THE EARLY RECEPTION OF THE GRIMMS' *KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN* IN ENGLAND*

DAVID BLAMIRES

DEPARTMENT OF GERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

When the two volumes of what turned out to be the first edition of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen [KHM]* were published by the Realschulbuchhandlung in Berlin in 1812 and 1815, the two brothers can hardly have suspected that the product of their scholarly collecting would turn out to be the most widely disseminated and translated work of German literature.[1] In the English language alone the *British Library Catalogue of Works Printed up to 1975* lists over 300 separate publications (excluding adaptations) ranging from translations of the complete collection to printings of a single story. Even that is not a complete account of everything that was printed during the period.

The Grimms, it is well known, embarked on their collecting of *Märchen* in the wake of Arnim and Brentano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1806–08). Their sources were many and various. Originally they had wished to confine themselves to contemporary oral versions, but in order to make their collection comprehensive they eventually extended their interest to older, printed tales and even made adaptations from medieval Latin poems. They scoured recent publications of *Märchen* in Germany, but were largely dismissive of what they found, though they mentioned them in the preface to their 1812 volume. Fairytales were far from unknown to German readers of the previous half-century, but they were diverse in mood and form and were more self-consciously literary than the Grimms wanted.

The eighteenth-century vogue for fairytales reflects two main influences. First, there were the *contes des fées* that were cultivated around the French court during the period 1690–1715 in particular, though they continued later. Secondly, there was the impact of the *Thousand and One Nights*, introduced to western Europe by Antoine Galland in a French translation that appeared in twelve volumes

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[1] See Bruder Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen; Nach der zweiten vermehrten und verbesserten Auflage von 1819, textkritisch revidiert und mit einer Biographie der Grimmschen Märchen versehen*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (2 vols., Köln: Diederichs, 1982), 523–4.

between 1703 and 1713.[2] Foremost among the many French authors of fairytales were Charles Perrault and Madame d'Aulnoy. Translations of Perrault into German appeared in 1764, 1770 and 1780,[3] while Madame d'Aulnoy made her entry in four volumes of the *Cabinet der Feen* (Nürnberg, 1762–63). A further translation by Fr. Jacobs appeared in the *Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen* (4 vols., Gotha, 1790–91, Weimar, 1796).[4] The first German translation of Galland's *Mille et une Nuit* was printed as early as 1710[5] and set the fashion for orientalizing that was so powerful throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Both Wilhelm Hauff and Hans Andersen demonstrate its continuing influence.

Madame d'Aulnoy was the acknowledged *reine de la féerie* of the eighteenth century. Although she derived many of her plots and motifs from traditional fairytales, she did not rest with a simple retelling of the material: invention and elaboration played a more significant part. Among her contemporaries and successors Mademoiselle Bernard, Mademoiselle Lhéritier and Madame Leprince de Beaumont were far more discursive and span out individual tales to the length of novels. When Musäus produced his *Volksmährchen der Deutschen* (5 vols., Gotha; 1782–86) he was reacting to this kind of pattern. His tales, with their rationalizing spirit, irony, verbal virtuosity and sly wit, are the acme of the literary treatment of fairytale material, but because they are often more *Antimärchen* than *Märchen* they are a far cry from the traditional oral tales that the Grimms were looking for.

Individual fairytales of the traditional kind had been incorporated in collections of tales and in larger works from as early as the mid-sixteenth century when Martin Montanus included 'Von einem könig, schneyder, rysen, einhorn und wilden schwein' in his *Wegkürtzer* and what has come to be known as 'Das Erdkühlein' in the *Ander theyl der Garten gesellschaft*,[6] but these were not designed specifically for children. Madame d'Aulnoy, Galland and Musäus were all aiming at a cultivated adult readership. The latter part of the eighteenth century, however, saw the commencement of entertaining, rather than merely instructive, books for children, and fairytales occupy a portion of that space for amusement. The *Kinderspiele und Gespräche* of Johann Gottlieb Schummel (3 vols., 1776–78) seem to be the earliest work that

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[2] See Mia L. Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-telling* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 67.

[3] See Johannes Bolte and Georg Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1982), iv. 284.

[4] ibid., iv. 270.

[5] See Heinz and Sophia Grotzfeld, *Die Erzählungen aus 'Tausendundeiner Nacht'* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 113.

[6] See Martin Montanus, *Schwankbücher (1557–1566)*, herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, ccxvii, Tübingen, 1899), 19–24, 260–6. A slightly modernized version of 'Das Erdkühlein' is printed in *Deutsche Märchen vor Grimm*, ed. Albert Wesselski (Brünn und Leipzig, 1938), 1–10.

includes versions of traditional tales retold for children.[7] From then until Albert Ludwig Grimm's *Kindermährchen* of 1809 there is a steady stream of such children's books, in which the occasional traditional fairytale is retold along with others of a different character.[8] None of these represents anything like a systematic attempt to collect traditional *Märchen*. They do not have the sustained endeavour that marks the Grimms' *KHM*, nor do they aim to be transcriptions of oral tales in the manner that the Grimms claimed as their intention. Their hallmark is, rather, propriety and suitability for children readily to understand.

Two collections can fairly be claimed to be attempting the same kind of thing as the Grimms – Otmar's *Volcks-Sagen* (Bremen, 1800) and Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching's *Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden* (Leipzig, 1812), which came out earlier in the same year as the first volume of the *KHM*. However, both collections focused more widely than the *KHM* and did not confine themselves to *Märchen* in the narrower sense. I shall return to these two works when discussing the English translations of the *KHM*.

Meanwhile, in the more ambitious fields of imaginative literature, fairytale themes continued to provide inspiration. Wieland, who was later to edit Musäus, contributed a kind of inverted fairytale entitled 'Der Stein der Weisen oder Silvester und Rosine' to the collection *Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen* (Winterthur, 1786), while Goethe included what he baldly called 'Das Märchen' in his *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (1795). Tieck made fun of three of Perrault's *contes* in his dramatizations *Ritter Blaubart, Der gestiefelte Kater* and *Leben und Tod des kleinen Rothkäppchens*, but around the same time he composed one of the most enduring and compelling of Romantic tales – *Der blonde Eckbert*.[9] A dozen or so years

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[7] See Wesselski, *Deutsche Märchen vor Grimm*, xiv–xv. Wesselski reprints four of Schummel's tales under the titles 'Fünfe kommen durch die ganze Welt' (11–16), 'König Hirsch' (177–84), 'Der Rabe' (184–93), 'Des Maultiers Zaum' (194–206).

[8] *The following list is compiled from information given by Bolte and Polívka, Anmerkungen, iv. 284–5, Wesselski, and Helmut Brackert, Das große deutsche Märchenbuch* (Königstein: Athenäum, 1979), xx–xxi:
  Johann Gottlieb Schummel, *Kinderspiele und Gespräche* (1777–78)
  Anon., *Feenmärchen für Kinder* (Berlin, 1780)
  Anon., *Wintermärchen bei langen Winterabenden zu erzählen* (Basel, 1780)
  Anon., *Sommermärchen* (Basel, 1783)
  Christoph Wilhelm Günther, *Kindermärchen aus mündlichen Erzählungen gesammelt* (Erfurt, 1787)
  Benedikte Naubert, *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1789–92)
  [C.A. Vulpius], *Ammenmärchen* (Weimar, 1791–92)
  Carl Philipp Funke, *Neues Elementarbuch zum Gebrauch bei dem Privat-Unterrichte. Erster Theil. Zweite Hälfte, welche noch einige angenehme und nützliche Leseübungen enthält* (Berlin, 1797)
  Johann Gottlob Münch, *Mährleinbuch für meine lieben Nachbarsleute* (Leipzig, 1799)
  Anon., *Feen-Mährchen* (Braunschweig, 1801)
  Albert Ludwig Grimm, *Kindermährchen* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1809).

[9] The first two were published in Tieck's *Volksmährchen* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1797), while *Rothkäppchen* appeared in the *Romantische Dichtungen* (Jena: Frommann, 1799–1800). *Der blonde Eckbert* was also published in the *Volksmährchen*.

later in *Die Elfen* (1812) he took up with similar power a true fairytale theme, displaying again the characteristically Romantic intertwining of realism and mystery. In 1811 the enormously popular and prolific Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué published his masterpiece *Undine*, and in 1814, under Fouqué's editorship and as it were poised between the publication of the first and second volumes of the *KHM*, Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* made its first appearance.

The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* need to be seen, then, in a fourfold context: (i) the transmission of fashionable fairytales from France and the Middle East; (ii) the development of a narrative literature for children, which includes the occasional adaptation of traditional oral tales; (iii) the antiquarian and scholarly collection of traditional tales and songs, represented by such works as Macpherson's *Ossian* (1760–63), Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), Herder's *Volkslieder* (1778–79) and Arnim and Brentano's *Wunderhorn* (1806–08); (iv) the imaginative use of fairytale themes and structures in contemporary literature. Alongside all this there was a political dimension to the Grimms' enterprise: the recording of folktales, folksongs and folk traditions proved to be a powerful element in the development of national consciousness. This can be seen not only in a fragmented Germany seeking to free itself from the shackles of France, but also later in Norway and Ireland, for example.

The Grimms worked at the *KHM* from about 1806 right through to the end of their lives, the seventh edition of 1857 being the final product of Wilhelm's continual reshaping and (as he saw it) improvement of the collection. When people nowadays talk of the *KHM*, it is the 1857 edition that they usually mean, with its deliberately numbered 200 items, plus the ten *Kinderlegenden* (actually there are 213 items, since no. 151 occurs twice, the second time with an asterisk, and no. 105, 'Märchen von der Unke', contains three separate tiny stories). However, it is important to remember that each of the seven editions of the *KHM* differs in some measure, smaller or greater, from the rest. Tales were added and subtracted, texts were altered as new versions flowed in, and stylistic changes were made all the time, sometimes for reasons that were entirely subjective and cannot be accounted for by the normal criteria of scholarship. The first edition was published in two volumes, dated 1812 and 1815, with eighty-six and seventy items respectively in each volume, making a total of 156. A second edition appeared in two volumes in 1819, with a third volume consisting of notes in 1822. This made drastic changes in every respect to the first edition. Much smaller alterations were made between the succeeding editions – the third in 1837, the fourth in 1840, the fifth in 1843, the sixth in 1850 and the seventh in 1857.[10]

[10] A number of modern editions of the various stages in the development of the *KHM* have been published as follows: *Die älteste Märchenfassung der Brüder Grimm: Synopse der handschrift-lichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Cologny-Genève:

The first translation of the *KHM* into English appeared in 1823 with the title *German Popular Stories, translated from the Kinder und Haus Märchen, collected by M.M. Grimm, from Oral Tradition* (London: C. Baldwyn). The first copies of this volume omitted the umlaut sign from 'Marchen'. It was reprinted in 1823, 1824 and 1825. Its success led to a second volume, published in 1826, but with different publishers – James Robins & Co., London, and Joseph Robins Junr. and Co., Dublin – though the format was identical. This second volume was reprinted in 1827 with no date on the title-page.[11] The anonymous translators were Edgar Taylor (1793–1839) and, presumably, others in his immediate circle of family and acquaintances. Edgar Taylor had set up, in 1817, the firm of Taylor & Roscoe, solicitors, in partnership with Robert Roscoe,[12] for whom as a boy the famous children's book *The Butterfly's Ball* (London: J. Harris, 1807) had been written by his father, the highly successful and cultivated Liverpool merchant and M.P., William Roscoe.[13] Edgar Taylor's interests were not confined to children's literature. He deserves considerable credit for his pioneering efforts to introduce medieval German lyric poetry to the English public, in his translations entitled *Lays of the Minne-singers* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825), which were accompanied by a long historical and critical essay. Taylor's translations, as represented by these two books, should be seen as part of the growing English interest in German literature and culture.[14]

Over the previous thirty or so years a considerable number of contemporary works of German literature had been translated into English. Goethe's *Werther* had appeared even earlier, in 1779, though it is symptomatic of English unfamiliarity with the German language that it was translated from the French; new translations directly from

Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975); *Kinder- und Hausmärchen, Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm: Vergrößerter Nachdruck der zweibändigen Erstausgabe von 1812 und 1815 nach dem Handexemplar des Brüder Grimm-Museums Kassel mit sämtlichen handschriftlichen Korrekturen und Nachträgen der Brüder Grimm sowie einem Ergänzungsheft: Transkriptionen und Kommentare*, ed. Heinz Rölleke in assoc. with Ulrike Marquardt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986); for the second edition of 1819 see note 1 above; *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm: Vollständige Ausgabe auf der Grundlage der dritten Auflage, 1837*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Klassiker Verlag, 1985); Brüder Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Ausgabe letzter Hand mit den Originalanmerkungen der Brüder Grimm, mit einem Anhang sämtlicher, nicht in allen Auflagen veröffentlichter Märchen und Herkunftsnachweisen*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980).

[11] See Percy Muir, *English Children's Books, 1600–1900* (London: Batsford, 1979), 51.

[12] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[13] See F.J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England* (Cambridge: U.P., 1958), 205–6.

[14] Katharine M. Briggs, 'The Influence of the Brothers Grimm in England', *Brüder Grimm Gedenken 1963*, ed. Gerhard Heilfurth, Ludwig Denecke and Ina-Maria Greverus (Marburg: Elwert, 1963), 511–24, provides a literary-historical and folklore background. More detail is given by Ruth Michaelis-Jena, 'Edgar und John Edward Taylor, die ersten englischen Übersetzer der Kinder- und Hausmärchen, mit Beiträgen von Ludwig Denecke', *Brüder Grimm Gedenken*, ii (1975).

the German came from 1801 onwards. Two translations of *Götz von Berlichingen*, by Walter Scott and Rose Lawrence, were published in 1797. William Beckford had translated a few of Musäus's tales as *Popular Tales of the Germans* (1791), while Bürger's *Lenore* enjoyed the headiness of as many as five different translations all in one year (1796). Several of Schiller's plays made early appearances, and *Der Geisterseher* was translated twice – in 1795 (by D. Boileau for Vernor & Hood) and in 1800 (by the Revd W. Render for Wogan of Dublin and H.D. Symonds of London). Among children's books J.D. Wyss's *Der schweizerische Robinson*, first published in Zurich in 1812–13, made its debut in English as *The Family Robinson Crusoe* in 1814, a second edition following in 1818, when it received its better-known English title *The Swiss Family Robinson*.[15] Fouqué's *Undine* was first translated by G. Soane and published in 1818 too, after which it was translated many times throughout the nineteenth century. *Sintram and his Companions*, translated by J.C. Hare,[16] came in 1820 and was similarly popular. Tieck was a little later on the scene. *Der blonde Eckbert* is known in three different versions from 1823, 1826 and 1827,[17] the last being by Carlyle, who called it *The Fair-headed Eckbert* in contrast to his predecessors' *Auburn Egbert*. Carlyle also made the first proper translation of *Die Elfen* (1827). This list makes no attempt at comprehensiveness. It is meant simply to provide an indication of the sort of German literature currently available to English-speaking readers at the time that Edgar Taylor's translations from the *KHM* were first published.

What was the situation with regard to fairytales? Perrault and Madame d'Aulnoy had long been made available in English, and individual tales by them circulated, usually anonymously, in chapbook form for children. The latest reprint of Madame d'Aulnoy was the 1817 *Fairy Tales and Novels* (London: Walker and Edwards). Sections of the *Arabian Nights* had circulated in English throughout the eighteenth century,[18] but in 1811 Jonathan Scott produced a new six-volume edition, based mainly on Galland. There were also chapbooks of English fairytales such as 'Tom Thumb' and 'Whittington and his Cat'. In 1804 Benjamin Tabart brought out a *Collection of Popular Stories for the Nursery* in four volumes, containing some thirty-four stories taken from French, Italian, and English writers.

[15] See *The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books: A Catalogue*, prepared by Judith St John (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1958–75), 958.

[16] For further details about Julius Hare's books and interest in German Romanticism see Roger Paulin, 'Julius Hare's German Books in Trinity College Library, Cambridge', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, ix (1987), 174–93. Hare possessed a copy of the second edition of the *KHM*.

[17] See Edwin H. Zeydel, *Ludwig Tieck and England: A Study in the Literary Relations of Germany and England during the Early Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1931), 182–220.

[18] See Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England*, 90.

This included tales from Perrault, Madame d'Aulnoy, and the English chapbooks, but also others such as 'Fortunatus', 'Griselda', and 'The Children in the Wood'. The material all came from printed sources, but it is probably the nearest thing to the *KHM* existing in England at the time. The Grimms refer to it in their notes.[19] It was reprinted in 1809, in which year a similar collection containing identical versions of some of the stories was published in Edinburgh by W. and J. Deas under the title *The Young Lady's and Gentleman's Library* (6 vols.).[20]

The antiquaries and scholars of England and Scotland were primarily interested in folk traditions, legends, and superstitions. Bishop Percy's *Reliques* and Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–03) included a great deal of narrative in ballad form, but these were serious works that did not envisage children as their readers. Nor did Joseph Ritson's *Fairy Tales* (London, 1831), the first attempt to collect stories and poems about fairies in English. Ritson was more concerned with recording beliefs about fairies than traditional tales, though about forty years previously he had made an extremely comprehensive collection of Robin Hood poems and ballads (2 vols., London, 1795) and a small collection of *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry* (London, 1791). The systematic collection of English fairytales did not come until towards the end of the nineteenth century.

This, then, was the context for Edgar Taylor's translation of the *KHM* into English. Despite the fact that it was made long before the *KHM* reached its final form and despite its various inadequacies from the scholarly point of view, the time was certainly ripe. It has been constantly reprinted in some shape or form ever since it was first published. A vital factor in this was George Cruikshank's engravings, to which I shall return later. The text and illustrations were republished as a Puffin Book by Penguin Books in 1948, and this edition is, I believe, still in print. A facsimile of the original two volumes of 1823 and 1826 was published by Scolar Press in 1977 and reprinted in 1979. With all its faults, Taylor's translation has achieved a sort of classic status of its own. If modern readers were aware that it is a period piece, that would not much matter, but most do not realize just how skewed a picture of the Grimms' collection they get through reading Taylor. Not that Taylor attempted to camouflage what he was doing in adapting, combining and expurgating his originals – on the contrary, he signalled his changes very frankly in the notes he appended to the tales. But what he presents is not what a modern reader would be entitled to expect.

Let us look first at the contents of the two volumes. Taylor's principal source, the 1819 edition of the *KHM*, contains 161 fairytales and nine *Kinder-Legenden*, from which Taylor took fifty-seven plus

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[19] See Rölleke, *KHM: Ausgabe letzter Hand*, iii. [326–7].
[20] *The Osborne Collection*, 48.

one further tale ('The nose') that he extracted from the notes in the third volume of 1822. That is about a third of the total then available. Most of these correspond to single tales in the translation, but he combined 'Das Lumpengesindel', 'Herr Korbes' and 'Von dem Tod des Hühnchens' into the one story of 'Chanticleer and Partlet' (incidentally taking the names from Chaucer), and 'Der junge Riese' and 'Das tapfere Schneiderlein' were joined to make 'The Young Giant and the Tailor'. Similarly, 'Das kluge Grethel', 'Der gescheidte Hans' and 'Die faule Spinnerin' were turned into 'Hans and his Wife', while 'Vom Fundevogel', 'Der Liebste Roland' and 'Hänsel und Grethel' were transformed into the one story 'Roland and Maybird'. The first volume contained 'The Grateful Beasts', a translation of a story that retained its place in the *KHM* up to the sixth edition of 1850, but was then relegated to the Appendix as no. 18 in the 1857 edition. In the same volume only one of the three tales that form 'Die Wichtelmänner' is retained in 'The Elves and the Shoemaker'.

The second volume is distinguished from the first in that it contains four tales that do not belong to the Grimms' collection at all. Two of these were taken from Büsching's *Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden*, namely, 'Pee-wit' ('Kibitz') and 'Cherry, or the Frog-bride' ('Das Märchen von der Padde'). 'Peter the Goatherd' is taken from Otmar's *Volcks-Sagen*, probably prompted by the recent publication of Washington Irving's *Rip van Winkle* (1819), which Taylor refers to in his notes and which is a version of the same tale-type. Finally, with 'The Elfin-Grove' Taylor provided a much abridged adaptation of Tieck's *Die Elfen* in the same year that *Der blonde Eckbert* was first translated into English.

It is noticeable that Taylor zealously avoided using any of the tales with a religious dimension, so there is no 'Marienkind', no 'Der Schneider im Himmel', no 'Der Gevatter Tod', no 'Bruder Lustig' – the list could be extended. The prevalence of the Devil in the German tales caused Taylor worry, so these tales also were omitted or the Devil was converted into a giant, as in 'The Giant with the Three Golden Hairs'. 'Von dem Fischer un siine Fru', one of the two Low German tales submitted by Philipp Otto Runge to the Grimms, had to be modified slightly at the end. Where the fisherman's wife declares finally that she wants to be 'as de lewe Gott', Taylor 'soften[ed] the boldness of the lady's ambition'[21] by saying that she wants to be 'lord of the sun and moon'. It perhaps hardly needs to be stated that Taylor did not translate any of the *Kinder-Legenden*.

He tended also to avoid stories that contained too much of a frightening character, so there is no 'Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen', and 'Der singende Knochen' with its sorrowful ending probably did not commend itself to him for that very

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[21] *German Popular Stories*, i. 221 (notes).

reason. It is surprising that he actually included 'The Robber Bridegroom' in his selection, though he eliminated the cannibalistic intentions of the robbers, their deliberate murder of the captured maiden, and their chopping off of her finger. These horrifying details are some of the most memorable features of the *KHM*, and similar ones are to be found in several other tales. 'Aschenputtel', for example, ends with the doves picking out the eyes of the wicked stepsisters as the heroine goes to her wedding, but this final paragraph of the German version is excised from Taylor's translation so that the story ends on a happier note. His second volume ends with 'The Juniper Tree', the Low German 'Van den Machandel-Boom', the second of Runge's tales. Taylor translated this rather freely, perhaps because the Low German was difficult for him, but again he cut out the cannibalistic episode in which the father is served up the flesh of his murdered son in a stew. Taylor simply has the father given 'a large dish of black soup' with no implication as to its content. Furthermore, he had then to alter the second line of the famous song of the bird – the song that Gretchen sings in *Faust* – so that instead of

Min Moder de mi slacht't,
min Vader de mit att,

we have the much milder

My mother slew her little son;
My father thought me lost and gone.

There is still plenty of violence left in the tale, especially at the end where the bird drops the millstone on the stepmother's head and crushes her to pieces, but it is clear that Taylor took pains to reduce the elements of terror and cruelty that he found in the *KHM*.

This first of the translators of the Grimms into English is very concerned about the impact of the stories on his readers. In his introduction he alludes to 'many stories of great merit, and tending highly to the elucidation of ancient mythology, customs, and opinions, which the scrupulous fastidiousness of modern taste, especially in works likely to attract the attention of youth, warned [the translators] to pass by.' This 'scrupulous fastidiousness of modern taste', an expression which may be linked with the growth of Evangelicalism and of prudery that is characteristic of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, accounts for Taylor's alterations of religious and other features mentioned earlier, but there are a few others that should be noted too. The original of 'The Fisherman and his Wife' has the couple initially living in a 'Pispott', which Taylor changed to a 'ditch', while in his 1839 revision of the text (which I shall come to in due course) he altered it again to a 'pig-stye'.

But there were other places where sexuality was the issue.

'Rapunzel', with its unavoidable implication that the girl and the prince have made love in the tower, was not translated at all. Then there was 'The Frog-Prince', the ending of which Taylor drastically altered. Exceptionally here, Taylor was translating from the 1812 text of the story, not the 1819 edition that was the source for all his other tales. This is the opening tale in all seven editions of the *KHM*, and it seems likely that Taylor first encountered the Grimms' collection in the first edition and made at that time a translation of the first tale. When he later got down to serious work on the tales, he then followed the more recent second edition.

In the German original the frog is supposed to sleep with the princess in her bed, but she cannot bring herself to do this, despite the king's insistence that she must fulfil her promise to the frog:

Es half nichts, sie mußte tun, wie ihr Vater wollte, aber sie war bitterböse in ihrem Herzen. Sie packte den Frosch mit zwei Fingern und trug ihn hinaus in ihre Kammer, legte sich ins Bett und statt ihn neben sich zu legen, warf sie ihn bratsch! an die Wand; 'da, nun wirst du mich in Ruh lassen, du garstiger Frosch!'

Aber der Frosch fiel nicht tot herunter, sondern wie er herab auf das Bett kam, da war's ein schöner junger Prinz. Der war nun ihr lieber Geselle, und sie hielt ihn wert, wie sie versprochen hatte, und sie schliefen vergnügt zusammen ein.

Taylor's version – it cannot be called a translation – tells a different set of events:

. . . the princess took him up in her hand and put him upon the pillow of her own little bed, where he slept all night long. As soon as it was light he jumped up, hopped down stairs, and went out of the house. 'Now,' thought the princess, 'he is gone, and I shall be troubled with him no more.'

But she was mistaken; for when night came again, she heard the same tapping at the door, and when she opened it, the frog came in and slept upon her pillow as before till the morning broke; and the third night he did the same: but when the princess awoke on the following morning, she was astonished to see, instead of the frog, a handsome prince gazing on her with the most beautiful eyes that ever were seen, and standing at the head of her bed.

He told her that he had been enchanted by a malicious fairy, who had changed him into the form of a frog, in which he was fated to remain till some princess should take him out of the spring and let him sleep upon her bed for three nights.

There is nothing in Taylor's adaptation of the prince and princess sleeping together in human form, though he allows the frog to sleep on the princess's pillow for three nights running. He obviously cannot countenance the princess's attempt to kill the frog by hurling it against the wall. The transformation takes place as it were unconsciously, while the princess is asleep, but the transformed frog is not in her bed, as one might have expected from its lying on her pillow, but is 'standing at the head of her bed'. One detail Taylor may have taken from the 1819 text of the story, and that is the emphasis on the fact that the prince has the 'most beautiful eyes that ever were seen'. The 1812 edition has no comparable comment here, but the 1819 version says:

'Was aber herunter fiel, war nicht ein todter Frosch, sondern ein lebendiger, junger Königssohn mit schönen und freundlichen Augen.' In making his alterations Taylor has rendered the princess passive and obedient to her father's commands and thus deprived her of taking her own initiative and responsibility for what follows. In the German original she confronts her own distaste and causes, however unwittingly, the prince's transformation; she does not simply submit to male authority as embodied in the king, her father.

Taylor was an inveterate softener of harsh details that he found in the Grimms' tales. In the story of 'Rumpelstilzchen' the 1819 edition has a disturbing conclusion:

'Das hat dir der Teufel gesagt! Das hat dir der Teufel gesagt!' schrie das Männlein und stieß mit dem rechten Fuß vor Zorn so tief in die Erde, daß es bis an den Leib hineinfuhr, dann packte es in einer Wuth den linken Fuß mit beiden Händen und riß sich mitten entzwei.

This horrifying ending Taylor modifies and renders harmlessly absurd:

'Some witch told you that! Some witch told you that!' cried the little man, and dashed his right foot in a rage so deep into the floor, that he was forced to lay hold of it with both hands to pull it out. Then he made the best of his way off, while every body laughed at him for having all his trouble for nothing.

With Taylor it has become a childish temper tantrum, whereas the German ending can be seen as an act of self-destruction that removes the threat of Rumpelstilzchen for ever from the queen's life.

Taylor's interferences with the German texts are too extensive to deal with *in toto* here, but they can be characterized as tending to make the stories more reassuring and less disturbing to the children whom he envisaged as readers. This first English translation thus has a markedly different tone from that of the Grimms' text. Yet we must remember that this is a commonplace occurrence in the transmission of fairytales, whether oral or in printed form. Every storyteller puts his or her own mark on the tale told. There is no perfect, uncontaminated 'original' form. The Grimms' own texts were subject to the same process, as a comparison of the summaries in their manuscript collection with the printed forms of the seven editions readily demonstrates.[22] Where they used printed texts from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the same kind of adaptation and homogenization is also to be seen.

Of crucial consequence for the popularity of Taylor's translation is the fact that he secured the collaboration of the greatest illustrator of the day to provide twelve etchings for the first volume and a further

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[22] See the various editions listed above in note 10.

ten for the second volume. George Cruikshank (1792–1878) was an extraordinarily prolific artist and caricaturist, and his illustrations have elicited the highest praise. Ruskin declared that the original etchings done for *German Popular Stories* were 'unrivalled in masterfulness of touch since Rembrandt; (in some qualities of delineation unrivalled even by him).'[23] Cruikshank, incidentally, also did similar illustrations for the English translation of *Peter Schlemihl* (London: G. & W.B. Whittaker, 1823–24), which was wrongly attributed on the title-page to 'Lamotte-Fouqué'.

In addition to frontispieces depicting scenes of listening to stories round a fire, Cruikshank provided illustrations for the following tales: 'Hans in Luck', 'The Travelling Musicians, or the Waits of Bremen', 'The Golden Bird', 'Jorinda and Jorindel', 'The Waggish Musician', 'The Elves and the Shoemaker', 'The Turnip', 'The Jew in the Bush', 'The King of the Golden Mountain', 'The Golden Goose', and 'Rumpel-stilts-kin' (volume 1); 'The Goose Girl', 'The Blue Light', 'The Young Giant and the Tailor' (three separate illustrations), 'Pee-wit', 'Cherry, or the Frog-Bride', 'The Elfin-Grove' and 'The Nose'. Cruikshank's delight in the comic and the grotesque has proved enduringly attractive to English-speaking readers, though the Germans tend to prefer the more gentle, somewhat sentimental approach of their own nineteenth-century artists.[24]

The immediate success of Taylor's translation in terms of the new impressions during the 1820s has already been noted. A single one of the tales was reprinted in the important four-volume collection produced by Thomas Roscoe under the omnibus and, to our ears, misleading title of *The German Novelists* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826). The collection contained translations from Musäus, Schiller and Tieck as well as a curious version of *Till Eulenspiegel* translated from a French edition. Volume 2 purveyed 'Popular Traditions', with extensive translations from, among others, Otmar and the Grimms' *Deutsche Sagen* (Berlin, 1816–18). Opening the section from the latter, however, is 'The Twelve Dancing Princesses', taken from Taylor's *German Popular Stories*, volume 1. How did this come about? The reason is not difficult to find. Thomas Roscoe (1791–1871), the translator of *The German Novelists*, was an older brother of the Robert Roscoe who was Edgar Taylor's partner in their firm of solicitors. The inclusion of the tale was presumably a compliment to a friend of the

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[23] *German Popular Stories, with Illustrations after the Original Designs of George Cruikshank*, edited by Edgar Taylor, with introduction by John Ruskin (London: John Camden Hotten, [1869]).

[24] See Heinz Zirnbauer, 'Grimms Märchen mit englischen Augen: Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der Illustration von Grimms Märchen in englischer Übersetzung von 1823 bis 1870', *Brüder Grimm Gedenken*, ii (1975), 203–45.

family, and of course it gave publicity to Taylor's second volume of translations from the *KHM*, which also appeared in 1826.

More than a dozen years elapsed before Edgar Taylor's translation, together with preface and notes, made a second appearance in 1839 with the new title *Gammer Grethel; or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories, from the Collection of MM. Grimm, and Other Sources* (London: John Green). This was a quite new book, as the translation was heavily revised and recast and contained a lot of additions in the nature of asides specifically addressed to a child audience. A number of the originally anonymous protagonists of the stories were given names, and some of the titles of the stories were changed. 'The Grateful Beasts', for example, becomes 'Fritz and his Friends', while Otmar's 'Peter the Goatherd' is renamed 'Karl Katz'. Eighteen of the originally translated stories were omitted, and one new one was added – 'The Bear and the Skrattel'. This latter tale, based on the medieval verse tale known variously as 'Das Schrätel und der Wasserbär'[25] or 'Kobold und Eisbär',[26] was taken from the third volume of Thomas Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1828). Croker had got it from the Grimms, who had included the tale in the preface to their translation of Croker's first volume of *Fairy Legends*, published as *Irische Elfenmärchen* (Leipzig, 1826). The tales in *Gammer Grethel* were arranged in a completely different sequence from *German Popular Stories* and designed to be read over a dozen evenings, with three or four tales per evening. Cruikshank's etchings were replaced by wood-engravings by John Byfield after Cruikshank's designs. This revised text was reprinted in 1849 (Bohn's Illustrated Library), 1888 and 1897 (George Bell and Sons) and possibly at other times as well.

Meanwhile, the original translation continued to be reprinted. It appeared with stereotype reproductions of Cruikshank's illustrations, issued by John Camden Hotten in 1869, the original two volumes being printed together as one. This contained a ten-page introduction by Ruskin. Chatto and Windus, who purchased Hotten's business on his death in 1873,[27] did another edition in 1884. Taylor's original translation continued to be used for a large number of subsequent editions, right into the twentieth century, though almost always without any indication of his name. The translation is, however, easily recognizable by the occurrence of certain characteristic titles of

[25] This is the title given in Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer: Hundert altdeutsche Erzählungen* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta, 1850; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), iii. 257–70.

[26] Modern title given by Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur deutschen Marendichtung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968), 331 (no. 70).

[27] *The Osborne Collection*, 479.

individual tales, for example, 'Rose-bud' ('Dornröschen'), 'Snow-drop' ('Sneewittchen'), 'Roland and Maybird' ('Der Liebste Roland', 'Fundevogel' and 'Hänsel und Grethel' combined), and by the presence of the four tales not from the *KHM*.

Edgar Taylor's translation was made in the early stages of the development of the *KHM*, before it had reached its full growth. The second English translation had the advantage of some additional growth to the collection, though it was still not complete. In 1846 John Edward Taylor published a translation of an additional selection of tales under the title of *The Fairy Ring: A New Collection of Popular Tales, translated from the German of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm* (London: John Murray). It contained twelve illustrations by the up-and-coming artist Richard Doyle (1824–83), who was a regular contributor to *Punch* from 1843 to 1850. Doyle later illustrated Ruskin's *King of the Golden River* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1851). John Edward Taylor used the Grimms' fifth edition of 1843 for his translation, including a number of tales that made their first appearance in print in that edition, namely, 'The Nix in the Mill-pond', 'The Hedgehog and the Hare', 'The Goose-girl at the Well', 'The Spindle, the Shuttle and the Needle', 'The Drummer', 'The True Bride' and 'The Giant and the Tailor'. He made the first translation of 'Rapunzel', though he gave the heroine the name Violet, with the consequent alteration in the type of plant that the pregnant mother longs for.

John Edward Taylor referred to Edgar Taylor in the introduction to *The Fairy Ring* as being his kinsman (p. iv), and he was indeed a cousin. He was a printer in Little Queen Street, London, and he is credited in the *British Library Catalogue* with eight other translations over the period 1840–55. Most important in the context of *The Fairy Ring* is the fact that he translated thirty tales from Basile's *Pentamerone*, first published in 1848, a couple of years after Felix Liebrecht had made the first German translation. Five other books are translated from German writers and deal with current affairs and foreign travel. *The Fairy Ring* proved popular, a third edition being published in Philadelphia in 1854, while Murray in London produced a new edition in 1857.

At this point in the mid-century new editions began to pour from various publishing houses. The two Taylors had established the Grimms as a favourite with the reading public, and it was now possible to produce a much more comprehensive translation of the *KHM*. In this the new two-volume edition entitled *Household Stories*, published by Addey and Co. in 1853, led the way. Despite the fact that it provided translations of 191 tales and five children's legends and was thus much more wide-ranging than anything previously attempted, it still found it prudent to omit a certain number of tales. These were 'Der Schneider im Himmel', 'Des Teufels rußiger Bruder', 'Das eigensinnige Kind', 'Das junggeglühte Männlein', 'Das Herrn und

des Teufels Getier', 'Das Bürle im Himmel', 'Die ungleichen Kinder Evas', 'Die Brosamen auf dem Tisch' and the five *Kinderlegenden* 'Die zwölf Apostel', 'Gottes Speise', 'Muttergottesgläschen', 'Die himmlische Hochzeit' and 'Die Haselrute'. They are all religious tales. Yet it was not the religious element as such that caused any given tale to be excluded, since five children's legends are incorporated in the translation. It seems to be the element of religious superstition or perceived contravention of Biblical teaching that leads to the omission. The preface in fact states quite baldly: 'The mixture of sacred subjects with profane, though frequent in Germany, would not meet with favour in an English book.'

In 1853 the preface to Addey and Co.'s edition could refer quite simply to the *KHM* as 'a world-renowned book', though it was somewhat prematurely hyperbolic in claiming that 'hundreds of Artists have illustrated' the fairytales. Their edition contained 240 pictures by Edward H. Wehnert, of which thirty-six were full-page illustrations. These are agreeable period pieces and typical of the Victorian predilection for sentimentality and reassurance. With the addition of colour-printing they reappeared in later collections of the tales published by George Routledge & Co.

Addey and Co.'s edition was translated from the Grimms' sixth edition of 1850, still not quite in the final form of the *KHM*. Nonetheless, it is so markedly different from the selections of the two Taylors that it is no longer part of the pioneering world that they represent. The first complete translation of the *KHM* only came with Margaret Hunt in 1884, published by Bohn and with an introduction by the eminent folklorist Andrew Lang. Every few years since then has seen new editions of the Grimms' fairytales in English. Publishers, translators, and especially illustrators have collaborated in presenting the tales afresh to every generation of children. The most remarkable feature in this never-ending enterprise has been the durability of Edgar Taylor's translation, usually, but not always, accompanied by Cruikshank's illustrations. The product of the English Romantic fascination with German folktales and folklore is still with us.