to provide homogeneity of treatment, this book turned out badly. Spurgeon (I, lix) calls it a "curiosity of literature." A second volume was projected, with the idea of presenting contributions by Tennyson, Richard Monckton Milnes, and others. No second volume appeared. It is likely that no one of note who had seen this first volume would have wanted to play any part in a second.

This item, which will be referred to as Chaucer, Modernized, had its genesis, it would appear, in the mind of a young man by the name of Thomas Powell, a friend of Wordsworth's. In a letter to Powell, dated by De Selincourt as "late 1839," Wordsworth writes:

> I am glad that you enter so warmly into the Chaucerian project, and that Mr L. Hunt is disposed to give his valuable aid to it. For myself I cannot do more than

> I offered, to place at your disposal the Prioress's Tale . . . -- you ask my opinion about that poem [Troilus and Cressida] -- speaking from a recollection of many years past, I should say that it would be found too long -- and probably tedious. [It would appear that Powell's notion of what might be done was grand.] The Knights Tale is also very long, but though Dryden has executed it, in his own way observe, with great spirit and harmony, he has suffered so much of the simplicity, and with that of the beauty, and occasional pathos of the original to escape, that I should be pleased to hear that a new version should be attempted upon my principle by some competent Person. [Either he did not know or had forgotten Thurlow's version of The Knight's Tale, or he knew it, but did not regard it as done according to his "principle."] It would delight me to read every part of Chaucer over again, for I reverence and admire him above measure, with a view to your work, but my eyes will not permit me to do so -- who will undertake the Prologue to the C. Tales? For your publication that is indispensible, and I fear it will prove very difficult. (LY, II, 992-993.)

It is clear from this letter that the project was essentially Thomas Powell's. Wordsworth is willing to play the role of adviser, encourager, even contributor, but no further. It also reveals the early interest of Leigh Hunt.

On January 18, 1840, Wordsworth writes again to Powell, with more advice:

> You seem in too great a hurry to be in the press with Chaucer. He is a mighty genius as you well know, and not lightly to be dealt with. (LY, II, 998.)

It would seem that already Wordsworth sensed trouble. Whether Thomas Powell passed his hasty ways on to Horne, the eventual editor, I know not, but undue haste in preparation is indicated by the helter-skelter make-up of the book, however well prepared individual selections may have been. Probably not so much for some misgiving on this score as simply for the

bad eyesight complained of in the previous letter, Wordsworth made clear to Powell the limitations on his own participation:

> For my own part, I am not prepared to incur any responsibility on the account of this project, which I much approve of, beyond furnishing my own little quota. (II, 998.)

His offerings, he fears, must be restricted to "The Prioress's Tale," "if thought worth while," and "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," for a search among his papers has failed to turn up "The Manciple's Tale" and the "small portion of Troilus and Cressida" (II, 998-999).

Wordsworth then says that his own contributions to the forthcoming volume will make apparent his "approbation of the Endeavor to tempt people to read Chaucer by making a part of him intelligible to the unlettered" (II, 999). However, he declines any further participation, even to the looking over of the MSS. of Powell and the others, on the ground that he is inclined to brood over "little matters in Composition," to the extent of interfering with his meals and sleep, and that the results of his efforts are, he feels, virtually nil.

Then, in a letter to Powell of January 18, 1840, comes further evidence that Powell was the originator of this book:

> As my connection with the intended little work originated with you, and probably the work altogether, why should not you, with the consent of Coadjutors [?] the management of it, both as to Editorship and the choice of a publisher. You could prefix an advertisement expressing how the Attempt came to be made, and upon what principles it was conducted. -- I hope I have now made myself sufficiently intelligible, and that Mr. Horne &c will not be hurt that I decline, for the reasons above given, the pleas[ure] which it would otherwise be, of

> perusing his MSS. -- I wish him and Mr Hunt . . . success in their disinterested labours. My love and reverence for Chaucer are unbounded. (II, 999-1000.)

This is the earliest mention by Wordsworth of the connection of R. H. Horne with the project.

In a letter to Isabella Fenwick of which we have but a fragment, undated but assigned by De Selincourt to this period, 1840, Wordsworth seems to show a shadow of misgiving as to the quality of some of the work going into the volume:

> But whatever may be the execution of the portion done by Mr Powell and his Friends the attempt cannot but excite some little attention to the subject, and in so far as it does will tend to a good purpose. (LY, II, 1001-02.)

The fragment does not include the detailed criticism Wordsworth must have been communicating.

On February 21, 1840, Wordsworth writes to Edward Moxon, the publisher:

> Mr Powell, my Friend, has some thought of preparing for Publication some portions of Chaucer modernized so far and no farther than is done in my treatment of the Prioress's Tale, that will in fact be his model. He will have Coadjutors, among whom I believe will be Mr Leigh Hunt, a man as capable of doing the work well as any living Author . . . This [i.e., placing his translations at Powell's disposal] I have done mainly out of love and reverence for Chaucer, in hopes that whatever may be the merit of Mr Powell's attempt, the attention of other Writers may be drawn to the subject; and a work hereafter be produced by different pens which will place the treasures of one of the greatest of Poets within the reach of multitudes, which now they are not. I mention all this to you, because though I have not given Mr Powell the least encouragement to do so he may sound you as to your disposition to undertake the Publication. -- . . . Had the thing been suggested to me by any number of competent Persons 20 years ago I would have undertaken

> the Editorship, done much more myself, and endeavoured to improve the several contributions where they seemed to require it. But that is now out of the question. (LY, II, 1005.)

Observe the very high regard Wordsworth has for Leigh Hunt's capabilities in Chaucer matters. Again we note Wordsworth's reserve: whatever he may say in behalf of the project, he is careful not to recommend that Moxon undertake publication, and he seems to feel the work would be a far better one, were he himself able to assume the editorship. If indeed Powell did seek to secure Moxon as publisher, he was turned down, as a glance at the title page of Chaucer, Modernized will indicate.

A letter of May 1, 1840, to Thomas Powell, reveals that the young man still had grand notions of the project:

> Are you sure that it would answer to modernize the whole of Chaucer? I fear much would prove tedious and other parts to be objectionable upon the other grounds which I have formerly adverted to. [W. refers of course to morality concerns.] (LY, II, 1025.)

With regard to the question of morality, Wordsworth discusses, in this and other letters, the question of the propriety of offering his "Manciple's Tale." I am deferring consideration of this matter until we look at Chaucer, Modernized itself.

When we next hear from Wordsworth on the subject of Chaucer, Modernized, the summer is past, and Wordsworth is writing (Oct. 16, 1840) to his protegé, not a little put out. The book has now been advertised, but advertised in manner contrary to agreement. Wordsworth talks to Powell in Dutch

Uncle fashion:

> Yesterday I received a letter from a Lady from which I transcribe the following. 'I have read in a Newspaper that you are about to publish Chaucer's Tales modernized' [the Lady, Wordsworth says later in the letter, had done a "Tale of Constance" which she wanted to send him for his correction and for possible inclusion in the advertised work.] -- and a friend also tells me that he has seen an advertizement of your Publication in which my name stands first in large letters. -- Now dear Sir, you will remember that the condition upon which I placed these things at your disposal was, that for many reasons I should not be brought prominently forward in the Matter -- but that my communications, given solely out of regard for you and reverence for Chaucer, should appear as unostentatiously as possible. I am therefore concerned for what has been done, as it cannot be undone.
>
> (LY, II, 1045.)

He then explains how he recommended to the Lady that she submit her work to Powell. He concludes his remarks on this score by expressing a hope Powell had announced that Wordsworth's versions had been long by him (II, 1045-46).

Finally, on January 11, 1841, Wordsworth writes to John Wilson:

> I received the accompanying Vol [The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, modernized (De Selincourt note)]: from Mr Powell some little time ago to be forwarded to you. . . .
> The attempt originated, I believe, in the Specimen I gave some years since, of the Prioresses Tale, and has no other object but to tempt the mere modern Reader to recur to the original. (LY, III, 1061.)

So, apparently in December or very early in January, was The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized launched upon the world.

Thus we are given a fairly full view, if unilateral, of the genesis of Chaucer, Modernized. For an account of the actual organization and development of the book itself, we

must turn to the editor, R. H. Horne.

Curiously the best information on this head that Horne has afforded us is not to be found in his extensive "Introduction" to the book. There he speaks only in rather general terms: those who contributed to the volume were prompted to the task, he says, because of Chaucer's greatness and their admiration for him and because his work was so little known, "even in his own country" (Chaucer, Modernized, p. viii). Rather it is found in statements made a quarter of a century later in Volume I of Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne (London, 1877). Horne's chapter on Chaucer, Modernized (pp. 95-127 in this volume of E.B.B. letters) has already been alluded to, in connection with Leigh Hunt (see above, Item No. 16). Horne's remarks begin as follows:

> In 1841, a project was set on foot (by Wordsworth, I believe) for giving the world, for the first time, a true yet polished modernization of the Father of English Poetry. (P. 95.)

The letters of Wordsworth make it clear that it was set on foot, in 1840 rather than 1841, primarily by Powell. It is curious that Horne never mentions Powell by name, either here or in the "Introduction" to Chaucer, Modernized. It would appear by what follows, that by "modernization" Horne means what in my study is meant by that term. To continue with Horne's remarks:

> All previous so-called modernizations of Chaucer (with the single exception of Lord Thurlow's rendering of the

> "Knight's Tale") had been, at best, paraphrases, ad libitum translations, or gross parodies and desecrations of the homely power, beauty, graphic richness, and quaint humour of the original. (Pp. 95-96.)

Thus does he dispose of Dryden, Pope, Ogle, and Lipscomb, and all other paraphrasers. Of course he is mistaken in saying that Thurlow's "Knight's Tale" was the only true modernization prior to Chaucer, Modernized.

"It was agreed," he says (p. 96) "that this project should be carried out by Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Miss Barrett, Robert Bell, Monckton Milnes, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, and myself." There is, however, no contribution by Milnes unless the latter be the mysterious "Z. A. Z.," who contributed "The Rime of Sir Thopas." To identify Milnes with "Z. A. Z.," however, one must somehow set aside the fact that this same version of Thopas was printed by Powell in 1842, in Poems, a volume purporting to contain the products of his own pen.

As may be inferred from Wordsworth's letters, the matter of who should edit the work posed a problem. This is indeed borne out by Horne:

> Some difficulty was experienced in the choice of an editor. Wordsworth, being in years, and residing at a distance, would not accept the post. The next in seniority was Leigh Hunt, who was living near London, and in all respects suitable as a most accomplished reader and lover of Chaucer. But he was too wise; he "smelt the battle afar off;" and, as Wordsworth, to whom several of us had sent poems we had modernized, had written to London to say that my rendering of "The Franklin's Tale" was "as well done as any lover of Chaucer's poetry need or can desire," the editorship was offered to me. To my subsequent regret, hard work, waste of time in verbal conflicts, countless vexations -- yet pride, withal -- I accepted the office "little dreaming." (Pp. 96-98.)

The "verbal conflicts" must have been vigorous, to judge from the lively bit which Horne reproduces from the criticisms made by Elizabeth Barrett on the proof sheets of his "Franklin's Tale," together with his replies to them (pp. 111-114).

The principle of translation suggested by Horne was "that the best way of doing the work would be gracefully and poetically to retain as much of the original language of Chaucer as possible" (p. 100). This is as good a definition of the term modernization, in the sense employed in this study, as may be found. We have already seen (above, Item No. 16) how all the contributors except Leigh Hunt concurred in this principle.

Elizabeth Barrett's letter postmarked from Torquay, December 17, 1840, is quoted for her opinion on the work of her colleagues. Horne, who has forgotten that the book was ready for the press by the end of 1840, says her letter was "evidently written after receiving proofs of some portion of the book." But twenty-five years have gone by, and Horne's memory is not to be completely trusted. It is more likely, considering that the volume was in Wordsworth's hands at least by early January, 1841, and also considering the tenor of her own remarks in the letter, that Elizabeth Barrett has just received the completed book:

> "I did not say half enough about the 'Introduction.'
> . . .

> "Notwithstanding all the merit and the grace, do not some of the poems militate against the principle you set out with? I venture to think that the refashioners stand -- some of them, and in a measure -- too far from Chaucer's side -- however graceful the attitude. You, yourself, and Wordsworth are most devoutly near. Most of the contributors are so, but not all, for even Mr. Leigh Hunt is sometimes satisfied with being with Chaucer in the spirit, and spurns the accidents of the body. But Mr. Bell's 'Mars and Venus' is too smooth and varnished, and redolent of the nineteenth century, as appears to me, for spirit or body. I think people will say, you might 'keep more Chaucer.' But, however, they mayn't; and if they are not (say what they please) delighted with this volume, this breathing of sweet souths over the bank of deathless violets, there can be no room for delight in their souls." (Pp. 107-109.)

How, if she had read his "Reeve's Tale," as indeed she must have, she could say that Horne was "devoutly near," I know not. But to that matter in good time.

We turn now to the "Introduction" to Chaucer, Modernized, written by Horne, which occupies pages v-cv of the prefatory matter. Strictly speaking, it is not an introduction, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that most of it is not introductory. In the main it is a preface, occupying much the same relationship to Chaucer, Modernized as Dryden's "Preface" does to Fables. It is, the larger part of it, a disquisition on Chaucer and his poetry.

The "Introduction" bears neither signature nor date; it is only by the table of contents that we are told it is Horne's. Not a tightly organized piece, it is nevertheless a full-scale essay in which the author treats a number of Chaucer subjects, of which translation is by no means the

chief. It seems to fall into five divisions, as follows: (1) purpose of present volume, its audience and raison d'être, and obstacles to the reading of Chaucer, pp. v-x; (2) summary and critique of previous translations, pp. x-xxx; (3) methods of translating Chaucer, pp. xxxi-xxxvii; (4) the versification of Chaucer, including (a) a general review of versification of the English poets, (b) an examination of Chaucer's apparent practice of writing lines that are short or long by more than one syllable, and (c) a brief discussion of his rhyming, pp. xxxvii-xciii; (5) a section variously touching on (a) Chaucer's pathos and humor, (b) his command of character, (c) his anachronisms, (d) his powers of description, (e) the question of Chaucer as moralist, including the problem of translating oaths, and (f) Chaucer's attitude toward religious reform, pp. xciii-civ. Pages civ-cv are devoted to a conclusion couched in highly sentimentalized prose.

Horne's critical judgments are delivered in a clear direct manner, and they are given energy and plausibility by the number of quoted passages he has adduced by way of illustration and reference. Nevertheless there is a certain dogmatism about them also, even a certain narrowness, so that when he reviews the performance of past translators we find a tendency to see all the paraphrases as bad and all the modernizations as good. Occasionally his pronouncements are quite mistaken, as when he says in a footnote (p. xcii):

that "none of the Poems of Chaucer -- contradistinguished from the Tales -- have hitherto been made known to the public, even by a paraphrase, except the 'Flower and the Leaf.'" Surely Horne must have seen the full editions of Anderson or of Chalmers and he scarcely could have missed one of the frequent appearances, in translation, of Truth. A little cogitation would no doubt have recalled these exceptions to him, but, as he writes, his mind is dominated by the fact that Tyrwhitt, whom he is at the moment dismissing, had edited only the Tales, and he is either too hasty or too rigid in his thinking to look for exceptions. His ways, too, are more the ways of the enthusiast than of the scholar. In short, Horne and his criticism partake of the nature of their era.

My impression is that Horne's learning, particularly respecting Chaucer, is wide and various, but not very deep. But this was still before the day of Furnivall and Skeat, and there is little doubt that Horne's knowledge of Chaucer was greater than that of most of the educated of his day. Several of his misunderstandings were those of his times and are therefore not chargeable upon him: perhaps the outstanding example is his ascription to Chaucer of such apocryphal works as the Flower and the Leaf. His "Introduction" seems to accept without question the canon that had descended to his era. On the other hand, his extended commentary on Chaucer's meter appears to foreshadow Hopkins' and Bridges'

theories of the rhythms of English poetry: for in reading both Chaucer and the poets of the Romantic Revolt he rejects the Procrustean approach to the justification of the heroic verse -- that is, he rejects the application of iambic and like metrics -- in favor of reading verse by accent and quantity.[6] This is at least his tendency. As he writes, he sees contemporary poets breaking through into new realms of prosody. With respect to Chaucer, he strongly defends his heroic couplet against the charge that it is bad because it cannot be read like Pope's or Dryden's couplets.

More vital to our present concerns, however, are Horne's statements about the purpose of the volume and his notions of what constitutes the best way of translating Chaucer.

First, Horne hopes to bring modern readers who have neither a knowledge of Chaucer's diction nor the time or inclination to acquire it a version of Chaucer which will enable them to appreciate him (pp. viii-ix). Besides bringing about a wider diffusion of the pleasure attendant upon reading Chaucer, the volume will, it is hoped, bring about an "increase in the numbers of those who read the noble original" (p. xxxi). Horne's analysis of the principles involved in translating are of central importance to this study. He sees methods of putting Chaucer into modern English, in terms of a scale with extremes as follows (pp. xxxi-xxxii):

Spirit and body of the original work to be maintained only through the free translation of the words, rimes, and meters.	Spirit and body of the original work to be maintained through the retention, insofar as possible, of Chaucer's own words, rimes, and meters.

Since there are many passages in Chaucer that need no remodeling and many that need complete remodeling, Horne recommends a kind of eclectic procedure: "It seems plain that the greatest amount of the original will be obtained from between these two extremes: the only distinguishing marks of the different methods being a general predominance of this or that principle" (p. xxxiii). None of the contributors to Chaucer, Modernized, Horne assures the reader, has attempted the first method. My own comment is that although this last statement is generally valid some qualification is due. Horne's twists to avoid the indelicate realities of the Reeve's Tale have produced as vagarious a result as any that the wildest paraphrasers of the Dryden-Pope era turned out. Also, Leigh Hunt, in spirit at least, if not always in actual performance, leaned decidedly toward the paraphrase end of the scale.

Horne's summary and critique of previous Chaucer translation is interesting, not so much for its judgments on individual writers, judgments which are quite arbitrary and which despite the examples offered are really rather superficial, as for its general tendency. Ultimately, we find that Horne has divided the translators into two groups: the

villains and the heroes. The villains, led by Dryden and Pope, are such because they are paraphrasers. The translations of Dryden and Pope are, he says, "elaborate and highly finished productions, reading exactly like their own poems, and not bearing the slightest resemblance to Chaucer. Even his finest lines and couplets, which often require little or nothing more than a change in orthography, have scarcely been retained. Everything was paraphrased, made fluent, sounding, and full of 'effects.'" He grants, however, that Chaucer "occasionally received a very noble present from Dryden, for which nothing more than a suggestion is traceable in the original" (p. xi).

But the books of Ogle and of Lipscomb, including both their own work and that of Betterton, Cobb, Boyce, Markland, Grosvenor, and Brooke, are given considerable attention, almost all of it unfavorable. It must be admitted that Horne's critical guns are aimed at these men not so much because they paraphrased as because they made no effort to translate the spirit and flavor of the original. His chief criticism of Dryden, as seen through the illustrations and comparisons he gives, is that Dryden elaborates a poet who is essentially simple and should be translated so. Even when he attempts simplicity, he fails, says Horne, as in the lines depicting the death of Arcite (A, 2806-09), wherein he loses the "profound pathos" of the original (p. xv). Horne's main quarrel with Pope, in the latter's versions of WBP and

Merch T, has to do with Pope's handling of the "licentious humour" of these pieces. By divesting the original of its "quaintness and obscurity" [I should not apply the latter term to the humor in WBP and Merch T], he has, Horne finds, made the humor of the original "yet more licentious in proportion to the fine touches of skill with which it is brought into the light. Spontaneous coarseness is made revolting by meretricious artifice" (p. xvi). Horne's point is well taken, except for his finding the outlines of Chaucer's humor "hazy." It is rather that Chaucer's touch, no matter how vulgar the subject, is light, though arch, and has a hearty, easy, natural way with us, whereas Pope's modernizations are offered with the tone of one who seeks to refine a naughty joke for the titillation of mixed company. Horne does not refer to it, but a comparison between Chaucer's and Pope's ways of handling the description of May's activities in the tree would tend to support his point.

Horne summarizes the product of the villains by drawing an analogy between it and the introduction of an ancient Briton, shorn of his aboriginal and hairy splendors, into a modern drawing room: "No unfair illustration," he says, of what was done in Pope's time and in the Ogle and Lipscomb editions. "They are not modernized versions -- which implies modern delicacy, as well as modern language -- they are vulgarized versions. The public of the present day

would certainly never tolerate any similar proceeding, even were it likely to be attempted" (pp. xvi-xvii).

This is the place to observe that when he offered his version of the Reeves Tale Horne made certain that all vestige of what might be called vulgarity was removed. When one considers that Chaucer, Modernized, with one or two exceptions to be dealt with in their place, soon dropped from sight to become merely a literary curiosity, one realizes that Horne, himself a rarely noticed figure, might have won himself a sure if small measure of immortality if he had translated the Reeve's Tale as he himself has told us Chaucer translation should be done, with the result being as true Chaucer as can be obtained. Horne was right about one thing: in that event Chaucer, Modernized would certainly not have been tolerated. But it would have been noticed.

The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized is indeed a literary curiosity. Conceived in exalted terms, it emerged incomplete, miscomposed.—

An inkling of the confusion in store may be had simply by a perceptive reading of the title page. Below the title is found the following inscription:

> That noble Chaucer, in those former times,
> Who first enriched our English with his rhymes,
> And was the first of ours that ever broke
> Into the Muse's treasures, and first spoke
> In mighty numbers; delving in the mine
> Of perfect knowledge.
>
> WORDSWORTH.

One who had passed over these lines and then had come back to

them after a close study of the book would not be particularly taken aback at the discovery that they were not by Wordsworth at all, but by Drayton.[7]

With this sign of the general ineptitude of the volume behind us, let us pass on to a consideration of the organization of the volume as a whole. A notion of the general disorder may be gained quickest if we examine the table of contents:

		PAGE
INTRODUCTION	BY R. H. HORNE	v
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EULOGIES ON CHAUCER	BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND OTHERS	cxxxix
PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES	BY R. H. HORNE	1
THE CUCKOO AND THE NIGHTINGALE	BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH	35
THE LEGENDS OF ARIADNE, PHILOMENE, AND PHILLIS	BY THOMAS POWELL	55
THE MANCIPLE'S TALE	BY LEIGH HUNT	87
THE RIME OF SIRE THOPAS	BY Z. A. Z.	107
EXTRACT FROM TROILUS AND CRESIDA	BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH	125
THE REVE'S TALE	BY R. H. HORNE	137
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QUEEN ANNELIDA AND FALSE ARCITE	BY ELIZABETH B. BARRETT	235

THE SQUIRE'S TALE	BY LEIGH HUNT	259
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Granted, the first four items are in proper order. But, after Horne's version of the General Prologue, the pieces are ordered by no ascertainable principle. Considering just the Canterbury Tales, the next piece after the "Prologue" is "The Manciple's Tale," which in all editions is the last tale but one. Only "The Squire's Tale" and "The Franklin's Tale" are together and in the right order respecting each other, as in the editions. But in view of the fact that The Canterbury Tales are not printed in a group, it would seem that it would be as well not to try to present them in their proper order. One would expect that the makers of such incredible disorder would have rested content with the curious heap. Not at all. Someone, probably Horne, has sought editorially to fill in the gaps.

On page 88, facing the beginning of the "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale" (p. 89 -- not specified in the Table of Contents), there is a "Note" explaining to the reader that "all the persons previously described in the 'Prologue to the Canterbury Tales,' are now riding on their way to that city, and each of them telling his tale respectively, which is preceded by some little bit of incident or conversation on the road." This may help the reader understand the place of the "Prologue to the Manciple's Tale," which he is about to read, but it seems ridiculous to present such an explanation,

as it were, in lieu of simply printing the selected Tales in a group. The note continues with an explanation of the agreement undertaken by Host and company at the Tabard. This would appear to be the result of bad conscience on Horne's part, for, as we shall presently see, he had neglected to translate the last part of the General Prologue, the part that includes the account of the agreement.

There is no discernible order to be found: alphabetical arrangement does not serve, nor does arrangement by seniority or venerability of translator. Whether by intention or no, Horne has ordered matters so that the selections begin and end with his contributions. The only help forthcoming from Horne in this affair is a brief note at the bottom of page xcii of his "Introduction":

> None of the Poems of Chaucer -- contradistinguished from the Tales -- have hitherto been made known to the public, even by a paraphrase, except 'The Flower and the Leaf.' This circumstance will explain the motive which has influenced the selection and arrangement comprised in this First Division of his works.

Passing over the first statement, its erroneousness having been pointed out above, we learn that there was an influence behind the selection and arrangement, behind the influence a motive, and behind the motive a "circumstance." All this helps toward an understanding of the selection. The arrangement remains a mystery.

What has been said about the quality of the volume as a whole does not apply to the quality of the translation itself,

with two or three possible exceptions. Generally, the translators have done their work faithfully and well. This we have already seen to be true with respect to the offerings of Wordsworth and Hunt, already studied as part of Items No. 8 and No. 16.

We begin then with the offerings of the editor himself. In each case, my discussion will be preceded by a brief bibliographical description.

> "The Prologue to The Canterbury Tales; Modernized by R. H. Horne," pp. [1]-33. Page [1] is a title-page, reading as indicated. Page [2] is blank, and the text itself, headed simply "Prologue to The Canterbury Tales," begins on page [3].

The text is divided with a gap at each point where a new pilgrim is introduced, and, frequently, within such major divisions there are verse paragraphs, of varying lengths, indicated by indentation of the first line. The meter is the heroic couplet, as in the original.

In length Horne's version, as far as it goes, corresponds exactly with the original, the lines running 1-721. These correspond with vv. 1-721 in Tyrwhitt, or lines 1-719, in Robinson. The apparent discrepancy of two lines is accounted for in the portrait of the Friar (ll. 208-271 in Horne; A, 208-269 in Robinson), wherein lines 252-255 in Horne are numbered 252, 252^{a}, 252^{b}, and 253 by Robinson. The correspondence is thus maintained here, and throughout, portrait by portrait.

For a closer look at Horne's style, we turn now to the

first eighteen lines (pp. 3-4):

> When that sweet April showers with downward shoot
> The drought of March have pierc'd unto the root,
> And bathéd every vein with liquid power,
> Whose virtue rare engendereth the flower;
> When Zephyrus also with his fragrant breath [5]
> Inspiréd hath in every grove and heath
> The tender shoots of green, and the young sun
> Hath in the Ram one half his journey run,
> And small birds in the trees make melody,
> That sleep and dream all night with open eye; [10]
> So nature stirs all energies and ages
> That folks are bent to go on pilgrimages,
> And palmers for to wander thro' strange strands,
> To sing the holy mass in sundry lands:
> And more especially, from each shire's end [15]
> Of England, they to Canterbury wend,
> The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
> Who hath upheld them when that they were weak.

These plainly constitute almost the strictest modernizing possible. Where Horne has departed from his original, he does so because some departure is necessary. How successful these departures are is another question. His solution for line 1 is not a particularly happy one, to be sure. Even so, I should prefer his beginning to that of Betterton's paraphrase:

> TWAS when the Fields imbibe the Vernal Show'rs,
> And Venus paints her Month with early Flow'rs;
> When Sol diffusing genial Warmth around,
> Unbinds the frozen Bosom of the Ground.
> (Morell, p. 219.)

Perhaps it is even preferable to the paraphrase of Ogle, given here as Lipscomb printed it (I, 139):

> WHEN April, soft'ning, sheds refreshing show'rs,
> And frees from droughty March the springing flow'rs;
> April! that bathes the teeming womb of earth,
> And gives to vegetation kindly birth.

Here we see the modernizing and paraphrasing modes in sharp

contrast.

Horne's handling of the opening couplet of the portrait of the Sergeant of the Lawe is noteworthy for having drawn the critical fire of two of his colleagues in the enterprise. The passage in question appears in Tyrwhitt 1830[8] as follows (vv. 311-312):

> A SERGEANT OF THE LAWE ware and wise,
> That often hadde yben at the paruis.

Horne (p. 16) presents this modernization:

> A SERGEANT of the LAW, wise, wary, arch,
> Who oft had gossip'd long in the church porch.

The pre-publication exchange of proofs resulted in a protest from Leigh Hunt with regard to Horne's imperfect rhyme. Horne's account of the protest and his own defense are found in his chapter "'Chaucer Modernized'" in Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne (London, 1877), I, 118-119:

> . . . I may mention here in connection with Leigh Hunt that so strong is the force of habit, that he, with all his long poetical experience, upon coming to a couplet where the words arch and porch were given as allowable rhymes -- as they are, and must be, with all of similar family, -- wrote in the margin that they were "most impossible," and proposed to substitute the following --
>
> > "A Sergeant of the Law, wary and wise,
> > Whose robes had often brushed Paul's Paradise," etc.
>
> Passing over the glaring paraphrase, as there is not one word of the second line in Chaucer, the ear that would not admit arch and porch, can yet give paradise and wise, not perceiving that the letter s in the latter word is pronounced as z -- not wice, but wize -- and takes rank with the allowable rhymes, like all of that class, as well as that of the "arch" and "porch."

In support of Leigh Hunt, however, it may be observed that Thomas Gray had rhymed "paradise" with "flies" in On a Distant Prospect of Eton College. This seems indicative less of an imperfect rhyme than of the possibility that then, as now (regardless of what dictionary authorities give), the s of "paradise" was as likely to be pronounced with a z sound as with an s sound. A better defense could have been made had Horne simply pointed to some of the rhymes Hunt himself resorted to in his contributions to this very volume. In "The Squire's Tale," for example, Hunt rhymes "house" with "desirous" (p. 262), "word" with "board" (p. 264), "diamond" with "many a bond," and many another, few of which, of course -- Horne is right in this -- are really objectionable.[9]

Nevertheless, had he adopted the reading suggested by Hunt, he would have stood a better chance of avoiding the criticism of another colleague, Wordsworth. On December 11, 1841, the latter wrote to Powell (LY, III, 1105), expressing the following criticism:

> I made a remark or two on Mr Horne because of the Prologue. I have since looked at the text and am confirmed in the opinion I expressed. [I do not know to what remarks Wordsworth alludes, but they were evidently unfavorable.] I forgot whether I mentioned my objection to the line in the description of the Sergeant at Law.
>
> Who too oft had gossipp'd long in the Church Porch [Wordsworth misquotes slightly]--
>
> The sense is here quite mistaken -- the meaning is he had been frequent at consultations in the Parvis, the name of the places often in Churches, where Lawyers met for such purposes.

In diction, imagery, language, rhymes, Horne obviously

seeks to follow Chaucer's exact practice if he can. His success can be measured better perhaps if we examine his version of a passage which has achieved considerable attention from Chaucer translators. Horne's "character of the Parson," a modernization of the same passage which was paraphrased in 1700 by Dryden and modernized in 1800 by "Trinitarius," appears on pages 23-25. Here it is, together with Horne's note (p. 25) to line [526]. The line numbers in brackets correspond to the line numbers as Tyrwhitt gives them:

A good man of religion did I see,
And a poor PARSON of a town was he: [480]
But rich he was of holy thought and work.
He also was a learned man, a clerk,
And truly would Christ's holy gospel preach,
And his parishioners devoutly teach.
Benign he was and wondrous diligent,
And patient when adversity was sent;
Such had he often proved, and loath was he
To curse for tythes and ransack poverty;
But rather would he give, there is no doubt,
Unto his poor parishioners about, [490]
Of his own substance, and his offerings too.
His wants were humble, and his needs but few.
Wide was his parish -- houses far asunder --
But he neglected nought for rain or thunder,
In sickness or in grief to visit all
The farthest in his parish, great and small;
Always on foot, and in his hand a stave.
This noble example to his flock he gave;
That first he wrought, and afterwards he taught.
Out of the Gospel he that lesson caught, [500]
And this new figure added he thereto, --
That if gold rust, then what should iron do?
And if a priest be foul, on whom we trust,
No wonder if an ignorant man should rust:
And shame it is, if that a priest take keep,
To see an obscene shepherd and clean sheep.
Well ought a priest to all example give,
By his pure conduct, how his sheep should live.
He let not out his benefice for hire,
Leaving his flock encumber'd in the mire, [510]

While he ran up to London, to St. Paul's,
To seek a well-paid chantery for souls,
Or with a loving friend his pastime hold;
But dwelt at home and tended well his fold,
So that to foil the wolf he was right wary:
He was a shepherd, and no mercenary.
And though he holy was, and virtuous,
He was to sinful men full piteous;
His words were strong, but not with anger fraught;
A lore benignant he discreetly taught.
To draw mankind to heaven by gentleness [520]
And good example, was his business.
But if that anyone were obstinate,
Whether he were of low or high estate,
Him would he sharply check with altered mien:
A better parson there was no where seen.
He paid no court to pomps and reverence,
Nor spiced his conscience at his soul's expense*;
But Jesus' lore, which owns no pride or pelf,
He taught -- but first he follow'd it himself. [530]

*That is, he did not embalm or preserve his conscience by sophistries and artificial moralities.

This certainly is modernization rather than paraphrase; hence it is literal rather than free. This does not mean that Horne does not take liberties; he does, but he does not do so gratuitously, the freedoms being forced on him because of temporal peculiarities, that is, changes in custom and changes in diction and pronunciation. For instance, Horne adds "well-paid" to line 512, standing in the original (Tyrwhitt) as "To seken him a chanterie for soules," because his audience would not understand either "ran" (v. 511) or the rest of verse 512 without it. As for changes in diction and pronunciation, Horne could not preserve Chaucer's rhyme "for the nones" and "nowher non is" (vv. 525-526), for the former had become "nonce" and the latter "none is." The rhyme had

disappeared. Even if it had not, Horne would probably have felt constrained to change it anyway because of the unfashionable identical rhyme. Observe also that he altered "sithes" at the end of v. 487 of Chaucer's text, certainly a desirable step, but nevertheless one which "Trinitarius" (see above, Item No. 6) failed to take.

But Horne does not altogether avoid gratuitous changes. It seems to me that the diction at the ends of vv. 515-516, where Chaucer has "miscarie" and "mercenarie," could have been preserved; Horne however, while preserving the rhyme sound, substitutes "wary" for "miscarie." A bit later, the meaning of verse 523 is unnecessarily changed from a vocal rebuke to a rebuke by "altered mien."

As modernizer, Horne is better than "Trinitarius." The same notion motivates both men -- to present Chaucer with as little change as necessary, but Horne carries out the notion more successfully. A good indication of this is seen if we compare the extent of the footnoting. Horne employs one note; "Trinitarius," ten notes, most of which are necessary parts (as is Horne's single note) of the modernization itself (as opposed to those notes intended merely to provide additional information). The question that may be raised against "Trinitarius" is: if one is going to use such extensive notes, why modernize at all? One need but present Chaucer as is.

One distinction ought to be made between Horne and

"Trinitarius," however, with respect to their common desire to present Chaucer as much as possible in the original form. "Trinitarius" wants to do this in order to preserve "the archaic flavor." Horne wants to preserve the flavor, but because it is Chaucerian, not because it is archaic. At least so much may be inferred from the "Introduction," pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, where Horne cites a comment in Hunt's Round Table: "The safest method [of translating], as the most becoming, is manifestly that of preserving as much of the original substance as can be rendered available, 'that which appears quaint,[10] as well as that which is more modern; in short as much of the author -- his nature -- his own mode of speaking and describing, as possible.'"

Another portrait deserving of attention is that of the Manciple, as having been done also by Wordsworth but never in his own lifetime published. Horne's version appears on pages 27-28, of which I give the first 9 lines, which are the equivalent of vv. 569-577 (A, 567-575):

> There was a courteous MANCIPLE of a temple,
> And caterers all from him might take example, [570]
> How to be wise in furnishing the board;
> For whether that he paid, or had it scored,
> He for his bargain would his time so bide
> That he was always on the safest side.
> Now is not that a sign of heaven's good grace,
> When one of such unlearn'd wit should out-pace
> The wisdom of a heap of learned men?

The passage presents a problem to the modernizer, for it contains the obsolete words "achatours" (570), "taille" (572), and "achate" (573), the latter two being in rhyming position.

He has resolved these matters reasonably well, without exceeding the sanctions allotted to modernization. Even so, Wordsworth has in places managed to keep closer to the original than did Horne, as in lines [573]-[577]:

> So well on every bargain did he wait,
> He was beforehand aye in good estate.
> Now is not that of God a full fair grace
> That one man's natural sense should so surpass
> The wisdom of a heap of learned men?

Line [577] has been taken over intact from Chaucer, by both men, but Wordsworth alone has kept the characteristically Chaucerian phrasing: "full fair grace."

At his 721st line (equivalent to v. 721 [A, 719]) Horne breaks off his modernization. I quote the closing lines in Horne (p. 33) (equivalent to vv. 717-721):

> Now have I told you shortly in a clause,
> The estate, the array, the number, and eke the cause
> Why that assembled was this company
> In Southwark, at this goodly hostelry,
> Which was the Tabard call'd, hard by the Bell.

Horne's use of the word "shortly" in the first line is indicative of a difference between Tyrwhitt's text, which is most certainly the one Horne used, and the modern Robinson text, which reads "soothly" (A, 715).

Here Horne simply stops. There is no explanation that he has omitted the conclusion of the General Prologue, including Chaucer's apology for feeling he must report the stories accurately, however plainly spoken, and including the description of the agreement. The latter lack he makes up for summarily in a note to the first tale that comes along,

which turns out to be, as I have stated, Leigh Hunt's "Manciple's Tale," and that does not come along for about fifty pages.

Wordsworth in The Prelude (Bk. III [1805-6], ll. 276-279) chose this way of showing that as a student at Cambridge he had taken special delight in the Reeve's Tale.

> Beside the pleasant Mills of Trompington
> I laugh'd with Chaucer; in the hawthorn shade
> Heard him (while birds were warbling) tell his tales
> Of amorous passion.

But laughing with Chaucer's Reeve's Tale in the pages of Chaucer, Modernized would seem to be quite another matter.

In a letter to Powell of March 1841 (LY, III, 1070), when the book was already out, Wordsworth makes this comment:

> Let me now say that I am glad to learn the Chaucer is doing so well, -- I have scarcely had time to read more than one half of it, but I am pleased with the execution in general. Mr Horne is particularly successful; but in my opinion he ought not to have meddled with the Reve's Tale; it is far too gross for the present age, and in consequence of the necessity of softening down, the humour, such as it is, has evaporated.

I suppose that by "meddled" Wordsworth means that Horne should not have meddled with the notion of including the "Reve's Tale" at all. From the latter part of his statement it is clear that Wordsworth is also opposed to meddling with the Tale itself, that is, if one is to preserve the "humour," to which word the Victorian patriarch must add, what the Romantic Cambridge student would not have thought of adding, "such as it is."

Though not given in the Table of Contents, a version of the Reeve's Prologue, also by Horne, precedes the "Tale."

"The Reve's Prologue," pages 139-142, is itself preceded by a note of explanation (p. 138), given now in full:

> It has been thought that an idea of the extraordinary versatility of Chaucer's genius could not be adequately conveyed unless one of his matter-of-fact comic tales were attempted. The Reve's has accordingly been selected, as presenting a graphic painting of characters, -- equal to those contained in the "Prologue to the Canterbury Tales," displayed in action by means of a story which may be designated as a broad farce ending in a pantomime of absurd reality.
>
> To those who are acquainted with the original, an apology may not be considered inadmissible for certain necessary variations and omissions.

Of course the "certain necessary variations and omissions," as Wordsworth so well understood, spoil the humor which is the essence of the Tale and, in so doing, frustrate the very end Horne had in view in including the piece.

For a time, however, all goes well. The 66 lines of the Reeve's Prologue are modernized, line by line, with a fair consistency. In one case, Horne makes a change, a gratuitous one, that seems to result in a better line than Chaucer's. At vv. 3862-63 (A, 3864-65), the Reeve says:

> So the ik, quod he, ful wel coude I him quite
> With blering of a proude milleres eye.

Horne renders the second line more concretely (p. 140):

> By throwing dust in a proud miller's eye.

Chaucer's suggestive pun at v. 3876, " . . . an hore hed and a grene tayl," is rendered by Horne just about as it is. The issue of vulgarity in v. 3869 -- "But if I fare as doth an

open-ers" -- is resolved by Horne quite adroitly by the simple means of giving the object its proper name (p. 140): "And since I fare as doth the medlar tree,/ That fruit . . . ." He could not be blamed, even were the times less prudish, for avoiding the blunt language here.

But Horne as systematic modernizer comes to grief in the "Tale" itself. His version, pages 143-159, is 30 lines shorter than the original, having 374 lines against 404. However, since Horne has not included a translation of the Reeve's summary of the story, which amounts to 12 lines (vv. 4311-22 [A, 4313-24]), the essential difference in length is only 18 lines. A reduction of 18 lines out of a total of 392 is in itself insignificant, and several of the translations studied have been able to preserve the original matter while reducing the length by even greater percentages. But in this case, the 18-line difference puts Horne's version of the Reeve's Tale in quite another world: a Victorian world in contrast to the Chaucerian. Dryden and Pope have been criticized for dressing Chaucer in Augustan clothes. Horne himself joined in such criticism, as we have seen. But at least the Augustans were doing what they intended to do. Having castigated the Augustan translators for misinterpreting Chaucer, Horne presents this volume to us as a "faithful version" (p. ix). So it is, until one arrives at "The Reve's Tale," or, to be more precise, at the 258th line of "The Reve's Tale." From here on, the Tale undergoes a

process of careful emasculation. The life and color of the original are gone, and we must agree with Wordsworth that the humor has "evaporated." In Horne's defense, it may be recalled that he did advise the reader that "certain necessary variations and omissions" had been made. It were better to have omitted the Reeve's Tale altogether than to present it deprived of its essence.

For 257 lines the version preserves a line-for-line faithfulness, normally preserving the original language where it may. In these lines the greatest departure of a gratuitous nature occurs in the matter of profane oaths, at vv. 4082-87. Here is the original passage:

> Alas! (quod John) Alein, for Christes pein
> Lay doun thy swerd, and I shal min alswa.
> I is ful wight, God wate, as is a ra.
> By Goddes saule he shal not scape us bathe.
> Why ne had thou put the capel in the lathe?
> Ill haile, Alein, by God thou is a fonne.

It will be noted that the first two lines could be modernized without changing anything but the spelling: we should expect, in view of Horne's announced principle, to find them so modernized. In the equivalent to the lines above, we shall find that principle has had to give way before Victorian piety. Horne translates as follows:

> 'Alas!' quoth John, 'good Allen, haste amain;
> Lay down thy sword, as I will mine also;
> Heaven knoweth I am nimble as a roe;
> He shall not 'scape us baith, or my saul's dead!
> Why didst not put the horse within the shed?
> By the mass, Allen thou'rt a fool, I say!'

To Horne's credit, it may be noted, he has tried to preserve

the Northern flavor of John's speech, at least in the fourth line. The necessity of translating, however, has meant the loss of this flavor in the other lines. In other places where the clerk's dialect appears, Horne has made similar attempts to capture it.

So for the first 257 lines the modernization is reasonably successful.

When Horne arrives at the 257th-258th lines (vv. 4175-76 [A, 4177-78]) of the original, he balks, understandably fearful of repercussions. They read:

> "For, John, (sayd he) as ever mote I thrive,
> If that I may, yon wenche wol I swive.

As if to make up in quantity for the dilution that takes place in the product, Horne gives us three lines as the spiritless equivalent:

> 'For, John!' said he, 'as I may ever thrive,
> To pipe a merrier serenade I'll strive
> In the dark passage somewhere near to us."

It is time now to mention that Horne has rearranged the sleeping quarters in the miller's house so that the daughter (whose "buttokes brode, and brestes round and hie" [v. 3973] have been turned into "Broad . . . hips" and "bosom round and high" [p. 145]) has a bed "by herself" located nearby in a "small passage closet" (p. 153). This is done lest Victorian sensibilities be offended by the thought of the daughter having her bed "right in the same chambre" (v. 4141) that the male guests were invited to sleep in. In any event, Horne's mention, in the last line of the passage quoted above, of the

"dark passage" is his way of handling Allen's plain announcement of what he is going to do: ". . . yon wenche wol I swive." Chaucer's own details, vulgar though they be, are refreshing and pure alongside the clever insinuations of Horne.

There are of course more occasions in this Tale for Horne to deal in his oblique manner with the Reeve's plain talk. At one point in the original narrative, after John has slily transferred the cradle, Simkin's wife wakes and leaves the bedroom for a few moments for the most natural of reasons:

> Sone after this the wif hire routing lete,
> And gan awake, and went hire out to pisse,
> And came again, and gan the cradel misse.
> (Vv. 4212-14.)

Perhaps there exists no better example of the Victorian moral consciousness in operation than may be seen in what Horne does with this simple account.

> The wife her routing ceased soon after that,
> And woke, and left her bed; for she was pained
> With night-mare dreams of skies that madly rained.
> Eastern astrologers and clerks, I wis,
> In time of Apis tell of storms like this.
> Awhile she stayed, and waxeth calm in mind;
> Returning then, no cradle doth she find.

A moment later, in both original and version, she finds the cradle, which John meanwhile has moved to a position at the foot of his own bed. In Horne, though we then see her "through the dark still groping with her hand," we do not hear that she gets into bed with the clerk; instead we hear (pp. 156-157):

Meantime was heard the beating of a wing,
And then the third cock of the morn 'gan sing.

The entire 10-line passage (vv. 4221-30 [A, 4223-32]) in which the ensuing delights are described is omitted by Horne. Thus the reader might don if he wished the blinders of rectitude and believe that adultery had not taken place.

The humor of the original story reaches its climax when with dawn's arrival Allen seeks to return to his own bed. Of course he mistakes Simkin for his fellow and climbs into bed, where he whispers into the wrong ear a proud boast of his success with the miller's daughter. Under Horne's careful hand, the account emerges in a quite inoffensive state. With no profaner oaths than a "by the mass" and a "by St. Andrew" (cf. v. 4261 [A, 4263]), Allen tells the Miller (p. 157):

I have been trolling roundelays this night,
And won the Miller's daughter's heart outright.

From this point to the end of the narrative, the version follows the original closely, except that in the course of the brawl Horne has the Miller, plunging headlong, "meet" his wife instead of falling on top of her as she lies in bed with the clerk.

Tobler, whose attitude toward Chaucer, Modernized is almost as favorable as Lounsbury's is unfavorable, comments on this "Tale": "Anything that might offend in the original is softened down to suit the modern feeling, but nothing left away" (p. 107). If Tobler's view, expressed in 1905,

was in any way representative, we have some idea of what a half century of Victorian super-sanctimony had done to the sense of humor. Wordsworth, far wiser, knew that the essence of the Reeve's Tale was in its humor, and that the humor ("such as it was," an older Wordsworth would say) resided precisely in the very details which "might offend" and which on that account Horne had cut out.

The important matters, together with the modernizations in which they may be studied, have now, for the most part, been treated. The rest of the volume may therefore be dealt with in more summary fashion.

Horne's final contribution, also the contribution that occupies the last position in the volume, is his version of the Franklin's Prologue and Tale. "The Franklin's Prologue" (pp. 291-293) contains 36 lines, all in line-for-line correspondence with the original as printed in Tyrwhitt, who, it will be remembered had combined into one Prologue the passage (F, 673-708) containing the remarks addressed by the Franklin and the Host to the Squire and the Franklin, respectively, and the passage (F, 709-728) printed by Robinson as The Franklin's Prologue.

Horne has done the 896-line Franklin's Tale in only 802 lines. This discrepancy does not mean that he has departed from his modernizing principle: the 94 lines of the discrepancy are almost entirely accounted for by the omission of two passages: the historical allusions in Dorigen's

plaint, which occupy 89 lines (F, 1368-1456), and the concluding passage of 4 lines (F, 1621-24), in which the Franklin poses the question as to which was "the mooste fre."

The omission of Dorigen's instances is an indication of the extent of the objection on the part of Romantic Era writers and their readers, to Chaucer's digressions, or what were regarded as such. "They are generally excellent when humorous," says Horne in his "Introduction" (p. xxxv); "when learned and grave, they are apt to become very tedious. He sometimes pauses on the threshold of the highest interest to give a long list of not very similar cases from history or scholastic lore." It would seem that the Romantic attitude toward narrative was characterized by impatience, by a restless desire to get on with the story. "On one of these occasions," Horne continues, here alluding to the very tale we are considering, "he makes his heroine in her great anguish recount some eighteen tragic stories, taken from Hieronymous contra Jovinianum." One of Horne's most farfetched conclusions occurs at this point in the "Introduction," as he goes on to discuss a related subject:

> Chaucer is also very fond of repeating the same things upon different occasions -- and upon the same occasion. Whenever he alludes to a recent event in his narrative, he either tells it nearly all over again, or apologizes for not doing so, pleading that there is "no need." Sometimes with humorous petulancy he abruptly announces that he will not repeat the matter any more -- as though he considered the reader wished to exact it from him. This peculiarity is solely attributable to the period at which Chaucer wrote -- a period of religious and political controversies, while knowledge was so new that

> the difficulty of acquiring suggested proportionate fears of inability to communicate it efficiently, and induced all sorts of repetitions in order to prevent misunderstandings. (P. xxxvi.)

There's an opinion! It rests to a large extent on a notion that had persistently dominated thought about Chaucer since the days of Dryden: namely, that Chaucer wrote in the "infancy" of our language and in the "newness" of learning. Chaucer, who depended so much on learning that was not new and who utilized a language that may have been adolescent but which was certainly no infant, would have laughed at Horne's remark. Instead of concluding that Chaucer in his various digressions and repetitions and in his occasional apologies for not indulging in them was simply reacting, not altogether favorably, to a literary convention and that such a convention did not necessarily imply insouciance, Horne adopted the opinion which his era shared with the Augustans that Chaucer happened to come along, as a kind of brilliant aborigine in a primitive and unenlightened era.

To return to "The Franklin's Tale," we find a prefatory note (p. 290) in which Horne announces he has omitted the "long list of historical allusions," as they "interrupt the progress of the main interest when at a passionate height." In this note Horne refers to this tale as a "noble story, so perfect in its moral purpose and chivalrous self-devotion to a feeling of truth and honour," to which he adds a parenthesis: "though it would have been more satisfactory, in an intellectual sense, had the distinction been made between a

sincere pledge of faith, and a 'merry bond.'" Chaucer surely would have smiled at this display of the narrowness of the track which moral earnestness would take in these early Victorian times.

Horne's note concludes with the assurance that, except as noted, "best endeavors have been made to restore the old picture with as few touches, and with as little varnish, as possible." How much of the prevailing ignorance about Chaucer -- an ignorance that the learned, even those whose contributions make up this volume, shared with the relatively unlearned whom Horne hoped his book would reach, an ignorance that is unsparingly laid bare by Lounsbury (III, 216ff) -- is revealed in Horne's use of the word "restore." From his point of view, it was the right image, for that is precisely the service he felt he was rendering. Two decades later Furnivall and the Chaucer Society were to take quite a different view of what it meant, of what it took, to restore Chaucer.

Be all this as it may, the fact remains that Horne, again excepting the omissions, has modernized the Franklin's Tale quite closely. I give two passages only, as samples. First, the passage first translated by Pope in Eloisa to Abelard and consequently so much commented on:

> Love will not be constrain'd by mastery.
> When mastery cometh, the God of Love anon
> Beateth his wings -- and, farewell! he is gone.
> (Pp. 295-296.)

An examination of vv. 11076-78 (F, 764-766) will reveal that Horne has retained Chaucer's lines intact. It seems a bit unfair that Lounsbury, who (in III, 213-229) belabors Horne and all his Chaucer, Modernized unmercifully, should castigate Wharton (Item No. 10) for failing to adopt this couplet as Chaucer had written it, and then should fail to praise Horne for adopting it. Such a proceeding, particularly if extended to other points in the "Tale," would have rendered Lounsbury's devastating attack on Horne considerably less devastating. Lounsbury's whiplash criticism is evidence of how readily a critic of translations can create the results he wants, simply by fastening on examples that are all to one side. This is very easy to do with translations, because every line provides fresh opportunities for the translator to slip and the rapacious critic to catch him.

The other passage, equivalent to vv. 11557-67 (F, 1245-55), conveys the charming picture of winter (p. 317):

> Phoebus wax'd old; like tarnish'd brass in hue;
> That, his hot declination passing through,
> Shone like to burnéd gold, with broad rays bright;
> But now in Capricorn he down doth 'light,
> Wherein he shone full pale -- I dare well say.
> The bitter frosts, with sleet and rain, affray
> The garden's green, till all hath disappeared.
> Janus sits by the fire with double beard,
> And drinketh from his buffalo-horn the wine!
> Before him stands brawn of the tuskéd swine,
> And "Christmas!" crieth every lusty man.

This is certainly a passable job of translating, though he has spoiled the 6th and 7th lines. Chaucer's 5th line had ended with "sain" (instead of "say"); thus Chaucer was free to end

the next line naturally and forcefully with "rain." This in turn enabled him to produce an equally good 7th line, as we may see:

> . . . . . I dare wel sain.
> The bitter frostes with the sleet and rain
> Destroyed han the grene in every yerd.

Horne, with "sain" no longer available, was forced to make a change. He was further handicapped because, in the next line, he was denied the use of "yard," which no longer could be rhymed with "beard." His solution, while ingenious, is not good, for it throws the nouns, on which almost the entire effect depends, into unemphatic places. The phrase "the garden's green," buried within the line, is no match for "the grene in every yerd," with the latter noun standing at the end of the line, in rhyming position. In some respects Wharton's rendition of this passage is better than Horne's (see p. 427, above).

We consider briefly now the contributions of Thomas Powell (1809-1887) to Chaucer, Modernized. The title page announces that he is the producer of "The Legends of Ariadne, Philomene, and Phillis" and of "The Flower and the Leaf," to be found on pages 57-86 and 163-191, respectively.

The general method of translation is the same as Horne's: that is, the pieces are modernized, with a reasonably persistent attempt made to preserve the Chaucerian words, lines, and rhymes wherever possible. The most thoroughgoing modernizer has still to deal with those places that must be para-

phrased rather than modernized. Here, in the "Legends," if not in "The Flower and the Leaf" (for good reason, if what will soon be presented can be credited), Powell reveals himself to be a sorry poet, quite unworthy to have his work included with that of Wordsworth, Hunt, and Miss Barrett, and even with that of Horne.

Lounsbury, in his sardonic fashion, lumps Powell and Robert Bell (who did "The Complaint of Mars and Venus" for this volume) together as "a pair of versifiers who, so far as poetry was concerned, really belonged to the eighteenth century, but had somehow got into the nineteenth. They would have been in their proper place contributing to Ogle's edition of 1741" (III, 217), an edition which had been already well shredded by Lounsbury's criticism. To this I should simply offer the qualifying statement that Powell's verse, at least when on its own as paraphrase rather than modernization, is bad, not because it is eighteenth-century verse, but because it is bad eighteenth-century verse. Let me illustrate. Not far from the beginning of Ariadne, the speaker, in a passage of eight lines (F, 1952-59), addresses Theseus: "Well maist thou wepe, O wofull Theseus" (Chalmers, I, 313 -- a likely basis by reason of the prominence and relative recency of the edition). It will not be necessary to quote the rest of the original, in order to show how really far from it poetically Powell's equivalent is, even while retaining many of Chaucer's words and phrases (p. 60);

> Well mayst thow weep, O woeful Theseus!
> To be a king's son, and yet treated thus.
> Methinketh that thy love would be most great
> To her who saved thee from so dread a fate:
> And that if any maid gave help to thee,
> Well mightest thou her servant long to be;
> Or else her lover, true and not to fail:
> But now to come again to this sad tale!

This is indeed eighteenth-century versifying, and it is not an unfair example of Thomas Powell's performance in the "Legends."

When we turn from Powell's "Legends" to his "Flower and the Leaf," we find the poetic quality of the latter noticeably better. Of course, by virtue of the fact that this poem was composed in the rime royal stanza, which was retained in the modernization, it may be that Powell was less susceptible to declining into the banal versifying that characterizes his handling of the heroic couplet of the Legends. Even so, in the following stanza, particularly in the changes made in the original, we have verse that the fashioner of the eight "Ariadne" lines above would seem incapable of. This is the eighth stanza of the poem. I will give the original first, as it stands in Chalmers (I, 395). The poet is describing the "pleasaunt herber":

> That benched was, and with turfes new
> Freshly turued, whereof the grene gras,
> So small, so thicke, so short, so fresh of hew,
> That most like vnto green well wot I it was,
> The hegge also that yede in compas,
> And closed in all the greene herbere,
> With sicamour was set and eglatere.

And now the modernization (p. 165):

8.

> Soft seats were all around with green turfs new,
> Just freshly turfed; and, lo! the pleasant grass
> So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hue,
> That most like to green wool, I wot, it was;
> And eke the hedge that round about it grew
> Was full of flowers. It was a gentle bower
> Woven with eglantine and sycamour.

This may not be particularly good -- certainly it does not come up to the original -- but clearly it is better verse than that quoted above from "Ariadne." An explanation may be found in Horne's chapter on Chaucer, Modernized in Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne (London, 1877), Volume I. On page 100, Horne, who neither here nor elsewhere in the book mentions Powell by name, listing the contributions, says: "Wordsworth gave a version of 'The Cuckoo and the Nightingale,' an extract from 'Troilus and Cressida,' and virtually modernized the whole of 'The Flower and the Leaf,' by the re-writings and general labour he bestowed upon it for somebody else." When one reads Powell's "Legends" and then proceeds to "The Flower and the Leaf," he will immediately recognize that the latter has received the touch of a superior hand.

In length Powell's pieces correspond perfectly with their originals, except in the case of "Ariadne," which in the original is 342 lines (F, 1886-2227), but in the translation is only 323 lines. The difference seems mainly due to the omission of repetitious elements. For instance, two passages of four lines each (F, 2046-49 and 2070-73) from

Theseus' speech protesting his devotion to the sisters who have made his escape possible are omitted in Powell's version. It is true that they are for the most part repetitions of what Theseus has already said, and no doubt Powell felt he was doing the cause of Chaucer a service in omitting them. After all, in the "Introduction" to the volume, Horne had spoken unfavorably of Chaucer's "prolixity" (pp. xxxv-xxxvi). However, since the Ariadne Legend turns on the cruel irony of Ariadne's fate, this long and seemingly sincere profession of faithfulness by Theseus is extremely important. Every golden word that he utters is thrown into the scale of his damnation when the reader sees him sail away from Ariadne. In theory, it seems wrong to cut this speech. In view of the quality of Powell's translating, however, perhaps it is as well that he made the reductions.

In two places in the "Ariadne" Powell has made what may be regarded as changes in the matter of the original. The following passage merits some consideration (p. 60):

> The dungeon where Prince Theseus was thrown,
> Was dark and low, and cold, and built of stone,
> And was right near unto the palace wing
> Where dwelt the two fair daughters of the King.
> It happed thus as Theseus by night
> Bewailed his fate, and dreaded morning's light,
> . . . . . .

The equivalent of these lines is a nine-line passage (F, 1960-68), quoted here from Robinson:

> The tour, there as this Theseus is throwe
> Doun in the botom derk and wonder lowe,

> Was joynynge in the wal to a foreyne [Chalmers: "to the wall of a foreine"];
> And it was longynge to the doughtren tweyne
> Of Minos, that in hire chaumbers grete
> Dwelten above, toward the mayster-strete
> Of Athenes [Chalmers: "Of the towne"], in joye and in solas.
> Noot I not how, it happede par cas,
> As Theseus compleynede hym by nyghte,
> . . . . . .

The word "foreyne," according to Robinson's note to F, 1962, probably means "privy." For this forthright Chaucerian expression, Powell's "palace wing" seems indeed a pallid substitute. However, if he was using Chalmers edition, in which the word appears as "foreine," he would have found sanction for his translation in Chalmers' glossary ("Abridged from Mr. Tyrwhitt's"), which explains the word as follows: "A jakes. Gloss. Ur[ry]. from Sk[inner]. The context seems rather to require that it should signifie an outward court, or garden." Powell's omission of F, 1964-66 of the original was probably motivated by the desire to cut out what he considered unnecessary detail. In any case, it was not dictated by any desire to remove the obvious mistake, probably Chaucer's (according to Robinson's note to F, 1963), of setting the story in Athens, for it is utterly improbable that the mistake existed in the text used by Powell. Chalmers, for example, for "of Athenes" reads "of the towne," and so does Anderson. According to Robinson's textual note, Thynne's edition gives "of the towne"; so Chalmers' reading has authority.

Another difficulty in Chaucer's Ariadne is Ariadne's re-

quest that her sister be wed, upon their return to Athens, to Theseus' son. As Robinson's note to F, 2099 points out, this detail poses a difficulty, inasmuch as Theseus' age is given in the story as only twenty-three (F, 2075 [Chalmers, p. 314]). So far as Powell's audience was concerned, there is no doubt that to the Romantic-minded this detail would have appeared utilitarian and unromantic and, to the Victorian-minded, unrealistic or even downright improper. Whatever his reasoning, Powell avoided all difficulties by having Ariadne ask that her "gentle sister" be wedded to "some noble lord" (p. 65).

To conclude this discussion of Powell's work, I quote in part his treatment of the pathetic scene in which Ariadne wakes up to find herself deserted. This passage, found on page 69, is equivalent to F, 2185-96:

> Right in the dawning of the day she woke,
> And groping in the bed began to look,
> But Theseus saw not; then aloud she said,
> Alas! alas! that ever I was made!
> I am forsaken; -- and her hair she rent,
> And to the beach in barefoot haste she went,
> And cried aloud, O Theseus! my heart's dear,
> Where art thou, that I cannot find thee here?
> Full soon shall I by these wild beasts be slain!
> The hollow rocks now answered her again.
> No man she saw, and yet bright shone the moon,
> When high upon a rock she clambered soon,
> And saw his barge a-sailing on the sea!

This discussion has not dealt very favorably with Thomas Powell. Perhaps then it is fitting to counterbalance the matter to some extent and close by observing that, however inferior these lines may be to the original -- and we cannot resist a

smile at the effect which the verb that closes the fourth line has, when read as modern slang -- they still look good compared to their equivalent in the translation from Ariadne published in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1803, treated above as Item No. 9. If Lounsbury could lash Powell for his eighteenth-century style, I wonder what he would have said about 1803. In both original and Powell, Ariadne tears her "hair" and, later, sees Theseus' boat on the "sea," but in the 1803 version she tears her "lovely tresses" and sees the boat on the "distant deep." I think, however, that Powell's success here, such as it is, is due to the fact that he is modernizing, hence follows the original closely, whereas 1803 is paraphrasing, hence cannot escape the poetic diction with which the century he has just emerged from has imbued him.

One last word. Powell's versions are throughout liberally sprinkled with "I wists," "I wots," and "I weens," to say nothing of "ekes," sometimes even when the original reads as modern as need be, a sign of a conscious attempt to give the resulting translation an antique flavor. This it does, but whether the result is Chaucer is another question.

The "Prologue to Sir Thopas," "The Rime of Sir Thopas," and the "Epilogue to Rime [i.e., of "Sir Thopas"]" occupy pages 109-110, 111-122, and 123, respectively. They stand as a group, headed by a half-title (p. [107]) reading: "The

Rime of Sire Thopas; modernized by Z. A. Z." The interest in this group does not rest so much in the pieces themselves as in the identity of the mysterious Z. A. Z. The table of contents does not afford us any enlightenment, nor does Horne's "Introduction." Before glancing at the question of Z. A. Z.'s identity, let us take a brief look at his work.

In general, throughout these pieces, Z. A. Z. modernizes his Chaucer material with about the same degree of consistency as Horne and the other translators observe. However, when obsolete diction forces him to forsake the words and manner of the original, the resulting paraphrase frequently departs further from the exact content of the original than seems necessary in view of the avowed purpose of this book to present Chaucer truly. These departures do not involve significant changes in the story line, nor are they in the form of Drydenesque revision of imagery. They are normally minor, involving only a word here or a line there. The verse patterns, including the peculiar Thopas stanza, are preserved throughout, though a number of changes in rhyme are forced because of obsolete diction.

Turning to the "Prologue to Sir Thopas," we find the modernization very close to the original. This is not unexpected, as the Prologue does not present problems to the modernizer of the same difficulty and extent as the Tale itself does. I give the third stanza, as it contains perhaps a questionable bit of translating (p. 110):

3.

"Say somewhat now, since other folks have said;
Tell us a tale o' mirth, and that anon."
"Host," quoth I then, "be not so far misled,
For other tales except this know I none;
A little rime I learned in years agone."
"Ah! that is well," quoth he, "now we shall hear
Some dainty thing, methinketh, by thy cheer."

In the original, the third line of this stanza reads: "Hoste, quod I, ne be not evil apaide" (v. 13637 in Tyrwhitt 1830 [B^2, 1897]). Granted that Z. A. Z. had to do something about "evil apaide," he is mistaken in his use of "misled." The consensus of the glossaries is that the phrase means "ill pleased." But perhaps he was allowing himself to be influenced by the opportunity for the rhyme with "said." In the last line, a weakness inherent in the modernizing principle is seen in the fact that Z. A. Z. has retained the word "dainty" from Chaucer, as a modernizer would be expected to do, in view of his desire to transmit the sound and flavor of the original. Unfortunately, the meaning of the word "dainty," in this particular context at any rate, had undergone more change than in just the spelling. According to Robinson's note to B^2, 1901, Chaucer's "deyntee" meant "excellent, superior, rare." Since Johnson's Dictionary (4th ed., 1773) does not even mention this definition, it perhaps may be assumed that "dainty," to 1841 readers, meant what it does to 1961 readers. Thomas Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English (London, 1857) gives as definition 1. -- "adj. Pleasant; excellent" -- and as defini-

tion 3. -- "s. A novelty, anything fresh."

In "The Rime of Sir Thopas," the peculiar nature of the original, which itself featured a kind of old-fashioned vocabulary, afforded Z. A. Z. many more problems. In general, he has solved them cleverly, once even wittily, in a manner that surely would have delighted Chaucer himself. The chief instance is in the fourth stanza. The original (vv. 13660-65 [B^2, 1920-25]) reads:

> His here, his berde, was like safroun,
> That to his girdle raught adoun,
> His shoon of cordewane;
> Of Brugges were his hosen broun;
> His robe was of ciclatoun,
> That coste many a jane.

Z. A. Z. has modernized the stanza thus (p. 112):

> His hair, and beard, like saffron shone,
> And to his girdle fell adown;
> His shoes of leather bright;
> Of Bruges were his hose so brown,
> His robe it was of ciclatoun --
> He was a costly wight.

The translator has given the last line of the original an amusing twist. We observe, in passing, the retention of "ciclatoun." Much of this peculiar diction has been retained.

As to the identity of the particular text which Z. A. Z. translated from, I have proceeded on the assumption that he used Tyrwhitt 1830. However, a question arises that merits some consideration. In division of the Tale into two parts or fits, Z. A. Z.'s modernization corresponds to the modern Robinson text (although, in Z. A. Z., the first fit consists of 29 stanzas to Robinson's 28, owing to the fact that

Z. A. Z.'s 15th and 16th stanzas are the equivalent of the 15th stanza in Robinson's text). Insofar as I have observed them, none of the Tyrwhitt texts -- I have examined particularly the Tyrwhitt 1775 and 1830 eds., as well as Anderson (1795) and Chalmers (1810), who printed Thopas from Tyrwhitt -- shows the Rime of Sir Thopas divided into fits.[11] Yet Z. A. Z. seems to follow Tyrwhitt's text in another respect: that is, in stanza organization. Stanzas 15 and 16 (being one stanza in Robinson) in Tyrwhitt are translated by stanzas 15 and 16 of Z. A. Z. The only discrepancy is at the long 28th stanza in Tyrwhitt. Herein it stands as the last stanza of what would be the first fit, if it were so marked. Z. A. Z. has divided this into two stanzas, a regular six-line stanza (no. 28) and a four-line stanza (no. 29). It is of course true that Chaucer wrote into the text of his Tale, at B^2, 2078-80, a statement that could be taken, in the absence of editorial designation, as sufficient reason to divide the text here, and begin a second fit. However, Z. A. Z. has the two divisions marked "FYTTE THE FIRST" and "FYTTE THE SECOND" (italics mine). It seems unlikely that he would have used the archaic spelling did he not actually have it so in the text before him. Until such a text is discovered, however, Tyrwhitt 1830 may properly be considered the most likely basis.

In length, there is some discrepancy between Z. A. Z.'s version and the text of Tyrwhitt 1830. The discrepancy,

occurring only in the first fit, which is three lines longer in Z. A. Z. than its equivalent in Tyrwhitt, is easily accounted for, as stanzas 18 and 19, given as nine lines each by Tyrwhitt, are ten lines each in Z. A. Z. The third extra line is a line added for rhyme's sake, occurring as the second line of the stanza that closes "FYTTE THE FIRST" (p. 121):

29.

Lo! lordlings mine, here ends one fytte,
Of this my Tale, a gallant strain;
And if ye will hear more of it,
I'll soon begin again.

Another matter warrants brief attention. It is curious that in his edition Robinson does not comment on the fact that stanzas 14-17 (B^2, 1980-2016) are not of the same pattern with the regular six-line Sir Thopas stanza. Robinson counts seven lines in stanza 14 and ten lines in each of the other three (15-17), and in each of the stanzas there is a short (two-syllable) line that acts as a tag rime -- for example, in stanza 14 we have (B^2, 1980-86):

"An elf-queene wol I love, ywis,
For in this world no womman is
Worthy to be my make (1982)
In towne; (1983)
Alle othere wommen I forsake,
And to an elf-queene I me take
By dale and eke by downe!"

Tyrwhitt handles the situation in line F, 1983 by printing the line as part of the preceding line, with a special mark to show the separation, as follows (v. 13722):

Worthy to be my make // in toun.

In his note to this line Tyrwhitt says that such a mark is found in the MS he designates as C.1. However, when we move on, we find that for the next stanza in Robinson (B^2, 1987-96), a 10-line stanza, there are two 6-line stanzas in Tyrwhitt (vv. 13726-37), as follows:

> Into his sadel he clombe anon,
> And priked over stile and ston
> An elf-quene for to espie,
> Til he so long had ridden and gone,
> That he fond in a privee wone
> The contree of Faerie.
>
> [Wherein he soughte North and South,
> And oft he spied with his mouth (v. 13733)
> In many a forest] wilde,
> For in that contree n'as ther non,
> That to him dorst ride or gon,
> Neither wif ne childe.

Thus what Robinson presents as a single irregular stanza of ten lines is given by Tyrwhitt as two regular stanzas. The brackets in the second stanza above are not Tyrwhitt's; I have put them in in order to show what Tyrwhitt has that Robinson does not. One may get Robinson's basic reading for the above simply by omitting the bracketed lines, putting "So" in front of "wilde" and writing the whole as a ten-line unit. Nowhere in his edition -- his "Explanatory" and "Textual" notes to line B^2, 1995, are not germane -- does Robinson exhibit any curiosity about the irregularity of this stanza and the other stanzas with it. Tyrwhitt does. In his note to v. 13722 he states a preference for the notion that lines needed to make the stanzas regular have been lost. In the particular stanza in question, Tyrwhitt

added the bracketed lines from other MSS. Although he will not pronounce these lines genuine, he believes it "very clear . . . that something is wanting." Z. A. Z. has two regular stanzas, as Tyrwhitt does, a further indication that he was using Tyrwhitt. In Urry, the handling of this passage is somewhat irregular; in Stowe and Speght (1687) it is very irregular.

With the passage above fresh before us, let us examine another crux. This occurs in v. 13733 (in the part of the text not printed by Robinson) with respect to the phrase "spied with his mouth." Though this is a curiously ridiculous expression, we might be inclined to accept it as part of the satire. In fact, this may be part of the reason why Tyrwhitt chose not to follow Urry's emendation of "spied" to "spired" (i.e., asked or inquired). In his note, Tyrwhitt says that he knows of no authority for Urry's reading. In his translation, Z. A. Z. dodges the difficulty, but in so doing shows the probability of his having used Tyrwhitt's text, but not Tyrwhitt's note:

> Therein he sought both far and near,
> And oft he spied in daylight clear
> Through many a forest wild;
> . . . . . .

In the fifth stanza of the second fit, just as in the original, the interruption occurs that ends the "Tale." A footnote on page 122 reads: "Here Chaucer is interrupted in his Rime." To round off matters Z. A. Z. then presents

(p. 123) the first 14 lines, rather closely modernized, of what Robinson does not entitle but only heads with "Heere the Hoost stynteth Chaucer . . . ." Whereas Tyrwhitt entitles the piece Prologue to Melibeus, Z. A. Z. calls it -- that is, the fourteen lines of it he has modernized -- "Epilogue to Rime." This is another indication that the particular text which Z. A. Z. used was not in every way the standard Tyrwhitt text.

But who is Z. A. Z.? Lounsbury (III, 217) only mentions him as "an anonymous writer who shrouded himself under both ends of the alphabet." Tobler (p. 110) says only: " . . . who this can be I have not been able to find." Miss Spurgeon has an answer, or answers, of sorts, In the Index reference to Z. A. Z. (found under Chaucer), she adds, in brackets just after the initials, "R. H. Horne?" In II, 239-240, in an entry devoted to Thomas Powell's version of NPT (also published in 1841 and treated below as Item No. 29), Miss Spurgeon says that the ascription to Horne was made by Browning, who said that Powell had "bought" the translation from Horne, but she finds it difficult to believe that Horne would print "Sir Thopas" under the anonymity of Z. A. Z. in the same volume with translations bearing his own name. Instead she assigns the poem, not altogether unequivocally, to Thomas Powell, on seemingly unassailable evidence, namely, the fact that "The Rime of Sir Thopas," together with "The Flower and the Leaf" and "The Legends of Ariadne, Philomene,

and Phillis," was reprinted in Powell's Poems, London, 1842. Were anyone but Powell involved, this would probably clinch the matter, but all indications are that Powell was an unreliable person. Wordsworth takes him to task for not abiding by his assurances to Wordsworth that in the notices of publication Wordsworth's name would "not be brought prominently forward" (LY, II, 1045). The entry in the Oxford Companion to American Literature tells of Powell's coming to the United States in 1849 after "accusations of literary forgery." His incompetence, if not his unreliability, is attested to by his apparently having received considerable help on his modernizations, not only from Wordsworth (see p. 779, above), but from Browning (Spurgeon, II, 240).

I should say that the question of Z. A. Z.'s identity is still open. Certainly, as translation "Sir Thopas" must be regarded as superior to the "Legends," and this can only mean either that Powell had help or that it was composed by someone else altogether. That Horne might have sold it to Powell, as Browning says, is preposterous. There is, however, another candidate to be put forward, and that is Richard Moncton Milnes. In Letters (I, 96) Horne states that "it was agreed that this project [i.e., of Chaucer, Modernized] should be carried out by Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Miss Barrett, Robert Bell, Monckton Milnes, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, and myself." Nothing in the published volume bears Milnes' name. If Horne is right in his recollection, then by the process

of elimination we could assign "The Rime of Sir Thopas" to Milnes. Indeed Milnes was interested in Chaucer translation at about this time. In an entry under the year 1844 Miss Spurgeon (II, 256) observes that in Milnes' Poems of Many Years, pp. 274-275, there is a piece entitled "From Chaucer," which is a modernization of Truth. She further observes that this was not in the first edition of the book, 1838. It is possible, of course, that Milnes had had this piece about him in 1840, when Chaucer, Modernized was in preparation, that Horne had asked him to contribute it, but that, for some reason, it had not been included. This would have been sufficient warrant for Horne's including Milnes' name in the statement above.

The translation of Robert Bell, headed by a half-title page (p. 211), reading "The Compleint of Mars and Venus," appear as a group, as in the printed editions beginning with Thynne's and continuing through those of the period of this study. The individual pieces are entitled as follows (with Robinson equivalents given in parentheses): "Prologue to The Complaint of Mars and Venus," in 22 rime royal stanzas, pp. 213-220 (The Complaint of Mars: "The Proem," ll. 1-28, and "The Story," ll. 29-154); "The Complaint of Mars," in 16 9-line stanzas, pp. 221-229 (The Complaint of Mars: "The Compleynt of Mars," ll. 155-298); "The Complaint of Venus," in 9 8-line stanzas, pp. 230-233, and "L'Envoye," in one 10-line stanza (The Complaint of Venus, ll. 1-82, including

"Lenvoy," ll. 73-82).

Bell's work, like that of most of the other translators in this volume, is reasonably close modernization; in fact, in length and in basic stanzaic patterns, it corresponds with the original throughout. In "The Complaint of Venus," Bell even follows with fair but not perfect consistency Chaucer's metrical stunt of preserving over the course of a group of three stanzas, not only the same rhyme scheme (a b a b b c c b), but the same rhyme sounds.

In sense, Bell handles his translation much as Wordsworth does, preserving over a large part of his work a line-for-line correspondence with the original, but not binding himself altogether to such a practice.

Bell's translating, though fairly accurate, suffers lapses. Robinson, in The Complaint of Mars, at the beginning of "The Story," offers this (ll. 29-32):

> Whilom the thridde hevenes lord above,
> As wel by hevenysh revolucioun
> As by desert, hath wonne Venus his love,
> And she hath take him in subjeccioun.

Bell's translation runs (p. 214):

5

> 'Whilom the three celestial lords above
> 'Tis said, in course of heavenly progression,
> As by desert, had won fair Venus' love;
> And she hath now brought Mars to such submission.

This reading, which pictures Mars having to wait his turn, while his betters -- presumably Saturn and Jupiter would be included -- had their fling with Venus, misses both the

grammar and the plain sense of the original, wherein it is clear that whoever else may have enjoyed Venus' love, it is only Mars, as "the thridde hevenes lord" (i.e., the lord of the third heaven, or sphere), who is spoken of as winning that love. An excuse might be offered in Bell's behalf on the ground that his original probably read "three" for "thridde." Anderson, following Urry, reads "the thre hevenis lorde" (p. 520), and Chalmers, following Speght, reads "the three Heauens lorde." However, each has "hath wonne" in the third line, which demands a singular subject. Bell was simply not accurate here. Sometimes, though, it is not his paraphrasing but his modernizing that leads him astray. The word sely in the expression "sely Venus" in line 89 of The Complaint of Mars (per Robinson), which reads "silly" in both Anderson and Chalmers, is retained as "silly" by Bell (p. 217). Though it is possible that the Chaucerian meanings of "innocent," "blessed," or "helpless" (its proper sense in this context) may still have clung to the word in the Romantic Era, my impression from glancing through the citations in Johnson's Dictionary (4th ed., 1773) is that the word would here mean to the readers of Chaucer, Modernized exactly what it means to most readers today: "foolish." It must be admitted, however, that Coleridge used the word in the Chaucerian sense, in the expression "silly buckets" (Rime of the Ancient Mariner, l. 297).

Shades of Victorian morality are also evident in Bell's

translation. Lines 15-17 of The Complaint of Mars read (in Chalmers, I, 361):

> Yet sang this foule, "I rede you all awake,
> And ye that haue not chosen in humble wise,
> Without repenting cheseth your make."

This innocent passage is treated almost as though it were not quite decent -- at least one might conclude so, to judge from the change which Bell has seen fit to work in it (p. 214):

3.

> 'Yet,' sang this bird, 'I counsel every one
> To chaste fidelity; ye who repent
> The ambitious choice ye've set your hearts upon,
> Renew your service ere the day is spent.

A bit later, when Mars and Venus meet to consummate their love affair, the original records matters thus (ll. 71-74). Again I cite Chalmers' text (I, 361):

> The great ioy that was betwix hem two,
> Whan they be mette, there may no tong tel,
> There is no more but unto bedde they go,
> And thus in joy and blisse I let hem dwel.

This is too honest for a Victorian mind; so, perforce, it must be rendered thus (p. 216):

11.

> 'The rapture of that meeting, and the joy
> That filled their hearts and eyes, no tongue may tell;
> Nor on the fervid pleasures that employ
> Their secret hours, let prying fancy dwell.

Lounsbury, lumping him with Thomas Powell, castigated Bell as a "versifier" who belonged poetically to the eighteenth century but "had somehow got into the nineteenth" (III, 217).

However, Bell is far better than Powell, that is, at least, when the latter is on his own. His verse is confident, easy, and smooth, but in a way that is not Augustan, as one may see from the few examples above. One might characterize the tone of Bell's verse as urbane, gentlemanly. It is thus Victorian in character, not Augustan.

The last translation in Chaucer, Modernized for our consideration is the work of Elizabeth B. Barrett: "Queen Annelida & False Arcite," pp. 237-247, and "The Complaint of Annelida to False Arcite," pp. 248-257. Together they are the equivalent of the piece designated in Robinson as Anelida and Arcite, the first corresponding to the part Robinson heads "The Compleynt of feire Annelida and fals Arcite," containing Invocation, ll. 1-21, and The Story, ll. 22-210, and the second corresponding to the part Robinson heads "The compleynt of Anelida the quene upon fals Arcite," containing Proem, ll. 211-219, and other divisions, ending with Conclusion, ll. 342-350, and The Story Continued, ll. 351-357. One will not find such subdivisions in Miss Barrett's versions; indeed neither Anderson nor Chalmers, two of her most likely basic texts, has them. Instead she simply numbers the stanzas consecutively for each piece, using Arabic numerals for the "Queen Annelida & False Arcite" and upper case Roman for "The Complaint."

In number of lines and in basic rhyme and stanza patterns there is complete correspondence between Miss Barrett's

translations and the originals. Her work, like Wordsworth's, is careful and conscientious. But she too exercises freedom when she chooses. On one occasion, her feminism, or perhaps merely her romantic nature, betrays her into going beyond the original. In the sixth stanza of the work (ll. 36-42 in Robinson but here quoted from Chalmers, I, 336), Theseus is portrayed as bringing home, as wife, the conquered Queen, Ipolita:

> Ipolita his wife, and hardy queene
> Of Cithia, that he conquered had,
> With Emely her young suster shene,
> Faire in a chaire of gold he with him lad.
> (Ll. 36-39.)

Such complete male mastery is too much for Miss Barrett, who renders the passage thus (p. 239):

> 6.
>
> Hippolyte, his wife, the heroic queen
> Of Scythia, conqueress though conquered,
> With Emily, her youthful sister sheen,
> Fair in a car of gold he with him led.

On another occasion, it is her whimsicality that must find expression, the restrictions of translation notwithstanding. Toward the end of The Story, we learn that Arcite's faithlessness to Anelida has received a fitting reward: his new girl friend has made him her miserable slave (ll. 186-189, quoted from Chalmers, I, 337):

> Her daunger made him both bowe and bend,
> And as her luste, made him turne or wend,
> For she ne graunted him in her liuing,
> No grace, why that he hath to sing.

Miss Barrett has used the terms "bowe" and "bende," but in

quite a different way. Her independent-mindedness and whimsy are especially apparent in her handling of the last line (p. 246):

> Her threatening made him, as a bow, to bend,
> And at her pleasure did he turn and wend;
> Seeing she never granted to this lover
> A single grace he could sing 'Ios' over.

The first piece contains 30 stanzas, all regular rime royals. It is in the management of the stanzaic varieties of "The Complaint" itself that Miss Barrett's immense talents as a metricist get full play. The first four stanzas (Proem and Strophe in Robinson), with their a a b a a b b a b rhyme scheme, she follows carefully, and then at the fifth stanza, beginning "Now certes swete, though that ye" (l. 256, quoted from Chalmers, p. 337), where not only the stanzaic pattern changes, but the line changes in length from pentameter to tetrameter, the changes are noted and followed by Miss Barrett. However, following her own sources, possibly Chalmers (I, 337), she prints as two stanzas, of eight lines each, what appears in Robinson as a single 16-line stanza (ll. 256-271). She maintains the rhyme plan too, except that she does not carry forward, into the second eight lines, the b rhyme from the first eight lines. In the original plan, the a a a b a a a b pattern of the first eight lines is changed in the second eight so that the b rhymes replace a's and a's replace b's. Incidentally, by comparing Miss Barrett's translation of this singular passage with its counterpart in Anderson and

Chalmers, one can clearly see that it is the latter (or an edition based on, or having the same basis as, the latter) which she used. Chalmers' text, like Robinson's, and like her own translation, shows these lines to be, for the most part, tetrameter. However, in Anderson, these lines are all in pentameter, as the lines preceding. The increase in length of the Anderson lines is due, not to revisions of thought and structure, but simply to added diction. For example, the first line of the stanza (l. 256 per Robinson) reads as follows -- in Chalmers:

> "Now certes swete, though that ye
> . . . . . ";

and in Anderson:

> Now certis, swete Arcite! though that ye
> . . . . . .

The other lines are similarly increased, whether by an additional adjective, by an added synonym, or by wordy grammatical construction. Since I find no textual authority for these additions, I think we have here an example of the editorship of Urry, who could well have believed that anything so irregular as the presence of tetramater lines in a pentameter poem must be due to the work of transcribers, not of Chaucer. Hence, Urry set himself to the task of arbitrarily mending the text. We can be happy that Miss Barrett found her text in Chalmers (or in the Chalmers family), for that editor had printed the non-Canterbury pieces from Speght, not from Urry.

It is, however, in the following stanza (ll. 272-280) that Miss Barrett achieves something of a metrical triumph, as she presents her translation in such a way as to bring out the internal rhyme that Chaucer wrote into the stanza. Here is the stanza entire, as Robinson gives it. It is substantially the same text as that which appears in Anderson and in Chalmers:

> My swete foo, why do ye so, for shame?
> And thenke ye that furthered be your name
> To love a newe, and ben untrewe? Nay!
> And putte yow in sclaunder now and blame,
> And do to me adversite and grame,
> That love yow most -- God, wel thou wost -- alway?
> Yet come ayein, and yet be pleyn som day,
> And then shal this, that now is mys, be game,
> And al forgive, while that I lyve may.

If one glances only at the line length and at the rhymes, one would say that one had here exactly the same stanza, metrically, with which "The Compleynt" began -- a 9-line stanza of iambic pentameter rhyming a a b a a b b a b. But Miss Barrett's version makes it clear that it is metrically quite apart from these earlier stanzas (p. 252):

VIII.

> Ah, my sweet foe, why do you so
> For shame?
> Think you that praise, in sooth will raise
> Your name,
> Loving anew, and being untrue
> For aye?
> Thus casting down your manhood's crown
> In blame,
> And working me adversity,
> The same
> Who loves you most -- (O God, thou know'st!)
> Alway?
> Yet turn again -- be fair and plain
> Some day;

> And then shall this, that seems amiss,
> Be game,
> All being forgiv'n, while yet from heav'n
> I stay.

She handles a similar stanza, that occurs near the end (ll. 333-341), in the same way. I am indebted to Horne (Letters, I, 102-107) for his pointing out this feature in her version. Robinson's edition makes no mention of this matter.

The general excellence of Miss Barrett's performance bears out once again the statement Leigh Hunt had made in the Round Table (I, 134-135), that the work of one poet can be properly translated only by another poet.

Such is The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized -- truly, as Miss Spurgeon says, (I, lix), a "curiosity of literature." No attempt will be made here to make a thorough study of the critical reception of this book and of its subsequent reputation.

The earliest comments seem to emanate from the contributors themselves, and these, as they might be expected to be, are generally favorable. Writing to Horne from Torquay, December 17, 1840, apparently with the newly published volume in hand, Miss Barrett praises his "Introduction": "I have read it again and again," she tells him. Her only unfavorable comment seems to be that some of the contributors have strayed too far from the principle that had been set. "Even Mr. Leigh Hunt is sometimes satisfied with being with Chaucer in the spirit, and spurns the accidents of the body."

She thinks readers may feel the translations should "'keep more Chaucer,'" but, virtually reversing herself, she says, "They mayn't," and "if," she goes on, "they are not (say what they please) delighted with this volume, this breathing of sweet souths over the bank of deathless violets, there can be no room for delight in their souls." (Horne, ed., Letters, I, 107-109.)

One can but wonder how a volume that calls for such magnificent praise from so eminent a literary figure could ever have sunk into oblivion.

Wordsworth's somewhat qualified approval is also on record. In a letter dated Jan. 13, 1841, he called the attention of his American friend, Henry Reed, to the volume: "There has recently been published in London a Volume of some of Chaucer's Tales & Poems, modernized -- this little speciman [sic] originated in what I attempted with the Prioresses Tale -- & if the book should find its way to America you will see in it 2 further specimens from myself . . . . Let me however, recommend to your notice, the Prologue & the Franklin's tale [--] they are both by Mr Horne, a gentleman unknown to me, but are, the latter in particular, very well done." Wordsworth, however, comments somewhat unfavorably on the inclusion of Hunt's "Manciple's Tale" and most unfavorably on the inclusion of Horne's "Reve's Tale," because of offense to delicacy of taste. His most apt criticism in connection with the "Reve's Tale" is, however,

that "by indispensably softening down the incidents he [Horne] has killed the spirit of that humour, gross and farcical, that pervades the original." Wordsworth concludes his comment on a more favorable note:

> So great is my admiration of Chaucer's genius, & so profound my reverence for him as an instrument in the hands of Providence for spreading the light of literature thro' his native land that notwithstanding the defects & faults in this Publication, I am glad of it, as a mean for making many acquainted with the original, who would otherwise be ignorant of every thing about him, but his name.[12]

By the following autumn Reed had received a copy of Chaucer, Modernized, for we find him in a letter to Wordsworth dated November 29, 1841, offering a favorable criticism of the book, to the extent of mentioning his trust that it would be "carried on, as is intimated, into a second volume." However, if Horne's statement in Letters (I, 101) is valid, to the effect that Wordsworth had "virtually modernized the whole of 'The Flower and the Leaf,' by the rewritings and general labour he bestowed upon it for somebody else," then Wordsworth must have been considerably disconcerted by the one unfavorable criticism that Reed had to offer:

> The only regret I felt in reading the volume was that that exquisite allegory, 'The Flower and the Leaf' had not been left for your pen, especially as I observed that the modernizer of that poem has indulged in more liberties with the original -- yielding somewhat to the same kind of temptation which Dryden and Pope took no pains to resist.[13]

Wordsworth's answering letter was not written until March 1, 1842. Though he comments on another matter raised by Reed

relative to Chaucer, Modernized, he is silent on this particular point.

Criticism unfreighted with such authorial bias was not long in coming. In the Jan., 1841, issue of the Monthly Magazine, V, appeared Grimes's review, full of detailed criticism.[14] The February 6, 1841, issue of The Athenaeum, pp. 107-108, doubted if Chaucer, Modernized would do more "to make Chaucer read, than Ogle, or Lipscomb, Pope, Dryden, or Wordsworth, have done already." Later the reviewer announces that "Chaucer, in this modern version is as much like old Geoffrey as Sprat and Flatman are like Pindar." He condemns the plan and execution of the book. (Spurgeon, II, 241.)

As has already been indicated, later scholars and critics, if they noticed the book at all, had little good to say of it. Under the general sobriquet of "The Last of the Modernizations," Lounsbury trains battalions of sarcastic artillery upon this poor book and fires away from page 213 to page 229 (Vol. III of Studies). Lounsbury's efforts are largely devoted to the exposing of faults and inaccuracies, of which the book of course provides an abundance for him to work with. But he is perhaps most devastating in such comments as this: "Most of the versions in this volume kept very close to the words as well as to the general sense of the original. In some cases neither the language nor the ideas of Chaucer were preserved; but this was not so much

due to design as to incapacity" (p. 219).

Miss Spurgeon (Introd., pp. lvii-lix) is briefer than Lounsbury, and no kinder. Calling Chaucer, Modernized the "last important attempt" to modernize Chaucer, she says that the volume is "chiefly remarkable for the worthlessness of its contents and the eminence of its contributors, many of whom, one is tempted to think, ought to have known better."

Of these later critics, the only one I have found who has dealt kindly with Chaucer, Modernized, though his opinion, expressed in his "Inaugural Dissertation," does not have the authority to match that of Lounsbury or Spurgeon, is Alfred Tobler. He calls the book "important," and speaks of its "really fine translations of Chaucer." He gives each piece brief, generally favorable attention, but his criticisms receive very little supporting discussion, and seem superficially made. (Pp. 106-108, 110-111.)

I return now to Lounsbury. At the end of his extensive criticism of the Horne volume, he has this comment (III, 228-229) on its reception:

> The coolness, not to call it contempt, with which this volume was received was one of the healthiest signs of the genuine interest that had begun to be taken in the poet, and the genuine advance in appreciation of him that had been made. There were plenty of men to point out the blunders that had been committed, the misapprehensions of meaning that abounded, and the general feebleness and occasional inanity with which the meaning, when understood, had been expressed. There was, indeed, a manifestation of feeling almost in the nature of resentment exhibited at the treatment to which the poet had been subjected.

Lounsbury does not provide us with references, but presumably

one of them was the anonymous review in Athenaeum. Perhaps I ought to let the matter rest here, but I cannot refrain from putting one or two items in the other pan of the scales.

One measure of a book's popularity is to be found in the number of editions and reprints called for. Clarke's The Riches of Chaucer fared well in this respect, with three new editions coming out in the five or six decades following original publication. The achievement of such popularity was not the fate of Chaucer, Modernized. However, portions of the volume were reprinted in 1901 as Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, under the editorship of G. Potter Briscoe, in "The Bibelots" series. According to Tobler (p. 112) the volume contains Horne's "Prologue" and "Reeve's Tale" and selections from his "Franklin's Tale," Wordsworth's "Extract from Troilus and Cresida" and "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," Hunt's "Friar's Tale" and "Squire's Tale," and selections from Powell's "The Flower and the Leaf." The inclusion of Horne's "Reeve's Tale" in such a publication is further evidence that Horne had made it over into something that could be regarded as respectable -- a great feat of magic, one might say, except that in performing the trick Horne could not pull the rabbit live from the hat. Nevertheless, this is evidence that at the century's end some value was still attached to the book or at least to some of its contents.

If the book was not appreciated in England, it most certainly had a favorable reception in America, at least in

Philadelphia. The evidence for this is contained in a text-book, copyrighted in 1844 and published, in the case of the copy in my possession, by E. H. Butler & Co., in Philadelphia, 1855. The title page reads: "Class book of Poetry: Consisting of Selections from Distinguished English and American Poets. From Chaucer to the Present Day. The whole arranged in chronological order, with biographical and critical remarks. By John S. Hart, LL. D., Principal of the Philadelphia High School, and Member of the American Philosophical Society." The main object of the book, according to the Preface, is to provide young readers with a selection of "not only master-pieces of style, but also master-pieces of thought." Recent publications intended for school use may often contain, he says (p. iv), "pleasing descriptions and interesting stories, written in agreeable style. . . . But they are not of that masculine character that stimulates the mind to action, or that gives it materials to act upon. . . ."

With these words in mind, we move on to the first section, which treats of Chaucer (pp. 13-32). The first four pages of this are devoted to "biographical and critical remarks." The plan of the Canterbury Tales is briefly presented, and the language difficulties discussed, the portrait of the Parson being given in the original text, to illustrate the latter. Hart then turns (pp. 16-17) to a discussion of the attempts to removed the language difficulty by means of modernization. The pieces modernized by Pope and Dryden are

"splendid" compositions, he says, but "cannot be looked upon as the poems of Chaucer," the diction being wholly, the ideas in part, new. "Several similar essays by inferior hands," he continues, "are still more objectionable." Then comes a surprise, when one considers the critical devastation suffered by a certain work at the hands of the English reviewers:

> The most successful attempt to modernize Chaucer is that made by Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, R. H. Horne, and others, in 1841. In this work, the spelling is modernized almost entirely, and a few of the obsolete words are replaced by others of kindred meaning now in use. Such other changes are also made in the verse as are rendered necessary by those just named, in order, under the new spelling, to maintain the metre and the rhyme. In this work we have, not imitations of Chaucer, nor even translations, but Chaucer himself, modernized indeed so far as to be intelligible to the common reader, but still retaining all his venerable simplicity, all his exquisite touches of nature, all his quiet humour, all his sweetness, truth, and unaffected pathos.

Here is proof that Chaucer, Modernized had found one receptive reader, one who regarded the work as accomplishing what the makers of it had set out to achieve. If this were the common reception, Elizabeth Barrett could certainly have considered as laid to rest her fears that people would say the translators "might have kept more Chaucer." According to Hart, all of Chaucer is kept, we may infer, except his unquiet humor. Horne saw to that in "The Reve's Tale."

Hart then did Chaucer, Modernized and particularly its editor Horne the further honor of printing as sole representative of Chaucer's work, selections from Horne's "Prologue to the Canterbury Tales." The opening passage and most

of the portraits are included, just as printed in Chaucer, Modernized, even to Horne's footnotes. When we consider that among the portraits omitted by Hart are those of the Wife of Bath, the Friar, and the Summoner, it is clear that more than considerations of space determined the selections: perhaps Hart feared that meeting the Wife of Bath would stimulate, to too much action, the minds of "those whose characters and opinions are still but partially formed."

In view of Hart's influential position as principal of the Philadelphia High School, it is safe to conclude that thousands of American schoolboys in the 1850's received their notions of Chaucer's "venerable simplicity," "exquisite touches of nature," and "quiet humour," and of his "sweetness, truth and unaffected pathos," from Horne's translation of the General Prologue in The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized. By reason of distance if not of time, Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury, who was born in 1838 in Ovid, N. Y., may have escaped Hart's Class Book of Poetry. On second thought, he may not have.

Item No. 29 (1841). Powell, Thomas. "The Nun's Priest's Tale; Or, the Cock and the Fox [with its prologue]. Modernised from Chaucer [these last three words in black letter]. By Thomas Powell." The Monthly Chronicle; A National Journal of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art, VII (Jan-Jun, 1841), 119-133 [the "Prologue," occupying pp. 119-120, and "The Nun's Priest's Tale," pp. 120-133].

I defer the classification of this translation to the close of this discussion. Suffice it here to say that Powell has translated the 54 lines of the Prologue to the Nun's Priest's Tale (B^2, 3957-4010) in 54 lines and the 626 lines of the Tale itself (B^2, 4011-4636) in 626 lines and that he has followed Chaucer in the use of the heroic couplet, except that he has employed about a half dozen triplets and presented us with two lines that have no rhyming mates at all.

The translation, in the main, is or at least attempts to be a faithful rendering of Chaucer's work. But it bears in at least two respects the marks of Powell's own era. First, as is evidenced in the title itself with the printing of the words "Modernised from Chaucer" in black letter, there is a continual effort to retain or even introduce expressions that savor of the antique. Some of those retained from Chaucer, as in the case of the word "embattelled" (Tyrwhitt 1830, v. 14866),[15] sound strangely awkward in Powell's translation:

> His comb, embattled like a castle wall,
> Was redder than fine coral; and withal
> His bill was black, and shone like glossy jet.
> (121:13-15)[16]

The gratuitous addition of "withal" in this passage is typical.

Powell's translation is besprinkled with similarly gratuitous expressions. It leans particularly heavy on "I wot," "I wis," and "I ween," which expressions would be the more acceptable as purveyors of the antique did they not conspicuously fulfill an expletive function or help the translator to a rhyme. The antiqueness so gained has something self-conscious and artificial about it.

The pietistic and moralistic influences of the Era are also reflected in this translation. Powell is particularly careful to reduce every oath which repeats God's name, as when Pertelote says, at v. 14915, "By that God above," to something less likely to disturb the pious -- in this case, to "by the powers above" (122:16). In the Prologue, v. 14802, the Host punctuates his remarks with a "By heven king, that for us alle dide." This comes out more safely in the translation: "By every martyr that for faith hath died" (119:30). Powell also exhibits reluctance to offend the hypermoralistic forces at work in the Era. This is evident in Powell's handling of the passage in which the Nun's Priest recounts the kind of joy Chanticleer seems to feel as he concludes his lengthy discourse and then struts among his wives. For Powell is careful to omit the couplet in which Chanticleer tells Pertelote how pleasing it is to feel her "softe side" at night (vv. 15173-74), as well as the couplet in which the reader is told that Chanticleer "fethered Pertelote twenty time,/ And trade hire eke as oft,

er it was prime" (vv. 15183-84).

But this sort of change was the product of the pressure of the age, and better men than Powell were guilty of giving way to it. What calls for indictment is the quality of Powell's workmanship. A notion of this workmanship can be had by simply observing the punctuation errors that abound. Surely not all of them are the fault of the printer. But apprehension comes most dramatically when we collate this 1841 translation with the text as it appeared the following year in Thomas Powell's volume of poetry called Poems.[17]

Of the 680 lines in the "Prologue" and "Tale" together, 73, or well over 10% have undergone change. A modest number of the changes are of the neutral sort, involving an insignificant or unnecessary alteration, and perhaps a very few actually result in inferior readings; but the great majority of the changes are improvements. Were they made merely to achieve a more polished reading, the effect of their number would still be striking, but when one realizes that by far the greater number of these improvements are actually corrections, covering most matters of poetic composition from punctuation to grammatical and logical expression and involving questions of interpretation, one is astonished.

Punctuation changes predominate, and some of them work wonders in the text. One of the most amusing cases occurs in connection with the following passage, cited from our

present item (1841). The slain man in the anecdote instanced by Chanticleer appears in his friend's dream and says:

> "'Arise up early in the morrow tide,
> And at the west gate of the town,' quoth he,
> 'A cartfull of manure there thou shalt see,
> In which my murder'd body will be hid:
> Arrest this cartfull boldly as I bid.'" (124:29-33)

The original victim had the good sense to ask his friend to arrest the cart rather than the cartful. Whether Powell or the printer is to blame for this riduculous reading, I cannot say, but in Poems all is made right by the insertion of comma precisely in the middle of "cartfull":

> Arrest this cart, full boldly as I bid.

This gives a very fair notion of how reliable is the punctuation of the 1841 text.

When we look at matters of diction, the indictment still stands.

Had Powell consulted Tyrwhitt's glossary, he would have learned that "stoupen" in the first line of the Take itself (v. 14827) was probably meant to be "stopen," which Tyrwhitt defines as "advanced" -- that is, the widow is somewhat advanced in age. But Powell, translating "stoupen" (assuming that it stood thus in his text) as though it meant "stooped," offers this:

> A widow poor, and bent with age, I wot.

At v. 14870 the Nun's Priest describes Chanticleer's color as being "like the burned gold." Powell translates this as "like burning gold" -- which is quite another thing.

In 1842 the reading was corrected to "burnished gold."

Sometimes the diction fault is not so much a matter of a mistaken translation of a Chaucerian word as it is a matter of sheer word sense or logic. There is an instance in the "Prologue" worth looking at. In Tyrwhitt, in the Host's second to the Knight's complaint about the monk's tragedy-mongering, verses 14790-93 read:

> . . . and parde no remedie
> It is for to bewailen, ne complaine
> That that is don, and als it is a paine,
> As ye han said, to here of hevinesse.

Lines 18-21 of the translation read:

> . . . It is no remedy,
> How much soe'er we sorrow or complain,
> For what is done -- it is a waste of pain,
> As you have said, to talk of heaviness.

For the most part this might be called modernization, though Powell makes changes that the pure modernizer would not make, such as the change of "here" to "talk." But it is to Powell's handling of the Host's remark, "als [that is, <u>also</u>] it is a paine," that attention is called. At best, the expression, "it is a waste of pain," represents a merely gratuitous change, that is, if we interpret it to mean, "It is a superfluous pain"; but "waste of pain" sounds ridiculous, as though one were conserving pain and did not wish it to be wasted on the monk's "tragedies."

Powell's lapses in this area occasionally cross the border from bad diction into what may best be called bad grammar or even bad logic. In Tyrwhitt's text, vv. 14836-37

read:

> Three large sowes had she, and no mo:
> Three kine, and eke a sheep that highte Malle.

Chaucer had rhymed "mo" with "two" of the preceding line, a rhyme of course denied to the modernizer. Powell approached this problem by rhyming the equivalent of v. 14835 with the preceding couplet, to form a triplet, one of several he has indulged in. Thus he was enabled to translate the two lines above as a couplet, being lines 10-11 of his "Nun's Priest's Tale":

> Her little farm was only three large sows,
> An ewe called Molly, and three ruddy cows.

Passing over the expression "three ruddy cows," which we hope for Powell's sake were not read in his day as they would be in ours, we observe that he has equated "farm" with the livestock. The bad logic of this must have been called to his attention, if he did not notice it himself, for in republishing this poem the very next year in his Poems, Powell revised the couplet, as follows (p. 6):

> Her farm consisted of three breeding sows,
> An ewe called Molly, and three ruddy cows.

The sentence is not yet perfect, but it is much better.

A grievous error occurs at the point when Chanticleer first spies his enemy. It is at once an outright mistranslation of Chaucer's text and an indication of Powell's extraordinary inattentiveness, to give the quality the most generous term that I can. The passage reads:

> It so befell, that as he cast his eye
> Among the worts upon a butterfly,
> That he descried the fox that lay full low;
> Then he began full lustily to crow,
> And cried anon "Cok! Cok!" and up did start,
> Like to a man who had a trembling heart.
> (129:41-46)

Even if Powell could not read his Chaucer straight, his powers of observation or of reason should have told him that cocks do not crow when they are alarmed. In 1842, the fault is repaired, as the fourth line there reads: "Fear seized him then, so that he could not crow." This provides cogent evidence that Browning (see below and also Spurgeon, II, 240) or someone else was lending Powell a revising hand: the mind that lacked power to prevent the fault in the first place would hardly have seen it subsequently, without aid.

Consider also what Powell does in his translation of the passage in which the fox tells Chanticleer that Chanticleer's mother and father "han in myn hous yben, to my gret ese" (v. 15303). Powell spoils the irony by the thoughtless addition of one little word:

> "My lord, your father (God his soul now bless),
> And eke your mother in her gentleness,
> Hath in my house oft been, to my great ease.
> (130:14-16)

One is reminded of the lady visitor to a fox farm who asked the proprietor, "How often do you skin these foxes?" This is one point that Powell and his helpers overlooked, for 1842 reads the same.

Powell's translation must, I suppose, be classified as a modernization, but it does not suit the category perfectly.

One requirement of the modernization, as defined in this study, is that it maintain line-by-line correspondence with the original, including, as far as feasible, the correspondence of rhymes. Only the presence of archaic and obsolete expressions quite incomprehensible to the reader should occasion such refashioning as might disturb the correspondence. In Tyrwhitt, the Prologue and the Tale amount to 54 lines (vv. 14773-826) and 626 lines (vv. 14827-15452), respectively, and the translation corresponds perfectly, insofar as the mere totals of lines are concerned. But we have seen above, with respect to the Prologue, how mere alignment of verses did not necessarily mean that Powell was maintaining the fullest correspondence possible. In the Tale, he takes yet greater liberties. Whole passages may be modernized in rather strict fashion, only suddenly to give way to departures, often gratuitous in nature. Altogether, through expanding passages of the original or simply by adding lines, an increase of six lines is registered. To this there is an offsetting decrease, four lines of which are accounted for in the passage already alluded to (vv. 15173-15184), from which the lines are dropped for delicacy's sake.

Miss Spurgeon (II, 239-240) raises the question of authorship of this piece. While assigning it to Powell, she argues probatively for the authorship of Leigh Hunt. Her argument rests mainly upon a statement by Browning in an 1846 letter to Alfred Domett (Spurgeon, II, 239 and 267)

to the effect that Powell

> "bought two modernisations of Chaucer -- 'Ugolino' and another story from Leigh Hunt -- and one 'Sir Thopas' from Horne, and printed them as his own" (II, 239).

After considering the evidence offered by the various publications in which modernizations presumably by Powell made their appearance -- Chaucer, Modernized (see above, Item No. 28), the Monthly Chronicle in which the present Item appears, Powell's Poems (1842), and Poems (1846) -- Miss Spurgeon arrives by a process of elimination at the conclusion that the piece which Browning calls "another story" must be the present item, "The Nun's Priest's Tale." She finds corroboration for this conclusion in another statement by Browning -- that he had given Powell assistance with his verses -- coupled with her finding that Powell's original verses in his 1842 volume of poetry are much inferior to his translations of Chaucer.

Taking up this last point, I would certainly agree upon the likelihood that Powell had the advantage of some superior literary assistance in revising the Chaucer modernizations for their appearance in Poems (1842). The errors of all sorts made in the "Nun's Priest's Tale" as it appeared in the Monthly Chronicle (1841) -- and I exclude any for which the printer might be blamed -- are of the sort that an inferior hand would commit, and, having committed, would probably never correct without guidance. Whether this inferiority of Powell's be due to an untidy and uncritical

intellect, to a certain precipitateness of disposition, or simply to an inadequate education is a problem for his biographer, if he ever gets one, to undertake. However, I am not so sure that I agree with Miss Spurgeon's conclusion; for the "Nun's Priest's Tale," even in its revised state, does not appear to me to have the quality of his original verse, however inferior that verse may be. On page 315 of Poems (1842), the poem Napoleon (listed in the table of contents under Sonnets though it has sixteen lines), which Wordsworth censured for its content (LY, III, 1120), nevertheless contains fresher and more vigorous verse, with phrasing perhaps no less happy, than the modernizations, with all the help and advice that must have been accorded him on their account.

Miss Spurgeon's prime argument for Hunt's authorship I find altogether too tenuous. She herself mentions one difficulty. Browning speaks of Powell's having "bought" the modernization of the Tale of Sir Thopas from Horne. We have already dealt with this poem, in Item No. 28. It first appeared in 1841 in Chaucer, Modernized, with the author given only as "Z. A. Z." Next year, under Powell's own name of course, it appeared in his volume Poems, pp. 35-49 (with "Prologue" and "Epilogue" as in the Horne volume). Miss Spurgeon finds it difficult to understand why Horne should submit one piece under a pseudonym to a volume in which other pieces were appearing under his own name. This calls in

question the accuracy of Browning's statement and thus shakes the foundation of her argument.[18]

The quickest route to an answer to the question of Hunt's authorship is simply to read the "Nun's Priest's Tale" as printed in the Morning Chronicle for 1841, noting the inaccuracies of translation, the errors in logic and grammar and diction, and some plainly bad verse. Leigh Hunt, although he had his own way of making the whimsical departure, not necessarily to the improvement of Chaucer, and although he sometimes was given to inaccuracy and error in reading and translating the master, was still a poet, and would never have been guilty of producing anything as faulty as this. Thomas Powell claims the work for himself, both here and in Poems, 1842. Since the work bespeaks the man,[19] I see no reason to dispute the claim.

Item No. 30 (1841). [Unknown]. The Persone of a Toun. 1370. His Character from Chaucer. Imitated and Enlarged by Mr. Dryden, Now Again Altered and Abridged. Together with The Persone's Prologue and Tale. By the Persone of a Toun. 1841. London: William Edward Painter, Strand.[20]

After the title page of this curious item, we are presented with an explanation, unheaded, as follows:

> THIS portrait of the old English Parson was copied and enlarged, by Mr. Dryden, from the original in Chaucer. It has been now again copied from Mr. Dryden, but abridged in those portions which applied to the politics of his day. "The Parson's Tale," which in Chaucer is a Homily, has been abridged and adapted as a specimen of the doctrines of the "Holy Chirche" of England, in the olden time, (circa) 1370. -- 1841.

Next follows, pp. [7]-13, the excerpt from Dryden's "Character of a Good Parson," here entitled simply, "The Good Parson." It consists of the first 86 lines, and thus embraces most of what Dryden included of the original Chaucer. When one collates this text with that of Dryden in Scott's edition (1808), one finds some curious differences, however. The "Persone of a Toun" has numbered his lines, and the numbers accord with those assigned in Scott-Saintsbury. Passages adduced here for comparison will be from the Scott edition (1808), however.

The major discrepancy occurs at the outset. The "Persone of a Toun" has replaced Dryden's opening couplet -- "A parish priest was of the pilgrim train;/ An awful, reverend, and religious man" -- with a couplet of his own, reading thus:

> A PARISH priest together with us rode;
> A meek and much enduring man of God.

This act of substitution on the part of the "Persone" seems

presumptuous, but perhaps it is no more so than some of the changes Dryden himself had made in the original portrait. The "Persone" has his reasons, however, which will appear when we come to examine the "Notes" at the end of his booklet. For the moment it is sufficient to observe that with respect to verse he has replaced one imperfect rhyme with another one and that with regard to the portrait he has suppressed the "awful" aspect and substituted meekness and patient endurance. Also "man of God," with its pious reference to the deity, replaces "religious man."

Lines 38 to 40 of the original Dryden read:

> Lightnings and thunder, (heaven's artillery,)
> As harbingers before the Almighty fly:
> Those but proclaim his style and disappear.

In the present item they read:

> Lightnings and thunder (heaven's artillery),
> As harbingers, before the Almighty fly:
> These but proclaim his sound and disappear.

There are some unimportant variants, including the use of "These" instead of "Those" at line 40, but the replacement of "stile" by "sound" is another matter. Inasmuch as the next line, substantially alike in both versions, reads, "The stiller sound succeeds, and God is there," the change which the "Persone" has made seems not an unhappy one. But it is unsafe to tamper with the work of a master.

The following passage, quoted now from the present item, includes two changes difficult to explain:

> The tithes his parish freely paid he took;
> But never su'd, or cursed with bell and book.

> With patience bearing wrong, but offering none:
> Since every man is free to love his own.
> The country churls according to their mind,
> Who grudge their dues, and love to be behind.
> The less he sought his offerings, pinched the more,
> And praised a priest, contented to be poor.
> (Ll. 42-49.)

Passing over the punctuation, which is bad here, the periods at the end of lines 43 and 47 being erroneous, we observe that "love" in line 45 has been altered from "lose," and "mind" in line 46, from "kind." Criticism is difficult in the case of the former alteration, since it is not altogether clear how Dryden meant "since every man is free to lose his own" to be applied. I assume that "his own" has reference to the tithes and that Dryden simply means that, since the tithes belonged really to the Parson anyhow, he was free not to require them, if he so chose. Why the "Persone" objected to this and substituted "love" cannot be determined. It may be that he assumed that "his own" referred to the flock and that "love" was the intended reading, in which case the interpretation would be that his love for his flock caused him to be generous in the matter of tithes. The change from "kind" to "mind," however, is more understandable, that is, if we can assume that the "Persone of a Toun" is actually a small-town or country parson and that he ministers to, if indeed he did not himself spring from, that class of persons which Dryden calls "country churls." Indeed Dryden's "according to their kind" would seem to incriminate the whole class. The "Persone," with his "according to their mind," has affected

the transfer of blame to individuals of the class.

But none of these changes seems so significant as the one we now examine. I quote ll. 60-63 from Scott's edition:

> Wide was his parish; not contracted close
> In streets, but here and there a straggling house;
> Yet still he was at hand, without request,
> To serve the sick; to succour the distress'd.

When we turn to our "Persone" and his reprint of this passage, we find that the word "rich" has been substituted for "sick" in line 63. This one word destroys the intention and effect of the whole portrait, whether in the original Chaucer, the original Dryden, or here. Nor is it an attempt at irony, for the intention of the "Persone" is clearly not ironical, to judge from the publication as a whole. The kindest, and perhaps the likeliest, explanation is that the transcriber or printer made the substitution: after all "sick" in manuscript could look very much like "rich." Not to grant the "Persone" an unmodified exculpation, I should but like to say that the change has all the earmarks of a Freudian slip.

The citation of Dryden's "Character of a Good Parson" ends on page 12, with line 86. It is followed immediately by "The Prologue," a 20-line paraphrase of portions of the Parson's Prologue. I quote it entire, including the ascription of line numbers continued by the "Persone" from the "Character," a device which may afford convenience, but gives a false notion of the continuity of the original:

THE PROLOGUE

On him our host doth now respectful call,
Him to obey, as had been done by all.
"Sir Priest (sayth he), to us thou art unknown:
Vicar art thou? or Parsone of a toun?
It lists not which, unbuckel now thy mail;
God's grace be with thee, render us thy tale."

The Parson answered him with gravity:
"Fable, I wot, thou gettest none from me.
It meets, that I, a labourer of our Lord,
Should ever sow his seed, his blessed word.
The soil may rot with wet, or burn with heat,
He sends for all alike the purest wheat.
Thou, my kind host, hast led this pilgrimage,
O'er rough and steep, for many a weary stage.
Awhile, I'll take thy place, to lead them on
To that fair city where Christ reigns alone."

"God speed you in that road (the host replied),
Say what you will, with thee we gladly ride.
Be thou our guide to that celestial town;
But quick and fructuous, ere the sun go down.
(Pp. 12-13.)

Collating this with the original as printed in Tyrwhitt 1830, we find that the "Persone" has omitted the first twelve lines or so of the Persones Prologue, picking up the original at about v. 17324 (Robinson, Group "I," l. 13). This line and those remaining in the Prologue, vv. 17325-17385, amount to 62 lines. These have been translated into the twenty lines quoted above, with some passages from the original enjoying scant representation in the translation. The "I am a sotherne man" business (vv. 17353-17357) -- with the Parson's apology, "I cannot geste, rom, ram, ruf, by my letter,/ And, God wote, rime hold I but litel better," and his announcement that he will "tell a litel tale in prose" -- is omitted altogether. Before passing to the "Tale" itself, we note the unfortunate

translation of "male" as "mail" in line 91. Whether or not it would be proper to believe that the "Persone" is actually thinking of chain mail, the ridiculous picture of the Parson so encumbered rises to the reader's mind, to be capped by an apprehension of the absurdity of the action requested by the Host.

"The Parsone's Tale" our translator describes as "abridged and adapted." To get a notion of the extent of the abridgment, one need but examine the Persones Tale (excluding the Retractation) in Tyrwhitt 1830, where one will find it occupying pp. 4-130 of Vol. IV, a total of almost 127 pages, each one of which contains more than half again as much as does a page of the present version.

The adapter's technique is (1) to take some of the sections into which the original is divided and give the section an appropriate heading or leading sentence, such as "Repentance" or "Confession must be to God," (2) under each section to cull out brief passages, often no more than a sentence, and (3), paraphrasing but slightly, to join the scattered passages in a paragraph. An instance or two will sufficiently show the technique. The piece opens as follows:

THE PERSONE'S TALE.

> Our swete Lord of heven, willing that no man perish, but willing that ALL come to the knowledge of him, biddeth us thus by his prophet Jeremiah: "Stand upon the wayes and see, and axe of the old pathes, which is the good way? and walk therein, and ye shall finde refreshing for your souls. There be many wayes to the kingdom of

> glory, but of these the easiest, noblest, and most convenient, to the celestial Jerusalem, is,
>
> REPENTANCE.
>
> Repentance is to bewaile our sinne done . . . . (Pp. 13-14.)

After several brief omissions along the way, the word "Repentance," which in Tyrwhitt is rendered "penance," seems to be the signal for the translator to jump the remainder of the paragraph and resume his version with the original's "penance is the plaining of man for the gilt that he hath don," at the beginning of the second paragraph (Tyrwhitt, IV, 5).

At the top of page 15, the version reads: "Anon, Repentance is a mother, and hath three daughters; these be Contrition, Confession, and Conversion." This means that the original treatment of the "three actions of penance" (IV, 6) and the three "spices [kinds] of penance" (IV, 6-7) are quite overleaped. The mother-daughter image is the contribution of the "Persone." For the trio mentioned in the version, the Tyrwhitt text gives "contrition," "confession," and "satisfaction" (IV, 7).

Contrition is then treated by the "Persone" in one page (pp. 15-16), whereas in Tyrwhitt's text it is treated in 23 (7-30). Confession receives a short shrift, as it is accorded but a single paragraph on page 16. In offering the definition, the "Persone" makes a change that gives evidence that his Anglicanism is strongly Protestant. The

original reads thus:

> First shalt thou understande, that confession is veray shewing of sinnes to the preest. (IV, 30-31.)

This is apparently too much for our "Persone," who gives it thus:

> Confession must be to God. We must confess to him as Eve did.

In the original the Seven Mortal Sins are taken up under this second part of penitence, Confession, and the treatment of them occupies most of the 93 pages (30-123) accorded this part. The third part, satisfaction, is then treated in the closing pages (123-130). Not so in this adaptation by the "Persone." In the first place, with a touch of Methodism in his madness, he has replaced the term satisfaction with conversion. Then he introduces the term on the heels of his Confession paragraph and employs it as a means of introducing the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins, which he calls "bondes" (pp. 16-17), as follows:

> CONVERSION consisteth in the endeavour to lead a good life. What letteth us? There be many bondes which we must first break. God help us therein. The first bonde is Pride.

The "bondes" turn out to be only three, instead of seven, and only two of them are among those named in the "Deadly" list: pride (treated on pp. 17-18) and anger, which here is called "Ill-temper" (p. 18). The third "bonde" is termed "Deceit," for which the "Persone" gratuitously provides a one-word

explanation in a footnote: "Dishonesty." In this "bonde" (pp. 18-19), the "Persone" is careful to take up the treatment of simony, which in the original (IV, 89-91) is included under avarice. A footnote evidences his own detestation of the practice. The footnote is to the statement in the text -- "Certes simonie is so called from Simon Magnus" -- and reads:

> The Legislature have since compelled the simoniac to add perjury to his crime. "Simony is now the more odious that it is ever accompanied with perjury." -- Sir E. Coke. (P. 19.)

On pages 19-20, this version of the Parson's Tale is brought to a conclusion by three short paragraphs, compounded of a sweeping sentence, apparently of the adapter's own addition -- "Many other foule bondes are there, which I wot not to mention; they be many and rusty [curious word], for the devil keepeth them reddy forged in his storis; grievous are they to binde men" -- and scattered excerpts from the last two pages of the Tyrwhitt 1830 text (129-130) of the Tale proper. The last paragraph reads:

> And thus shall men reach that holy city, Jerusalem above, where is eternal life. To which life He us bring, that bought us with His precious blood. Amen.

Then our "Persone" adds:

> Here endeth the Persone's tale --

a gloss which must be considered presumptuous in view of the amount of adaptation and truncation that the original has

been subjected to.

I pause only to observe that such modernizing as takes place in this piece obviously does not occur in the diction or even in the spelling. One may occasionally find it in the phrasing.

The "Persone" supplies a verse "Conclusion" of his own making:

CONCLUSION.

> "Sir (said the host), it grieveth us, lest we
> Might have offended by our ribaldry.
> Pray thou for us unto the King of kings,
> This night o'er us to spread his heavenly wings.
> Pray to the Preste of prestes, and Lord of all,
> That, when the day of dome to judgment call,
> Those our follies, vanities, and guilt,
> Be washed in the blood of Jesu spilt.

As we are told in a "Postscript," this was after Chaucer's own Retractation, printed in Tyrwhitt 1830 in its regular place at the end of the Parson's Tale (IV, 130-131). It is in a like spirit, but Chaucer's Host, however much he might on occasion be moved to such sentiments, would never be heard expressing them in such gentle language.

Page 22 bears the "Postscript," which I give in full:

> THE PROLOGUE has been adapted, and the concluding lines metred, from Chaucer; the latter being, in the original, a prayer at the end of his "Canterbury Tales," in which he expresses his sorrow and regret at the ribaldry and pollution contained in his writings. An author should never forget, that when he has passed into another world, his works, if calculated to corrupt, may be still doing their mischief, and perhaps thereby aggravating his condemnation. His crimes may thus be extended, beyond the space of human

> life, through centuries; while he may have to stand in judgment, before THE OMNISCIENT, who has the power of looking forward to the results, and of accumulating on the guilty head, the crimes of futurity, to be produced, by his writings, in posterities yet unborn.

I should be willing to grant the major premise here, if I may at the same time object to the implied criticism of certain of Chaucer's writings. It cannot be accepted that Chaucer wrote the Miller's Tale or any of the other ribald tales with the intention of corrupting anyone, and it is very much to be doubted whether, in actual fact, anyone has ever been corrupted by these tales.

The last pages of this curious volume (23-24) are devoted to "Notes." The notes, six in number, all apply to the "Character" at the beginning, specifically to lines 1, 2, 42, 50, 60, and 71. Of these the notes to line 1 and 2 deserve particular attention, for it will be recalled that the "Persone" recomposed the opening couplet. I repeat the couplet for convenience' sake and subjoin the notes:

> A PARISH priest together with us rode;
> A meek and much enduring man of God.
>
> Line 1. -- Mr. Dryden does not consider the Priest to have been a pilgrim, and says --
>
> "He went not with the crowd to see a shrine."
>
> Chaucer makes him describe himself as a "sotherne man;" he was probably only riding with them, on his way homeward.
>
> Line 2. -- "Much enduring." As a servant of the Anglican Church suffering under the tyranny of her Roman sister, whose servants in the train

are thus alluded to by Mr. Dryden, in comparison with our Persone: --

> "In deference to his virtues, I forbear
> To show you what the rest in Orders were."

However perplexing these notes may be with regard to detail, they clearly reflect the will on the part of the writer to see Chaucer's Parson as he wants to see him, regardless of the evidence in Chaucer and in Dryden. He seems to wish to distinguish Chaucer's Parson from the Pilgrims, perhaps regarding the latter as too worldly and contaminating a company for the Parson to belong to. To this end, he removes Dryden's plain statement that the Parson was "of the pilgrim train" and says only that he rode with them. Then he takes out of context a line from another part of Dryden's piece, a part not reprinted in his booklet, and cites the line in support of his notion that Dryden did not consider the Priest a pilgrim. First we put the line back in context:

> He went not, with the crowd, to see a shrine;
> But fed us, by the way, with food divine.
> (Ll. 135-136.)

This couplet is one of Dryden's own additions, of course, there being no specific warrant for it in the original portrait. Be that as it may, here Dryden is saying, it seems to me, not that the Priest was not going to visit the shrine at Canterbury, but that he had higher purposes than just visiting the shrine. It is even more ridiculous of the "Persone" to cite Chaucer's presentation of the Parson as a "sotherne man" (v. 17353 -- not included in the present

translation) in support of the proposition and to overlook the plain fact that Chaucer introduces the Parson to us as one of "a compagnie/ Of sondry folk," all of whom, he specifically states, are pilgrims (vv. 24-26). Furthermore, all the pilgrims assent to the Host's terms, which involve the return trip as well as the trip to Canterbury. Apparently our "Persone" was able to shut his eyes to all this.

With his note to line 2, the adapter, not content with his endeavor to separate the Parson from the Pilgrims, apparently would see him separated from the Roman Church as well. Again he misconstrues Dryden, citing lines 137-138, also from the part he did not reproduce. Again the full context must be adduced:

> In deference to his virtues, I forbear
> To shew you what the rest in orders were:
> This brilliant is so spotless, and so bright,
> He needs no foil, but shines by his own proper light. (Ll. 137-140.)

This passage, with which Dryden concludes the "Character," besides serving to punctuate the good qualities of the Parson, seems to be Dryden's graceful way of excusing himself from paraphrasing the portraits of the other servants of God among the Pilgrims. Further, since this is the last Chaucer piece in Fables (not counting the texts of the originals which he appended) and since Fables was the last work of his life, Dryden may here be ruefully putting a period to his efforts at Chaucer translation. As for the reference made by our "Persone" to the "Anglican Church," present-day read-

ers, who would be inclined to understand the term "Anglican Church" as a reference to the Church of England, established since the time of Henry VIII, might declare the "Persone" guilty of an anachronism, as of course there was only one church in Britain in Chaucer's day and that, the Church of Rome. Rather, by "Anglican" the "Persone" probably means "English." Thus he seems to be speaking of the Church in England, which, with the Archbishop of Canterbury usually England-born and with the English Parliament in the fourteenth century showing increasing resolve to oppose the Pope in certain matters,[21] was certainly an entity despite the universal character of the Roman Church. There is some ground in the original Chaucer for thinking of the Parson as having Wycliffite leanings and thus as set apart somewhat from the other clerics among the pilgrims. In the Shipmannes Prologue (in Robinson, The Epilogue to MLT) at v. 12914 (B^1, 1173) the Host says, "I smal a loller in the wind," in recrimination for the Parson's rebuking him for swearing. But the "Persone" goes too far when he speaks of the Roman Church as "sister" -- that is, instead of "mother" -- and when he distinguishes the Parson as a servant of the English Church from the other ecclesiastics as servants of the Roman Church. Whatever Protestant propensities Chaucer's Parson might have had, he was yet a priest of the Roman Catholic Church: neither in Chaucer, in Dryden's version of Chaucer, nor in history itself is there

ground for any other opinion.

Thus we arrive at the end of Item 30, at the end of Chapter V, and at the end of our long progress through the paraphrases and modernizations of the Romantic Era, from 1792 through 1841. For Lounsbury too, the year 1841 was the end of something, for he hopefully refers to Horne's Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, Modernized as the "last of the modernizations."[22] This of course did not actually turn out to be the case, though that was no fault of Lounsbury's. Perhaps the Chaucer, Modernized, which was intended to be so grand a beginning, was not even a sufficiently grand ending to be called a kind of Götterdämmerung of an era in Chaucer translation. But if it may be so called, then Powell's inept translation of the Nun's Priest's Tale and this queer agglomeration of Parson material offered us by the "Persone of a Toun" may be regarded as the final sputtering squibs.

Notes to Chapter V.

[1]I adopt this mode of citation, by page and line, as providing the most convenient means of locating a reference. The text is not furnished with line numbering.

[2]Eri J. Shumaker, A Concise Bibliography of the Complete Works of Richard Henry (Hengist) Horne (1802-1884) (Granville, Ohio, 1943), p. 3.

[3]In Robinson, the equivalent is found as the Epilogue to The Merchant's Tale (E, 2419-40), and the Introduction to The Squire's Tale (F, 1-8).

[4]This is taken from the copy in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, the earliest that I was able to obtain. In adopting the 1841 dating for the first edition, I am following Spurgeon, II, 233, and CBEL, III, 275. Miss Spurgeon lists the item as follows:

> 1841. [Fox, William Johnson.] Hymns and Anthems used at the Unitarian Chapel, South Place, Finsbury. No. cxxiii. [Ed. W. J. Fox published by Chas. Fox, 1841.]

Then come her citation of the first stanza and her explanation that this is followed by a paraphrase of Truth. The entry ends as follows:

> [See Notes and Queries, June 12, 1852, vol. v, p. 574; also E. Garnett's Life of W. J. Fox, 1910, pp. 218-221. The 1845 edn. is the first in B. M.]

Despite the fact that Miss Spurgeon did not find a copy of the first edition in the British Museum and that the information for her entry could have been supplied from other sources, including the N & Q item she mentions above, I should judge from the way that she has recorded the item that she saw an actual copy of the 1841, or first, edition, but that, as indeed is true of 1845, the name of the compiler of the book and author of the poem, William Johnson Fox, did not appear on the title page.

[5]According to D.N.B., this chapel, to which his congregation removed in 1824 from Parliament Court, was built especially for Fox.

[6] In this matter Horne reveals the influence upon him of the opinions expressed in the Retrospective Review articles on Chaucer (see above, Items No. 18 and 19). He makes explicit reference to these articles both in his Introduction to Chaucer, Modernized and in his reply (Monthly Magazine, V [1841], 187-196) to Grimes's review of the book (see above, Item No. 26).

[7] In To my most dearely loued-friend Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie. See Spurgeon, I, 200, and II, 234. How these lines came to be assigned to Wordsworth is a curious matter. The Manuscript from which De Selincourt printed Wordsworth's version of The Manciple's Tale was headed by this same quotation, but with some differences (Works, IV, 471-472):

> That noble Chaucer, in those former times
> The first inriched our English histories
> And was the first of ours that ever brake
> Into the Muses' treasure, and first spake
> In weighty numbers, delving in the mine
> Of perfect knowledge.

We have Wordsworth's own explanation. "The motto you enquire after in the modernized Chaucer, is by Drayton [;] it was in the MS. which I sent without noticing from what author it was taken," he wrote his American friend Henry Reed, March 1, 1842 (Wordsworth & Reed, ed. Leslie Nathan Broughton, Cornell Univ. Press, 1933, p. 64). The editor, or editors if Powell be included, having received Wordsworth's MS. with this unidentified quotation standing at the head, must simply have assumed it to be Wordsworth's independent composition and so proceeded to print it as such on the title page. But a problem remains: how does one explain the differences between the quotation in the form in which it appears at the head of Wordsworth's Manuscript and the form in which it is printed in Chaucer, Modernized? Carelessness in the transcription will not do as an answer, for, although most of the changes made in the Horne title-page version are away from the original Drayton, one of the changes actually corrects a word misquoted by Wordsworth. Here are the lines of the original, as given in Spurgeon, I, 200-201:

> That noble Chaucer, in those former times,
> The first inrich'd our English with his rimes,
> And was the first of ours, that euer brake,
> Into the Muses treasure, and first spake
> In weighty numbers, deluing in the Mine
> Of perfect knowledge, which he could refine;

and the quotation runs on for eight more lines. It will be seen that whereas the second line of Wordsworth's manuscript

version ends "our English histories," its counterpart in the original and its counterpart in Horne end "our English with his rhymes." I can only think that Wordsworth must have made a partial and imperfect revision of these lines in his manuscript, perhaps from memory (on February 21, 1840, per LY, II, 1005, he told Moxon of his having revised his Chaucer, except the "Prioress's Tale," "the other day"), before transmitting the manuscript to Powell and that the revision was not recorded by De Selincourt. It is apparent that neither Powell nor Horne made the changes, for if either had been the one to correct the end of the second line, surely he would have corrected the whole, and seen to it that the lines received the correct ascription.

[8]It is apparent, in his references in the Introduction to Chaucer, Modernized, in his reply (Monthly Magazine, V [1841], 187-196) to Grimes's review of the book, and in his chapter on the book in Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to R. H. Horne, that Horne had available to him, besides Tyrwhitt's, several editions of Chaucer, including black-letter editions, and that he used them in preparing his translations. I assume, however, that for the Canterbury Tales he depended mainly upon Tyrwhitt, whose edition was the most recent and the most authoritative.

[9]Horne again defends his use of imperfect rhyme in the final letter of his epistolary debate with Grimes in the Monthly Magazine (V [1841], 426n).

[10]Horne has written a note to this word which I reproduce here, as interesting and revealing:

> Polish away all the quaintness, and you erase a portion of the historical from the portraiture. It is very curious, and not a little amusing, that this word quaint should have been a term of some reproach in Chaucer's time. He occasionally uses it in that sense himself:
>
> > "Colours of rhetorike ben to me queinte:
> > My spirit feleth not of swiche matere!"
> >
> > The Franklin's Prologue.
>
> Chaucer himself is now considered quaint beyond measure. The old dramatists are called quaint. At present the word is sometimes used with us, in the best sense, to express the struggles of genius with an unformed language; sometimes as the quiet humour of our ancestors; sometimes it expresses the resentments of a modern ear; sometimes it means nothing -- which is rather wors[e] than the thing complained of. All the best writers of the present

age will become quaint; and as only the best will live to enjoy the necessary odium, it would perhaps be but reasonable in future to attach a more charitable meaning to this unavoidable infirmity of old age..

[11]Among the older texts, Speght (1687) and Urry print Thopas with a gap in the text between the first fit and the second. In Stowe (1561), the text is solid, but "Now," the first word in the first line of the second fit, begins with a large capital.

[12]Leslie Nathan Broughton, ed., Wordsworth & Reed (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1933), p. 43.

[13]Broughton, p. 61.

[14]My discovery of Grimes's review, which in turn led me [14M]that reviewer's own modernizations (see above, Item No. 26), occurred when my work was in its final stages, after my own opinions regarding Chaucer, Modernized had been formulated and recorded. The reader will find that in a few matters, none of great significance, my observations have been anticipated by Grimes.

[15]The Tyrwhitt 1830 text of NPT is certainly a likely original of Powell's translation. In the matter of verse paragraphing the latter corresponds better to the Bell 1782 text, but this is not sufficient evidence, it seems to me, to forego the convenience of using Tyrwhitt 1830 for purposes of comparison. Besides, Bell's is also a Tyrwhitt text. It is possible, of course, but unlikely, that Powell used a non-Tyrwhitt text for his version of NPT. There is evidence that he used Urry for his "Flower and the Leaf" (Chaucer, Modernized, pp. 190-191n), but then that item was never edited by Tyrwhitt.

[16]The lines are not provided with numbers. The simplest means of enabling the reader to locate these lines in the Monthly Chronicle text is to give page and line.

[17](London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1842.) Powell's "Modernizations from Chaucer" (so designated in a black-letter heading in the table of contents) open the volume, pp. 1-114. The "Prologue to the Nun's Priest's Tale" (pp. 3-5) and "The Nun's Priest's Tale" (pp. 6-32) are followed by reprints, with some revision, of the modernizations that appeared in Chaucer, Modernized (see above, Item No. 28). These are the "Prologue to the Rime of Sir Thopas" (pp. 35-36), "The Rime of Sir Thopas" (pp. 37-48), the "Epilogue to Rime" (p. 49), "The Flower and

the Leaf," with prefatory "Argument" (pp. 52-81), and "The Legends of Ariadne; Philomene; and Phillis" (pp. 85-114). Near the end of the book, unannounced by the table of contents, appears "Ugolino of Pisa. From Chaucer [the Monk's Tale]" (pp. 326-328). (See the following note.)

[18]Miss Spurgeon's comments upon this item appear to be inaccurate in a matter of fact. She says that of the five modernizations at one time or another printed by Thomas Powell, that called "Ugolino of Pisa" did not appear until 1845, when it was printed in another volume of Powell's verse, also called Poems. In the Yale University copy of Poems, 1842, however, one will find on pp. 326-328 "Ugolino of Pisa. From Chaucer." Though I have not seen Poems, 1845, and its version of this poem, I have no doubt that it is the same, for this one of 1842 is a fairly close modernization of the "Hugelin of Pise," vv. 14717-14772 (equivalent to B^2, 3597-3652), as, without contrary mention by Spurgeon, one may suppose that of 1845 to be. However, the table of contents of the Yale copy, which lists all Powell's other modernizations as grouped at the beginning of the volume, ceases with the listing of a poem called "To the Nineteenth Century," p. 320. None of the items subsequent to p. 320, including "Ugolino of Pisa," is listed. This would explain Miss Spurgeon's oversight, if such it was, or it may be that these last items were added after some copies had been printed.

[19]For evidence of Powell's precipitate ways, see Wordsworth's cautionary comment in a letter to Powell, January 18, 1840, when Chaucer, Modernized was in preparation. "You seem in too great a hurry to be in the press with Chaucer. He is a mighty genius as you well know, and not lightly to be dealt with." (LY, II, 998.)

[20]I am indebted to the British Museum for the microfilm of their copy of this item.

[21]Powel Mills Dawley, Chapters in Church History (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1950), pp. 120-121.

[22]This appears in the running title (III, 215-229).

Chapter VI. Review and Views.

The period 1792-1841 has yielded up twenty-nine items of Chaucer translation for our examination. They represent almost every conceivable shade or kind of translation, from the freest paraphrase to the strictest modernization. In extent, they range from the translation of excerpts or single pieces to that of nearly the whole of the Canterbury Tales. A similar variety is found when we consider the reasons why the translations were made or the audiences to which they were meant to appeal. Sometimes the translations were meant to serve didactic ends -- the portrait of the Parson and Truth were especial favorites in this connection; sometimes they were meant to point up a certain aspect of Chaucer's work, such as his pathos or his power of description; and sometimes they served mainly to transmit a romantic or affecting tale, the Squire's Tale and the Clerk's Tale being among the most popular. In the case of Wordsworth, however, we saw translations made for relatively private ends and read, until eventual publication, only by a small circle of relatives and friends. More typically, the translator of the Era was less modest. A favorite role was that of the great recognizer and popularizer of long neglected genius, and appeal was made to wider and less aristocratic or less well educated audiences. The readership of the "general class," "the female sex," or "young persons"

was frequently courted. Antiquarianism furnished another strong element of motivation, as translators, particularly the modernizers, sought to convey a flavor of the antique, largely through retention of Chaucerian words and phrasing. In this connection, Chaucer was valued by some translators as the preserver and interpreter of an era. Horne says in a footnote in his Introduction to Chaucer, Modernized: "Polish away all the quaintness [from the substance of Chaucer's works], and you erase a portion of the historical from the portraiture" (p. xxxiii). Some of the modernizers, Horne for one, display an especial interest in Chaucer's prosody and a desire to transmit it as faithfully as possible in their translations.

With all the variety of aspects presented by the translations of the Era, there are some aspects that are not to be found. For one thing, one will look in vain for any persistent thread of development running through them -- with one exception, and that having to do with the question of morality, a question to be taken up shortly. This is not excepting the philosophy of translation itself. It is true that, with "Trinitarius" and Wordsworth, the idea of modernizing Chaucer, in contradistinction to paraphrasing him, was born early in the period of my study. It is also true that the idea tended to gain in popularity as the years went by and that this was accompanied by an increasing variety of opinion among theorists as to just what a modernization should be.

The opinions varied from that of the writer of the London Magazine of 1827, whose modernizing was virtually paraphrase, to that of the writer in the Retrospective Review of 1824 and 1826, whose modernizing touched hardly more than spelling. These two writers did, however, share one characteristic, one typical of the translators of the Era: each put his particular translation forward as a model of what ought to be done by some competent person for the whole body of Chaucer's work, but showed little disposition to assume the task himself. The fact that two such divergent views of the modernization could be advanced at nearly the same time, the fact that the old paraphrase, instead of bowing out, persisted, even including Item No. 30, the last on my list, and, finally, the fact that Leigh Hunt was apparently reconverted to the paraphrastic view: all these indicate a lack of clear development in the theory of translating and modernizing Chaucer.

The systematic, comprehensive view of Chaucer and scholarly thoroughness are hardly to be encountered among the translators of the Era. Even Lipscomb, whose work was the most systematic and comprehensive, was so unscholarly as to ascribe to Tyrwhitt the memoir of Chaucer that had originated in Biographia Britannica and to overlook Dryden's paraphrase of the Nun's Priest's Tale. Typically, the attention paid Chaucer by the translators of the Romantic Era was spasmodic and piecemeal. Except for Lipscomb at the beginning, Horne

at the end, and Clarke in between, efforts at translation rarely embraced more than a single tale at a time. The translator of the era took little interest in the dramatic character of the pilgrimage as a whole. The eye of restless fancy would fall upon an individual portrait from the General Prologue or upon an individual tale, and the pen could scarcely wait to turn the piece out in modern dress so that the uninitiated might read and enjoy, or read and be taught. But the interest was not sustained, and soon a quite different subject would arrest the eye and inspire the pen. In the process the relationships among the Pilgrims and the dramatic character of the Pilgrimage were missed, or, at best, briefly noticed. A happy exception to this, though he contributed but little by way of actual translation, may be found in the criticism of the anonymous reviewer in the Retrospective Review of 1824 and 1826.

But whatever the Romantics may have lacked in orderliness, thoroughness, and individual persistence, there was certainly no defect in their enthusiasm and collective persistence. Antiquarians, critics, translators, litterateurs -- if they left Chaucer, they left him only to return, again and again. This may be seen by tracing the pronouncements of writers like Hunt or Hazlitt through the pages of Miss Spurgeon's work. Dissentient voices were heard on occasion, like Byron's and Anna Seward's, but they are lost in the continual chorus of praise and appreciation. The great contribution of the

Romantic Era to the field of Chaucer studies was in the fact of this enthusiasm, through which interest in Chaucer was heightened, broadened, and passed on to the succeeding era. The Chaucerphiles of the Romantic Era could number among themselves no second Tyrwhitt, but in a very real sense they provided an atmosphere congenial to the efforts of the Tyrwhitts of the Victorian Era. In this contribution, the translations we have studied played, if not the major, certainly a significant part.

Though our study of Chaucer translation, in area after area -- such as the general aim of the translator, the proper method of translation, including the handling of language and versification, and the selection of works for translation -- has revealed no sure and consistent line of development, this does not hold in the area that may be defined under the general head of morality. This is an area in which the translator has peculiar responsibilities. An editor, unless his conscience permits him to Bowdlerize, as was moderately the case with Clarke in his Riches of Chaucer, has one chief responsibility, and that is to Chaucer and to scholars who want Chaucer as Chaucer was. He may choose to make his text conform to some extent to modern practices in spelling and punctuation, but essentially his task is to reproduce the original text, as Chaucer wrote it and intended it to be. Perhaps, at bottom, the translator's purpose is as simple: to provide the modern reader lacking knowledge of ME with a Chaucer he can read.

He must render Chaucer truly, and he must please a modern reader. This need not be a divided purpose, as when a present-day scholar does a literal translation of Chaucer for students who do not happen to know ME. But usually the opposite holds true, and the translator often finds himself in the position of having to decide whether he will translate truly or please his audience. The dilemma presses most forcibly upon the translator when he must decide what to do about the indelicate matter in Chaucer -- from the mildest oath to the coarsest bit of scatology or bawdiness.

The Victorian Era has come to be proverbial for sensitivity in this particular area. Who does not have in mind the image of the Victorian father, regarding himself as impeccably moral in all matters of life and conduct and expecting those about him to be equally so -- stern in judging and severe, if not vindictive, in punishing all violation of the code? Prudishness, bigotry, and hypocrisy were the natural concomitants of such a standard of morals. With such a watchdog on guard at every household, we should pardon a Victorian translator of Chaucer for avoiding certain tales altogether and for refining many a word, line, or passage that may to us seem inoffensive.

But one cannot read through the Chaucer translation literature of the period of this study without realizing that the moral phenomena that bear the name "Victorian" were not only rooted in the Romantic Era but were shooting up and exhibiting

a vigorous growth by the time the little lady who was to cast so long and so somber a shadow had ascended the British throne.

Not far from the very beginning of this study we saw a striking manifestation of these phenomena in the refusal of Lipscomb, when publishing the "Canterbury Tales of Chaucer; Completed in a Modern Version," to follow his predecessor of hardly more than a half century before, Ogle, from whose work he had taken so much else, in the printing of the "Miller's Tale" and the "Reve's Tale." The year 1795, that of Lipscomb's publication, is generally considered to belong to a time when notions of moral propriety were still somewhat flexible -- there seems, for instance, to have been no particular stigma upon Basil Montague for having, or upon William and Dorothy Wordsworth for fostering, a natural child. Still in Lipscomb's remarks in his Preface we may find almost all the ingredients of the Victorian mind. With Lipscomb, as with many other translators and critics, there is, however, little disposition to consider Chaucer an immoral writer simply because he wrote indelicate matter. Rather is it put down to the "grossness and indelicacy of the times in which Chaucer lived" (p. vii), and Chaucer is excused for yielding "what may be hoped to have been his better judgment to the taste of the times" (p. viii). We recall Wordsworth's putting the matter more positively: "Though Chaucer is sometimes a coarse moralist, he is still a great one" (as cited by Horne in Chaucer, Modernized, p. xcviii).

In what follows, we see Lipscomb taking a position that was to become standard for the writers of coming years: that of a superior person who has the obligation to guard the tender sensibilities and fragile morals of the reading public. He says of Chaucer: "Our veneration for his great and various excellencies is rather the more testified by purging him from his impurities, and by exhibiting him to a more refined age a safe as well as a brilliant example of native genius" (p. viii). Excision of "unsafe" matter is then the answer to the problem, the answer not only of Lipscomb, but of the great majority of his successors. We observe the care Charles Cowden Clarke took to make his Tales from Chaucer in Prose (Item No. 23) "safe" for young persons, and we marvel at the feats of legerdemain practiced by Horne in making the "Reve's Tale" "safe" for the general reader.

Though Lipscomb's Preface proves that Victorian moral attitudes were already abroad at this early stage, there is a clear increase during the Romantic Era in their intensity and in their power to influence writers whose independent judgments were in natural tendency relatively liberal. This is never seen more clearly than in the case of Wordsworth.

While his career, as well as the Era, was still young, he translated the Manciple's Tale without any qualms, at least none that are apparent to us. Two or three years later, writing in The Prelude of his student days in Cambridge, he showed no shame in recalling the delight he took in the Reeve's

Tale:

> Beside the pleasant Mills of Trompington
> I laugh'd with Chaucer; in the hawthorne shade,
> Heard him (while birds were warbling) tell his tales
> Of amorous passion.
>
> (Book III [1805-06], ll. 276-2

Of course these were esoteric documents, and we cannot tell what would have gone through Wordsworth's mind if publication had been in prospect. But the "Manciple's Tale" was composed in an atmosphere not uncongenial to Chaucer's "indelicate" side. As witness to the fact, we need only recall Dorothy's plain statement, havin not a trace of self-consciousness or shamefacedness about it, that she read the Miller's Tale aloud to William and Mary, as they sat by the fire the day after Christmas, 1801 (Journals, I, 96).

With these attitudes we compare those of nearly four decades later, when the Horne volume was in preparation. Basically Words worth's personal views respecting the question of the morality in Chaucer's Tales seem to have undergone very little change. Thoug less disposed to "laugh with Chaucer" over the Reeve's Tale, he still exhibits, in every way, a high respect for Chaucer. In a fragment from a letter to Isabella Fenwick, which De Selincourt believes was written in 1840, Wordsworth offers this discerning criticism:

> Chaucer was one of the greatest poets the world has ever seen. He is certainly, at times, in his comic tales indecent, but he is never, as far as I know, insidiously or openly voluptuous, much less would a stronger term, which would apply to some popular writers of our own day apply to him. He had towards the female sex as exquisite and pure feelings as ever the heart of man was blessed with.
>
> (LY, II, 1002.)

Victorian morality had its morbid aspects, and this criticism of Wordsworth's casts an unfavorable glance in their direction. The Retrospective Review author responsible for Items No. 18 and No. 19 had similar perspicuity, already observed in this study.

The hypersensitivity of the Victorians in moral matters is more evident in Wordsworth's relatives and friends than in Wordsworth himself. With respect to offering his version of the Manciple's Tale for publication in Chaucer, Modernized, Wordsworth himself had no reservations. In a letter to Dora, written in the spring, 1840, he defends the original Tale:

> Tell Mr Quillinan [his son-in-law], I think he has taken rather a narrow view of the spirit of the Manciple's Tale, especially as concerns its morality. The formal prosing at the end and the selfishness that pervades it flows from the genius of Chaucer, mainly as characteristic of the narrator whom he describes in the Prologue as eminent for shrewdness and clever worldly Prudence. The main lesson, and the most important one, is inculcated as a Poet ought chiefly to inculcate his lessons, not formally, but by implication; as when Phoebus in a transport of passion slays a wife whom he loved so dearly. How could the mischief of telling truth, simply because it is truth, be more feelingly exemplified. The Manciple himself is not, in his understanding, conscious of this; but his heart dictates what was natural to be felt and the moral, without being intended, forces itself more or less upon every Reader. Then how vividly is impressed the mischief of jealous vigilance and how truly and touchingly in contrast with the world's judgments are the transgressions of a woman in a low rank of life and one in high estate placed on the same level, treated.
>
> (LY, II, 1018-19.)

Quillinan's "narrow view," it may readily be inferred, includes a sanctimonious apprehension over whether Wordsworth ought to publish the translation of a poem in which the delicate matter

of marital infidelity is presented. Here we have evidence of the great change in moral outlook that has taken place in forty years. There was no Quillinan among the company at the Wordsworth fireside in that long ago Christmas season to look over Wordsworth's translation of the Manciple's Tale. If there had been, it is inconceivable that he would have raised objections of the sort that Wordsworth was here driven to refute.

We praise Wordsworth for his large view, and glad we are that from this evidence he seems not to have succumbed personally to the moral ways of the Victorians. Nor is there sufficient ground for reproaching Wordsworth for acceding to the wishes of Quillinan and perhaps others and withholding the "Manciple's Tale" from publication, especially since he tells us (in his letter to Powell, May 1, 1840) that though he feels bound to respect their feelings of delicacy in the matter, he cannot sympathize with such feelings (LY, II, 1025). But there is an unhappy ending to the story. Wordsworth apparently did succumb after all, unless we want to accept the even more unhappy conclusion that he was a hypocrite, telling one thing to Thomas Powell and another to his American correspondent and editor, Henry Reed. Writing the latter from Rydal Mount, January 13, 1841, Wordsworth speaks of the recent publication of Chaucer, Modernized. After assuring Reed that his only connection with the project was his contribution of two of the pieces, he goes on:

> Let me however recommend to your notice, the Prologue, & the Franklin's tale [--] they are both by Mr Horne, a gentleman unknown to me but are, the latter in particular, very well done. Mr L. Hunt has not failed in the Manciple's tale which I myself modernized many years ago, but tho' I much admire the genius of Chaucer as displayed in this performance, I could not place my version at the disposal of the Editor, as I deemed the subject somewhat too indelicate for pure taste to be offered to the world at this time of day.
> (Wordsworth & Reed, ed. Leslie Nathan Broughton, Cornell Univ. Press, 1933, p. 43.)

I fear that he who once "laughed with Chaucer" has fallen victim at last to the austere Victorian Zeitgeist.

One brief task remains. In our course through the translations of the Romantic Era, we have not met names that we might expect to find. Of the poets of the first rank, only Wordsworth appears herein; of poets of the second rank, only Hunt, with Scott receiving brief mention on account of his utilization of bits here and there from the translations of Dryden and Pope. None of the leading prose writers, except of course Hunt (and Scott, on the same terms as before) is here. The reason of course is that none of them, to the best of my knowledge, ever translated Chaucer. Had the scope of this study been extended to criticism, Blake, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Southey, and Thomas Campbell would have had prominent places, and some attention would have had to be accorded Lamb, De Quincey, and Landor. The contributions of all these and many others may be traced in the pages of Miss Spurgeon's helpful and reliable Chaucer Criticism and Allusion.

Of the front-rank poets yet to be mentioned, Byron and Shelley paid scant attention to Chaucer. We are not surprised at their absence from this study. But with Keats it is another matter. We know that Keats' response to Chaucer was extensive and enthusiastic. Clarke himself has recounted the occasion when Keats, upon first reading the pseudo-Chaucerian Flower and the Leaf in Clarke's copy of Vol. XII of Bell's Chaucer, jotted down in the blank spaces at the end of the piece and at the bottom of the opposite page the sonnet beginning, "This pleasant Tale is like a little copse" (Spurgeon II, 89-90). On May 3, 1818, he wrote Reynolds:

> What say you to a black-Letter Chaucer printed in 1596 [sic]: aye I've got one huzza! I shall have it bounden gothique -- a nice sombre binding -- it will go a little way to unmodernize.
> (John Keats: Complete Poems and Selected Letters, ed. Clarence DeWitt Thorpe, New York, 1935, p. 139.)

In being drawn to the antique aspects of Chaucer, Keats is very much at one with his era.

In The Eve of Saint Mark, Keats even wrote in imitation of the ME poets, including within his poem a 16-line tour de force beginning "Als writeth he of swevenis." But he either cited Chaucer or imitated him; he never attempted a paraphrase or modernization.

It is much to be regretted that Keats did not set his poetic genius to the task of translating Chaucer. When one looks back over the translations in this study, it is clear

that the best translation work was done by the poets -- the better the poet, the better the work -- and therefore that the translations of Wordsworth and Hunt are superior to the rest. Of course much depends on one's point of view and upon the expectations that one brings to a translation. If it is merely the conveyance of content that one expects, the most slavish and uninspired modernization will suit one best. But such a translation, though it may do the task intended, will not long satisfy. Even slight changes in wording are bound to destroy Chaucer's peculiar charm, so much of which is conveyed through characteristic phrasing and little metrical turns. To my thinking, if the translator does not then have some charm of his own to imbue the piece with, his work, in the long run, becomes valueless. In translating, Wordsworth made it plain that he would not attempt to maintain a strict correspondence in line and rhyme, and Leigh Hunt awarded himself the right to practice yet greater freedom, even to the extent of paraphasing and, in Elizabeth Barrett's phrase, of being "sometimes satisfied with being with Chaucer in the spirit, and [spurning] the accidents of the body " (Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne, I, 108). We are glad that they exercised these freedoms, for it is certain that thereby they honored Chaucer more and afforded posterity more pleasure. It is a pity then that among their productions could not be numbered one by Keats, let us say, of the Wife of Bath's Tale. It would have been a magnificent piece, worthy to stand with Dryden's near the great original.

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Vita

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