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THE SIN-COMPLEX:
A CRITICAL STUDY OF ENGLISH VERSIONS
OF THE GRIMMS' KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
IN COMPARISON WITH THE GERMAN ORIGINALS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the English versions of the Grimms’ Kinder- und Hausmärchen (= KHM) published between the years 1823 and 1884, i.e. from the first translation by Edgar Taylor and David Jardine, German Popular Stories (1823 and 1826), to the first complete edition of the Grimms’ collection of stories and notes by Margaret Hunt, Grimm’s Household Tales (1884).

Each of the first eleven chapters deals with a specific English edition and gives an analysis of one or more stories from that edition together with the texts of the German original. The two versions, German and English, are placed alongside each other in parallel columns to facilitate comparison. The twelfth chapter takes the final paragraph of one story, ‘Sneewittchen’ (KHM 53), and examines the seven different English versions of it in the editions discussed in the previous chapters. The final chapter compares the quality of English translations of the KHM in the nineteenth century with that of the Grimms’ sole venture in translating tales in the English language into German, viz. Wilhelm Grimm’s Irische Elfenmärchen (1826). Included as an appendix is a tabulated concordance of the contents of the twelve major editions discussed in this thesis.

The investigation shows that the areas deemed to be sensitive ones by English translators were those which had to do with what Darton (Children’s Books in England, 1982, p.99) has singled out as ‘a deep-rooted sin-complex’ in England. Any story that touched on the issues of religious belief and superstition, the human body and its physical nature, violence and evil, and the intense emotions felt by human beings which prompt them to commit violent and destructive acts, was inevitably viewed with concern and mistrust, especially by purveyors of children’s literature in the nineteenth century. All these issues, as well as the element of fantasy which so readily admits and entertains them, were prone to considerable revision by successive translators of the KHM.
Dedicated to the memory of my mother, Eve Sutton (1906-1992), who, when I was a child, filled me with a love of folk- and fairy-tales which, since then, has not died.
Acknowledgements and thanks are due:

to Alan Kirkness for first giving me the idea for this thesis, for then being prepared to supervise it through its various stages, and for his helpful criticism and gentle shoving when they were required

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to Margaret for much of the typing of the texts of the stories in the initial stages and for helping me to master the software

to Nicola and Costin whose demands for stories many years ago increased my knowledge of the subject manifoldly

and finally to all my students who, over the years, have kept my enthusiasm for the Grimms' tales alive and given me so many new insights, in particular to Sally whose magical optimism helped me bring this thesis to its eventual conclusion.
ONCE UPON A TIME

Every teller
Of fairy tales
Knows why children
Bite their nails

Fee fi
Fo fum
Chew our blanket
Suck our thumb

Nibble nibble
Like a mouse
The king’s caught the queen
In the counting-house

Mirror mirror
On the wall
What gives the greatest
Satisfaction of all?

Love, money
Food or bloodshed?
Give us this day
Our daily spread

A successful story
Is guaranteed
To tell us of sex
Violence and greed

For these are the ever-
Recurring themes
Of our fearful, tearful
Childish dreams
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INTRODUCTION

The Kinder- und Hausmärchen (= KHM) edited by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (first edition 1812/1815; seventh edition 1857, the last during the lifetime of the Grimm brothers) constitute the most important collection of German traditional stories. They are also central to the whole canon of German literature, having long been a subject of intensive study and debate. The last twenty years have witnessed a resurgence of interest in the work of the Grimm brothers. Since the publication in the 1980s of the first, second, third, and seventh editions of the KHM by Heinz Rölleke (see List of References: KHM 1812/1815, KHM 1819, KHM 1837, and KHM 1857), research into the Grimms’ collection of tales has had a firm foundation in close textual analysis and criticism. It has been possible to follow the changing history of the KHM as well as the approach taken by the Grimm brothers to the task of preparing, editing, and revising the different editions of their work. Of special interest have been the alterations introduced into the texts of the stories, particularly by Wilhelm Grimm, who took over sole charge of the KHM from the second edition of 1819 onwards. One of the results of recent research has been the realization that these stories are not unalterably fixed but have undergone changes, several of them quite drastic ones, in the course of the history of the seven different editions of the ‘Große Ausgabe’ to appear in the Grimms’ lifetime.

The KHM have of course not been confined to their central position in German history and culture. They have crossed national boundaries and established themselves as that work of German literature which is most widely known throughout the world. The ‘internationalization’ of the Grimms’ tales is an ongoing process, and scholarly investigation of the transmission of the KHM has been fostered and encouraged above all by Ludwig Denecke, especially in the various issues of his Brüder Grimm Gedenken (1963ff.). Many of the Grimms’ stories, which began as narratives recorded from the oral tradition and then underwent changes as they appeared in print in the various German editions of the KHM, were translated into other languages and have appeared in book form or in other media, such as comics, film, and television, even, in some instances, passing back into the oral tradition of cultures outside Germany and Europe (see e.g. Karlinger 1963, and Sutton 1988, pp.358ff.). This process of ‘cross-cultural’ transmission is an enduring one with a long history.

The subject investigated in this thesis is the manner in which the Grimms’ tales were transmitted in printed form in nineteenth-century Britain: specifically, how the English translators of the time coped with the unique character of the KHM, their novelty, strangeness, and directness, as
well as their elusiveness. Other questions will also be raised. For instance, which of the various editions of the *KHM* served as the sources for the early English translations? How faithful and accurate are these English translations? If the translators depart markedly from the original German texts, what are the likely reasons for their doing so? And what are the results and implications of such departures for the possible meanings of the new, specifically English stories that have been created? Are the new versions an improvement on the originals or are they an impairment of them? What comparisons can be be drawn between Wilhelm Grimm's editorial procedures and the textual changes made by their English translators? Such questions can best be answered by a close comparison of the texts of the English versions with the original stories from which they were taken. This is the basis for the present investigation, which can be seen both as an exercise in comparative textology and as a foray into the broader field of intercultural studies.

The thirteen English editions of the *KHM* chosen span a period of just over sixty years, from the first volume of Edgar Taylor's *German Popular Stories* published in 1823 to the first complete translation of the Grimms' collection of stories and notes by Margaret Hunt in 1884. They comprise the major English versions of the *KHM* of this time, and they are important for one or more of the following reasons: a) the substantial number of stories they contain, b) the claims that they make for their fidelity to the source texts, c) the historical significance of their time of publication (especially the earlier editions), d) their durability, which, paradoxically, is often in inverse proportion to e) their quality as accurate translations. Other minor works, such as versified adaptations and individual stories published separately, will also be mentioned where relevant to the main argument.

It is perhaps worthwhile observing at this juncture that several of the major translations that appeared in the first sixty or so years of the nineteenth century were published as anonymous editions. This anonymity probably reflects the modest literary status that writers for children endured in the first half of the 19th century, a situation commented on by the Opies (1980, p.1030): 'At the beginning of the nineteenth century moralists and educators customarily had their names on the title pages of their work; but those who sought to entertain the public remained discreet about it. They were not held to be advancing man's spiritual and intellectual welfare like their calf-bound contemporaries, and could not therefore expect to be admired.' This status was considerably raised during the second half of the century and one observes that all the translators who are clearly named on the title pages of the editions published from 1855 on were women. This can be seen as a reflection of the growing educational and professional independence of women at the time (see Trevelyan 1952, pp.88 and 91, and Rowbotham 1989, Chapter 6).
One of the problems raised by an investigation such as this one is the difficulty of obtaining information about the translators and editors of these nineteenth-century English editions of the Grimms’ tales, especially about their working methods. Biographical details can be found in various sources on the identifiable early translators Edgar Taylor, John Edward Taylor, and William Thoms, as well as on the women authors of the editions published later in the nineteenth century. However, even in these cases there is the same lack of information on certain crucial issues that one encounters with the editions published anonymously. This particular difficulty, engendered by the very nature of the material under investigation, has been articulately expressed by George Steiner (1975, pp.273-4):

But even if we take the modest view, even if we regard the study of translation as descriptive–taxonomic rather than properly theoretic (‘theoretic’ meaning susceptible of inductive generalization, prediction, and falsifiability by counter-example), a severe difficulty arises. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the material for study is a finished product. We have in front of us an original text and one or more putative translations. Our analysis and judgement work from outside, they come after the fact. We know next to nothing of the genetic process which has gone into the translator’s practice, of the prescriptive or purely empirical principles, devices, routines which have controlled his choice of this equivalent rather than that, of one stylistic level in preference to another, of word ‘x’ before ‘y’. We cannot dissect, or only rarely. If only because it was deemed to be hack-work, the great mass of translation has left no records.

Because of this inherent difficulty the approach followed in this study is essentially one of textual analysis. Assumptions about the ‘genetic process’ and the principles and practices followed by the translators are based on close textual reading of the stories they produced and on comparison of these with their German sources. To a large extent, this approach is one that other commentators of the English versions of Grimm have also been forced to follow, though previous investigations are far less intensive and extensive than the present one.

There has in fact been remarkably little literature published on either 19th or 20th century English translations of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the brothers Grimm. The first translation of a selection of the tales, *German Popular Stories* (vol.1 in 1823, vol.2 in 1826), has attracted the most attention from commentators, not only because of its historical importance but also on account of its enduring longevity—it is still available, at the time of writing, as a Puffin paperback edition (*Grimms’ Fairy Tales* 1948). Michaelis-Jena (1975 and 1978) has unearthed some useful biographical and bibliographical facts about Edgar Taylor, the editor and chief translator of this work; Di Benedetto (1986-7) in an unpublished thesis has investigated some—but by no means all—of the cultural and textual differences to be found between the *KHM* and Taylor’s translation. However, a number of her
conclusions must be questioned (see esp. below, Chapter II, p.99). Blamires (1989) sets the early translations of the KHM, such as Taylor’s, in the context of the English reception of fairytales in the first half of the 19th century, and, like Sutton (1990), draws attention to the textual changes Taylor introduces to such tales as ‘Der Froschkönig’ (KHM 1); while Alderson (1978, 1985, 1993) has passed comment on the quality of Taylor’s translation as well as pointing to the success or failure of a number of subsequent English translations of the KHM. The comments of these authors will be quoted and discussed when the editions to which they refer are being investigated in the relevant chapters below.

B. Q. Morgan in his useful Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation 1481-1927 (1965) gives his own personal evaluation of the translations he has listed in this comprehensive work, among which are many English versions of the Grimms’ tales (Morgan 1965, pp.180-193). Morgan provides a system of diacritical marks, to which reference will also be made in the course of the following study (ibid., pp.2-3):

The asterisk (*) indicates excellence; it does not mean perfection, which is no more often attained in translation than in other fields of human endeavor, but implies that a reader may safely take a version so marked as a reasonably satisfactory rendering of the original. In many cases a word of comment appended to the bibliographical entry gives a sign a more specific meaning. Occasionally the double asterisk (**) is used to indicate unusually high quality. The section mark ($) is somewhat more negative in character; it says in effect: I have examined the translation and find it neither wholly good nor wholly bad. Expressed in terms of examination grades, it represents the rank between B and C. In a collection of lyrics, such a mark means that you may find a very good or even excellent version here and there but you cannot be sure of doing so consistently, for the bulk of them are in some way or other defective.

The dagger (†) is comparable to the inverted thumb in the ancient Coliseum, . . . .

Morgan also raises an issue that is pertinent to the assessment of the quality of English versions of the KHM. In Morgan’s opinion (ibid., p.2) ‘If a translator plays fast and loose with his original in the first paragraph, he is likely to do so in the last one; and, conversely, if he has the ability to render a single complex sentence into correct and idiomatic English, he is not likely to lapse into slovenly procedure at any time.’

The quality of the English translations of the KHM varies considerably, not only from one edition to another but also within any one edition—and indeed within any one particular story in any one edition. This of course makes evaluation of the quality of a translation a very difficult business
and one which is necessarily subjective and selective. Morgan himself freely admits that his own system is 'liable to error' (ibid., p.2) and this must be especially true with regard to the English versions of the Grimms' tales where the translators themselves are not always singular or identifiable (several editions would appear to have been put together by two or more anonymous translators) and where, in the case of a long and disparate work such as a collection of folk- and fairy-tales, the quality of the translating may vary considerably. This might explain why previous studies of the English translations of the KHM have remained fragmentary: commentators have noted selected passages where the translator has altered or departed from the original, and they may also explain these alterations and departures in the light of the cultural mores or taboos of the time, but such a fragmented approach which considers isolated passages or other isolated features (such as style or diction) of a particular text runs the danger of overlooking the story as a whole and its overall impact.

The study, like the work of previous commentators, is an empirical one and does not start from within the bounds of any one particular theoretical framework. It aims to avoid the danger of the earlier fragmented approaches by giving a close comparison of the complete text of selected English versions of the Grimms' tales with their original German source. Wherever possible the two texts will be aligned in parallel columns to facilitate comparison. For the purpose of easy reference, line numbers will be given on the left of the columns. References both to the German originals in the left-hand column and to the English translations in the right-hand one will be made using these numbers, ignoring the inevitable discrepancies that result from the differing lengths of the two parallel texts. (In some instances the comparison will involve more than just two texts, and where this is the case, the font size will be reduced to accommodate the increased amount of text.) The texts of the Grimms' KHM and of the English translations are given in exactly the same form as they appear in the editions from which they are taken. Only in one matter of punctuation is there a departure from this pattern: following the conventions of the Oxford University Press, single quotation marks have been used in all instances, except where these occur within a quotation; then double marks are used. The occasional placing of quotation marks immediately before rather than after another punctuation mark, such as a point or a comma, is intentional and follows the typesetting of some of the Grimms' originals.

It is hoped that through this comparison of parallel texts a process of mutual illumination will take place. Each text will shed light on the other, and the translator's choices will be clearly highlighted. This is in fact the focal point of this study, viz. the choices that translators make, the possible reasons for these choices, and the consequences that ensue from these choices for a reading
and interpretation of the resulting text.

Ideally, in order to be comprehensive, this study should examine all the stories in each of the collections chosen and compare them with their sources. However, such an enterprise would be unmanageable in its vastness. Instead, a selection of stories has been made and the reasons for this selection are given in the individual chapters. At this early stage it can be noted that the majority of the stories are regarded as being among the 'classic' stories from the Grimms' collection.

In three chapters, viz. Chapters II, IX, and XII, there is a departure from the normal procedure of comparing the text of a whole story with that of its English translation. This is done not only for the sake of variety but for other reasons as well. In Chapter II, sandwiched between two longish chapters, a comparison is made between just sections of stories--albeit significant ones--from the first English translation by Edgar Taylor and his immediate successors, George Cunningham and William Thoms. Both these translators were acquainted with Taylor's work and they responded to it in different ways. One appears to have drawn on the earlier English versions while at the same time translating from the Grimms' original texts; the other consciously adopted an approach quite dissimilar to Taylor's. Chapter IX covers a collection of brief passages from the KHM which have proved to be awkward ones for English translators to translate literally. All of them are concerned with one of the central themes of this thesis: the human body and its natural processes and functions. Finally, in Chapter XII, the last paragraph of one story, 'Sneewittchen' (KHM 53), is followed through its versions in the different editions of the KHM and these are then compared to the same paragraph as it is rendered in the various nineteenth-century English editions in which it appears. The paragraph is important in that it contains a number of features that have activated what Harvey Darton (1982, p.99) has called--and his appositely chosen phrase provides the title for this thesis--the English 'sin-complex' (see below, Chapter I, p.8).

Included at the end of this study is a Tabulated Concordance of the contents of twelve of the thirteen English editions discussed. It omits Cunningham's Foreign Tales and Traditions (1828) as this contains only five of the Grimms' stories (for a list of these, see below, Chapter II, p.57).

A comparative study such as this one necessarily involves much cross-referencing. The Harvard system of references has been used so that all references and cross-references are given in brackets within the main text of the thesis. The List of References at the very end of this study gives more comprehensive bibliographical details of the works referred to in the text. It is hoped that the use of this system, whereby the number of footnotes is kept to a minimum, will make for greater ease of reading.
EDGAR TAYLOR'S GERMAN POPULAR STORIES (1823):
‘SNOW-DROP’

The earlier period's [i.e. 1700-1790] range of permissible interest and sentiment had been that of the self-controlled reasonable adult, urbane according to the standards of his prosperous contemporaries and accepting their conventional morality. Implicitly it had belittled several areas of human experience and interest, most important among them being the less controlled forms and degrees of emotion; the less conscious parts of experience, beyond justification by the standards of reason; the child's experience; contrasting ways of life, whether of distant peoples or of the poorer social classes, especially in the rural areas; much of the historical past; and the individual questioning and testing of scales of values and moral codes. This is to simplify drastically. But much of the new spirit of the late Georgian period can be understood as a willingness to explore—or to give sanction to others to explore—these neglected possibilities of outlook, interest, and behaviour.

With these words D. W. Harding (1962, pp.34-5) describes the literary and cultural context of the late Georgian period in England in which the first volume of Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories made its appearance in 1823. Historically, Taylor's work is significant not only in that it was the first translation of a selection of the Grimms' tales into English but also in that it met a growing interest amongst the English reading-public of the time in the fantasy world of the folk- and fairy-tale. The immediate success of this first volume of German Popular Stories as a best-seller can be measured by the fact that it was reissued in the same year,¹ and was then reprinted a third and fourth time in 1824 and 1825, before the second volume appeared in 1826.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century in England, as other critics like Muir (1969), Summerfield (1984), and Blamires (1989) have shown, marked a gradual change in the kind of literature being offered to children. In place of the moral and puritanical stories that characterized the second half of the eighteenth century, new story-books were appearing which catered 'for the vast majority of children who just wanted to be amused, without having to pay the penalty of continual

¹ Morgan (1965, p.180) notes that 'the “Gentleman's Mag[azine]” 92 (1822):2:620 carries a notice of it', indicating that the first volume may well have appeared as early as the previous year (i.e. 1822).
reminders to keep their faces clean, their hair tidy, and everything else up to scratch, including their morals’ (Muir 1954, p.102, referring to books published by John Harris). However, the resistance of both morality and rationality to the realm of fantasy had by no means been completely overcome, as an examination of Taylor’s own approach to the activity of translation will reveal. Indeed, this warring conflict between the claims of reason and morality on the one hand and of fantasy and imagination on the other has been an enduring one, especially in the context of the history of children’s literature where the proponents of moral education and indoctrination have constantly resisted the introduction of collections of fairy-tales, such as Taylor’s, into the literary canon for the young. Darton (1982, p.99) explains this resistance:

The fear or dislike of fairy-tales, in fact, was not and is not dependent to a marked extent on the feeling of any one period. It is a habit of mind which has often been dominant in the history of children’s books without much aid from contemporary circumstances. It is a manifestation, in England, of a deep-rooted sin-complex. It involves the belief that anything fantastic on the one hand, or anything primitive on the other, is inherently noxious, or at least so void of good as to be actively dangerous.

How the Grimms’ first English translator/s steered a careful course around this ‘sin-complex’ is the subject of this chapter. As will be seen from later chapters, Taylor’s successors in the nineteenth century took a similar course to the one he had been the first to chart.

Edgar Taylor’s hesitancy in navigating the uncertain waters of public opinion is clear from the Preface and Advertisement to the two volumes of German Popular Stories. In its very first sentence the Preface to the first volume of German Popular Stories (1823, p.iii) runs as follows: ‘The Translators were first induced to compile this little work by the eager relish with which a few of the tales were received by the young friends to whom they were narrated.’ In keeping the identity of the translators unknown, the unnamed author of the Preface here establishes a pattern of modesty and anonymity that other editions of Grimm will follow in the first half of the nineteenth century. Not until seven years after his death, in the second edition of his revised version of German Popular Stories, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories as Told by Gammer Grethel, 1846, is Edgar Taylor identified by name as the translator, and in this case as the sole translator of this edition of stories. During his lifetime, he evidently preferred his work on the Grimms’ tales to remain anonymous.

Edgar Taylor (1793-1839), born and educated in Norfolk, was by profession a lawyer who moved to London in 1814 and practised in the firm he co-founded in 1817, Taylor and Roscoe. His
attention appears to have been drawn to the Grimms' collection of tales by a fellow lawyer and antiquary, Sir Francis Cohen (1788-1861), who in 1819 had published a review of Benjamin Tabart's *Fairy Tales, or the Lilliputian Cabinet* (1818) in *The Quarterly Review*. In this review, Cohen introduced the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* to English readers for the first time and his own description of the *KHM* as 'German popular stories' (Cohen, p.95) would seem to have provided the title for the first English edition which Edgar Taylor, in collaboration with his friend, David Jardine, put together and published in 1823. Further biographical details on Taylor, Jardine, and Cohen are to be found in Hartwig (1988), Michaelis-Jena (1975), and Bluhm (1987).

So well guarded was the identity of the two translators of the first English edition that only towards the very end of the century did it come to light in a letter published by Hartwig (1898, pp.6-7) where Taylor, writing to the two Grimm brothers on 26 June 1823, describes his 'accompanying packet' as containing 'a copy of a little work consisting of translations (made by my friend Mr. Jardine lately a student at Gottingen [sic] and myself) from your volumes of Kinder und Hausmärchen'. The 'Advertisement by the Publisher' in the 1869 edition of *German Popular Stories* (p.iii) had claimed, wrongly, that 'the first volume... had been selected and translated by Mr. Edgar Taylor and a circle of relatives.'

The two volumes of *German Popular Stories*, illustrated with engravings by the well-known artist and caricaturist George Cruikshank (1792-1878), contain a total of fifty-five different titles, thirty-one in the first volume of 1823, of which all are from the Grimms' collection, and twenty-four in the second of 1826, four of these being taken from other sources apart from the *KHM*, i.e. two from Johann Gustav Büsching's *Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden* (first published in 1812), one from Otmar's *Volks-Sagen* (1800), and an abridged version of the story 'Die Elfen' from Tieck's *Phantasus* (1812-16). Michaelis-Jena (1975, pp.196-200) has provided a list of the contents of *German Popular Stories* and cross-referenced them to the relevant stories in the Grimms' collection. On the basis of Michaelis-Jena's concordance, it has been assumed until now (see esp. Alderson 1985, p.[3], and Blamires 1989, pp.69-70) that the translators drew on fifty-eight different tales from the *KHM*. In actual fact, they used a total of sixty-one: sections of two extra stories not noted by Michaelis-Jena

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2 The dates cited here and elsewhere by Hartwig must be questioned. The Grimm brothers' reply (Hartwig 1898, pp.7-9; see below Chapter II, p.56) is dated 25 June 1823! I have been unable to consult the original copies of the correspondence between Taylor and the Grimms. In a copy of Hartwig's article given to me by Dr. Ludwig Denecke, the latter has corrected the date of Taylor's letter to 6 June 1823.
(KHM 114 'Vom klugen Schneiderlein' and KHM 34 'Die kluge Else') were incorporated into two composite tales included in the second volume of *German Popular Stories* (1826), viz. 'The Young Giant and the Tailor' and 'Hans and his Wife Grettel' respectively, while the last part of the story 'The Frog-prince' (*German Popular Stories* 1823) appears to have been taken from 'Der Froschprinz' (KHM 99a), a tale that was published in the 1815 second volume of the first edition of the *KHM* and then relegated to the Grimms' Notes to *KHM* 1 'Der Froschkönig' in 1822 (see Sutton 1990, pp.126-7).

All sixty-one of the Grimms' stories used were from the 1819 second edition of the *KHM* with the exception of (a) the first part of 'The Frog-prince', which is translated from the 1812 first edition version of *KHM* 1 'Der Froschkönig' (see Blamires 1989, pp.72-3, and Sutton 1990, pp.119-121); and (b) the complete story 'The Nose', taken from 'Die lange Nase' (KHM 122a) which, like 'Der Froschprinz' (KHM 99a), appeared in the second volume of the first edition of the *KHM* (1815) and was then moved to the Grimms' Notes in 1822.

Exactly who translated which stories in this first volume of *German Popular Stories*—Edgar Taylor or David Jardine—still remains a mystery. Because of the lack of documented evidence on this subject, it has been assumed here that Taylor, who appears to have had the greater share in the first volume of *German Popular Stories*, was the translator of the two stories to be studied in this chapter and in the third chapter. The first sentence of the Advertisement for the second volume (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.iii), however, reveals that for the stories here published one translator alone was responsible: 'The success of the first volume of *German Popular Stories*, has encouraged one of the translators to venture on a second.' That this solitary translator was Edgar Taylor is clear from a letter dated 24 January 1826 and reproduced once again by Hartwig (1898, pp.9-10), where Taylor, presenting the Grimm brothers with a copy of the second volume of *German Popular Stories*, describes it as one 'which I have prepared by myself'.

Modesty and anonymity are not the only features of the Preface of 1823, which we may now attribute to Taylor's authorship. There is also a certain ambivalence in Taylor's attitude to the exact nature of the literature he has translated and edited. Is it children's literature 'for the amusement of the hour' (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.iv) or is it, as the added Notes would seem to indicate, a work for adults with a serious 'antiquarian' interest? The Advertisement for the second volume includes an apology to the latter (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.iii): 'He [the Translator] must apologize for the present volume having, like the first, too little of a character of research to satisfy the antiquarian reader'. Alderson (1991, p.9) comments: 'As his work on the translation matured
therefore, Taylor is to be observed steering a tactful course between the interests of those who might see the Grimms' collection as a repository of popular lore, open to scientific study, and those who might find it a lively addition to the gradually emergent body of entertaining children's literature.' Taylor's ambivalence does seem to point to the likelihood of his attempting to put together a work intended for both children and adults and to have this work accepted by both in an era when folk- and fairy-tales were still regarded with suspicion and mistrust. After all, the situation of children's literature was much the same then as it is now, in that young children may read or listen to the literature intended for them but it is usually adults who will first approve or disapprove of this literature when they are contemplating buying it or deciding whether to allow their children to read or listen to it. A children's author must therefore be able to appeal to both audiences--adults who are concerned with the 'important department of moral education' (German Popular Stories 1823, p.v) and children who want to enjoy the 'gay creations of the imagination' (ibid., p.iv)--and in this regard Taylor joins the continuing battle at the time between reason and morality on the one hand and fantasy and imagination on the other.

His role appears to be that of mediator, one prepared to see the merits of the claims of both factions but harbouring all the time an instinctive partiality for those of the latter. On page iv of his Preface to German Popular Stories 1823 Taylor writes:

The popular tales of England have been too much neglected. They are nearly discarded from the libraries of childhood. Philosophy is made the companion of the nursery: we have lisping chemists and leading-string mathematicians: this is the age of reason, not of imagination; and the loveliest dreams of fairy innocence are considered as vain and frivolous. Much might be urged against this rigid and philosophic (or rather unphilosophic) exclusion of works of fancy and fiction. Our imagination is surely as susceptible of improvement by exercise, as our judgement or our memory; and so long as such fictions only are presented to the young mind as do not interfere with the important department of moral education, a beneficial effect must be produced by the pleasurable employment of a faculty in which so much of our happiness in every period of life consists.

While it may seem from this excerpt that the author is siding firmly with the imagination of children against the reason of adults, with the Freudian 'pleasure-principle' as opposed to the 'reality-

3 There is some ambivalence in Taylor's attitude here in that he must still--even if reluctantly--acknowledge that the time in which he lives is an 'age of reason', and reason rigidly excludes fiction as the opposite of truth. This same ambivalence is to be found also at the end of the Advertisement to the second volume where Taylor quotes lines 'imitated from Voltaire' in which 'Fancy' is opposed to reason and at the same time reduced to the status of 'error' (German Popular Stories 1826, p.iv):
principle' (Summerfield 1984, p.xiii), nevertheless there is a significant proviso added in the last sentence which gives priority—over and beyond the claims of imagination—to 'the important department of moral education'. This is clearly the point where Taylor draws the limits of imagination—where it begins to 'interfere with' considerations of morality. Of course the age in which he is writing is one when the moral tale was paramount in the children's literary canon (see Darton 1982, Chaps. 10 and 11) and Taylor would be hoping to have his selection of Grimms' tales accepted into this canon. To this end, he later highlights in his Preface those 'most pleasing of the German tales . . . in which animals support the leading characters'.

The animal story occupies an important position in the literary canon for children in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Shavit (1986, pp.142-3) points out:

The third model [after the 'instructive' story and the 'moral' tale], the animal story, is quite different. What distinguishes this model, and particularly its earlier versions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is its consistent use of the imaginary. First hinted at by Locke's attitude toward Aesop's Fables and Reynard the Fox, the ideas of imaginary animals as main figures of children's books presented the moralists with a dilemma; their prohibition on imaginary characterization initially precluded the integration of animal talk, animal families, and so forth in children's books.

The solution to this problem was again to be found in Locke's ideas, thus dissolving

O the happy, happy season,
Ere bright Fancy bent to Reason;
When the spirit of our stories
Fill'd the mind with unseen glories;
Told of creatures of the air,
Spirits, fairies, goblins rare,
Guarding man with tenderest care;
When before the blazing hearth,
Listening to the tale of mirth,
Sons and daughters, mother, sire,
Neighbours all drew round the fire;
Lending open ear and faith
To what some learned gossip saith!
    But the fays and all are gone,
Reason, Reason, reigns alone;
Every grace and charm is fled,
All by dullness banished;
Thus we ponder, slow and sad,
After truth the world is mad;
Ah! believe me, Error too
Hath its charms, nor small, nor few.
the moralists’ difficulty in rationalizing it. Locke contended that the fable constituted the best reading material for children. As a result, a new distinction between the fable, in which the eighteenth-century animal story was contained, and the fairy tale was formulated; the former was within the legitimate bounds of children’s literature, while the latter represented the worst possible use of imaginary characterization . . .

This serves to explain why Taylor in his Preface draws special attention to those stories in his collection which involve animals in supportive roles (German Popular Stories 1823, p.x): ‘They are perhaps more venerable in their origin than the heroic and fairy tales. They are not only amusing by their playful and dramatic character, but instructive by the purity of their morality. None bear more strongly the impress of a remote Eastern original, both in their principles and their form of conveying instruction. Justice always prevails, active talent is every where successful, the amiable and generous qualities are brought forward to excite the sympathies of the reader, and in the end are constantly rewarded by triumph over lawless power.’ By thus stressing the stories’ inherent moral qualities, Taylor evidently hoped to have them accepted by parents and teachers who shied away from fairy tales, preferring moral stories as the staple literary diet for the children in their care. In his Notes to ‘The Travelling Musicians’ Taylor again emphasises this point (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.219-220): ‘The Germans are eminently successful in their beast stories . . . The moral tendency of these delightful fables is almost invariably exemplary; they always give their rewards to virtue and humanity, and afford protection to the weaker but more amiable animals, against their wily or violent aggressors.’

Taylor’s reference in the earlier quotation to ‘the impress of a remote Eastern original’ is part of the same ploy to appeal to his contemporaries, for certain forms of fairy-tales had managed to slip through the net of English censorship during the eighteenth century, viz. ‘the polite, exquisite and mostly effete French “fairy-tales”, which had been popular with the late seventeenth-century French court, for example; and some of the “Eastern” tales, duly moralized, and sanctioned by sporadic fads for the exotic’ (Summerfield 1984, p.xiv).

While so-called ‘Eastern’ stories may have been familiar and acceptable to an English reading-public and could be adduced by Taylor as prototypes in order to sanction some of the tales in his first volume of German Popular Stories, he could not conceal the fact that this collection was in its essence something quite novel. After all, it was a collection of German traditional stories, and their character was distinctly different from that of their French or ‘Eastern’ counterparts. Despite the occasional ‘admixture of oriental incidents of fairy and romance’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.viii), what singled them out were ‘the ruder features of Northern fable’ (ibid., p.viii). ‘Northern’ is an epithet

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that Taylor uses frequently, and has connotations of primitiveness and wildness. In the Notes to his version of KHM 25, ‘The Seven Ravens’, Taylor writes (German Popular Stories 1826, p.253), ‘This story, wild and incoherent as it is, will perhaps be considered curious’--another favourite word of Taylor’s to describe the novelty of certain stories in his collection--‘as particularly Northern and original in its character and incidents.’ Sir Walter Scott also had occasion to comment on the nature of Taylor’s stories in a letter to Taylor (dated 16th January, 1823, and quoted in Hartwig 1898, p.13): ‘there is also a sort of wild fairy interest in them which makes me think them fully better adapted to awaken the imagination and soften the heart of childhood than the good-boy stories which have been in later years composed for them.’ Scott’s preference for the imaginative fairy-tale ahead of the more prevalent and more acceptable moral tale is obvious. Taylor’s position is not so clear-cut, and in translating the Grimms’ stories he found himself, in his own words, ‘compelled sometimes to conciliate local feelings’ (quoted in Hartwig 1898, p.7) by altering or omitting elements in the original that struck him as too ‘wild’ and ‘Northern’ for English readers. These elements define the area where Taylor drew the boundary between ‘wild fairy interest’ and the demands of local morality.

Such altering and omitting raises the question of Taylor’s approach to the activity of translating. There was at this time, early in the nineteenth century, no systematic theory of translation for Taylor to draw on. The context in which he was translating was, as indicated above, one of a relatively long tradition of debate about children’s literature, and, at the same time, one of a newly developing ‘antiquarian’ interest in traditional tales. Throughout the eighteenth century there had been continuing critical discourse on the principles of translation conducted especially in authors’ prefaces to their translations. The basic assumption of this century had been that translation should be mimetic (see T. R. Steiner 1975 for a discussion of this tradition). The Scottish historian Alexander Fraser Tytler (later Lord Woodhouselee) had published in 1791 a treatise entitled Essay on the Principles of Translation in which he outlined the general rules that had emerged during the previous hundred years or so and that were clearly a summary of this mimetic tradition in literary translation: ‘First General Rule: A translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work . . . Second general Rule: The style and manner of writing in a Translation should be of the same character with that of the Original . . . Third general Rule: A Translation should have all the ease of original composition’ (Tytler 1907, pp.xi-xiii). Whether Edgar Taylor was acquainted with Tytler’s work and

4 Cf. also the anonymous reviewer of the first volume of German Popular Stories who, in The Repository of Modern Literature, vol.1, 1823, alludes to ‘the nature of the numerous traditionary tales which abound in that wild and gloomy country [i.e. Germany].’
his three general rules is not known. Certainly Taylor's practice as a translator would seem to be some distance removed from Tytler's principles, especially the first of the three, as will be shown below.

Bayard Quincy Morgan (1965, p.2), in explaining his own critical procedure for evaluating English translations from German, writes that he 'endeavored to ascertain . . . if the translator was (1) honestly striving for completeness and accuracy, and (2) how far he succeeded in achieving them. The first point was not infrequently settled by consultation of preface or introduction, in which the translator so often takes his readers into his confidence. There always followed, however, a careful comparison of some portion of the translation with the corresponding passage of the original.' Edgar Taylor, in his Preface, certainly appears to take the reader into his confidence when, towards the end, he writes of the translators' (i.e. his and David Jardine's) original intentions: 'In those tales which they have selected they had proposed to make no alteration whatever; but in a few instances they have been compelled to depart in some degree from their purpose. They have, however, endeavoured to notice these variations in the notes, and in most cases the alteration consists merely in the curtailment of adventures or circumstances not affecting the main plot or character of the story' (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.xi-xii). In the letter accompanying a copy of this first volume of German Popular Stories sent to the Grimm brothers, Taylor repeats this statement of intent and elaborates a little further (quoted in Hartwig 1898, pp.6-7): 'In compiling our little volume we had the amusement of some young friends principally in view, and were therefore compelled sometimes to conciliate local feelings and deviate a little from strict translation; but we believe that all these variations are recorded in the Notes which were hastily drawn\(^5\) with a view to show that our book had some little pretensions to literary consideration though deep research was out of plan.'

No objection can be raised against their stated original purpose. The question is, though, whether these 'departures' and 'deviations' from their purpose are exactly what Taylor says they are. This question can be answered only by following Morgan's second procedure of carefully comparing 'some portion of the translation with the corresponding passage of the original'. As stated in the Introduction, a comparison of all of the stories in German Popular Stories with their German originals would be too vast to be manageable. Instead one story will be taken in toto, and from this comparison, between the original and its first English translation, reflections on several other stories

\(^5\) 'Hastily drawn' presumably because little time (less than a year) had elapsed between the appearance in 1822 of the Grimms' own volume of notes to their second edition of the KHM and the publication of the first volume of German Popular Stories.
in Taylor’s collection can also be made.

The story chosen for a comparative analysis is one of the most widely known and popular of the Grimms’ collection, KHM 53 ‘Sneewittchen’. It has been selected primarily because Taylor’s version can be seen to exemplify his approach to the problems of translating the Grimms’ tales. This version avoids the excesses of a small number of other texts by Taylor, such as his translation—rather adaptation—of KHM 1 ‘Der Froschkönig’ in which the drastic alteration of the second half of the story is strangely glossed over by Taylor’s usually honest Notes; or his amalgamation of three Grimm stories into one, as is the case with ‘The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet’ (KHM 10, 41, and 80) ‘The Young Giant and the Tailor’ (KHM 90, 20, and 114), or ‘Roland and May-bird’ (KHM 51, 15, and 56), of which the latter is the subject of the next chapter. The story of ‘Snow-drop’ in the form Taylor cast for it has had a remarkably long life and has been published in numerous English editions of the Grimms’ tales since its first appearance in 1823. It has been included in all of the reissues of Taylor’s collection, right down to the still available Puffin edition, as well as in the Opies’ book The Classic Fairy Tales (1974), and also, most frequently of all, in the various editions of Grimms’ Fairy Tales published by J. M. Dent and Sons since 1901. It illustrates both the virtues and the flaws in Taylor’s work as a translator.

**Sneewittchen**  
* (KHM 1819, vol.1, pp.185-193)  

Es war einmal mitten im Winter und die Schneeflocken fielen wie Federn vom Himmel herab, da saß eine Königin an einem Fenster, das einen Rahmen von schwarzem Ebenholz hatte, und nähte. Und wie sie so nähte und nach dem Schnee aufblickte, stach sie sich mit der Nadel in den Finger und es fielen drei Tropfen Blut in den Schnee. Und weil das Rotte im weißen Schnee so schön aussah, dachte sie bei sich: ‘Hätt ich ein Kind so weiß wie der Schnee, so roth wie Blut und so schwarz wie der Rahmen!’ Bald darauf bekam sie ein Töchterlein, das war so weiß wie Schnee, so roth wie Blut, und so schwarzhaarig wie Ebenholz und wurde darum das Sneewittchen (Schneeweißchen)

**Snow-drop**  
* (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.128-139)  

It was in the middle of winter, when the broad flakes of snow were falling around, that a certain queen sat working at a window, the frame of which was made of fine black ebony; and as she was looking out upon the snow, she pricked her finger, and three drops of blood fell upon it. Then she gazed thoughtfully upon the red drops which sprinkled the white snow, and said, ‘Would that my little daughter may be as white as that snow, as red as the blood, and as black as the ebony window-frame!’ And so the little girl grew up: her skin was as white as snow, her cheeks as rosy as the blood, and her hair as black as ebony; and she was called Snow-drop.
genannt. Und wie das Kind geboren war, starb die Königin.

20 Über ein Jahr nahm sich der König eine andere Gemahlin, sie war eine schöne Frau, aber stolz auf ihre Schönheit, und konnte nicht leiden, das sie von jemand darin sollte übertroffen werden. Sie hatte einen wunderbaren Spiegel, wenn sie vor den trat und sich darin beschaute, sprach sie:

'Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand: wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?'

25 so antwortete er:

'Ihr, Frau Königin, seyd die schönste im Land.'

Da war sie zufrieden, denn sie wußte, daß der Spiegel die Wahrheit sagte.

But this queen died; and the king soon married another wife, who was very beautiful, but so proud that she could not bear to think that any one could surpass her. She had a magical looking-glass, to which she used to go and gaze upon herself in it, and say,

'Tell me, glass, tell me true! Of all the ladies in the land, Who is the fairest? tell me who?'

And the glass answered,

'Thou, queen, art fairest in the land.'

So run the opening two paragraphs of Taylor’s source text and his published translation. Of initial interest is Taylor’s rendering of the formularistic phrase which begins many of the Grimms’ tales: ‘Es war einmal’. The common English equivalent ‘Once upon a time’ does not become a stock phrase in an edition of the Grimms’ stories until thirty years later, viz. in the two volumes of Household Stories published in 1853 by Addey & Co (see Chapter VI). Edgar Taylor uses it on only four occasions in German Popular Stories, preferring the flatter phrase ‘There was once’ which he employs fourteen times in all. By the time of his revised edition of German Popular Stories entitled Gammer Grethel or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories and published in the year of his death (1839), Taylor had composed his own signature tune and includes it in various guises in many of his opening sentences which then emphasise not only temporal distance from the present moment but also spatial distance from the narrator’s location: ‘in a country a long way off’. At the beginning of the revised version of ‘Snow-drop’ for example the queen is described as ‘the queen of a country many thousand miles off’ (Gammer Grethel 1839, p.155).

Here in his version of KHM 53, the opening is characteristically matter-of-fact and unmagical. Taylor also avoids the poetic simile in line 2, preferring the more literally descriptive phrase ‘the broad flakes’ and overlooking the allusion here to KHM 24 where the feathers (i.e. snowflakes) fly
when Frau Holle makes her bed (a story that Taylor will later include in the second volume of *German Popular Stories* in 1826, along with its explanatory note). ‘A certain queen’ is a phrase with another common epithet used by Taylor in his opening sentences: ‘certain’. This queen is then described as ‘working’, an activity much less precisely defined than that denoted by the word ‘nähte’ which ends the first sentence of the German original and is then repeated at the beginning of the next. Taylor’s lack of precision is also evident in his avoidance of the term ‘Himmel’ in his first sentence. We know neither what the queen pricks herself with nor exactly where she was looking when she does so: ‘out upon the snow’ is vaguer than ‘nach dem Schnee aufblickte’. The spatial orientation ‘above—below’ is missed by Taylor here, as is the exact nature of the movements made by the queen within this space. More significantly, the aesthetic pleasure gained from the sight of the three drops of blood upon the snow and its prompting of a wish for a child is completely overlooked by the English translator. In the original this is the first occasion where the important adjective ‘schön’ appears, a word whose sound and meaning resonates from this moment on through the rest of the story. It is singularly lacking in the translation. Nor is any causal connection made in the English version between the sight of the blood and the desire for a child. What is even more surprising is the fact that this desire for a child is completely bypassed by Taylor. Instead of the original’s stress on the seemingly magical power of wishing and its immediately successful results in the form of pregnancy and the birth of a child, Taylor’s version avoids the whole issue of conception and birth by having the queen’s child born before the story has even begun! The mother’s wishes have to be materialized in a daughter who seemingly has already been born.

This reluctance to give a literal translation of the Grimms’ text where issues seen as sensitive ones in the context of children’s literature were concerned is typical of Taylor’s approach in *German Popular Stories*. Other stories where he avoids at the very outset the matter of pregnancy and its physiological and psychological effects are ‘The Seven Ravens’, ‘The Juniper Tree’, ‘Tom Thumb’, and ‘The Giant with the Three Golden Hairs’. One can compare also ‘The Goose-Girl’ where Taylor omits the episode at the beginning of the original story, in which the heroine’s mother cuts her finger and stains a cloth with three drops of blood to act as a talisman for her daughter, and replaces it with one where the mother merely cuts off ‘a lock of her hair’ (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.2). The human body, its natural form, functions and processes, and especially the feelings arising from these, were all evidently taboo subjects, and as such, in Taylor’s view (and those of his immediate successors), they had to be handled very carefully, if not side-stepped altogether.

An exception which proves the rule appears at the end of the first paragraph of ‘Snow-drop’.
Here Taylor gives a rare instance of being more specific about bodily matters than the Grimm brothers were, though the context is a comparatively innocent one. The heroine of the English version of the story grows up and lines 14-16 spell out the colours and their bodily location precisely, whereas in the Grimm original only her hair is specified, the other features of her body that are so strikingly coloured white and red are not named and have to be guessed at, adding to the story here an element not so much of modesty as of mystery.

At this point the heroine of the story is named. In the original this naming follows naturally on from her birth. In the English translation a problem arises from Taylor's earlier toning down of the Grimms' text. If the heroine has already been born and in fact 'grew up', her being named comes unbelievably late in the day. This would be the first instance then (but not the last, as we shall see) of one apparently minor alteration to the original text involving an English translator in unforeseen later difficulties. On the other hand, it is possible that Taylor did not intend there to be a time-lapse between the opening of his story and his heroine's being named. She may have received her name before she 'grew up'. Whatever the case, he is certainly far less precise than the Grimms' original and misses the explicit causal connection between her physical appearance and her name.

That Taylor should decide to call his heroine 'Snow-drop' in preference to the more obvious and, as it has proved to be, more enduring alternative, '(Little) Snow-white', is a puzzle at this point. The names of characters in the Grimms' stories have posed lasting problems for English translators. Taylor himself occasionally draws attention to this issue in his Notes, where for example he refers to the choice of the name 'Rose-bud' for 'Dornröschen', a choice which, as Taylor acknowledges (German Popular Stories 1823, p.222), loses 'one of the links of connexion between this fable and that of ... Brynhilda'; or where, baffled by the meaning of the name 'Herr Korbes', he opts for the appellation "the fox," in order to give some sort of reason for the outrage committed on his hospitality by uninvited guests' (German Popular Stories 1823, p.228). However, in the case of KHM 53, Taylor, ignoring the explicit linking of the heroine's name with her physical appearance ('darum', l.17), gives no explanation for his choice. Identifying the name of a heroine with that of a plant is a common trope in literature, and the association here with the drooping white flower of early spring suggests perhaps the advent of new life from the death of the old. If Taylor intended the latter association, then he somewhat spoils the allusion by shooting his bolt prematurely: the girl is named before the death of her mother is mentioned. This later event--how much later is not clear--is left till the second paragraph of Taylor's version, a delay that detracts from the effect of this first paragraph as it stands in the original. The opening sentences of the German text have a powerful intensity and
beauty that is quite lacking in Taylor’s version of them. The mother’s death is presented in the original as the natural climax to the events of the story’s beginning. The conjunction ‘und’ at the start of the last sentence (1.18) indicates this clearly, whereas Taylor’s equivalent ‘But’ (1.20) is weak and lacking in impact. Once again he avoids a causal connection implied in the original, namely that between the birth of Sneewittchen and the death of her mother. This whole first paragraph of the Grimms’ version of the story is dense--one might say pregnant--with suggestive imagery, and it must be confessed that Taylor sadly misses a lot of it by skirting around the physical realities of the original: the exact nature of a woman’s work, the momentary distraction from this work resulting in an unforeseen, apparently trivial but portentous accident, the sudden recognition of beauty in the results of this accident (the blood on the snow) and its prompting of an intense wish for a child, the colours with their respective metaphorical associations which are so important for later events--white with innocence and purity; red with desire, passion, and danger; black with mourning and death--associations which are then transferred to the physical make-up of the heroine of the story. These are all images which convey in a figurative fashion the elemental facts of life: coition, conception, birth, and death, as well as the emotions evoked by these events: desire, wonder, fear and grief. Taylor’s choice of the name ‘Snow-drop’ with its merely botanical allusion, prefigured in the phrase ‘her cheeks as rosy as blood’, is not nearly so evocative and, like the rest of his first paragraph which forms its immediate context, is comparatively tame in its overall effect.

The second paragraph begins a new episode in the story: the introduction of the wicked stepmother. Taylor is once again less precise than his source in that he renders the phrase ‘über ein Jahr’ simply as ‘soon’. In the original the king properly observes the traditional mourning time of one year before he marries again, whereas in the English text he is made to appear somewhat hasty in finding a new wife. However, this is of little consequence, as the king himself plays no further role in the story, being, like several fairy-tale fathers who remarry, singularly unaware of or unconcerned with the problems encountered by his natural daughter in her relationship with her stepmother. From this moment on, the story is solely about the conflicting interests of the heroine and the new queen who has replaced the mother. The remaining male figures--the hunter, the dwarfs, and the prince--remain relatively helpless in this conflict, despite their helpful intentions.

The new queen ‘war eine schöne Frau, aber stolz auf ihre Schönheit’. Taylor in his translation (ll.21-22) omits the repeated emphasis on the queen’s beauty here, making her simply ‘proud’. That her pride is one of vanity in her appearance is implicit, though, in the next episode with the mirror. Taylor’s rendering of the famous lines of verse (ll.27-29) is worth commenting upon. His of course
is the first English version ever of this well-known couplet, far removed from the widely accepted rendering nowadays: ‘Mirror, mirror, on the wall,/ Who is the fairest one of all?’ (see e.g. Alderson 1990, p.61). The variety of subsequent English versions of this couplet is astonishing. Here are the six other renderings published after Taylor’s, up to and including that of Margaret Hunt, and it is worth noting that the Addey edition of Household Stories (1853) is once again (see above, p.17) the first to establish a pattern that others will follow.

Household Tales, etc. ([1845], p.134): ‘Say, glass, that hangest on the wall,  
Who is fairest of beauties all?’

Household Stories (1853, vol.1, p.254): ‘Oh mirror, mirror on the wall,  
Who is the fairest of us all?’

Davis (1855, p.204): ‘Mirror, tell me, can you see  
Any that may compare with me?’

Paull ([1872], p.188): ‘Mirror, mirror on the wall,  
Am I most beautiful of all?’

Crane (1882, p.213): ‘Looking-glass upon the wall,  
Who is fairest of us all?’

Hunt (1884, vol.1, p.207): ‘Looking-glass, Looking-glass, on the wall,  
Who in this land is the fairest of all?’

Edgar Taylor turns the direct and straightforward tone of the original couplet into a pleading one in the English triplet: three times the queen utters the words ‘tell me’, which makes her appear far less self-assured than she is in the German version. More significantly, the English translation omits both her emotional response of satisfaction to the news she receives (l.33-34), and the reasons for this satisfaction, viz. the knowledge that she has gained from the mirror and her trust in its utterances. The confrontation with one’s own body, and the feelings and knowledge that grow from such self-awareness, are recurrent themes in the original story, if not in Taylor’s translation.

This comparative analysis of the opening pair of paragraphs has been a lengthy but necessary one. It should now be clear that Taylor’s sins as a translator can be regarded up to this point as ones of omission. By overlooking or ignoring features of the original text, Taylor puts in its place one that is far less suggestive in its themes and imagery. Physical details are obfuscated, while at the same time the intensity of emotional responses is diluted. That the translator has omitted sections of the
original is freely admitted in the Notes (German Popular Stories 1823, p.230): ‘We ought to observe that this story has been somewhat shortened by us, the style of telling it in the original being rather diffuse’. No indication, apart from the immediately following reference to the changed ending of the story, is given of the exact nature of these omissions. While it may well be so that the source story is in some places ‘rather diffuse’, as will be seen below (esp.ll.150-8), nevertheless many of the omissions result not in a more densely charged text but rather in a watered-down, less powerful version of the original.

In the remainder of the two versions of the story reproduced below, the gaps in the right-hand column will make Taylor’s omissions more conspicuous.

35  Sneewittchen aber wuchs heran und wurde immer schöner, und als es sieben Jahr alt war, war es so schön, wie der klare Tag und schöner als die Königin selbst. Wie diese nun ihren Spiegel wieder

40  fragte:

‘Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand:
wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?’

antwortete er:

‘Frau Königin, ihr seid die schönste hier, aber Sneewittchen ist tausendmal schöner als ihr.’

Als die Königin das hörte, erschrak sie und ward bläß vor Zorn und Neid. Von Stund an, wenn sie Sneewittchen erblickte, kehrte sich ihr das Herz im Leibe herum, so haßte sie es. Und der Neid und Hochmut wuchsen und wurden so groß in ihr, daß sie ihr Tage und Nacht keine Ruh mehr ließen. Da rief sie einen Jäger und sprach:


But Snow-drop grew more and more beautiful; and when she was seven years old, she was as bright as the day, and fairer than the queen herself. Then the glass one day answered the queen, when she went to consult it as usual,

‘Thou, queen, may’st fair and beauteous be,
But Snow-drop is lovelier far than thee!’

When she heard this, she turned pale with rage and envy;

and called one of her servants and said,

‘Take Snow-drop away into the wide wood, that I may never see her more.’

Then the servant led her away;

"22"
but his heart melted when she begged him to spare her life, and he said, ‘I will not hurt thee, thou pretty child.’ So he left her by herself; and though he thought it most likely that the wild beasts would tear her in pieces, he felt as if a great weight were taken off his heart when he had made up his mind not to kill her, but leave her to her fate.

In this the third paragraph of the German original the full intensity of the queen’s obsessive and destructive emotions is revealed. The obvious gaps in the English version reveal the extent of the translator’s omissions in this section. Forty-four lines of the Grimms’ tale are reduced here to twenty-two lines of translation. As he will do later on three other occasions in the story, Taylor leaves out the direct speech of the queen’s questioning of her mirror, and includes only the mirror’s response. In doing so, he also ignores a build-up of intensity in the original’s repetition of the word ‘schön’. Six times the word occurs in lines 35-45 in either its positive, comparative, or superlative form, ending with the climactic ‘tausendmal schöner als ihr’. Taylor renders these six occurrences variously as ‘beautiful’, ‘bright’, ‘fairer’, ‘fair’, ‘beauteous’, and ‘lovelier’, i.e. only once repeating the same word. The impact of the original is quite lost as a consequence, as is the continual resonance of the words ‘schön’ and ‘Königin’. The series of English synonyms is far weaker in its effect than the constant repetition of the one word in the Grimms’ version of the tale. Also the increase in dramatic intensity is considerably diminished by the translator when he reduces the seven lines (47-54) to less than two. Taylor’s queen merely ‘turned pale with rage and envy’. The Grimms’ queen is first shocked, only then does she turn pale with rage and envy, and eventually hatred makes her heart turn within her body. Subsequently, envy and pride give her no peace, day or night. The exact sequence, nature, and intensity of her feelings is conveyed unmistakably. Taylor also has difficulty elsewhere in conveying the emotions of his German original, especially the feelings expressed by the words ‘erschrecken’ and ‘Angst’. Compare, for example, his version of KHM 29, ‘The Giant with the Three Golden Hairs’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.199), where the king’s shock (‘erschrack er’ in KHM
1819, p.109) at learning that the original prophecy has been fulfilled is omitted; or ‘Mother Holle’ (German Popular Stories 1826, p.109) where the heroine jumps down the well ‘in her sorrow’, whereas the original phrase is ‘in seiner Angst’ (KHM 1819, p.95).

The reaction of the queen in the English version of KHM 53 is much milder, not only here but also later in her instructions to the hunter, who significantly is changed in status to merely ‘one of her servants’. Each alteration of even the smallest detail lessens the force of the original text. Even the ‘wilden Wald’ becomes a far less threatening ‘wide wood’. Is Taylor here merely adapting to his audience in changing specifically ‘Northern’ features into more familiar English ones? Certainly there was a conspicuous lack of ‘wild forests’ and ‘wild beasts’ in England’s countryside in the early nineteenth century, and hunters were not the established guild or profession they were in Germany at the time, hunting being more a sport or pastime. But there is more to it than that. After all, Taylor is prepared to include ‘wild beasts’ at the end of this section (1.70) and at the beginning of the next (see below, 1.86). Not only the wildness of the location is being softened here; so is the wildness of the queen’s nature. Her murderous intentions are played down in the English version to the point where it is not exactly clear what she wishes the servant to do with her step-daughter, for her stated intention is merely not to have to look at Snow-drop ever again (1.56). There is no intent to kill expressed here. The following scene in the wood involves no graphic unsheathing of a knife to murder the girl. Snow-drop pleads to have her life spared and succeeds with her plea, as she does in the original, but the motivation for the executioner’s change of heart is altered by Taylor. It is not her beauty that moves the servant to pity, as it does the hunter in the Grimms’ version, but simply her pleading with him. His comment on her beauty comes only as an afterthought: ‘thou pretty child’. Yet again Taylor forestalls the echoing effect through the text of the word ‘schön’ by finding another synonym for it, his fifth so far. The servant in Taylor’s version is clearly prompted by moral feelings rather than aesthetic ones, a fact confirmed by his actively making a choice: ‘when he had made up his mind not to kill her’. Even though we are a little surprised that the idea of killing his charge should have occurred to him at all, given the vagueness of the English rendering of the queen’s original instructions, nevertheless his is above all else a consciously considered ethical act, whereas the hunter in the original is relieved ‘weil er es nicht zu tödten brauchte’--the latter has found a way of avoiding the hideous deed that the queen has explicitly commanded him to perform. In a strange

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6 For a description of the English countryside at this time and of British field sports, see e.g. Bryant 1950, pp.140ff. and pp.264ff.
reversal of roles, the English version takes the onus of responsibility away from the queen and rests it on the shoulders of the servant. Once again the sheer power of evil embodied in the figure of the queen is obscured.

Edgar Taylor now draws a clear limit on the fidelity of his translation. That the queen should be so obsessed with her rival as to want to indulge in cannibalism was evidently too much for him, or at least for his imagined audience. The grisly scene in which the stepmother greedily devours what she believes to be her stepdaughter’s internal organs is side-stepped, with no mention of this omission in Taylor’s Notes. There are other occasions in *German Popular Stories* where the theme of cannibalism is similarly dealt with: in ‘The Robber-Bridegroom’, ‘Roland and May-bird’, and ‘The Juniper Tree’. In his Notes to the latter on the third to last page of his collection (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.254), Taylor does at last confess to his omission of this detail: ‘We must acquaint the reader that in the original the black broth which the father eats, is formed by the step-mother from the limbs of the murdered child.’ No such confession is forthcoming in the Notes to ‘Snow-drop’ or to the other two stories where, in the original, cannibalistic urges are mentioned.

80       Nun war das arme Sneewittchen in dem großen Wald mutterseelig allein und ward ihm so Angst, daß es alle Blätter an den Bäumen ansah und dachte, wie es sich helfen und retten sollte. Da fing es an zu laufen und lief über die spitzen Steine und durch die Dornen, und die wilden Thiere sprangen an ihm vorbei, aber sie thaten ihm nichts. Es lief, so lang nur die Füße noch fort konnten, bis es bald Abend werden wollte, da sah es ein kleines Häuschen und ging hinein sich zu ruhen. In dem Häuschen war alles klein, aber so zierlich und reiniich, daß es nicht zu sagen ist. Da stand ein weiß gedecktes Tischlein mit sieben kleinen Tellern, jedes Tellerlein mit seinem Löffellein, ferner sieben Messerlein und Gabellein und sieben Becherlein. An der Wand waren sieben Bettelein neben einander aufgestellt und schneeweiße Laken darüber. Sneewittchen, weil es so hungrig und durstig war, aß von jedem Tellerlein ein wenig Gemüs und Brot und trank aus jedem Becherlein einen Tropfen Wein; denn es wollte nicht einem Then poor Snow-drop wandered along through the wood in great fear; and the wild beasts roared about her, but none did her any harm. In the evening she came to a little cottage, and went in there to rest herself, for her little feet would carry her no further. Every thing was spruce and neat in the cottage: on the table was spread a white cloth, and there were seven little plates with seven little loaves, and seven little glasses with wine in them; and knives and forks laid in order; and by the wall stood seven little beds. Then, as she was very hungry, she picked a little piece off each loaf, and drank a very little wine out of each glass; and after that she thought she would lie down and rest. So she tried all the little beds; and one was too long, and another was too short, till at last the seventh suited her; and there she laid herself
allein alles wegnahmen. Hernach weil es so müde war, legte es sich in ein Bettchen, aber keins paßte für es, das eine war zu lang das andere zu kurz, bis endlich das siebente recht war und darin blieb es liegen, befahl sich Gott und schlief ein.


Als es Morgen war, erwachte Sneewittchen und wie es die sieben Zwerge sah, erschrak es. Sie waren aber freundlich down, and went to sleep.

Presently in came the masters of the cottage, who were seven little dwarfs that lived among the mountains, and dug and searched about for gold. They lighted up their seven lamps, and saw directly that all was not right.

The first said, 'Who has been sitting on my stool?' The second, 'Who has been eating off my plate?' The third, 'Who has been picking my bread?' The fourth, 'Who has been meddling with my spoon?' The fifth, 'Who has been handling my fork?' The sixth, 'Who has been cutting with my knife?' The seventh, 'Who has been drinking my wine?' Then the first looked round and said, 'Who has been lying on my bed?' And the rest came running to him, and every one cried out that somebody had been upon his bed. But the seventh saw Snow-drop, and called all his brethren to come and see her; and they cried out with wonder and astonishment, and brought their lamps to look at her, and said, 'Good heavens! what a lovely child she is!' And they were delighted to see her, and took care not to wake her; and the seventh dwarf slept an hour with each of the other dwarfs in turn, till the night was gone.

In the morning, Snow-drop told them all her story; and they pitied her,

This section of the story in which the heroine seeks refuge at the home of the seven dwarfs is also somewhat curtailed by Taylor, although the effect here is far less drastic than earlier. The section itself is mainly a descriptive one and, as the figure of the evil stepmother plays no direct role here, Taylor no longer feels ‘compelled’ (see above, p.15) to make significant alterations.

Once again, his procedure is essentially to omit parts of the original, especially where he evidently felt that the original was ‘rather diffuse’. An obvious example is the passage where Snow-drop recounts her experiences to the dwarfs (ll.150-8). Taylor’s exclusion of this recapitulation of events already known to the audience may seem justifiable here--in the interests of economy--but by omitting the repeated mention of the queen’s intentions, it also further weakens her villainous role. Other omissions are in the episode where the heroine finds herself alone in the forest. ‘Mutterseelig allein’ is perhaps an untranslatable phrase, but one in the original that aptly describes her situation as an abandoned child, links back to the opening episode of the story, and also prefigures later events in the dwarfs’ cottage. The Grimms’ ‘großen Wald’ is now no longer a ‘wide wood’ but merely ‘the wood’ (I.81), and Sneewittchen’s admirable initiative in response to her fear, viz. to try to save herself (ll.83-4), is ignored in the English version, as are the features of the hostile environment
around her, features which seem to have been added by Wilhelm Grimm from a childhood experience of his (see Rölleke’s notes to the story in KHM 1837, pp.1221-2). Why, though, the wild beasts should ‘roar about her’ is not clear. One wonders what animals the English translator can have had in mind here. Lions or tigers, perhaps; but in a wood?! Some details of the description of the dwarfs’ cottage are also treated rather casually. For example, Taylor omits the ‘schneeweiße Laken’ on the beds, a phrase that appears for the first time in the second edition of the KHM and can therefore also be assumed to be an addition by Wilhelm Grimm (and a rather obvious one because of its allusion to the heroine’s name). Another oddity is the rendering of ‘Löffelchen’ as ‘loaves’, presumably a mistranslation, though later (1.124) a spoon unexpectedly appears, but then in place of the word ‘Gemüschen’ in the original. On other occasions in German Popular Stories the English translator also misreads the original. One example that gets him into difficulties is the word ‘Affe’ in ‘The Grateful Beasts’ which is rendered, presumably because of the translator’s problems reading the Fraktur of the original, as ‘ass’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.69). However, the animal is then required to perform all sorts of nimble acts with its limbs that would be quite impossible for one belonging to the horse genus.

Earlier in ‘Snow-drop’ (1.99) Taylor omits to translate the word ‘Gemüse’, and this omission can perhaps be explained by the fact that vegetables at the outset of the nineteenth century do not seem to have established themselves as regular food on English dining tables. Historians of 18th and 19th century England (e.g. Bryant 1942, pp.9-11, and Quennell 1961, pp.40-2) have enthused about the traditional English diet and its preponderance of meat, bread, cheese, tea and ale; but little is said of green vegetables. William Cobbett in 1822 indicates that vegetables were grown predominantly for animal consumption and his comment about cabbages (1979, p.85) seems to be typical: ‘The plants that will be left there will, in April, serve you for greens, if you ever eat any, though bread and bacon are very good without greens, and rather better than with. At any rate, the pig, which has strong powers of digestion, will consume this herbage.’ Other examples of stories in German Popular Stories in which German eating habits are replaced by English ones are ‘Frederick and Catherine’ (1823, p.97) where ‘eine Wurst aus dem Schornstein’ becomes ‘a nice steak’, ‘The Golden Goose’ (1823, p.179) where ‘einen schönen feinen Eierkuchen’ is replaced by ‘a delicious pasty’, and ‘Old Sultan’ (1823, p.151) where ‘einen Weckbrei’ becomes simply ‘a good dinner’.

Sneewittchen’s thoughtfulness and consideration in not depriving any one dwarf of all his meal (ll.104-5) is also left out of the English translation.

More significant is the omission of the heroine’s final prayer before going to sleep (1.110). For

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fear of offending contemporary sensibilities at a time when evangelical religion was on the rise (see Trevelyan 1952, pp.28-31, and Blamires 1989, pp.70-1), Taylor assiduously avoids the ‘religious dimension’, especially references to God or the devil. The one exception would appear to be in the story ‘Roland and May-bird’ where the phrase in the German original of ‘Hänsel und Gretel’ “der liebe Gott wird uns schon helfen” (KHM 1819, vol.1, p.64) is translated as “God is very kind and will help us” (German Popular Stories 1826, p.217). The dwarfs’ repeated exclamation at their first sight of Sneewittchen ‘Ei du mein Gott!’ (II.140-1) is rendered more harmlessly as ‘Good heavens!’.

There are many occasions in German Popular Stories when the translator is forced into similar emendations of the original, a good example being the story ‘The Jew in the Bush’ (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.163-8) where such expletives as ‘Gotts Wunder!’, ‘Gotts willen!’, ‘Bewahre Gott!’, and ‘um Gotteswillen!’ are translated respectively as ‘Oh’, ‘Oh, for heaven’s sake!’, ‘Oh, no! no! for heaven’s sake’, and ‘for pity’s sake’. A more recent alteration to this story—presumably in order to avoid any accusation of anti-Semitism—occurs in the Puffin Classic edition where the title of the tale is changed to ‘The Miser in the Bush’ (Grimms’ Fairy Tales 1971, pp.100-104).

The names of religious entities—whether divine or diabolic—were throughout the eighteenth century and much of the nineteenth treated very circumspectly, in both literal observance of the third commandment and in keeping with the Blasphemy Act of 1698, an act which had already been invoked on a number of occasions in order to prosecute actors who had used God’s name as an expletive. Accordingly, the title and antagonist of KHM 29, ‘Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren’, is altered by Taylor to ‘The Giant with the three Golden Hairs’ and he justifies this alteration in the Notes (German Popular Stories 1823, p.236): ‘We have taken the appellation “Giant” to avoid offence, and felt less reluctance in the alteration when we found that some other versions of the same story...omit the diabolic agency. For similar reasons we have not called the cave by its proper name of “Hölle”, the Scandinavian Hell.’ Taylor’s careful choice of words here reveals his acute awareness of the religious taboos of his time. The devil is referred to obliquely as ‘the diabolic agency’ and the concept of ‘Hell’ is attributed to ‘Scandinavian’ sources, lest any of his readers might confuse it with the Christian notion of the same name in English! This story (KHM 29) and its title were not faithfully translated until Margaret Hunt’s edition of 1884. Between Taylor’s version and hers, other translators

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7 See Thomas (1969, pp.67-8). The taboo was still very much in force later in the century. Perrin (1970, p.107) cites Charles and Mary Clarke’s bowdlerized version of Romeo and Juliet from 1864 in which Juliet’s nurse is made to say ‘O Heaven’s lady dear’ instead of Shakespeare’s ‘O God’s lady dear’.

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have altered the original devil likewise to a giant (*Household Tales, etc.* [1845], *Household Stories* 1853) or to Pluto (Davis 1855), to an Ogre (*Household Tales, etc.* [1862]) or to the Demon of the Black Forest (Paul 1872).

Other omissions of minor importance in this section are certain details of the housework to be performed by the heroine, though perhaps Taylor’s rendering here of ‘nähren’ as ‘spin’ points to his understanding of the unspecified work done by Snow-drop’s natural mother at the opening of the story as *spinning* rather than sewing, in which case an analogy with the story ‘Dornröschen’ and his translation of it (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.51-7) might well have been in his mind. Such a possibility must remain a matter of pure speculation though, since no comment is passed on the subject in Taylor’s Notes.

There is also one very significant, if not so obvious, omission in this section, viz. Taylor’s avoidance of the word ‘Stiefmutter’. The term has occurred twice so far (l.155 and l.172) and will appear on two more occasions in the original. In Taylor’s version the queen is called precisely that: the queen. No reference to her family connection with the heroine is ever made. In fact, in the whole collection of *German Popular Stories* the word ‘step-mother’ occurs only once, i.e. in the version of KHM 11, ‘Brüderchen und Schwesterchen’, (confusingly given the title ‘Hansel and Gretel’). On p.189 of *German Popular Stories* (1823) the phrase ‘their cruel step-mother’ is unique in the collection, and was perhaps allowable here because the character concerned is, in her cruelty, not human but supernatural, ‘a fairy’ (ibid., p.189), in the now obsolete sense of the word, an enchantress. In the other two stories, apart from ‘Snow-drop’, where the word ‘Stiefmutter’ appears in the original, ‘Ashputtel’ and ‘Mother Holle’, the stepmother figure is called simply ‘the mother’ and obviously the English translators had no problems with this. Only in the story ‘Snow-drop’ is the stepmother of so cruel a nature that her distinctly unmotherly antics preclude any verbal associations with motherhood whatsoever. In thus steering away from the word ‘stepmother’ and the few maternal associations it may have, the translator of KHM 53 has missed an important dimension in the original story, one which explains the heroine’s later susceptibility to the temptations offered by the evil queen.

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8 See *OED* (1989, vol.5, p.676): ‘One possessing more than human power, an enchantress.’

9 For the Grimms’, esp. Wilhelm’s, editorial handling of the mother/stepmother issue, see Rölleke’s remarks in KHM 1837, pp.1172-3.
Die Königin aber, nachdem sie

Sneewittchens Lunge und Leber glaubte

gegessen zu haben, dachte nicht anders, als

wieder die erste und allerschönste zu seyn,

und trat vor ihren Spiegel und sprach:

'Spieglein, Spieglein, an der Wand,

wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?'

Da antwortete der Spiegel:

'Frau Königin, ihr seyd die schönste hier;

aber Sneewittchen über den Bergen

ist noch tausendmal schöner als ihr!'

Da erschrak sie, denn sie wußte, daß der

Spiegel keine Unwahrheit sprach und

merkte, daß der Jäger sie betrogen hatte

und Sneewittchen noch im Leben war. Und

da hörte sie, daß es über den sieben Bergen

den sieben Zwergen war, sann sie aufs

neue, wie sie es umbringen wollte, denn so

lange sie nicht die schönste war im ganzen

Land, ließ ihr der Neid keine Ruhe. Und

als sie lange nachgedacht hatte, färbte sie

sich das Gesicht und kleidete sich wie eine

alte Krämerin an und war ganz

unkenntlich. In dieser Gestalt ging sie über

die sieben Berge hinaus zu dem

Zwergenhaus, klopfte an die Thüre und

rief: 'Gute Waare feil! feil!' Sneewittchen

guckte zum Fenster heraus und rief: 'Guten

Tag, liebe Frau, was habt ihr denn zu ver-

kaufen?'--'Gute Waare, schöne Waare',

antwortete sie, 'Schnürriemen von allen

Farben', dabei holte sie einen bunten von

Seide hervor und zeigte ihn. Die gute Frau

cann ich herein lassen, dachte

Sneewittchen, die meints redlich: riegelte

die Thüre auf und kaufte sich den bunten

Schnürriemen. 'Wart, Kind', sprach die

Alte, 'wie bist du geschnürt! Komm, ich

will dich einmal ordentlich schnüren.'

Sneewittchen dachte an nichts böses, stellte

sich vor sie und ließ sich mit dem neuen

Schnürriemen schnüren; aber die Alte

schnürte mit schnellen Fingern und

But the queen, now that she

thought Snow-drop was dead, believed

that she was certainly the handsomest

lady in the land; and she went to her

glass and said,

'Tell me, glass, tell me true!

Of all the ladies in the land,

Who is fairest? tell me who?'

And the glass answered,

'Thou, queen, art the fairest in all this

land;

But over the hills in the greenwood

shade,

Where the seven dwarfs their dwelling

have made,

There Snow-drop is hiding her head, and

she

Is lovelier far, O queen! than thee.'

Then the queen was very much alarmed;

for she knew that the glass always spoke

the truth, and was sure that the servant

had betrayed her. And she could not bear

to think that any one lived who was more

beautiful than she was;

so she disguised herself as an old pedlar,

and went her way over the hills to the

place where the dwarfs dwelt. Then she

knocked at the door, and cried 'Fine

wares to sell!' Snow-drop looked out at

the window, and said 'Good-day, good-

woman; what have you to sell?' 'Good

wares, fine wares,' said she; 'laces and

bobbins of all colours.'

'I will let the old lady in; she seems to be

a very good sort of body,' thought Snow-

drop; so she ran down, and unbolted the

door. 'Bless me!' said the old woman,

'how badly your stays are laced! Let me

lace them up with one of my nice new

laces.' Snow-drop did not dream of any

mischief; so she stood up before the old
schnürte so fest, daß dem Sneewittchen der Athem verging und es für todt hinfiel.

‘Nun ists aus mit deiner Schönheit’, sprach das böse Weib und ging fort.

Nicht lange darauf, zur Abendzeit, kamen die sieben Zwerge nach Haus, aber wie erschakten sie, als sie ihr liebes Sneewittchen auf der Erde liegen fanden, das sich nicht regte und nicht bewegte, als wär es todt! Sie hoben es in die Höhe, da sahen sie, daß es zu fest geschnürt war und schnitten den Schnürriemten entzwei: da fing es an ein wenig zu athmen und ward nach und nach wieder lebendig. Als die Zwerge von ihm hörten, was geschehen war, sprachen sie: ‘Die alte Krämerfrau war niemand als die Königin, hüt dich und laß keinen Menschen herein, wenn wir nicht bei dir sind.’

woman; but she set to work so nimbly, and pulled the lace so tight, that Snow-drop lost her breath, and fell down as if she were dead. ‘There’s an end of all thy beauty,’ said the spiteful queen, and went away home.

In the evening the seven dwarfs returned; and I need not say how grieved they were to see their faithful Snow-drop stretched upon the ground motionless, as if she were quite dead. However, they lifted her up, and when they found what was the matter, they cut the lace; and in a little time she began to breathe, and soon came to life again.

Then they said, ‘The old woman was the queen herself; take care another time, and let no one in when we are away.’

After the comparatively peaceful and idyllic interlude at the dwarf’s cottage, the story now takes a new turn with the reappearance of the evil queen. The original tale reintroduces her by reminding us of her earlier cannibalistic behaviour and her desire to be ‘die erste und allerschönste’. In the English version, she merely believes that her stepdaughter is dead and that she is now ‘the handsomest lady in the land’—another synonym, the sixth, but still without the same force as the original. The ritualistic verse is repeated—for the second time in the original, for the first in the English version—with a new answer, whereby the four lines of the German are rendered into five lines of English. It would seem that, contrary to his customary contraction of the original’s prose, when it comes to poetry, Taylor waxes expansively lyrical. Again the landscape has been significantly changed. ‘Northern’ mountains have become English ‘hills’, and a ‘greenwood shade’ has been added to enhance Snow-drop’s idyllic refuge. This latter phrase appears again in German Popular Stories, viz. in ‘The Frog-prince’ (1823, p.207), and was evidently a favourite with Taylor, despite its commonplace nature; or perhaps he employed it precisely because it was hackneyed and would therefore create for his readers a sense of familiarity in a story whose events were distinctly ‘Northern’ and ‘curious’. ‘Hiding her head’ is an expressive phrase, and the metrical emphasis on ‘lovelier’, intensified by the enjambement and its position at the beginning of the line (l.190), at last
conveys the effect that the original has so easily and artlessly managed throughout the text so far. At last, also, the queen’s immediate reaction of shock and alarm (‘erschrak’) is recorded, though then Taylor reverts to his old manner of diminishing the intensity of the original by omitting the obsessiveness of the queen’s thoughts and emotions as she rekindles her murderous desires. This is a crucial element in the story, especially since the queen’s calculated and crafty deceitfulness is contrasted with the innocence and ignorance of her stepdaughter. The latter is no match for the former. Sneewittchen may appear to be a witless heroine who should know better and who, even if duped the first time, should not be so easily deceived a second, let alone a third time; but her opponent is astute and able to use the heroine’s own inner nature in order to tempt and mislead her. Sneewittchen lacks a mother and is indeed ‘mutterseelig allein’, though she appears to be content with the company of the dwarfs and even plays a motherly role in doing the housekeeping for them. Nevertheless there is one thing she lacks: the company of a role model, another older woman who will introduce her to the stages of growing up, especially her growing awareness of her own bodily appearance. The queen exploits exactly that feature of her stepdaughter’s nature that she knows so well in herself, viz. her vanity. This close affinity of the older woman with the younger one would seem to be reinforced by those versions of the story where the queen is in fact the heroine’s natural mother—as for example in the version first published by the Grimms in 1812. The first English translator of the story though would have none of it. Hence the repeated description of the villain here as ‘the queen’. This stresses her regal power but nothing else. In the Grimms’ original, the true nature of this woman, as a woman, is emphasised at the point where she herself has at last performed the deed that she would earlier only delegate to someone else: “Nun ists aus mit deiner Schönheit”, sprach das böse Weib und ging fort’ (II.220-1). Taylor’s rendering of her words, despite missing the repeated hissing sibilants, still effectively uses a small measure of alliteration: “There’s an end to all thy beauty”, but how weak by comparison is the following phrase: ‘said the spiteful queen, and went away home.’ Taylor, either out of concern for the sensibilities of his readers or because of his own inner scruples, obviously has difficulty with the notion of evil. Perhaps the English ‘deep-rooted sin-complex’ cited by Darton (see above p.8) is at work here. Earlier (I.214) Taylor has translated the word ‘böses’ (with its resonance with ‘schoén’ and ‘Königin’) rather lamely as ‘mischief’, a term that once again fails to convey the strength of the queen’s disguised intentions. The next section involves similar omissions and inaccuracies.
Das böse Weib aber, als es nach Haus gekommen war, ging vor den Spiegel und fragte:

'Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand, Wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?'

Da antwortete er:

245 'Frau Königin, ihr seyd die schönste hier; aber Sneewittchen über den Bergen bei den sieben Zwergen ist noch tausendmal schöner als ihr!'

Als sie das hörte, lief ihr das Blut all zum Herzen, so erschrak sie, denn sie sah, daß Sneewittchen doch wieder lebendig geworden war. Nun sann sie aufs neue, was sie anfangen wollte, um es zu tödten, und machte einen giftigen Kamm. Dann verkleidete sie sich und nahm wieder die Gestalt einer armen Frau, aber einer ganz anderen, an. So ging sie hinaus über die sieben Berge zum Zwergenhaus, klopfte an die Thüre und rief: 'Gute Waare feil! feil!'

Sneewittchen schaute heraus und sprach: 'Ich darf niemand hereinlassen.' Die Alte aber rief: 'Sieh einmal die schönen Kämme,' zog den giftigen heraus und zeigte ihn. Der gefiel dem Kind so gut, daß es sich behören ließ und die Thür öffnete. Als es den Kamm gekauft hatte, sprach die Alte: 'Nun will ich dich auch kämmen.' Sneewittchen dachte an nichts böses, aber die Alte steckte ihm den Kamm in die Haare, alsbald wirkte das Gift darin so heftig, daß es todt niederfiel. 'Nun wirst du liegen bleiben', sprach sie und ging fort. Zum Glück aber war es bald Abend, wo die sieben Zwergen nach Haus kamen; als sie das Sneewittchen wie tot auf der Erde liegen sahen, dachten sie gleich, die böse Stiefmutter hätte es wieder umbringen wollen, suchten und fanden den giftigen Kamm; und wie sie ihn herausgezogen, kam es wieder zu sich und erzählte ihnen, was vorgegangen war. Da warnten sie es noch einmal auf seiner Hut zu seyn und

When the queen got home, she went straight to her glass, and spoke to it as usual;

but to her great surprise it still said,

'Thou, queen, art the fairest in all this land; But over the hills in the greenwood shade, Where the seven dwarfs their dwelling have made, There Snow-drop is hiding her head, and she Is lovelier far, O queen! than thee.'

Then the blood ran cold in her heart with spite and malice to see that Snow-drop still lived; and she dressed herself up again in a disguise, but very different from the one she wore before, and took with her a poisoned comb. When she reached the dwarfs' cottage, she knocked at the door, and cried 'Fine wares to sell!' But Snow-drop said, 'I dare not let any one in.' Then the queen said, 'Only look at my beautiful combs;' and gave her the poisoned one.

And it looked so pretty that she took it up and put it into her hair to try it; but the moment it touched her head the poison was so powerful that she fell down senseless. 'There you may lie,' said the queen, and went her way. But by good luck the dwarfs returned very early that evening; and when they saw Snow-drop lying on the ground, they thought what had happened, and soon found the poisoned comb. And when they took it away, she recovered, and told them all that had passed; and they warned her once more not to open the door to any one.
niemand die Thüre zu öffnen.

Again the evil nature of the queen as a woman is stressed in the original (1.239), again the translation bypasses the text and simply defines her as ‘the queen’. And once more her reaction of shock (1.250) to the mirror’s answer is altered to one of ‘spite and malice’. Similarly, in the previous section, the dwarfs’ reaction of shock (‘erschraken’, 1.226) to seeing Sneewittchen lying on the ground motionless is changed to one of grief in the English version, though Taylor is somewhat inconsistent here in that earlier, on the third occasion when the queen questions the mirror, her shock—registered by the same word ‘erschrak’ (1.186)—is correctly rendered as ‘was very much alarmed’. Taylor seems to have been a little careless with respect to the exact nature of the emotions conveyed by the original.

Once more, also, the stepmother’s murderous intentions are glossed over. The phrase ‘die böse Stiefmutter’ appears for the first time and is ignored by Taylor, as is, at this juncture, the description of the dwarf’s awareness of what has happened to the senseless Sneewittchen and why (1.276-8). As well as her repeated intentions, so also her act of combing her stepdaughter’s hair is omitted. In the English translation—with regard to this story the term translation is becoming increasingly less, and the word adaptation increasingly more, appropriate—the heroine chooses herself to comb her hair with the poisoned comb, thus not having to open the door to her antagonist. In the original (1.265-70) Sneewittchen allows the woman to enter the cottage and then to comb her hair for her, and this seemingly thoughtless act is more than just that: it is an expression of her desire to be groomed and made attractive, in other words, of her need for the normal bonding between mother and daughter, of which she has up till now been deprived. As was indicated earlier, this important dimension to the original story is missing in the first English version of it.

Die Königin aber stellte sich daheim vor den Spiegel und sprach:

‘Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand, Wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?’

Da antwortete er, wie vorher:

‘Frau Königin, ihr tyd die schönste hier; aber Sneewittchen über den Bergen bei den sieben Zwergen ist noch tausendmal schöner als ihr!’

Bei diesen Worten zitterte und bebte sie and trembled with rage when she
vor Zorn und sprach: 'So soll das Sneewittchen noch sterben und wenn es mein Leben kostet!' Darauf ging sie in eine ganze verborgene einsame Kammer, wo niemand hinkam, und machte da einen giftigen, giftigen Apfel. Äußerlich sah er schön aus mit rothen Backen, daß jeder, der ihn erblickte, eine Lust darnach bekam, aber wer ein Stückchen davon aß, der mußte sterben. Als der Apfel fertig war, färbte sie sich das Gesicht und verkleidete sich in eine Bauersfrau und so ging sie über die sieben Berge zu dem Zwergehaus und klopfte an. Sneewittchen streckte den Kopf zum Fenster heraus, und sprach: 'Ich darf keinen Menschen einlassen, die Zwerge haben mir's verboten.' -- 'Nun wenn du nicht willst', antwortete die Bäurin, 'so ists auch gut; meine Apfel will ich schon los werden. Da, einen will ich dir schenken.' -- 'Nein', sprach Sneewittchen, 'ich darf nichts annehmen.' -- 'Ei, du fürchtest dich wohl vor Gift; da, den rothen Backen beiß du ab, ich will den weißen essen', sprach die Alte. Der Apfel war aber so künstlich gemacht, daß der rothe Backen nur vergiftet war. Sneewittchen lusterte den schönen Apfel an und als es sah, daß die Bäurin davon aß, so konnte es nicht länger widerstehen, streckte die Hand hinaus und ließ ihn sich geben. Kaum aber hatte es einen Bissen davon im Mund, so fiel es todt zur Erde nieder. Da sprach die Königin: 'Diesmal wird dich niemand erwecken', ging heim und fragte den Spiegel:

'Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand, wer ist die schönste im ganzen Land?'

Da antwortete der Spiegel endlich:

'Ihr, Frau Königin, seyd die schönste im Land.'

Und ihr neidisches Herz hatte Ruhe, so gut es Ruhe haben konnte.

received exactly the same answer as before; and she said, 'Snow-drop shall die, if it costs me my life.' So she went secretly into a chamber, and prepared a poisoned apple: the outside looked very rosy and tempting, but whoever tasted it was sure to die. Then she dressed herself up as a peasant's wife, and travelled over the hills to the dwarf's cottage, and knocked at the door; but Snow-drop put her head out of the window and said, 'I dare not let any one in, for the dwarfs have told me not.' 'Do as you please,' said the old woman, 'but at any rate take this pretty apple; I will make you a present of it.' 'No,' said Snow-drop, 'I dare not take it.' 'You silly girl!' answered the other, 'what are you afraid of? do you think it is poisoned? Come! do you eat one part, and I will eat the other.' Now the apple was so prepared that one side was good, though the other side was poisoned. Then Snow-drop was very much tempted to taste, for the apple looked exceedingly nice; and when she saw the old woman eat, she could refrain no longer. But she had scarcely put the piece into her mouth, when she fell down dead upon the ground. 'This time nothing will save thee,' said the queen; and she went home to her glass, and at last it said

'Thou, queen, art the fairest of all the fair.' And then her envious heart was glad, and as happy as such a heart could be.
In this episode the queen makes her fourth and final attempt on the life of her stepdaughter. This act is prompted once again by her interrogation of the mirror and the answer she receives from it. Taylor, presumably with the aim of abbreviating what he deems to be a ‘rather diffuse’ narrative, now omits not only the queen’s question but also the mirror’s reply. In so doing, he again rides right over the gradual build-up of tension at the opening of this episode and the increase in intensity of the queen’s reaction: ‘Bei diesen Worten zitterte und bebte sie vor Zorn’. Taylor’s curtailing of the original text is far from being an improvement on it. He misses the repetition of the bodily act of trembling and quaking, as well as the other forceful repetition of ‘giftigen, giftigen Apfel’, a nice ‘oral’ feature of the narrative voice of the original. Even more noteworthy is his treatment of the attractive nature of the infamous apple. ‘The outside looked very rosy and tempting, but whoever tasted it was sure to die’ is perhaps a passable semantic equivalent for the original (11.299-303) but it changes the emphasis of the latter. The source passage, ‘daß jeder, der ihn erblickte, eine Lust darnach bekam’, stresses the inner irresistible desire of whoever looks at the apple, whereas the notion of ‘tempting’ in Taylor’s version draws attention to the nature of the apple, not to the inner feelings of the beholder. The same stratagem is used later in lines 316-8. ‘Sneewittchen lusterte den schönen Apfel an’ is rendered by Taylor as ‘Then Snow-drop was very much tempted to taste, for the apple looked exceedingly nice’. The idea of inner spontaneous desire is replaced by one of external temptation. It may well be that Taylor had the famous scene from the Book of Genesis in mind while he was translating this passage; certainly the notion of ‘temptation’ suggests this, but at the same time it blurs the implications of the original. The Grimms’ story is very much one about wishes and desires, and their creative and destructive effects, not one about resistance to external temptations. The English adaptation fudges this central issue. It also misses the obvious link in the original between the appearance of the apple with its ‘red cheeks’ and the heroine’s own physical constitution and fails to note the different colours of the apple which she eats (11.316-7). Furthermore, the queen’s outburst ‘You silly girl!’ is difficult to explain as an equivalent for the exclamation ‘Ei’ (1.315) since it is not in keeping with the queen’s subtle attempts to win the heroine’s trust through feigned friendliness. Equally odd is the final sentence of this section where the feeling of ‘Ruhe’ is turned by Taylor into one of gladness and happiness. Happiness is not a state of mind of which the queen appears capable. She is driven by a restless and obsessive compulsion from which she can find only relief, and even then only briefly. This compulsion is the source of the evil that emanates from her, an evil that the English adaptation constantly diminishes.
Die Zwerglein, wie sie Abends nach Haus kamen, fanden sie das Sneewittchen auf der Erde liegen, und regte sich kein Athem mehr und es war todt. Sie hoben es auf, suchten ob sie was giftiges fänden, schnürten es auf, kämmten ihm die Haare, wuschen es mit Wasser und Wein, aber es half alles nichts, das liebe Kind war todt und blieb todt. Sie legten es darauf in eine Bärhre und setzten sich alle siebene daran und beweinten es und weinten drei Tage lang. Da wollten sie es begraben, aber es sah noch frisch aus wie ein lebender Mensch und hatte noch seine schönen rothen Backen und sie sprachen: 'Das können wir nicht in die schwarze Erde versenken.' Sie legten einen Sarg von Glas machen, daß man es recht sehen könnte, legten es hinein und schrieben mit goldenen Buchstaben seinen Namen darauf und daß es eine Königstochter wäre. Dann setzten sie den Sarg hinaus auf den Berg und einer von ihnen blieb immer dabei und bewachte ihn. Und die Thiere kamen auch und beweinten das Sneewittchen, zuerst eine Eule, dann ein Rabe, zuletzt ein Täubchen.

Nun lag Sneewittchen lange, lange Zeit in dem Sarg und verweste nicht, sondern sah noch aus als wenn es lebte und da schlief, denn es war noch so weiß als Schnee, so roth als Blut und so schwarzhaarig wie Ebenholz. Es geschah aber, daß ein Königssohn in den Wald gerieth und zu dem Zwergenhaus kam, da zu übernachten. Der sah auf dem Berg den Sarg und Sneewittchen darin und las, was mit goldenen Buchstaben darauf geschrieben war. Da sprach er zu den Zwergen: 'Laßt mir den Sarg, ich will euch geben, was ihr dafür haben wollt.' Aber die Zwerge antworteten: 'Wir geben ihn nicht um alles Gold in der Welt.' Da sprach er: 'So schenkt mir ihn, denn ich kann nicht leben, ohne Sneewittchen zu sehen, ich will es ehren und hochhalten, wie mein Liebstes.' Wie er so sprach, When evening came, and the dwarfs returned home, they found Snow-drop lying on the ground: no breath passed her lips, and they were afraid that she was quite dead. They lifted her up, and combed her hair, and washed her face with wine and water; but all was in vain, for the little girl seemed quite dead. So they laid her down upon a bier, and all seven watched and bewailed her three whole days; and then they proposed to bury her: but her cheeks were still rosy, and her face looked just as it did while she was still alive; so they said, 'We will never bury her in the cold ground.' And they made a coffin of glass, so that they might still look at her, and wrote her name upon it, in golden letters, and that she was a king's daughter. And the coffin was placed upon the hill, and one of the dwarfs always sat by it and watched. And the birds of the air came too, and bemoaned Snow-drop: first of all came an owl, and then a raven, but at last came a dove.

And thus Snow-drop lay for a long long time, and still only looked as though she were asleep; for she was even now as white as snow, and as red as blood, and as black as ebony. At last a prince came and called at the dwarfs' house; and he saw Snow-drop, and read what was written in golden letters. Then he offered the dwarfs money, and earnestly prayed them to let him take her away; but they said, 'We will not part with her for all the gold in the world.'
The heroine’s strange condition of catalepsy and her subsequent reawakening to normality form the focal point of this section of the story. The German text simply describes this condition as one of death, real death now as opposed to her apparent death from the previous two encounters with her rival. The two categorical statements ‘es war todt’ (I.340) and ‘das liebe Kind war todt und blieb todt’ (II.344-5) are altered though by the English translator to ‘they [the dwarfs] were afraid that she was quite dead’ and ‘the little girl seemed quite dead’ respectively, thereby removing the certainty of the original and casting a new element of doubt on her apparent state. A rational mind would obviously agree with the English version here and not with the German, and reason, we remember from the historical context outlined at the beginning of this chapter, was an important consideration for Taylor. Death, for a mind prompted by such rational considerations, is inevitably final. Not only that, but from a religious point of view as well, a person’s revival from the state of death is a blasphemy against Christianity. The resurrection of the dead is a miracle that only the Christian God or His Son can perform. Whatever Taylor’s reasons may have been, he normally eschews the fairy-tale’s blithe restoration of the dead back to life. In his version of KHM 6 for example, ‘Faithful John’, in the concluding episode where the king of the original cuts off his own children’s heads, only to have them restored to life a little later, Taylor merely has the father about to draw his sword to perform the deed and the intention is enough to revive his retainer Faithful John from his petrified state. Characters in Taylor’s stories can be transformed--into stone (as here in ‘Faithful John’), or into birds (as in ‘The
Seven Ravens’ or ‘Jorinda and Jorindel’), even after being murdered (as in ‘The Juniper Tree’)---and then revived; but where, as in ‘Sneewittchen’, death is explicitly death and nothing more, Taylor draws the line.

By modern standards Edgar Taylor, in his concern for the feelings of his readers, seems not a little prudish in certain matters. This is evident in his treatment of the Grimms’ description of their now lifeless heroine. He does not allow the dwarfs to explore her body for traces of poison or to unlace her clothes; and when they come to wash her with water and wine, Taylor, in a rare addition to the text, makes it quite clear that they are attending only to her face. The epithet ‘frisch’ (1.349) must have made him feel uncomfortable too, reminding him perhaps too much of the condition of raw meat, for it is omitted, and for the second time in quick succession the translator is more specific than the original: ‘her face looked just as it did while she was still alive’. Is it being prurient to suggest that in the original not just the heroine’s face but her whole body has been ritualistically stripped naked and washed by the dwarfs before being put in the glass coffin? There is nothing in the German text that would contradict this assumption, though of course all illustrations of this episode have her lying in her coffin fully and decently clothed. One exception is Lancelot Speed’s illustration in Andrew Lang’s The Red Fairy Book (1966, p.337) in which a voluptuous Snowdrop is very provocatively clad. Another more amusing example of the Grimm original being able to be construed differently from the traditional way of looking at it is the episode in KHM 1, ‘Der Froschkönig’, when the prince is transformed into a frog. In a televised version of this episode, included in a BBC ‘Omnibus’ documentary, The Brothers Grimm (1979), the prince, having just been hurled against the wall as an unclothed frog, lands on the princess’s bed--quite logically--as a stark naked man!

Certainly the state of Sneewittchen’s body is a source of wonderment to those who see it. It does not decay--another feature understandably omitted in the English version. Once the prince has seen her, he cannot leave without her, and he bargains with the dwarfs to gain ownership of her. This bargaining process is drastically shortened in the English adaptation and once again a significant moment in the story is lost. The dwarfs, in their professional preoccupation with mining precious metals, are presumably, at least in the prince’s mind, susceptible to offers of material wealth; but these count for nothing with them. Only when the prince has expressed his irresistible love and respect for Sneewittchen do they relent and give her to him for free. Their scale of values is clear, and that they too have loved her is in no doubt (see Gilmour 1993 for a discussion of the figure of the dwarf in the KHM, especially pp.12-13 for ‘Sneewittchen’). Earlier the heroine was described as ‘ihr liebes Sneewittchen’ (1.226-7), a fact overlooked by Taylor in his rendering of it as ‘their faithful Snow-
drop', as is the prince's change in tactics in this later episode. And at the moment when the fateful piece of apple is dislodged (ll.386-90), Taylor--in total disregard both for courtly etiquette and for anatomical facts--deprives the prince of servants and makes him carry the coffin himself, and then nonsensically has the apple fall from 'between her lips' instead from her throat. Nor is the prince allowed his moment of emotional joy ('vor Freude', l.393); instead he is made to sound more like a relieved and protective father than a young man of flesh and blood enjoying the rekindled warmth and close proximity of his wife-to-be. The prince too, like the evil queen, is not permitted to have the emotional life that the Grimms' original ascribes to him. Even his beloved Sneewittchen is not allowed her first moment of affectionate response to him ('war ihm . . . gut', ll.398-9) and instead merely 'consents' to his proposal. This may be simply a misunderstanding on Taylor's part as later translators have had similar difficulties in rendering this phrase adequately, e.g. Household Tales, etc. ([1845], p.139) follows Taylor: 'And Snow-flake consented'; likewise Household Stories (1853, vol.1, p.261) and Davis (1855, pp.211-2): 'Snow-White consented'; Crane (1882, p.221): 'And Snow-white was kind'; and Hunt (1884, vol.1, p.214) 'And Snow-white was willing'. Even more recently Zipes (1988, vol.1, p.220) misreads this same phrase: 'Snow White felt that he was sincere'. Ralph Manheim (1977, p.190) seems to have been one of the first to capture the intention of the original correctly: 'Snow White loved him'.

To the feast was invited, among the rest, Snow-drop's old enemy the queen; and as she was dressing herself in fine rich clothes, she looked in the glass, and said,

'Tell me, glass, tell me true! Of all the ladies in the land, Who is fairest? tell me who?'

And the glass answered,

'Thou, lady, art loveliest here, I ween; But lovelier far is the new-made queen.'

When she heard this, she started with rage;

but her envy and curiosity were so great, that she could not help setting out to see the bride. And when she arrived, and saw
es niemand anders, als Sneewittchen war und vor Schrecken konnte sie sich nicht regen. Aber es standen schon eiserne Pantoffeln über Kohlenfeuer, und wie sie glühten, wurden sie hereingebraucht und sie mußte die feuerrothen Schuhe anziehen und darin tanzen, das ihr die Füße jämmerlich verbrannt wurden, und ehr durfte sie nicht aufhören, als bis sie sich zu todt getanzt hatte.

The final section deals with the demise of the 'godless stepmother', a description carefully avoided by the English translation and replaced with ‘Snow-drop’s old enemy’, which conveys casual familiarity rather than the distancing and denunciatory tone of the original. Taylor then makes a small slip in misreading the conjunction ‘wie’ and the subsequent pluperfect tense, depicting the queen in the midst of dressing as she interrogates the mirror for the final time, whereas the source text has her already dressed in her finery at this moment. It is perhaps a minor difference but the German version would suggest that having attired herself in all her regalia she is now triumphantly expecting a repetition of the mirror’s previous answer. The English version implies that her question is also a confident one, but casually, rather than triumphantly, delivered.10 Whichever the case, the emotions she feels here are implicitly suggested rather than explicitly stated.

In the next few lines though, there is no doubt about the nature of her feelings after she has received the unexpected answer: they are spelled out unmistakably both in the German text and in the English version, but with a major difference. These last lines of the Grimm original (I.413ff.) stress first of all her shock (‘erschrak’, l.413), secondly her anxiety (‘angst’, l.414) which is so intense as to be incapable of articulation, and thirdly and lastly her shock again (‘Schrecken’, l.420). The only other emotion felt by the queen at this juncture is the envy (‘Neid’, l.417) that compulsively drives the queen to witness the wedding. These emotions have been shown by their repeated appearance up

10 The tenses used in the text of German Popular Stories are usually consistent with those in the Grimms’ original. One notable exception, apart from this one, is the ending of ‘The Dog and the Sparrow’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.96) where the dramatic change of tense to the historic present at the climax of the story (KHM 1819, vol.1, p.211) is overlooked by Taylor. He also at this point, with typical anatomical squeamishness (or is it rational scepticism?!), changes the carter’s swallowing and regurgitation of the sparrow to a mere clutching of it in his hand, although Taylor does then retain the wife’s act of missing her aim and killing her husband with a hatchet blow to the head.
to and including this moment to be her prime motivating feelings. Only twice does the German text refer to her more actively and outwardly directed emotion of anger (‘Zorn’, 1.48 and 1.294) which is presumably the product of the other two emotions. We have seen before (pp.23-4) that Taylor has difficulties in conveying accurately the human emotions of the original, especially the feeling denoted by the word ‘Angst’, a word which suggests more than just fear. ‘Angst ist nicht bloß mutlosigkeit, sondern quälende sorge, zweifelnder, beengender zustand, von der wurzel enge’ (DWB 1854, vol.1, p.358); even the term ‘anxiety’ does not quite capture the complete sense of the original German word. The typical pattern of the queen's emotions seems to be firstly shock (on repeatedly learning of her stepdaughter's indestructible beauty), then ‘Angst’ (an all-powerful sensation of being inwardly constricted and threatened), then envy (‘Neid’) of the one with whom the mirror compares her so unfavourably, and sometimes anger (‘Zorn’) directed at this person, the heroine, who is seen as the external cause of all these sensations and who therefore must be removed before the queen can regain her inner equilibrium (‘Ruhe’). In the English translation of this final episode, though, the queen 'started with rage', and then prompted by 'envy and curiosity' she went to the wedding where she 'choked with passion' and consequently suffered illness and death. There is no mention of an initial and inexpressible anxiety attack or of the shock that finally immobilizes her (II.420-1).

The English version makes one further significant omission, as Taylor freely admits in his Notes (German Popular Stories 1823, p.230): ‘we have not entered into the particulars of the queen's death, which in the German is occasioned by the truly Northern punishment of being obliged to dance in red-hot slippers or shoes.’ The punishment the queen suffers in Taylor's adaptation appears to be self-induced rather than inflicted by others, and is eclipsed in importance by the conclusion of the story which redirects attention to the heroine's subsequent happy life with her husband. Taylor in the revised version of his translation which appeared in Gammer Grethel (1839) adds a further idyllic touch to his ending: 'and sometimes they went up into the mountains, and paid a visit to the little dwarfs, who had been so kind to Snowdrop in her time of need' (Gammer Grethel 1839, p.164).

The German source has no such idyllic end. Here the 'Northern punishment' is graphically narrated, and the description of a scene of happy union of hero and heroine gives way to one where rough justice is meted out to the villain. This scene, like the earlier one of the queen's attempt at cannibalism, is often omitted by other English translators apart from Taylor, presumably also in the interests of sparing their readers' sensibilities. For example, Amabel Williams-Ellis's more recent version (Grimm's Fairy Tales 1968, p.105) relates that the queen 'hurried off in a towering passion of jealousy, and ... dropped down dead with rage.' Williams-Ellis also omits the episode where the
queen believes that she has eaten her stepdaughter’s lungs and liver.

Having closely compared the text of Taylor’s story with the Grimms’ original, we are now in a position to answer the question: how are we to evaluate this first English translation of *KHM 53*?

If we first turn our attention to the structure of the story, we observe that the original tale remains intact in Taylor’s version of it. Structurally the latter retains the salient features of the source text: the natural mother’s death and her replacement by a stepmother; the latter’s act of villainy which brings about the heroine’s departure from home; the heroine’s encounter with helpers; the stepmother’s repeated villainy and apparent victory over the heroine; the latter’s ‘death’ and revival; the final wedding and the punishment of the villain. The story in both its original form and in its translated version thus exhibits the characteristic features of the structure of the folk-tale analysed by Vladimir Propp (see Holbek 1987, p.335): the first eight of Propp’s thirty-one functions, though not strictly in his order, i.e. abscation (the heroine leaves home), interdiction (the dwarfs’ warning to the heroine), reconnaissance (the villain makes an attempt at finding the heroine), delivery (the villain receives information about her victim), trickery (the villain attempts to deceive the heroine), violation (of the dwarfs’ interdiction by the heroine), complicity (the heroine submits to deception), villainy (the villain causes harm to the heroine)--are then followed by his last three--transfiguration (the heroine’s awakening), punishment (of the villain), and wedding (of the hero and heroine). Though the story does not follow Propp’s pattern in exactly the prescribed sequence, nevertheless the structure of both the German original and its first English translation is clearly identical. So likewise are the number of characters involved and their function within the story: the heroine’s natural mother; the villainous stepmother; the helpful hunter (or servant); the seven dwarfs who provide a refuge for the heroine; and the prince who restores her to life and to her rightful status. Taking a broad view of the story by isolating its basic structure, its list of characters, and its central theme of an older woman’s murderous jealousy of her more beautiful stepdaughter, we can see that in this respect the German source and the English translation are indeed versions of one and the same story, classified as No. 709 in the index given by Aarne and Thompson (see Thompson 1977, pp. 123-4). To this extent, Taylor has not altered the original story.

However, this is the sole extent of their identity. When matters of detail are examined, the two versions are seen to differ markedly from each other, most especially in their characterization and in their depiction of physical and emotional particulars. Because Taylor plays down the importance of the body and its impulses, in order, as he says, ‘to conciliate local feelings’ (see above, p.15), an important dimension in the original story goes missing. The effect of such omission is especially
noticeable in those most important of episodes in a fairy-tale: its beginning and its ending. The beginning of a ‘Märchen’ not only sets the scene but also and more importantly it initiates the action of the story and provides the reason why later things happen the way they do. Similarly the ending of a fairytale is the final point towards which the action has been moving all along and provides the resolution of the conflict between hero(ine) and villain. In both his beginning and his ending of the story ‘Snow-drop’ Taylor fails to identify certain crucial elements that make up the ‘curious’ character of the original. Or rather, it might be more correct to say that Taylor does identify these elements but then rigidly ignores them in the course of his translation because he fears that such elements would not be acceptable to his readers.

These elements are essentially experiences of bodily pleasure and pain, and the imaginative wishes and fears that arise from such experiences. The opening scene provides a good example. As was shown earlier in this chapter, the queen’s accidental injury to herself in a moment of distraction from her work produces a vision of intense beauty for her, and this vision in turn prompts in her an intense wish for a child. This is the story’s beginning and also the beginning of the heroine’s existence, her conception, in both the physical and mental senses of the word. The queen’s wish, like so many wishes made at the outset of fairy-tales, has far-reaching and demonic consequences. Like most wishes and desires, it is ambivalent in nature and reflects the paradox of motherhood: a beautiful child is desired, but this child is not just a new life, separate from and independent of its mother’s life, but also an extension and expression of the mother’s own need for self-gratification. In other words the mother’s desire for a child is both selfless and selfish. Ellis (1983, pp.74ff.) comes to a similar conclusion in his reading of the earlier versions of the story from 1810 and 1812, versions in which the natural mother is not replaced by a stepmother but remains alive in order to vent her feelings of ‘sexual jealousy’ of her daughter. Wilhelm Grimm’s subsequent introduction of a stepmother, while certainly ‘softening . . . the impact of the tale’ (Ellis, p.74) does not, in my opinion, change its underlying meaning. The queen’s original wish is one which reflects concern only for the physical appearance of her child, a desire to be pleased by the way the child looks. That this is a self-centred wish is reinforced by the subsequent death of the natural mother. The selfless nature of the mother has been usurped by her selfish side, embodied in the figure of the stepmother. As with so many fairy-tales, the sins of the fathers (or in this case the mothers) are visited upon their children. The conflict between the two generations is firstly polarized in that the mother figure is portrayed as evilly and compulsively obsessed with her appearance, while the daughter is depicted as one who in her ability to restrain her selfish instincts (e.g. by not depriving any one dwarf of his meal) and to
work co-operatively with others exhibits the virtues of selfless sharing. However, the daughter, as she grows up, is shown to be susceptible to the power of her stepmother. Her ‘Achilles heel’, so to speak, is her growing awareness of her own body and its potential attractiveness. Knowledge that the shape of her body can to some extent be controlled and altered (by the stays) and that her appearance can be groomed and improved (e.g. through having her hair combed), is one which gradually dawns upon her, knowledge of her own body and its pleasures signified by the eating of the apple. Her stepmother has earlier attempted, in a distinctly unmotherly fashion which reverses the natural process of birth, to reincorporate into herself her own stepdaughter through eating her vital organs. Now the roles are reversed and the heroine admits into her own body the poisonous self-centred desires of her stepmother. It is clear from more than one incident that these desires are essentially a death-wish: the death of the original mother, the stepmother’s attempts on the life of the heroine, the latter’s eventual succumbing to these attempts and her ensuing deathly state, all underline the nature of the stepmother and what she represents.

The final punishment too is a figuratively apt expression of the queen’s all-consuming urges. That she is driven on by an obsessive compulsion is shown by the phrase ‘doch trieb sie der Neid’ (ll.416-7) and by the nature of her punishment. The red-hot shoes that force her to dance herself to death are a vivid metaphor for the pathological condition that propels her, destroying the life of others and eventually her own. The torturing of her feet is also an appropriate image, since she has been the one who is in constant mobility because of her emotionally obsessive and constrictive ‘Angst’, traversing repeatedly the distance between her own abode and that of her stepdaughter, never for any length of time finding the rest that she desires.

Taylor’s translation obviously does not do justice to this dimension of the story. As we have seen, he constantly side-steps the issues of the human body and its concomitant emotions, producing a text that, while corresponding in its broader features to the original, does not convey the imaginative depths of the Grimms’ story. We recall his statement of intent in the Preface to German Popular Stories: ‘In those tales which they have selected they had proposed to make no alteration whatever; but in a few instances they have been compelled to depart in some degree from their purpose. They have, however, endeavoured to notice these variations in the notes, and in most cases the alteration consists merely in the curtailment of adventures or circumstances not affecting the main plot or character of the story’ (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.xi-xii). In the case of ‘Snow-drop’ it is true that the main plot of KHM 53 has not been ‘affected’ by Taylor’s changes and omissions, but in the light of our comparison of the two versions it is patently false to claim that the ‘character’ of the
original story has not been irreparably maimed by the 'curtailment' inflicted on it by the English translator.

Taylor's frequent, and not always self-confessed, omissions, not only in this story but also in others, have evidently been made out of consideration for contemporary tastes; we must remember that he is writing with his audience of—if not wholly then at least partly—children in mind, and in an age when the opinions of such redoubtable stalwarts of moral rectitude as the aptly named Mrs. Sara Trimmer, author of an expurgated version of the Bible entitled Sacred History, could not be dismissed so lightly (quoted in Shavit 1986, p.173.).

Though we well remember, the interest with which, in our childish days, when books of amusement for children were scarce, we read, or listened to the history of Little red Riding Hood and Blue Beard, etc. we do not wish to have such sensations awakened in the hearts of our grandchildren by the same means; for the terrific images which tales of this nature present to the imagination, usually make deep impressions, and injure the tender minds of children, by exciting unreasonable and groundless fears.

As indicated at the outset of this chapter, in editing his German Popular Stories, Taylor was having to steer a very careful course around the 'English sin-complex'—what now seems to us mere prudishness but at the time was a concern of great importance for an author of a book likely to be 'read, or listened to' by children. The discrepancy between his text of 'Snow-drop', where for example he dilutes the final punishment of the queen, and his Notes, where he refers to the true version of it, makes the extent of this concern clear. Presumably parents may safely read the texts of these stories to their children, and then later peruse for themselves the supplementary Notes where matters of more serious 'antiquarian' interest were dealt with. A pity it is that so much of what satisfies the imagination, whether of child or adult, went missing in Taylor's adaptation of the Grimms' story. It is perhaps also ironical that Taylor's procedure of purifying the texts of any elements deemed unsuitable for children had already been undertaken by Wilhelm Grimm in the textual revisions he introduced to the 1819 edition of the KHM, the edition that served as the source for Taylor's translation. In his 'Vorrede' to this edition, Wilhelm writes 'Dabei haben wir jeden für das Kinderalter nicht passenden Ausdruck in dieser neuen Auflage sorgfältig gelöscht' (KHM 1857, vol.1, p.17; see Chapter V below, esp. pp.142ff., for an example of Wilhelm Grimm's 'sanitizing' of the original story of 'Rapunzel'). Evidently Wilhelm's censorship was not severe enough in the eyes of the Grimms' first English translator. On the basis of the comparative analysis undertaken in this chapter it is possible to argue that Taylor has created out of the German source text not an
English translation, but rather an adaptation, a new story, no longer a ‘Northern’ one but an English one, suitable and acceptable to the English reading public of the early nineteenth century.

One feature of the original texts of the KHM is particularly striking: Wilhelm Grimm admits references to such bodily functions as defecating and urinating, whereas Taylor, like most of his successors, strictly censors these as being unacceptable to his English audience. There is more than one amusing instance where such censorship occurs in German Popular Stories, e.g. in ‘Frederick and Catherine’ (KHM 59) the phrase ‘Die Vögel misten!’ (KHM 1819, vol.2, p.215) is tamely rendered as ‘Bless me, it is hailing’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.105). Taylor’s and other translators’ handling of similar passages will be considered below in Chapter IX, pp.192ff.

Despite his major omissions, Taylor’s collection should not be lightly dismissed nor its seminal and historical importance underestimated. Not only was it the very first translation of the Grimms’ tales into English, it also became the source text for the first French version of Grimm, translated at second-hand from the English of Taylor rather than the German of the Grimms. This was the volume entitled Vieux contes pour l’Amusement des Grands et des Petits Enfans (Paris: Boulland [1830]). The French translator, Ambrose Tardieu, shows in his title that he too saw both children and adults as his prospective readers, though significantly he omits Taylor’s Notes from this edition.

A topic that requires further investigation is the extent to which German Popular Stories played a significant part in the reception of the Grimms’ tales throughout the rest of the world, not only in English-speaking countries (see e.g. Sutton 1988, pp.348-52, for the importance of Edgar Taylor’s work in New Zealand) but also in other cultures. One of the earliest editions of the KHM to appear in China, for example, Shih-hsieh (1909-10), would appear to have had Taylor’s selection of stories as its source, rather than the Grimms’ German originals (see Yea-Jen Liang 1986, pp.47-57, for an account of this work). It is most likely that German Popular Stories has had a widespread and long-lasting influence on the ‘internationalization’ of the KHM.

Taylor’s collection has been repeatedly reprinted in the English-speaking world throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both in its original form and in the revised version under the title Gammer Grethel. The first volume of German Popular Stories also impressed the brothers Grimm sufficiently for Wilhelm to publish in 1825 an edition along similar lines—illustrated and containing a selection of fifty of the KHM, the so-called Kleine Ausgabe (see Rölleke’s ‘Nachwort’ to KHM 1858, p.293). It is also conceivable that some of the revisions introduced by Wilhelm Grimm to later editions of the KHM follow the example of changes made by Taylor himself to the Grimms’ original text. Not all of Taylor’s emendations need be regarded as weakening the stories; some of them can
be seen as improvements to the original texts, improvements which Wilhelm Grimm either copied knowingly or independently made of his own accord, seeing the same flaws that Taylor had seen and corrected before him. An example can be found in *KHM* 1 where Taylor adds to the 1819 Grimm original an explanation of why the prince was turned into a frog: ‘He told her that he had been enchanted by a malicious fairy’ (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.209). Wilhelm Grimm likewise adds to his 1850 version of the story a similar explanation: ‘Da erzählte er ihr, er wäre von einer bösen Hexe verwünscht worden’ (*KHM* 1850, vol.2, p.4). Or, in his translation of *KHM* 57 ‘The Golden Bird’, Taylor evidently felt that it was necessary to explain how a number of apples were noticed to be missing from the king’s garden: ‘These apples were always counted’ (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.16), a phrase which Wilhelm, realizing too that an explanation was necessary, adds to his revised version of the tale in 1837: ‘Als die Äpfel reiften, wurden sie gezählt’ (*KHM* 1837, p.257).

On other occasions, Wilhelm follows Taylor’s example of softening the harshness of some of the stories’ endings, e.g. *KHM* 146 ‘Die Rübe’ concludes with the hero simply riding off and leaving the young student dangling from a tree in a bag: ‘Damit stieg er auf des Schülers Pferd und ritt fort’ (*KHM* 1819, vol.2, p.492). Taylor alters this more humanely to: ‘So saying, he trotted off on the student’s nag, and left the poor fellow to gather wisdom till somebody should come and let him down’ (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.149). By 1850 the ending of Grimm original has become ‘und ritt fort, schickte aber nach einer Stunde jemand, der ihn wieder herablassen mußte’ (*KHM* 1850, vol.2, p.315). Similarly, the cruelty of the original punishment dealt to the witch at the end of *KHM* 122 ‘Der Krautesel’ is toned down in the fourth edition of 1840, in the same way as in Taylor’s version of the tale, ‘The Turnip’ (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.162), so that it does not seem that the hero has deliberately allowed the witch to starve to death. These examples show that, while Taylor’s omissions may have severely diminished the original stories’ appeal to the imagination, his additions, whether in the form of rationalisations or out of moral considerations, can be viewed as an improvement on the original, a fact borne out not least by Wilhelm Grimm’s own subsequent emendations along similar lines.
APPENDIX

List of the Contents of Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories (1823, 1826) and Gammer Grethel (1839)

The information given below follows the same format as that provided by Michaelis-Jena (1975). Corrections have been made to the titles and to the sources of the English versions of the stories. In the left-hand column are found the titles of stories in both German Popular Stories and Gammer Grethel. The numbers after the title Gammer Grethel indicate the number of the ‘evening’, followed, after the comma, by the number of the story within the group of tales told on that evening (e.g. Gammer Grethel 6,2 = the second story told on ‘Evening the Sixth’). A dash following the title Gammer Grethel indicates that a story which appeared in German Popular Stories was not included in this later work. Page numbers given in the central column are for the contents of German Popular Stories only.

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GEORGE G. CUNNINGHAM'S FOREIGN TALES AND TRADITIONS (1828) AND WILLIAM J. THOMS'S LAYS AND LEGENDS OF GERMANY (1834)

Such was the response of both the brothers Grimm (in a letter dated 25 June 1823, addressed to Edgar Taylor, and quoted by Hartwig 1898, p.8) to the first volume of German Popular Stories which they received in the year of its publication, 1823, and in which the story ‘Snow-drop’ appeared. Their response was evidently a guarded and diplomatic one, and indicates that the two Grimm brothers had spotted their English translators’ propensity for omitting or altering sections of the original texts and, as is clear from the last sentence quoted above, distanced themselves from such licence. That Taylor himself read no element of censure or reproach in the Grimms’ letter is confirmed by the fact that he persists with the same policy in his second volume of German Popular Stories, which was published three years later in 1826. Indeed, it would seem that Taylor’s sense of freedom as a translator had increased rather than diminished by the time he was preparing the second volume of German Popular Stories. In this volume, entitled, like the first but this time misleadingly, German Popular Stories, translated from the Kinder und Hausmärchen, collected by M. M. Grimm, from Oral Tradition, he includes not only twenty-seven stories from the Grimms’ KHM but also four tales from other German collections of the time: two from Johann Gustav Büsching’s Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden, one from Otmar’s Volks-Sagen (1800), and an abridged version of the story ‘Die Elfen’ from Tieck’s Phantasus (1812-16). Furthermore, on three occasions Taylor feels free to combine several stories into one, a freedom he had allowed himself only once in the first volume of German Popular Stories, where three different tales—‘Das Lumpengesindel’ (KHM 10), ‘Herr Korbes’ (KHM 41), and ‘Von dem Tode des Hühnchens’ (KHM 80)—are put together to make up ‘The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet’. In the second volume of German Popular Stories Taylor exercises this freedom three
times: two stories, ‘The Young Giant and the Tailor’ and ‘Roland and May-bird’, comprise respectively three tales, while ‘Hans and his Wife Gretel’ is made up of four different stories from the Grimms’ collection. How successfully Taylor manages this self-imposed task of combining a number of stories into one is a question considered closely in the next chapter. In that chapter we shall examine a later version of the story ‘Roland and May-bird’, given a new title, ‘Hansel and Gretel’, when it appeared in a selection of revised texts from *German Popular Stories* published by John Green of London in 1839, the year of Edgar Taylor’s death. This selection was entitled *Gammer Gretel, or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories*.

Before then, two other English versions of the Grimms’ tales had appeared, and though these did not enjoy the longevity of the two volumes of *German Popular Stories*, nevertheless they serve as interesting parallels to Edgar Taylor’s work. Neither contains nearly as many stories from the *KHM* as *German Popular Stories*.

The first was the two-volume edition of George Godfrey Cunningham’s *Foreign Tales & Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Fugitive Literature of Germany*, published in the year 1828 in Glasgow by Blackie, Fullarton & Co. and in Edinburgh by A. Fullarton & Co. Amongst this edition’s numerous contents, which include traditional legends as well as tales by Tieck, Lohmann, Klusen and Baumann, there are but five stories from the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, all of which had already been translated in the first volume of Taylor’s edition of *German Popular Stories*. ‘The Waits of Bremen’ (*KHM* 27 ‘Die Bremer Stadt Muskanten’) appears in volume one of Cunningham’s work, while the other four stories ‘Thornrose’ (*KHM* 50 ‘Dornröschen’), ‘A Legend of Tom Thumb’ (*KHM* 37 ‘Daumesdick’), ‘Hans in Luck’ (*KHM* 83 ‘Hans im Glück’), and ‘Rumpelstilzchen’ (*KHM* 55) appear in volume two.

George Cunningham’s Preface introduces the foreign landscape of Germany to his readers in a manner reminiscent of Edgar Taylor’s use of the words ‘Northern’ and ‘wild’ in *German Popular Stories* (see above Chapter I, pp.13ff.): ‘Nursed amidst shaggy woods and cavernous mountains,--rushing waters and a misty air,—the genius of German romance has from its earliest age till now delighted in scenes of supernatural darkness, terror, and mystery, congenial to the scenery’ (Cunningham 1828, vol.1, p.vii). In the Preface to his second volume Cunningham also explains the notion of ‘fugitive literature’ included in the title of his work. Here he refers to ‘the vast quantity of fugitive matter which is every day evolved from the effervescent intellect of the nation’ (Cunningham 1828, vol.2, p.iii). On the next page he goes on: ‘All the German authors seem to write against Time, for Time with them is an almost infallible destroyer; and hence in the mass of German literature
which is destined to swim for a few years on the surface of that ever-fluctuating public taste, there is to be found an amount of talent and erudition which in our country would have been either carefully husbanded at home or at least securely embarked ere it were intrusted to the perilous waters’ (ibid. pp.iv-v). These words would seem to qualify the editor’s earlier enthusiasm for things Teutonic and indicate rather a critical attitude towards the material which Cunningham is presenting to his British readers. They may well also explain his approach to the act of translation, which, like Edgar Taylor’s before him, is one of ‘careful husbanding’, i.e. adaptation rather than faithful rendition. Moreover, when it comes to the matter of source material, Cunningham appears to have used the same 1819 German edition of the KHM that Taylor had used while having close at hand the latter’s own English versions from German Popular Stories from which he constantly borrows. One example that provides irrefutable evidence of this stratagem is the opening paragraph of ‘Thornrose’, Cunningham’s version of ‘Dornröschen’ (KHM 50). When placed beside Taylor’s version of the story from 1823, Cunningham’s text reveals both its dual origin and the approach of its author, who takes his predecessor’s original practice of adaptation one stage further.

Dornröschen (KHM 1819, vol.1, p.176)  
Rose-bud (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.151-2)  
Thornrose (Cunningham 1828, vol.2, pp.283-4)

Vor Zeiten war ein König und eine Königin, die sprachen jeden Tag: ‘Ach, wenn wir doch ein Kind hätten!’, und kriegen immer keins. Da trug sich zu, als die Königin einmal im Bade saß, daß ein Krebs aus dem Wasser ans Land kroch und zu ihr sprach: ‘Dein Wunsch wird erfüllt und du wirst eine Tochter zur Welt bringen.’ Was der Krebs vorausgesagt hatte, geschah und die Königin gebar ein so schönes Mädchen, daß der König vor Freuden sich nicht zu lassen wußte und ein großes Fest anstellte. Er lud nicht blos seine

Once upon a time there lived a king and queen who had no children; and this they lamented very much. But one day as the queen was walking by the side of the river, a little fish lifted its head out of the water, and said, ‘Your wish shall be fulfilled, and you shall soon have a daughter.’ What the little fish had foretold soon came to pass; and the queen had a little girl that was so very beautiful that the king could not cease looking on it for joy, and determined to hold a great feast. So he invited not only his relations, friends, and

Once upon a time there lived a certain king and queen who used to say every day to each other: ‘Ah, when will Heaven bless us also with a child!’ for they had no children of their own, though they greatly desired to possess them, and were much grieved when they thought how very probable it was that they would die childless and leave their crown to a stranger. But it came to pass that one day, whilst the queen was bathing, a little fish lifted up its head out of the water, and said to her: ‘Thy wish shall be granted, and

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Verwandte, Freunde und Bekannte sondern auch die weisen Frauen dazu ein, damit sie dem Kindhold und gewogen würden.

neighbours, but also the fairies, that they might be kind and good to his little daughter.

thou shalt soon bring a daughter into the world.' And what the fish had foretold soon came to pass; for the queen soon presented the king, her husband, with a little princess, who was so beautiful that her father was never tired of gazing upon her, and he made a great feast in honour of her birth, to which he invited not only all his relations, and friends, and neighbours, but also all the fairies in his dominions, for he wished his daughter to have friends amongst them also.

Cunningham’s text is conspicuously longer than Taylor’s version and this is because of his tendency to elaborate upon details of both the original and the first English translation. Cunningham is happy to add, for example, the notion of ‘Heaven’ blessing the king and queen with a child, a notion that is present neither in the original nor in Taylor’s translation. Taylor, we recall, had eschewed any reference to Heaven in his handling of the opening of ‘Snow-drop’ (see above, Chapter I, p.18). Cunningham has no difficulty supplying the religious allusion here. Furthermore, he introduces a political dimension to the story when he provides an added reason why the royal couple desire so much to have a child. The likely prospect of their own dynasty dying out with them and of a stranger taking up their crown is a source of much grief to the king and queen. This addition may be the result of concern in England at the time that the House of Hanover was under threat: George III had died in 1820 and neither of his two sons, George IV and William IV, managed to produce an heir. Interestingly enough, Edgar Taylor had done something similar not with this story but with another, ‘The Blue Light’ (KHM 116 ‘Das blaue Licht’) in the second volume of *German Popular Stories* (1826). At the end of this tale, the king is forced to capitulate to the soldier-hero and promptly yields to him both his daughter and his kingdom: ‘da legte sich der König auf Gnadebitten und um nur sein Leben zu erhalten, gab er dem Soldaten das Reich, und seine Tochter zur Frau’ (KHM 1819, vol.2, p.413). This is converted by Taylor into something which is a little less threatening to English notions of monarchy: ‘but the king begged hard for mercy; and, to save his life, agreed to let the
soldier have the princess for his wife, and to leave the kingdom to him when he died' (*German Popular Stories* 1826, p.33).

First impressions might suggest that this is a completely new translation: the title is a closer equivalent of the German original than Taylor's, even though it misses the connotations of cuteness and sweetness ('Niedlichkeit') provided by the German diminutive form. Cunningham also reproduces the direct speech of the royal couple in the very first sentence, something Taylor had failed to do. However, a close comparison of the parallel texts reveals that Cunningham has in fact drawn on Taylor's earlier version of the story. Certain phrases occur in identical form to that of *German Popular Stories*, e.g. one can compare Cunningham's ll.24-5 with Taylor's ll.12-13; or Cunningham's construing (ll.30-2) of the clause 'daß der König vor Freuden sich nicht zu lassen wußte' (ll.17-19) along the lines of Taylor's 'that the king could not cease looking on it for joy' (ll.16-18). Conspicuous also is Cunningham's imitation of Taylor in his use of a fish as the agent of prophecy instead of the crab of the original, despite the fact that he had previously been prepared to correct Taylor's depiction of the queen's bathing-place as a 'river' by making the location less specific (ll.17-18). In addition, Cunningham follows Taylor's example in converting 'die weisen Frauen' of the original (ll.23-4) into 'fairies'. This is in fact a restoration, probably unwittingly, of the original 'Feen' to be found in the first edition of the *KHM* of 1812 but subsequently removed by Wilhelm Grimm because of their French origin and replaced with more suitably Germanic counterparts (see Rölleke's comments in his essay 'Zur Biographie der Grimmschen Märchen', *KHM* 1819, vol.2, p.577).

Cunningham's *Foreign Tales and Traditions* was reissued at least once during the nineteenth century. The British Museum Catalogue lists an edition published in 1854 which comprises the contents of the first volume of the earlier edition of 1828.

A significantly different work which appeared six years after Cunningham's *Foreign Tales and Traditions* is William John Thoms's *Lays and Legends of Germany*, published in 1834 by George Cowie of London. This book was part of a series entitled *Lays and Legends of Various Nations* of which another three volumes appeared in the same year: *Lays and Legends of France*, *Lays and Legends of Spain*, and *Lays and Legends of Tartary*. Thoms apparently intended to complete the series with five more volumes of stories from England, Greece, Denmark, Bohemia, and Ireland, but these intentions never came to fruition and the series seems to have ended in failure.

Much more is known about Thoms than about George Cunningham. Thoms (1803-1885) was a noted 'antiquary' in the nineteenth century who combined an interest in folklore (a term which he himself introduced to the English language in 1846) with a career in administration--he was a clerk
of the secretary's office at Chelsea Hospital, then Clerk and later Deputy Librarian of the House of Lords (see Dorson 1968, pp.75-90, and Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, vol.56, pp.230-2, for further information on Thoms's career). The contents of his Lays and Legends of Germany are divided into three parts comprising fifty-seven items altogether. The majority are legends, some versified, taken mainly from Herder, Büsching, Otmar (i.e Johann Carl Christoph Nachtigall), and the Grimms' own Deutsche Sagen. Included amongst these contents are also fourteen of the KHM in translation (see Tabulated Concordance) together with a versified adaptation (or as Thoms calls it: 'amplification') of 'De Spielhansl' (KHM 82). Of these stories, only two had previously been translated, or, more accurately, adapted, by Taylor, viz. 'Der Froschkönig' (KHM 1) and 'Van den Machandel-Boom' (KHM 47) and, as we shall see, in both these stories Thoms made a point of correcting Taylor's departures from the Grimms' originals. The other eleven (excluding Thoms's free 'amplification' of 'De Spielhansl') are therefore the first translations into English of the respective Grimm stories which are their sources. Thoms appears to have used the second edition of the KHM of 1819. His story 'The Riddle', for example, is a translation of 'Das Rätsel' (KHM 22), which first appeared in this second edition, replacing 'Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben' of 1812.

Morgan (1965, p.625) assesses the quality of Thoms's translations with a brief comment: 'they are freely retold.' Such a cursory remark, however, overlooks Thoms's clear statement of his intentions given in the last paragraph of his Introduction (Thoms 1834, p.x):

One word, however, the translator hopes he may here be permitted--and it is--that he trusts the fidelity with which he has endeavoured to render the Ballads of other Countries into English, will prove a sufficient apology for any lack of spirit discernible in his translations. His object has been to translate--and not to paraphrase.

That Thoms is here including under the rubric 'Ballads' not just versified forms of popular stories but also prose narratives (such as the 'National Tales', 'Old Wives' Legends, and Fire-side Stories' mentioned elsewhere in his Introduction, p.iii) is borne out by a later significant note that he adds to his version of KHM 47 'Van den Machandel-Boom' on pp.254-5 of Lays and Legends:

Many of our readers, we presume, are acquainted with the translation of it [KHM 47] which appeared in Mr. EDGAR TAYLOR's amusing volumes, the 'German Popular Stories,' and to them, therefore, we feel bound to give our reasons for laying this new one before them. The Gentleman whom we have just named, in the exercise of his judgment, has abbreviated the narrative very considerably, by omitting some of the most homely expressions, and leaving
out a striking incident, and several repetitions. The result has been a tale much more readable, perhaps, than the one here given; but in our opinion, a tale neither so overpowering in its effects, nor so simple in its style of narrative as the original, which, indeed, exhibits all the elements of a fearful domestic tragedy. We should have been glad to have seen a translation, from his pen, executed upon our principles: our readers would undoubtedly have been the gainers; as it is, we hope they will be satisfied that the present version is more in accordance with the spirit of the German story, and excuse its homeliness and reiterations for the sake of its greater fidelity.

This is a unique document. It is the only occasion, to my knowledge, before Margaret Hunt in 1884 (see below, Chapter XI, p.228), when an English translator of the *KHM* openly criticizes the work of a predecessor. Admittedly, the criticism, like the earlier one made by the Grimms and cited at the opening of this chapter, is couched in diplomatic terms; but the difference between Taylor and Thoms in their translation 'principles' is made markedly obvious. The latter's comments on Taylor's handling of *KHM* 47 are equally applicable also to 'Snow-drop', Taylor's adaptation of 'Sneewittchen' (*KHM* 53) already analysed in the first chapter. The 'striking incident' in 'Van den Machandel-Boom' omitted by Taylor and referred to by Thoms in his Introduction is the ghastly scene in which the son who has been decapitated by his stepmother is then chopped up into pieces and served up to his father in a casserole. Here is the German original of 1819 with Taylor's and Thoms's versions.

**Van den Machandel-Boom**

*KHM* 1819, vol.1, pp.164-5)

*Daar kamm daarna Marleenken to eere Moder in de Köke, de stund by den Füß un had eenen Pott mit heet Water för sik, den rüürt se ümmer um; 'Moder', sed Marleenken, 'Broder sitt vör de Döör un süüt ganz witt ut un hed eenen Appel in de Hand, ick hev em beden, he sull my den Appel geven, averst he antwoord my nich, da wurd my ganz gruuuulig.'--'Ga nochmal hen', sed de Moder, 'un wenn he dy nich antwoorden will, so giv em eens an de Ooren!' Daar ging Marleenken hen un sed: 'Broder giv my den Appel!' Averst he sweeg still, daar gaf se em eens up de Ooren, daar feel de Kopp 20 herünn, darüber verschrak se sick, un fung an to weenen un to raaren, un leep to eere Moder un

**The Juniper Tree**

*German Popular Stories* 1826, pp.233-6)

*Soon afterwards Margery came into the kitchen to her mother, who was standing by the fire, and stirring about some hot water in a pot. 'Mother,' said Margery, 'my brother is sitting before the door with an apple in his hand; I asked him to give it to me, but he did not say a word, and looked so pale, that I was quite frightened.' 'Nonsense!' said her mother; 'go back again, and if he won't answer you, give him a good box on the ear.' Margery went back, and said, 'Brother, give me an apple.' But he answered not a word; so she gave him a good box on the ear; and immediately his head fell off. At this, you may be sure she was sadly frightened, and ran

**The Juniper Tree**

(Thoms, *Lays & Legends of Germany* 1834, pp.245-7)

*Then came little Margery into the kitchen, to her mother, who stood by the fire, and had a saucepan of boiling water before her, which she kept stirring about. 'Mother,' said Margery, 'brother is sitting before the door and looking so white, and he has got an apple in his hand; I have asked him to give me the apple, but he answered me not. I did not like it at all.' 'Go once more,' said the mother, 'and if he does not answer you, give him a box on his ear.' Then went Margery to him, and said, 'Brother, give me the apple? [sic!] But he remained still; then she gave him a box on his ear, so that his head fell down. Thereupon, she was greatly alarmed, and began to*
‘Ach, Moder, ick heb
minen Broder den Kopp
afslagen! Un weend un weend un
wull sick nich tofreden geven.
‘Marleenken’, sed de Moder,
‘wat hest du daan!–Averst swig
man still, dat et keen Minsch
markt, dat is nu doch nich to
ënnern; wi willen em in Suur
kaaken.’ Daar nam de Moder den
lütjten Jungen um hackt em in
Stücken, ded de in den Pott un
kaakt em in Suur; Marleenken
averst stund daarby un weend un
weend, un de Traenen feelen all
in den Pott, un se bruukten gar
keen Solt.

Daar kam de Vader to
Huus un sett sick to Disch un
sed: ‘Wo is denn min Sön?’ Daar
drog de Moorer eene groote,
grote Schöttel op mit swart
Suur, un Marleenken weend un
kund sick nich hollen. Da sed de
Vader weddert: ‘Wo is denn myn
Sön?’—‘Ach’, sed de Moder, ‘he
is över Land gaan, na Mütten eer
groot Oem, he wull daar wat
bliven.’—‘Wat deit he denn daar?
Un hed my nich mal Adjis
segd?’—‘O he wuld geern hen, un
bed my, ob he daar woll sös
Weken bliven kunn, he is jo woll
daar uphaben.’—‘Ach’, säd de
Mann, ‘my is so recht trurig, dat
is doch nich recht, he had my
doch Adjis seggen schullt.’ Mit
des fung he an to eeten un sed:
‘Marleenken, wat weenst du?
Broder ward woll wedder
kamen.’—‘Ach Fru’, sed he do,
‘wat smeket my dat Eten schön,
gif my meer!’ Un je meer he at,
je meer wuld he hebben, un sed:
‘Gevt my meer, gy söt niks
daaraf hebben, dat is as wenn dat
all myn weer’, un he att un att,
un de Knaken smeet he all unner
den Disch, bet he alles up had.
Marleenken averst ging hen na
ëere Commode un namm üt de
unnerste Schuuf eeren besten
syden Doock, un haalt all de
Beeken un Knaken ünner den
Disch herut, un bund se in den
screaming out to her mother,
that she had knocked off her
brother’s head, and cried as if
her heart would break. ‘O
Margery!’ said her mother,
‘what have you been doing?
However, what is done cannot
be undone; so we had better put
him out of the way, and say
nothing to any one about it.

When the father came
to dinner, he said, ‘Where
is my little boy?’ And his wife
said nothing, but put a large
dish of black soup upon the table; and
Margery wept bitterly all the
time, and could not hold up her
head. And her father asked af
after his little boy again. ‘Oh!’ said
his wife, ‘I should think he is
gone to his uncle’s.’ ‘What
business could he have to go
away without bidding me good
bye?’ said his father. ‘I know he
wished very much to go,’ said
the woman; ‘and begged me to
let him stay there some time; he
will be well taken care of there.’
‘Ah!’ said the father, ‘I don’t
like that; he ought not to have
gone away without wishing me
good-bye.’ And with that he
began to eat; but he seemed still
sorrowful about his son, and
said, ‘Margery, what do you cry
so for? your brother will come
back again, I hope.’

weep, and to roar, and ran to her
mother, and said, ‘Alas, mother,
I have smitten off the head of my
brother,’ and wept and would not
be comforted. ‘Margery,’ said
the mother, ‘what hast thou
done? but be quiet, that no man
may find it out, and there is
nothing to fear—we will make
broth of him.’

Then the mother took the
little boy, and hacked him in
pieces, put them in the saucepan
and made broth of them. But
little Margery stood by, weeping
and weeping, and her tears all
fell into the saucepan, so that
then it lacked no salt.

Then came the father
home, and sate himself down to
the table and said, ‘Where, then,
is my son?’ Then the mother
brought in a great dish of black
broth, and little Margery kept
weeping and could not retain
herself. Then said the father
again, ‘Where, then, is my son?’
Oh,’ said the mother, ‘he is
gone into the country, to your
great uncle at Mütten, he will
remain there a while.’
‘Wherefore did he that? and
never once bid me good bye.’
‘Oh, he would go, and begged he
might stay there six weeks, for
he likes so much to be there.’
‘Ah,’ said the man, ‘I feel right
sorrowful. [sic] for that is not as
it should be, besides he should
have bidden me good bye.’

With this he began to
eat, and said, ‘Margery, why do
you cry? brother will soon come
home again.’ ‘Oh, wife,’ said he
then, ‘I relish this right well—
give me some more.’ And
the more he ate, the more he
would have, and said, ‘Give me more,
you shall have none of it; for it
is, as though it was all mine.’
And he ate and ate, and the bones
he threw all under the table, and
he ate up all the rest.

But little Margery went
to her chamber, and took out of
This particular story in the Grimms’ collection served as an exemplary model of the folk-tale for the Grimm brothers. It is a story to which we shall return in greater detail in Chapter XI. At this juncture, it should be noted that the German original is here transcribed in Pomeranian dialect and has all the hallmarks of a tale told in the oral tradition, especially its use of a paratactical and repetitive style. Taylor—and he is not the only English translator to do so—omits the scene of cannibalism that takes place and it is never made clear by him exactly how the murdered boy’s body is disposed of. As was mentioned above (Chapter I, p.25), Taylor does confess to what he has omitted in his Notes to the story (German Popular Stories 1826, p.254): ‘We must acquaint the reader that in the original the black broth which the father eats, is formed by the step-mother from the limbs of the murdered child.’ However, this gruesome episode where the daughter is forced to watch while her mother chops up her half-brother into pieces and puts them into a pot to make a stew out of him
(II.31-9) is left out of the text of his story by Taylor, as is also the subsequent occasion at the dinner table where the father selfishly and greedily satisfies his huge appetite for the meal (II.63-71). Thoms admirably restores both these 'striking incidents' in his version. However, despite his readiness to include these important episodes, along with the graphic counting down of the nine months of pregnancy at the outset of the tale, Thoms's translation is far from perfect and particularly in the area of style can only be considered faulty. His frequent use of inversion (e.g. ll.1, 16, 41, 89, and 102-4), though it follows the pattern of the German, sounds archaic and clumsy in English. Sometimes Thoms's literalness results in an almost comic overstatement, e.g. 'she was greatly alarmed, and began to weep, and to roar, and ran to her mother' (II.21-4). Conversely, earlier (II.11-12) he fails to convey the full emotional force of the original: 'I did not like it at all' is hardly equivalent to 'da wurd my ganz gruulig'. It may well be that the Lays & Legends of Germany were prepared in a hurry and Thoms had not been able to allow himself time for the niceties of style. Mistakes in punctuation also appear (e.g. here l.18 and l.60) but could be printing errors.

Similar criticisms can be made of the other stories in Thoms's collection, despite the fact that he was at great pains to deliver the plots of the originals in as faithful and undiluted a form as possible. Here, as another comparison, is the climax of the first story in the Grimms' collection 'Der Froschkönig', the point at which the magical transformation of the frog into a prince takes place. Taylor, whose 'translation' is made from the first edition of the KHM (see Sutton 1990 for a detailed discussion of Taylor's version of this story), at this point suddenly veers away from the original and provides a denouement more in keeping with his and his readers' expectations of how young heroines should behave in such circumstances. Thoms, working with the second edition of the KHM, is, as before, prepared to give his readers the whole story, even if minus a few small but significant details.

**Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich**

*KHM* 1812, pp.4-5)

*The Frog-prince*

(German Popular Stories 1823, pp.208-210)

This she did, and when he [the frog] had eaten as much as he could, he said 'Now I am tired; carry me up stairs and put me into your little bed.' And 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,'

**Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich**

(KHM 1819, vol.1, p.11)

Dann sprach er: 'Nun hab ich mich satt gegessen, und bin müd, trag mich hinauf in dein Kämmerlein, und mach dein seiden Bettlein zurecht, da wollen wir uns schlafen legen.' Da fing die Königstochter an zu weinen gar bitterlich, und fürchstete sich vor dem kalten Frosch, den getraute sie sich nicht anzurühren und der sollte nun in ihrem schönen, reinen

**The Frog King; or, Iron Henry** (W. J. Thoms, Lays & Legends of Germany 1834, p.236)

Presently it said to her, 'Now I have eaten as much as I want, and am weary, so carry me up to thy chamber, and make ready thy little silken bed, that I may sleep in it.' At this the princess began to weep bitterly, for she was afraid of the cold frog, for she could not bear the thoughts of touching it, and now it was to sleep in her nice clean little bed. But the king gave her an angry look, and
The princess’s violent act carried out upon the bothersome animal was obviously too much for Edgar Taylor to relay to those English readers to whom, in his Preface, he had recommended such tales involving animals in supporting roles because they were ‘instructive by the purity of their morality’ and because in them ‘the amiable and generous qualities are brought forward to excite the sympathies of the reader, and in the end are constantly rewarded by triumph over lawless power’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.x). KHM 1, in its unadulterated original form, with its rebellious and violent princess, certainly does not conform to the model that Taylor has set up here; accordingly, the climax of Taylor’s version is drastically altered, drawing on another Grimm story, ‘Der Froschprinz’ (KHM 99a; see above, Chapter I, p.10) and replacing the spirited Grimms’ heroine with a dutiful and colourless, if not anaemic, counterpart. Thoms, on the other hand, does not avoid the extreme nature of the princess’s solution to her predicament: he is the first of the English translators
to reproduce it. Only in the description of the couple's sleeping together in the same bed does he hesitate to give word-for-word the details of the Grimms' story. Out of delicacy he changes the first-person plural pronoun to the singular in line 6 and then later completely glosses over the unambiguous statement 'Da schliefen sie nun vergnügt zusammen ein' (II.39-41). On other occasions, Thoms does not correctly capture the sense of the original, e.g. to translate 'bitterböse' as 'very maliciously disposed against him' (II.21-2) misses both the nature and intensity of her anger, while the German 'Der war nun von Recht und mit ihres Vaters Wille ihr lieber Geselle und Gemahl' (II.36-9) does not suggest that the king 'commands' the marriage--indeed, it is significant that once the princess has disobeyed her father's wishes by throwing the frog against the wall, he loses much of his former authority over her and can only consent to her marrying.

One final confusing detail of Thoms's translation, again involving pronouns, is at the brutal climax to this section: 'instead of lifting the frog into bed, she threw it with all her might against it' (II.26-8) suggests that the princess threw the frog against the bed and not the wall. Carelessness, especially in matters of style, is one of the unfortunate weaknesses of Thoms's otherwise laudable undertaking.

There was one aspect of the Grimms' original tales which Thoms was forced to acknowledge he could not render in a faithfully literal fashion. This was one which had already posed problems for Edgar Taylor before him, viz. the naming and presence of religious entities such as God and the Devil (see above Chapter I, p.29.). Thoms makes a lengthy comment on this aspect in his Introduction (Thoms 1834, p.ix):

One feature, which will most forcibly point out the distinction between the features of the north and south, is the introduction into the former, as into the old mysteries of this country, of sacred personages and events--even of the Creator himself. The sober inhabitants of Germany, but little accustomed to the debasing irony of the sceptic, are habituated from their earliest childhood to look upon sacred subjects with the reverence which is so justly due to them; and thence it is, that the familiarity with which the names and personages of Scripture are so frequently introduced into their tales, and which the less religious would consider as a sign of contempt, is, by their pious and well-ordered minds, recognised only as an evidence of endearment and respect.

Thoms is clearly making a special plea for acceptance of this peculiar trait 'of the north'--one is reminded of Taylor's reference to 'the ruder features of Northern fable' (German Popular Stories 1823, p.viii; see above, Chapter I, p.13)--and he is at great pains to paint the German mentality in the best possible colours: 'sober', pious', and 'well-ordered' are epithets obviously intended to win
over the sympathies of his English readers. Thoms returns to this theme in his footnote to the story ‘Gaffer Death’ (KHM 44 ‘Der Gevatter Tod’): ‘The passages which here follow in the original, could not be translated without offending the religious feeling of the majority of English readers. The Creator and the Spirit of Evil are both introduced, in a manner perfectly consonant with that tone of feeling, which in our introductory note, we have pointed out as one of the characteristics of the spirit of the German Tales’ (Thoms 1834, p.18). In his version of this story, Thoms simply omits the opening episode where the impoverished father of thirteen children encounters God and then the Devil, both of whom offer to be the godfather of his youngest child. The father turns both of them down--his refusal of God’s offer would certainly have raised more than an eyebrow amongst English readers of the time: ‘“So begeh ich dich nicht zum Gevatter, denn du gibst den Reichen und lässt die Armen hungern”’ (KHM 1819, vol.1, p.153). Even Wilhelm Grimm found it difficult to accept this piece of social and theological criticism in the unadorned form in which it appeared in the first edition of the KHM in 1812. In the second edition he adds the narratorial comment: ‘So sprach der Mann, weil er nicht wüßte, wie weislich Gott Reichthum und Armuth vertheilt;’ (KHM 1819, vol.1, p.153).

In other stories where the same problem arises, Thoms either, as here, omits the reference to God, or he replaces it with another, safer notion. One story where he adopts both measures is his version of KHM 109 ‘Das Todtenhemdchen’, ‘The Little Shroud’, a narrative on the theme of the ‘unquiet grave’.

**Das Todtenhemdchen**

(KHM 1819, vol.2, p.391)

Es hatte eine Mutter ein Büblein von sieben Jahren, das war so schön und lieblich, daß es niemand ansehen konnte ohne ihm gut zu seyn und sie hatte es auch lieber, als alles auf der Welt. Nun geschah es, daß es plötzlich krank wurde und der liebe Gott es zu sich nahm; darüber konnte sich die Mutter nicht trösten und weinte Tag und Nacht. Bald darauf, nachdem es begraben war, zeigte sich das Kind Nachts an den Plätzen, wo es sonst im Leben gesessen und gespielt hatte; weinte die Mutter, so weinte es auch, und wenn der Morgen

**The Little Shroud**

(W. J. Thoms, *Lays & Legends of Germany* 1834, pp.40-1)

There was once a woman, who had a little son of about seven years old, who was so lovely and beautiful that nobody could look upon him without being kind to him, and he was dearer to her than all the world beside. But it happened that he suddenly fell ill and died, and his mother would not be comforted, but wept for him day and night. And shortly, after he was buried, he showed himself at night in the places where he had been used in his lifetime to sit and play, and if his mother wept, he wept also; and when the

morning came he departed. Till since his mother never ceased weeping, the child came one night in the little white shroud in which he had been laid in his coffin, and with the chaplet upon his head; and he seated himself at her feet, upon the bed, he cried, 'Oh, Mother, Mother, give over crying, else I cannot sleep in my coffin, for my shroud is never dry because of your tears, for they all fall upon it.' And when his mother heard this she was sore afraid, and wept no more. And the Babe came upon another night, holding in his hand a little taper, and he said, 'Look, Mother, my shroud is now quite dry, and I can rest in my grave.' Then she bowed to the will of Providence, and bore her sorrow with silence and patience, and the little child returned not again, but slept in his underground little bed.

The euphemism of the clause ‘daß . . . der liebe Gott es zu sich nahm’ (Il.5-7) is rendered by Thoms quite unadornedly as ‘that he . . . died’. The second reference to God in ‘Da befahl die Mutter dem lieben Gott ihr Leid’ (ll.31-2) is given the more neutral formulation in English ‘Then she bowed to the will of Providence’. Apart from these changes, one can also note, once again, the occasional stylistic blemishes characteristic of Thoms’s work. ‘Till since’ (1.14) is clumsy English, as is the literalness of ‘the little child returned not again’ (ll.32-3).

A further feature of Thoms’s collection, which was also a sign of the times, was his predilection for including versified English versions amongst the texts he translated. Thoms had a brief literary career as an editor, producing a periodical entitled The Original which apparently had a life span of a mere four months and contained ‘a miscellany of humour, literature and the fine arts’ (see Stephen and Lee 1908-9, vol.19, p.710). Several of the original texts translated for Lays and Legends of Germany were ballads, taken, for example, from Herder’s works. In one instance, Thoms adapted and ‘amplified’ material from one of the Grimms’ tales, ‘De Spielhansl’ (KHM 82) and from the Grimms’ notes to this story in the ‘Anmerkungsband’ of 1822 where they give the outline of an eighth variation to KHM 82, the ‘Sage vom Schmied zu Apolda’ (KHM 1857, vol.3, pp.140-1 [152-3].

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This is the long ballad ‘The Smith of Apolda’ (Thoms 1834, pp.160-8). In another, the instance of the story ‘Das Todtenhemdchen’ cited above, he appends to his prose translation a versified version written by one of his contributors to The Original, Miss L. E. Landon (ibid. pp.41-3).

**The Little Shroud** by L. E. L.

She put him in a snow-white shroud,  
A chaplet on his head;  
And gathered early primroses  
To scatter o’er the dead.

She laid him in his little grave--  
Twas hard to lay him there,  
When spring was putting forth its flowers,  
And every thing was fair.

She had lost many children--now  
The last of them was gone;  
And day and night she sat and wept  
Beside the funeral stone.

One midnight, while her constant tears  
Were falling with the dew,  
She heard a voice, and lo! her child  
Stood by her, weeping too!

His shroud was damp, his face was white:  
He said--‘I cannot sleep,  
Your tears have made my shroud so wet;  
Oh, mother, do not weep!’

Oh, love is strong!--the mother’s heart  
Was filled with tender fears;  
Oh, love is strong!--and for her child  
Her grief restrained its tears.

One eve a light shone round her bed,  
And there she saw him stand--  
Her infant, in his little shroud,  
A taper in his hand.

‘Lo! mother, see, my shroud is dry,  
And I can sleep once more!’  
And beautiful the parting smile  
The little infant wore.
And down within the silent grave
   He laid his weary head;
And soon the early violets
   Grew o'er his grassy bed.

The mother went her household ways--
   Again she knelt in prayer,
And only asked of Heaven its aid
   Her heavy lot to bear.

Thoms then adds a footnote to the two versions of the story ‘The Little Shroud’ (Thoms 1834, p.43):

This tale was originally translated from Grimm’s Kinder und Haus-Marchen, Bd.2, s.118, for ‘The Original,’ a little weekly paper, in the management of which the translator bore a share, and which was doomed to a short life, though a merry one. The story of Brother Merry was translated for the same periodical; and the outline of the introductory notice to the present volume first appeared there. It has, of course, been re-written and amplified for the present occasion.

On the first publication of ‘The Little Shroud,’ it was spoken of as a tale, which L. E. L. or Mrs. Hemans might weave into as sweet a ballad as heart could wish. The hint was not lost upon Miss Landon; for shortly afterwards, the above delightful version of it appeared in the Literary Gazette, with a complimentary acknowledgement from the fair authoress of the source from which she derived it.

The tragic theme of the death of young children became a popular one during the nineteenth century in England. Here the versifier has added to the original translation by Thoms the traditional trappings of the sentimental lyric of the time: the pathetic fallacy of the premature death of the child during springtime and of the mother’s nocturnal tears ‘falling with the dew’, the addition of flowers, primroses and violets, as well as the quasi-refrain ‘Oh, love is strong!’ which highlights a theme not made explicit in either the original or in Thoms’s translation.

Versified adaptations of the Grimms’ tales in English, such as this one, are a topic unto themselves and fall beyond the scope of the present investigation. However, it can be noted at this point that the long tradition of such adaptations began very early. Already in 1825, two years after the appearance of the first volume of Edgar Taylor’s German Popular Stories, Dean and Munday of London produced two picture books, both inspired, one must assume, by Taylor’s work. These two books were Unlucky John and His Lump of Silver: A Juvenile Comic Tale and Wishing; or the Fisherman and His Wife: A Juvenile Poem, adapted from ‘Hans im Glück’ (KHM 83) and ‘Von dem Fischer un siine Fru’ (KHM 19). The author of the first is named on the frontispiece as Madame
Leinstein, who ‘translated from the German, into easy verse’. This latter claim may be fictitious as evidence indicates that her source text is more likely to have been Edgar Taylor’s *German Popular Stories*. Madame Leinstein, whoever she was, may well have been responsible for the second book as well, *Wishing; or the Fisherman and His Wife* (see Alderson 1993, pp.67-8).

In the original Grimm story on which *Unlucky John and His Lump of Silver* is based the apparently foolish hero, Hans, engages in a series of swaps, whereby he exchanges a piece of gold for a horse, and then in succession a cow, a pig, a goose, and finally a whetstone which he loses down a well. At this point he returns home, relieved at no longer having to carry any further burdens about with him. The story ends with the light-hearted sentence: ‘Mit leichtem Herzen und frei von aller Last sprang er nun, bis er daheim bei seiner Mutter war’ (*KHM* 1819, vol.1, p.297). Madame Leinstein follows the plot of the Grimm original but replaces the gold with silver (an indication of the author’s probable source, viz. Edgar Taylor’s translation of *KHM* 83 ‘Hans in Luck’ from the first volume of *German Popular Stories*, where the same substitution is made) and she omits the final episode with the whetstones, adding at the end, though, John’s return to his ‘Granny’ (not his mother) who imparts a comforting moral to her grandson:

John woke to weep, but Granny’s voice,
       Soon staunched his streaming eyes,
And bade his drooping heart rejoice,
       He’d still *himself* to prize.

She praised his wisdom, taught him, too,
       Oft wisdom’s wise in vain:
So John, poor as he was before,
       Returned to work again.

**MORAL**

Good stock of money at command,
       May oft a joy impart,
Yet squandered by a thoughtless hand,
       As oft afflicts the heart.

The note of tragedy struck here, as well as the good economic sense of the moral, are quite lacking in the Grimms’ original, which draws no conclusions and instead simply underlines the hero’s gratitude and joy at being ‘frei von aller Last’. It is an abiding feature of these English versified adaptations from the *KHM* that they introduce for the benefit of their child readers an explicit moral
at the end (see also below, Chapter XI, p.265).

A further work noted by Alderson (1993, pp.68-9) is a versified version of ‘Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geißlein’ (KHM 5) published by Wright of London in 1841 and entitled The Three Bears and their Stories. This work had actually been issued by the same publisher two years earlier in 1839 under the title An Hour at Bearwood (personal copy of David Blamires). The title of the 1841 edition is misleading in that only one story is in fact told, even though there is a preamble, also in rhyming verse, in which the narrator describes his visit to the three bears in their cottage and how he is there shown a particular book (An Hour at Bearwood 1839, pp.7-8):

As we sat down I ask’d to see
The book, the wee Bear gave to me,—

And it was German—True, indeed!
Bears now can every language read,
And one as easily, we find,
As the other, when they feel inclined.
Having return’d the book to him—
Call’d ‘Stories of the brothers Grimm’—
He chose a tale, and then began
To read it out, and thus it ran.

The Wolf and the Seven Kids

A she Goat once, so stories tell,
Had seven Kids whom she loved well,
   And watch’d with anxious care,
For, in the neighbourhood hard by,
A Wolf there dwelt, who oft would try
   Her little ones to snare.

And so the story proceeds, following the metrical pattern of this last stanza, to its conclusion where the wolf wakes up after eating all but one of the kids and then having them replaced in his stomach with stones (ibid., p.27):

   ‘Such indigestion can’t have sprung
   ‘From those six kids, so nice and young,
   ‘Which I for supper took!’
Then parch’d with thirst to get some drink,
He hobbled off, and reach’d the brink
   Of a clear sparkling brook.
It chanced the bank was rather steep,
The water there was still, and deep,
   And slippery the ground,
So when to drink his head he bent,
The stones roll'd forward, in he went,
   Splash--splash--and he was drown'd.

The seven kids came one and all,--
When they beheld the wolf thus fall
   Into his watery bed,--
Forth from the hedge, and danced about,
And grew quite hoarse with singing out,
   'HURRAH, THE WOLF IS DEAD!'

In the case of this adaptation there is no moral appended at the end. Indeed, despite the new framework narration dealing with the house of the bears, the events narrated in the central 'Wolf and the Seven Kids' section of the poem keep very close to the Grimms' original. This work is remarkable in that it is the first English version of this now well-known tale from the Grimms' collection. A second version, the first prose translation, did not appear until fourteen years later, in the 1853 edition of Addey's Household Stories.
III

EDGAR TAYLOR'S GAMMER GRETHEL (1839):
'HANSEL AND GRETHEL'

A selection of revised texts from Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories, entitled Gammer Grethel, or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories was published in the year of his death, 1839, by John Green of London. A copy of the second volume of German Popular Stories had been sent by Taylor to the Grimms, together with an accompanying letter, on 24 January 1826. In this letter (quoted by Hartwig 1898, pp.9-10) Taylor acknowledged his inclusion of stories not from the KHM, though he misrepresented their exact number: 'You will see that I have been obliged to take two or three stories from other collections to make up my volume of the character I wished'. At the same time he remained silent about his occasional fusion of several stories into one. In the Notes to the second volume of German Popular Stories, though, he does acknowledge this editorial licence and in all three instances confesses to the liberty he has taken in joining certain stories together, even on one occasion, in the case of 'Roland and May-bird', apologizing to 'the reader of the original' (German Popular Stories 1826, pp.253-4) for taking this liberty. In the two other instances he is less than honest--whether intentionally or inadvertently is difficult to say--when he fails to mention all the titles of the stories he has included in his combined versions by giving only two instead of three titles in the case of 'The Young Giant and the Tailor' and three instead of four in the case of 'Hans and his Wife Gretel'. The Appendix to Chapter I (see above, pp.50-55) gives a revised and corrected concordance.

Later in his letter to the Grimm brothers (Hartwig 1898, p.9), Taylor makes a brief but revealing parenthesis on the subject of translation, perhaps the only comment of his which demonstrates a critical awareness of the problems of translating: 'I have some inclination to publish a volume or two of the popular stories of the middle ages in various countries of Europe, selecting those which are best known and most worth preserving in each--of course all translated and to a certain extent therefore a little retold.' It would seem from this aside, despite its hesitant qualifications ('to a certain extent', 'a little retold'), that Taylor accepted the fact that translating necessarily involves a retelling and therefore an adaptation of the original to the target language (and perhaps
also to its culture). It is a pity that he did not elaborate on this issue at this point, since his experience of translating the Grimms' tales had evidently led him to reflect theoretically on the activity of translating—to what extent can perhaps never be known, unless further evidence comes to light. His practice, however, seen in the second volume of German Popular Stories and especially in the later collection, Gammer Grethel, would seem to indicate that Taylor viewed the unavoidable necessity of 'retelling' as a licence to refashion and reshape the text of the original to the needs and expectations of his readers. This is of course a strange paradox: what seemed initially to be a form of restriction and constraint on the translator—the submission to 'local feelings' (see above, Chapter I, p.15) to contemporary morality and its taboos—is taken subsequently as a spur to editorial freedom and inventiveness. In finding himself at first forced by the prevailing mores to make omissions and alterations to the original text, the translator then discovers a new freedom to invent, and to add these inventions to the original text in the course of translating it. This certainly seems to have been the case with Edgar Taylor. Having taken over sole responsibility for the second and subsequent editions of German Popular Stories, he finds himself in a position of complete control. Ignoring not only the subtle hints of the Grimm brothers in their letter but also their directing of his attention to the new revised Kleine Ausgabe of the KHM (see Hartwig 1898, p.10), Taylor happily goes his own independent way and publishes in 1839 his new collection Gammer Grethel in which this new-found freedom is patently obvious. An analogy can be drawn here with Wilhelm Grimm, who a little earlier had likewise taken over sole responsibility for the editing of the second and all subsequent editions of the KHM and had similarly found himself in a position of newly won independence from his fellow worker—in this case his own brother Jacob. Wilhelm Grimm too discovered a new freedom which allowed him, for example, to include in the third edition of his collection a story which was mainly of his own creating, 'Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot', and thereby to pass it off as a traditional folk-tale (see Rölleke 1987, pp.13ff.).

Taylor's own increased sense of freedom can be seen in the opening paragraph of his revised version of the story 'Rose-bud' (KHM 50), published in Gammer Grethel in 1839, when it is placed alongside his earlier version from the first volume of German Popular Stories.
Vor Zeiten war ein König und eine Königin, die sprachen jeden Tag: 'Ach, wenn wir doch ein Kind hätten!', und kriegen immer keins. Da trug sich zu, als die Königin einmal im Bade saß, daß ein Krebs aus dem Wasser ans Land kroch und zu ihr sprach: 'Dein Wunsch wird erfüllt, und du wirst eine Tochter zur Welt bringen.' Was der Krebs vorausgesagt hatte, das geschah und die Königin gebar ein so schönes Mädchen, daß der König vor Freuden sich nicht zu lassen wußte und ein großes Fest anstellte.

Once upon a time there lived a king and queen who had no children; and this they lamented very much. But one day as the queen was walking by the side of the river, a little fish lifted its head out of the water, and said, 'Your wish shall be fulfilled, and you shall soon have a daughter.' What the little fish had foretold soon came to pass; and the queen had a little girl that was so very beautiful that the king could not cease looking on it for joy, and determined to hold a great feast.

A king and a queen once upon a time reigned in a country a great way off, where there were in those days fairies. Now this king and queen had plenty of money, and plenty of fine clothes to wear, and plenty of good things to eat and drink, and a coach to ride out in, every day: but though they had been married many years, they had no children, and this grieved them very much indeed. But one day as the queen was walking by the side of the river, at the bottom of the garden, she saw a poor little fish, that had thrown itself out of the water, and lay gasping and nearly dead on the bank. Then the queen took pity on the little fish, and threw it back again into the river; and before it swam away it lifted its head out of the water, and said, 'I know what your wish is, and it shall be fulfilled, in return for your kindness to me; you will soon have a daughter.' What the little fish had foretold soon came to pass; and the queen had a little girl, so very beautiful that the king could not cease looking on it for joy, and said he would hold a great feast and make merry, and show the child to all the land.
That Taylor has grown expansive in his revised version of the story is immediately visible: the new text is more than twice the length of the old. This extra length is due firstly to the addition of descriptive passages lacking in both the earlier English version and the Grimms’ original (and one notices Taylor’s ‘signature tune’ in the phrase ‘in a country a great way off’), and secondly to the introduction of the notion of reward for an act of moral goodness, i.e. the kindness shown by the queen to an innocent animal, in this instance a fish, a motif which Taylor may well have taken from *KHM 19* included by him in the first volume of *German Popular Stories* as ‘The Fisherman and his Wife’. This kind of elaboration is typical of the later Taylor and follows a pattern already established in George Cunningham’s reworking of Taylor’s versions in *Foreign Tales & Traditions* from 1828 (see above, Chapter II, p.58). David Blamires (1989, p.75) outlines the distinguishing marks of the collection *Gammer Grethel* thus:

This was quite a 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 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.

The first English reissue was in fact in 1846 (Joseph Cundall). Two American editions had appeared earlier in 1840 and 1841 (J. Munroe & Co., Boston), and the firm H. G. Bohn published its first edition in 1848 and followed it up with reprints in 1849, 1851, 1856, 1862, 1863 and 1864. Bell & Daldy of London (later George Bell & Sons) also published *Gammer Grethel* in 1869, and reissued it in 1878 and 1908. The most recent date recorded of an edition of *Gammer Grethel* would appear to be 1913 (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London).

It is also of note that Taylor did not bother to use the more recent editions of the *KHM* which were available to him, viz. the ‘Kleine Ausgabe’ of 1825 or the third edition of the ‘Große Ausgabe’ of 1837. Had he done so, he would perhaps have noticed that between the second and third editions of the *KHM* Wilhelm Grimm altered the animal at the beginning of *KHM 50* ‘Dornröschen’ from a crab to a frog--Taylor himself had for some reason known only to himself originally rendered the word ‘Krebs’ as a ‘fish’, and retained this choice in his revised version of the story. In preparing
Gammer Grethel Taylor seems to have worked solely from his original translations, because the errors in translation that were present in German Popular Stories are repeated in Gammer Grethel. There appears to be only one exception to this practice: in the story ‘Heads off’, Taylor’s revised translation of KHM 92 ‘Der König vom goldenen Berge’, he corrects his earlier error of omitting the dwarf’s colour (‘ein kleines schwarzes Männchen’, KHM 1819, vol. 2, p. 338) in the German Popular Stories version of the story, ‘The King of the Golden Mountain’, by adding it and retaining it throughout, e.g. ‘a little rough-looking dwarf’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p. 169) now becomes ‘a little rough-looking black dwarf’ (Gammer Grethel 1839, p. 316). Otherwise Taylor does not take the opportunity to retrace his footsteps, correct his original mistakes, and create a text more faithful to the German original. Instead he treats his new edition as a chance to travel still further down the path that he had set out on earlier. The book is much more clearly a book for children, and for English children. The stylistic changes, whereby longer and more difficult words are replaced by shorter and easier ones, characters are given names, and elaborations like those in the opening paragraph of ‘Rose-bud’, all confirm this.

Taylor’s addition of the mention of ‘fairies’ not only at the opening of ‘Rose-bud’ but also in other stories in Gammer Grethel is also a way of making the tales more akin to those fairytales with which his child audience would have been familiar. As noted above (Chapter II, p. 60), Taylor adds the figures of fairies, whereas Wilhelm Grimm removed all traces of them between the publication of the first and second editions of the KHM, presumably because the very word ‘Fee’ was evidence of unwanted French influence. Similarly, we have seen how Taylor avoided all references to the figure of God (see above, Chapter I, p. 29), references which Wilhelm Grimm had in many instances added to his second edition of 1819. (See Rölleke’s essay ‘Zur Biographie der Grimmschen Märchen’ in KHM 1819, especially pp. 575-577.) In these two cases Wilhelm Grimm and his English translator were obviously moving in opposite directions.

Taylor adds to the revised version of his original Preface a new comment on the translators’ attitude to style (Gammer Grethel 1839, p. v):

With regard to style, the Translators have been anxious to adopt that which they have ever found, by experience, most suitable to the class of readers whose tastes and capacities they had mainly in view; and, indeed, that which appears in every respect best adapted to the subject--

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11 The term is a misnomer in the case of this edition, because the work of translation had already been carried out, and so far as we know, only Edgar Taylor was responsible for the revisions to the texts in Gammer Grethel.
namely, the purely English elements of our language. From these they have very rarely, and only under the pressure of almost absolute necessity, departed.

It is difficult to understand here exactly what Taylor means by 'the purely English elements of our language', as he gives no specific examples. Nor is it made clear what his 'departures' from these involved. What is clear, though, is the fact that Taylor's attitude to the restrictions imposed on a translator has changed considerably. Earlier in his Preface to the first volume of German Popular Stories he had written of his and David Jardine's intentions: 'In those tales which they have selected they had proposed to make no alteration whatever; but in a few instances they have been compelled to depart in some degree from their purpose . . .' (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.xi-xii). The same feeling of compulsion is expressed in the letter written to the Grimm brothers in June 1823 (Hartwig 1898, pp.6-7): 'In compiling our little volume we had the amusement of some young friends principally in view, and were therefore compelled sometimes to conciliate local feelings and deviate a little from strict translation.' Here, in both instances, the compulsion is felt by the translators to arise from their need to adapt to the expectations of their prospective readers. In the later Preface to Gammer Grethel though, the situation has changed. Now 'the pressure of almost absolute necessity' is felt by the so-called 'translators' to come from the inalterable aspects of the original text, not from the demands and expectations of their English audience. This is a remarkable reversal of attitude. Originally, in the Preface to German Popular Stories, the editor was excusing any deviations from faithfulness to the original texts; now, in the Preface to Gammer Grethel, he is excusing his failure to do the opposite, i.e. to adapt to the 'tastes and capacities' of his readers. This dramatic change of attitude highlights the different nature of the revised edition of Taylor's book.

The story from this edition which is to be analysed in this chapter is one of the composite tales, viz. 'Hansel and Grethel' (Gammer Grethel 1839, pp.283-98), a revised and combined version of the stories 'Hansel and Gretel' and 'Roland and May-bird' which first appeared in each of the two volumes of German Popular Stories in 1823 and 1826 respectively. It is also an example of a story whose title has been changed since its first publication. Those familiar with the now traditional story of 'Hansel and Grethel' (KHM 15 'Hänsel und Gretel') will be surprised by Taylor's version of it, as it seems a drastic departure from the Grimms' original. Despite its novelty to the modern reader, it has had a long history in English since it was first published in this form under the title 'Hansel and Grethel' in 1839. It appears in all the later editions of Gammer Grethel until well into this century. It continues its existence under the same title in the various editions published by J. M. Dent since
1901, editions which also contain Taylor's version of *KHM* 53, 'Snow-drop'. The Publishers' Note to the 1949 Dent edition of *Grimms' Fairy Tales*, reprinted in 1964 and 1968, begins (p.ix): 'This edition for children of some of the best loved fairy tales by the brothers Grimm is based on the selection made by Marion Edwardes, first published by Dent in 1901. It, in turn, was based on a collection translated into English by Edgar Taylor, who published two editions, one in 1824-6 and the other in 1839. There is little difference between them; the first was called *Household Tales* and the second *Gammer Gretel*. The minor inaccuracies here in the dates and titles are followed by a more glaring misrepresentation of reality when the publishers write (ibid., p.x): 'We have . . . checked the Edwardes versions, and the Taylor edition has been compared with the original Grimm text as published in 1870. No tale is now included in the present volume that is not "authentic Grimm"'. A close examination of the texts in the Dent collection shows that this remark is patently false, since two stories, 'The Frog Prince' and 'Hansel and Gretel', are taken verbatim from Taylor's *Gammer Grethel* and are far from being 'authentic Grimm'. The first, as Blamires (1989) and Sutton (1990) have shown, avoids the original and somewhat violent ending to the Grimms' version of the story 'Der Froschkönig' (*KHM* 1) by turning the heroine-princess into a submissive and dutiful daughter; the second, as has already been stated, is a composite story, based on four different tales from the Grimms' collection, none of which is faithfully represented in Taylor's process of fusion.

Taylor freely acknowledges this act of fusion in his Notes to both the *German Popular Stories* and the *Gammer Grethel* editions. That the later edition is not intended solely as a work for children is evident from the inclusion of the original Notes, likewise at the end of the book; several later editions of *Gammer Grethel* add these Notes as footnotes to the texts of the individual stories; others omit them altogether. The Notes to 'Hansel and Gretel' in the first edition of *Gammer Grethel* (1839, pp.347-8), being in turn a composite version of the notes to two separate stories in *German Popular Stories*, are confusing:

A portion of 'Brüderchen und Schwestchen;' the remainder we omitted as branching into a new series of distinct adventures. The story is very common in Germany, and is also known in Sweden. Praetorius, vol.ii., p.255, will give the curious the whole art, mystery, and history, of transformation of men into animals.

We must apologise to the reader of the original, for the way in which three stories, viz. 'Fundevogel,' 'Der Liebste Roland,' and 'Hänsel and [sic] Grethel,' have been here combined in one. Several of the incidents will be familiar to the English reader; indeed, they are common to almost every country . . .
The confusion stems from the fact that Taylor has taken his original notes for ‘Hansel and Grettel’ and ‘Roland and May-bird’ from the two volumes of *German Popular Stories* and simply combined them with no regard for their correct order in his composite version. In reality, Taylor’s ‘Hansel and Grethel’ is made up of the first paragraph from ‘Fundevogel’ (*KHM* 51), followed by three-quarters of ‘Hänsel und Grethel’ (*KHM* 15) and two-thirds of ‘Der Liebste Roland’ (*KHM* 56), and, finally, by a little more than a third of ‘Brüderchen und Schwesterchen’ (*KHM* 11). The idea of combining several stories into one may have occurred to Taylor from reading of the Grimms’ own ‘Anmerkungen’ of 1822 to their ‘Der Liebste Roland’ (see *KHM* 1837, pp.956-8) where connections with both ‘Hänsel und Grethel’ and ‘Fundevogel’ are made. Why he should wish to make such a combination at all is hard to fathom. The first instance of his doing this is the story ‘The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet’ in *German Popular Stories* 1823 and Taylor explains this particular compilation by stating in his Notes to the story (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.228) that the three tales are ‘placed together as naturally forming one continuous piece of biography.’ While the process may work in this first instance (though his use of the term ‘naturally’ must be questioned), it is hardly the case with the later ‘Hansel and Grethel’, for Taylor has to undertake some massive excision and transplant surgery before the body of this story is fully formed. The process does not occur ‘naturally’.

All the four stories that constitute ‘Hansel and Grethel’ have a thematic similarity: a couple (boy and girl) escape the villainous designs of an older female figure (a witch). In two of these stories (*KHM* 11 and 56) this figure is explicitly a stepmother, while in *KHM* 51 the cook can likewise be seen as having the role of stepmother, as no other older woman—a wife or natural mother—is present in the family unit at the outset of the story. In his Notes to his version of ‘Brüderchen und Schwesterchen’ (*German Popular Stories* 1823, p.236), Taylor comments: ‘This story is one of a most numerous class, in which a stepmother unsuccessfully exerts a malicious influence over her charge.’ Significantly, this sentence is omitted from the Notes to ‘Hansel and Grethel’ in *Gammer Grethel* 1839. This omission would seem to point to the rationale behind Taylor’s later combined version of the four separate stories. In this version the stepmother figure is conspicuous by her absence. In fact Taylor would seem to have deliberately structured his story so as to exclude the stepmother, the central villain being not the cook in ‘Fundevogel’, nor the stepmothers in ‘Der Liebste Roland’ and ‘Brüderchen und Schwesterchen’, but the ‘fairy’ whom Hansel and Grethel encounter in the forest. From the moment of her appearance she remains—apart from Hansel’s natural mother who instigates his and Grethel’s abandonment in the forest—the only villain throughout the story. Once again, as was
seen in the case of ‘Snow-drop’ (see above, chapter I, p.30), Taylor has played down the original role of the stepmother, here by avoiding her altogether. Not only that, but he also diminishes the evil nature of the figure who replaces her, the ‘bad fairy’, in the same way as he had lessened the magnitude and intensity of the queen’s obsessions in ‘Snow-drop’. Once again, the result of such omissions and alterations is a text that is very much a diluted version of the original tales on which it was based. In this instance though, the damage done is far deeper and affects not only the characterization and the emotional dimension of the story but also its narrative structure.

The procedure followed below will differ from that of the previous chapter. Because the English version is long and ‘diffuse’, only those sections of the two texts will be reproduced in which the narrative structure and Taylor’s alterations to it are evident.

Vom Fundevogel
(KHM 1819, vol.1, pp.179-80))

Es war einmal ein Förster, der ging in den Wald auf die Jagd, und wie er in den Wald kam, hörte er schreien, als ob ein kleines Kind wäre und ging dem Schreien nach, da sah er endlich einen hohen Baum und oben darauf saß ein kleines Kind. Es war aber die Mutter mit dem Kinde unter dem Baum eingeschlafen, da hatte ein Raubvogel das Kind in ihrem Schöß gesehen, flog hinzu, nahm es mit seinem Schnabel weg, und setzte es auf den hohen Baum.

Der Förster stieg hinauf, holte das Kind herunter und dachte: ‘Du willst das Kind mit nach Haus nehmen und mit deinem Lehnhen zusammen aufziehen’, brachte es heim, und die zwei Kinder wuchsen so mit einander auf. Das aber, das auf dem Baum gefunden worden war, und weil es ein Vogel weggetragen hatte, wurde Fundevogel geheißen. Fundevogel und Lehnhchen hatten sich so lieb, nein so lieb, daß wenn eins das andere nicht sah, wurde es traurig.

Der Förster hatte aber eine alte Köchin, die nahm eines Abends zwei Eimer und fing an Wasser zu schleppen und ging nicht einmal, sondern vielmals hinaus an den Brunnen. Lehnhchen sah es

Hansel and Grethel
(Gammer Grethel 1839, pp.283-298)

There was once a poor man, who was a woodman, and went every day to cut wood in the forest. One day, as he went along, he heard a cry like a little child’s; so he followed the sound, till at last he looked up a high tree, and on one of the branches sat a very little child. Now its mother had fallen asleep, and a vulture had taken it out of her lap, and flown away with it, and left it on the tree. Then the woodcutter climbed up, took the little child down, and found it was a pretty little girl; and he said to himself, ‘I will take this poor child home, and bring it up with my own son Hansel.’ So he brought her to his cottage, and both grew up together: he called the little girl Grethel, and the two children were so very fond of each other that they were never happy but when they were together.
Hänsel und Grethel
(KHM 1819, vol.1, pp.62-6)

Vor einem großen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker, der hatte nichts zu beißen und zu brechen und kaum das tägliche Brot für seine Frau und seine zwei Kinder, Hänsel und Grethel. Endlich kam die Zeit, da konnte er auch das nicht schaffen, und wußte keine Hülfe mehr für seine Noth. Wie er sich nun Abends vor Sorge im Bett herumwälzte, sprach seine Frau zu ihm: 'Höre Mann, morgen früh nimm die beiden Kinder, gieb jedem noch ein Stückchen Brot, dann führ sie hinaus in den Wald, mitten inne, wo er am dicksten ist, da mach ihnen ein Feuer an, und dann geh weg und laß sie dort allein, wir können sie nicht länger ernähren.'--'Nein Frau,' sagte der Mann, 'das kann ich nicht über mein Herz bringen, meine eigenen lieben Kinder den wilden Thieren im Wald zu bringen, die sie bald würden zerrissen haben.'--

'Nun, wenn du das nicht thust', sprach die Frau, 'so müssen wir alle miteinander Hungers sterben'; und ließ ihm keine Ruhe, bis er einwilligte. . . .

But the woodcutter became very poor, and had nothing in the world he could call his own; and indeed he had scarcely bread enough for his wife and the two children to eat. At last the time came when even that was all gone, and he knew not where to seek for help in his need. Then at night, as he lay on his bed and turned himself here and there, restless and full of care, his wife said to him, 'Husband, listen to me, and take the two children out early to-morrow morning; give each of them a piece of bread, and then lead them into the midst of the wood, where it is thickest; make a fire for them, and go away and leave them alone to shift for themselves, for we can no longer keep them here.' 'No, wife,' said the husband, 'I cannot find it in my heart to leave the children to the wild beasts of the forest; they would soon tear them to pieces.' 'Well, if you will not do as I say,' answered the wife, 'we must all starve together:' and she would not let him have any peace, until he came into her hard-hearted plan. . . .
Taylor’s first alteration to the original is to turn the forester into a woodman because this is how the father in the story which forms the second part of ‘Hansel and Grethel’ earns his living (ll.40-1). Taylor attempts, at the outset at least, to be as consistent as possible. Not only is the father a woodman, he is also ‘poor’, and becomes later (ll.40-1) ‘very poor’. The forester in the German original of ‘Fundevogel’ is not poor and his old cook would appear to have then no particular reason for wanting to cook up his foster-child, at least not out of hunger brought on by poverty. Her maliciousness is quite inexplicable and arbitrary, and the reader might suppose that she has secret cannibalistic cravings, which would make her a close relative of the witch in KHM 15, ‘Hänsel und Grethel’. She plays no part in Taylor’s version and one is left wondering why the woodman in this version has–given that he is so poor–no qualms about taking on another mouth to feed in the family. Such rational considerations evidently escaped Taylor when he was combining the two stories. Why, in this first improbable episode, he should then render the ‘Raubvogel’ as a ‘vulture’ is also a mystery, since vultures are carrion birds rather than birds of prey. He does however improve on the original in that he refrains from depicting the mother of the child asleep under the very tree in which the bird subsequently deposits the child. The reader is led by the German original to ask what has happened to the mother—did she simply walk away and forget her child placed right above her? Taylor astutely overcomes this problem by implying that the mother was some distance removed from the tree where the woodcutter eventually finds her child. Wilhelm Grimm never saw fit to improve on this passage and retained it in all editions of the KHM.

The child in Taylor’s version then surprisingly undergoes a change of sex. In the Grimms’ text it is a little boy (originally named Karl in the manuscript version of the story from 1810; see Rölleke 1975, p.154); Taylor changes it into a ‘pretty little girl’. In his first version of the story he gives the girl the name of ‘May-bird, because he [the woodcutter] had found her on a tree in May’ (German Popular Stories 1826, p.212), which as an ingenious solution to the problem of finding a suitable equivalent for the name ‘Fundevogel’. Taylor’s choice of name is certainly more satisfactory than other translators’ versions in the nineteenth century. One can compare, for example, ‘Bird-Foundling’ in Household Tales & Traditions ([1845]), ‘Fir-Apple’ in Household Stories (1853), and Mrs. Paull’s ‘Birdie’ in her Grimms’ Fairy Tales ([1872]). Matilda Davis (1855) and Margaret Hunt (1884) simply plump for the German names, ‘Fundvogel’ and ‘Fundevogel’ respectively. By the time of his Gammer Grethel edition Taylor had changed both the hero’s and the heroine’s names to those of the two children in KHM 15, thus depriving himself of one reason for including the opening section of this particular story, viz. the explanation of the heroine’s peculiar name. The one remaining justification
for using the Grimms’ tale ‘Fundevogel’ must be to establish that the hero and heroine, even though they are brought up together, are not natural siblings and are therefore free to marry at the end of the story. This alteration is one that has significant consequences not only for the characterization but also, as we shall see, for the story’s overall structure and its classification as a particular type of ‘Märchen’.

Having confirmed that the two children are emotionally attached to each other, Taylor moves straight from the story of ‘Fundevogel’ to that of ‘Hänsel und Grethel’, thereby shying away from the episode in the first story where the old cook--the stepmother figure--intends to boil up the little boy in a large cauldron and as a consequence the two children are forced to flee from her and from their family home. In the episode that replaces it, viz. the opening sequence of ‘Hänsel und Grethel’, Taylor faithfully follows the Grimms’ narrative. His addition in lines 55-56, ‘and leave them alone to shift for themselves’, would seem to suggest that the two children are somewhat older than Hänsel and Grethel in the original story, though later they are referred to as ‘little children’ (see below, 1.104). One might also ask with regard to Taylor’s version of the story--where the children are not siblings--why the parents were not tempted to expose just their adopted child, rather than both of them. This is again a minor rational consideration, apparently too minor to occur to the English editor. The question, though, of the age of the two protagonists will have to be considered again later.

For now, we can observe that Taylor’s story follows KHM 15 to the point where the two children, abandoned and lost in the forest, find their way to a little house and encounter there its owner, the witch.

. . . Als sie am dritten Tage wieder bis zu Mittag gegangen waren, da kamen sie an ein Häuslein, das war ganz aus Brot gebaut und war mit Kuchen gedeckt, und die Fenster waren von hellem Zucker. ‘Da wollen wir uns niedersetzen und uns satt essen’, sagte Hansel; ‘ich will vom Dach essen, iß du vom Fenster, Grethel, das ist fein süß für dich.’ Wie nun Grethel an den Zucker knuperte, rief drinnen eine feine Stimme:

‘Knuper, knuper, Kneischen!
Wer knupert an meinem Häuschen!’

. . . In the afternoon of the third day they came to a strange little hut, made of bread, with a roof of cake, and windows of barley-sugar. ‘Now we will sit down and eat till we have had enough,’ said Hansel ‘I will eat off the roof for my share; do you eat the windows, Grethel, they will be nice and sweet for you.’ Whilst Grethel however, was picking at the barley-sugar, a pretty voice called softly from within,

‘Tip, tap! who goes there?’

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Die Kinder antworteten:

'Der Wind! der Wind!
Das himmlische Kind!'

Und aßen weiter. Grethel brach sich eine
ganz runde Fensterscheibe heraus und
Hänsel riß sich ein gewaltig Stück Kuchen
vom Dach ab. Da ging die Thüre auf und
eine steinale Frau kam herausgeschlichen.
Hänsel und Grethel erschracken so
gewaltig, daß sie fallen ließen, was sie in
Händen hatten. Die Alte aber wackelte mit
dem Kopf und sagte: 'Ei, ihr lieben Kinder,
wo seyd ihr denn hergelaufen, kommt
herein mit mir, ihr sollts gut haben', faßte
beide an der Hand und führte sie in ihr Häuschen. Da ward gutes Essen
aufgetragen, Milch und Pfannkuchen mit
Zucker, Äpfel und Nüsse, und dann
wurden zwei schöne Bettlein bereitet, da
legten sich Hänsel und Grethel hinein, und
meinten sie wären im Himmel.

Die Alte aber war eine böse Hexe,
die lauerte den Kindern auf, und hatte um
sie zu locken ihr Brodhäuslein gebaut, und
wenn eins in ihre Gewalt kam, da machte
sie es todt, kochte es und aß es, und das
war ihr ein Festtag. Da war sie nun recht
froh, wie Hänsel und Grethel ihr
zugelaufen kamen. Früh, ehe sie noch
erwacht waren, stand sie auf, ging an ihre
Bettlein und wie sie die zwei so lieblich
ruhen sah, freute sie sich und murmelte:
'Das wird ein guter Bissen für mich seyn!'
Darauf packte sie den Hänsel und steckte
ihn in einen kleinen Stall, wie er nun
aufwachte, war er von einem Gitter
umschlossen, wie man junge Hühnlein
einsperrt, und konnte nur ein paar Schritte
gehen. Das Grethel aber schüttelte sie und
rief: 'Steh auf, du Faulenzerin, hol Wasser
und geh in die Küche und koch was gutes
dazu essen, dort steckt dein Bruder in einem
Stall, den will ich erst fett machen, und
wenn er fett ist, dann will ich ihn essen,
jetzt sollst du ihn füttern.' Grethel erschrak
und weinte, mußte aber thun, was die Hexe

But the children answered,

'The wind, the wind,
That blows through the air!'

and went on eating. Now Grethel had
broken out a round pane of the window
for herself, and Hansel had torn off a
large piece of cake from the roof, when
the door opened, and a little old fairy
came gliding out. At this Hansel and
Grethel were so frightenend, that they let
fall what they had in their hands. But the
old lady nodded to them, and said, 'Dear
children, where have you been wandering
about? Come in with me; you shall have
something good.'

So she took them both by the
hand, and led them into her little hut, and
brought out plenty to eat,—milk and
pancakes, with sugar, apples, and nuts;
and then two beautiful little beds were got
ready, and Grethel and Hansel laid
themselves down, and thought they were
in heaven. But the fairy was a spiteful
one, and had made her pretty sweetmeat
house to entrap little children.

Early in the morning before they were
awake, she went to their little beds; and
though she saw the two sleeping and
looking so sweetly, she had no pity on
them, but was glad they were in her
power.

Then she took up Hansel, and fastened
him up in a coop by himself, and when
he awoke he found himself behind a
grating, shut up safely, as chickens are:
but she shook Grethel, and called out,
'Get up, you lazy little thing, and fetch
some water; and go into the kitchen, and
cook something good to eat: your brother
is shut up yonder; I shall first fatten him,
and when he is fat, I think I shall eat
Der Liebste Roland
(KHM 1819, vol.1, pp.200-3)

... Als sie fortgegangen war, stand das Mädchen auf und lief zu seinem Liebsten, der hieß Roland, und klopfte an seine Thüre, daß er heraus kam. Da sprach es: 'Höre, liebster Roland, wir müssen eilig fort, die Stiefmutter hat mich todtschlagen wollen und hat ihr eigenes Kind getroffen, kommt der Tag herbei und sie sieht, was sie gethan hat, so sind wir verloren.' Roland sprach: 'Erst müssen wir ihren Zauberstab wegnehmen, damit wir uns retten können, wenn sie uns verfolgt.' Da holte das Mädchen den Zauberstab und dann nahmen sie den todten Kopf und tröpfelten drei Blutstropfen auf die Erde, einen vors Bett und einen in die Küche und einen auf die Treppe. Darauf gingen sie zusammen fort.


Da gerieth sie in Wuth und sprang ans Fenster und sah hinaus und weil sie weit in die Welt schauen konnte, sah sie ihre Stieftochter mit ihrem Liebsten Roland verlangte...
forteilen. 'Ihr seyd schon weit weg', rief sie, 'aber ihr sollt doch in meine Hände fallen', und zog ihre Meilenstiefel an und kaum hatte sie damit ein paar Schritte gemacht, so hatte sie auch die beiden eingeholt. Das Mädchen aber, das wohl wußte, daß die Hexe ihnen nachkam, hatte durch den Zauberstab seinen Liebsten Roland in einen See, sich selbst aber in eine Ente verwandelt, die schwamm mitten auf dem See. Die Hexe stellte sich ans Ufer und gab sich alle Mühe, die Ente herbeizulocken und warf ihr Brotbrocken hin, aber die Ente ließ sich nicht locken und die Alte mußte Abends unverrichteter Sache wieder heim. Darauf nahm das Mädchen mit seinem Liebsten Roland wieder natürliche Gestalt an und sie gingen die ganze Nacht weiter bis zu Tagesanbruch, da verwandelte sich das Mädchen in eine schöne Blume, die mitten in einer Dornhecke stand, seinen Liebsten Roland aber in einen Geigenspieler. Nicht lange so kam die Hexe herangeschritten und sprach zu dem Spielmann: 'Lieber Spielmann, darf ich mir wohl die schöne Blume abbrechen?'--'O ja', antwortete er, 'ich will dazu aufspielen.' Als sie nun mit Hast in die Hecke nach der Blume kroch, denn sie wußte wohl, wer die Blume war, fing er an aufzuspielen und sie mogte wollen oder nicht, sie mußte tanzen, denn das war ein Zauber Tanz.

then she put on her boots, which walked several miles at a step, and scarcely made two steps with them, before she overtook the children: but Grethel saw that the fairy was coming after them, and, by the help of the wand, turned her friend Hansel into a lake of water and herself into a swan, which swung about in the middle of it. So the fairy sat herself down on the shore, and took a great deal of trouble to decoy the swan, and threw crumbs of bread to it; but it would not come near her, and she was forced to go home in the evening, without taking her revenge. Then Grethel changed herself and Hansel back into their own forms once more, and they went journeying on the whole night, until the dawn of day; and then the maiden turned herself into a beautiful rose, that grew in the midst of a quickset hedge; and Hansel sat by the side.

The fairy soon came striding along. 'Good piper,' said she, 'may I pluck you beautiful rose for myself?' 'O yes,' answered he; 'and then,' thought he to himself, 'I will play you a tune meantime.' So when she had crept into the hedge in a great hurry, to gather the flower,—for she well knew what it was,—he pulled out the pipe slily, and began to play. Now the pipe was a fairy pipe, and whether they liked it or not, whoever heard it was obliged to dance. So the old fairy was forced to dance a merry jig, on and on without any rest, and without being able to reach the rose.

This section in the story introduces the famous and infamous figure of the witch, the traditional villain of 'Hansel and Grethel'. As with the queen's verses in 'Sneewittchen', the variety of English versions...
of the witch’s first utterance and the children’s reply is notable. This time Lucy Crane wins the honours for providing the most well-known version.

Household Tales, etc. ([1845], p.9): ‘Ho, ho, who’s there
Crunching at my homely fare?’
‘Oh, never mind,
’Tis but the wind,’

Household Stories (1853, vol.1, p.73: ‘Tip-tap, tip-tap, who raps at my door? . . . ‘The wind, the wind, the wind, the child of heaven;’

Davis (1855, p.68): ‘Nibble! nibble!—who is nibbling at my house?’. . . ‘The wind, the wind!’

Paull ([1872]), p.53: ‘Munching, crunching, munching.
Who’s eating up my house?’
‘The wind, the wind,
Only the wind,’

Crane (1882, p.89): ‘Nibble, nibble, like a mouse,
Who is nibbling at my house?’
‘Never mind,
It is the wind,’

Hunt (1884, vol.1, p.66): ‘Nibble, nibble, gnaw,
Who is nibbling at my little house?’
‘The wind, the wind,
The heaven-born wind,’.

Significantly, Taylor makes it known at the moment of the witch’s appearance exactly who she is, ‘a little old fairy’ (l.87), whereas the Grimms’ original postpones the revelation of her true nature until later (ll.101ff.). The very word ‘fairy’, here once again used presumably in its earlier, now obsolete, sense of ‘an enchantress’ (see above, Chapter I, p.30, footnote 8), is a considerably weakened rendering of ‘Hexe’. Taylor’s stratagem of diminishing the importance and intensity of evil that we have seen employed in ‘Snow-drop’ is once again evident here in his version of line 101: ‘Die Alte aber war eine böse Hexe’ becomes ‘But the fairy was a spiteful one’. Even more significant is his omission of the witch’s cannibalistic intentions (ll.104-6). Her relishing of the prospect of eating
the two children, “Das wird ein guter Bissen für mich seyn!” (l.112), is also ignored by Taylor. In the same way, her final joyful confession of her greedy intentions, “und wenn er fett ist, dann will ich ihn essen”, is weakened in the English version into a mere contemplation of what she might eventually do (ll.125-6): “and when he is fat, I think I shall eat him.”

At this point, Taylor’s adaptation suddenly and unexpectedly abandons the text of KHM 15, preferring to put in its place a long section from ‘Der Liebste Roland’ (KHM 56). It is here that the patchwork nature of Taylor’s enterprise is most conspicuous. A ‘fairy wand’ and a ‘pipe’ are introduced without any prior explanation. The wand is a requisite necessary for later events in the story and is introduced into the German original of ‘Der Liebste Roland’ just as abruptly. The pipe, though, is Taylor’s own addition. In the Grimms’ text Roland later (ll.188-9) turns himself, with the help of the wand, into a ‘Geigenspieler’, who, by playing on a magically provided violin, makes the witch dance in a hedge of thorns. Originally, in his first version of the story, ‘Roland and May-bird’, Taylor omitted Roland’s transformation and simply had him playing ‘upon his flute’ (German Popular Stories 1826, p.222) with no explanation of how he had acquired this flute. The later version of ‘Hansel and Gretel’ attempts to improve on this, not by correcting the passage on the basis of the original German text but by attributing ownership of the pipe to the witch rather than to the hero. This addition of Taylor’s explains the presence of the musical instrument in his version of the story but, in so doing, it also adds an extra and unnecessary magical object which, after the first and only time it is used, ceases to play any further role, unlike the other requisite, the fairy wand, which is given a significant function later. Taylor’s ‘correction’ here is a weakening of the story in that it creates an unnecessary duplication of magical devices and at the same time a ‘blindes Motiv’. Furthermore, when an explanation is in fact required, because of Taylor’s fusion at this juncture of two separate narratives, he fails to give one: the obvious question prompted by Taylor’s version--how does Hansel get out of the coop?--remains unanswered.

Much more momentous are Taylor’s larger omissions at this point. We have already seen in his adaptation and fusion of these first three stories how he has omitted the figure of the evil and potentially cannibalistic cook in ‘Fundevogel’, and how he has veered away from the exciting climax of KHM 15, in which the heroine, Gretel, comes into her own and rescues herself and her brother from ending up in the witch’s oven and stomach. Now, at the moment when the tale ‘Der Liebste Roland’ is appended to ‘Hänsel und Gretel’, further omissions are made. The unwitting gory murder by the stepmother figure of her own natural daughter is completely bypassed in Taylor’s adaptation, as are the subsequent removal of the daughter’s head from the scene of the crime, the dialogue
between the mother and the drops of blood left behind, and the mother’s discovery of the full horror of what she has done (ll.145-62). Instead, Taylor moves straight on to the ‘magic flight’ episode in which the two children escape the clutches of the witch by transforming their appearance.

Firstly, Grethel turns Hansel into a lake and herself into a swan swimming in the middle of it, whereby Taylor replaces the duck of the original with an obviously more romantic bird. Then, on the second occasion the ‘fairy’ pursues them, Grethel becomes ‘a beautiful rose, that grew in the midst of a quickset hedge; and Hansel sat by her side’ (ll.191-3). Again Taylor ‘improves’ on the original by making Grethel more specifically and more romantically a rose, in place of the less specific ‘schöne Blume’ of the Grimms’ text. Unfortunately, because of his earlier explanation of the pipe, he fails to see the need to have Hansel changed into something unrecognizable as well, and leaves him next to the hedge like a sitting duck! Why the fairy does not then, in Taylor’s version of the tale, recognize Hansel and lay hold of him is an unexplained mystery. Despite this glaring narrative inconsistency, the story proceeds with Hansel playing the pipe and making the witch dance involuntarily to his tune.

Und da er nicht aufhörte zu spielen, mußte sie in einem Fort in der Hecke tanzen, daß ihr die Dornen erst die Kleider vom Leibe rissen und sie dann blutig und wund stachen, bis sie endlich todt liegen blieb. Als sie von der Hexe erlöst waren, sprach Roland: ‘Nun will ich zu meinem Vater gehen und die Hochzeit bestellen.’ Sagte das Mädchen: ‘So will ich derweil hier bleiben und auf dich warten, und damit mich niemand erkennt, will ich mich in einem rothen Feldstein verwandeln.’ Da ging Roland fort und das Mädchen stand auf dem als ein rother Stein und wartete auf seinen Liebsten. Als aber Roland heim kam, da brachte es eine andere dahin, das er das Mädchen vergäß, und als es nun lang gestanden und er gar nicht kommen wollte, ward es ganz traurig und verwandelte sich in eine Blume und dachte, es wird ja einer wohl kommen und mich umtreten.

Da trug es sich zu, daß ein Schäfer in dem Feld hütete und die Blume fand . . .

And as he did not cease playing a moment, the thorns at length tore the clothes from off her body, and pricked her sorely, and there she stuck quite fast.

Then Grethel set herself free once more, and on they went; but she grew very tired, and Hansel said, ‘Now I will hasten home for help.’ And Grethel said, ‘I will stay here in the meantime, and wait for you.’ Then Hansel went away, and Grethel was to wait for him.

But when Grethel had staid in the field a long time, and found he did not come back, she became quite sorrowful, and turned herself into a little daisy and thought to herself, ‘Some one will come, and tread me under foot, and so my sorrows will end.’ But it so happened that, as a shepherd was keeping watch in the field, he saw the daisy; . . .
The intervening episode deals with the heroine’s sojourn at the shepherd’s house and his successful attempt to transform her into human shape. The narratives then continue:

... and she was so beautiful that he asked her if she would marry him. She said, ‘No,’ because she wished to be faithful to her dear Hansel; but she agreed to stay, and keep house for him till Hansel came back.

Time passed on, and Hansel came back at last: for the spiteful fairy had led him astray, and he had not been able for a long time to find his way, either home or back to Grethel. Then he and Grethel set out to go home;

... Und weil es so schön war, fragte er, ob es ihn heirathen wolle, aber es antwortete nein, denn es wollte seinem Liebsten Roland treu bleiben, doch versprach es bei ihm zu bleiben und ihm Haus zu halten.

Nun kam die Zeit heran, daß Roland Hochzeit halten sollte, da ward nach altem Brauch im Lande bekannt gemacht, es sollten alle Mädel sich einfinden und zu Ehren des Brautpaars singen. Das treue Mädchen, als es hörte, daß sein Liebster Roland mit einer anderen Hochzeit machen sollte, ward so betrübt, daß ihr das Herz im Leibe zerspringt wollte und wollte nicht hingehen, aber endlich mußte es doch. Wenn die Reihe kam, daß es singen sollte, so ging es zurück, bis zu allerletzt, da konnte es nicht anders. Aber wie es anfang zu singen, daß es Roland hörte, sprang er auf und rief:

‘Das ist die rechte Braut und keine andere will ich nicht!’ Denn er hatte sie gleich an der Stimme erkannt und alles war wieder in sein Herz heimgekommen, was er vergessen hatte. Da hielt das treue Mädchen Hochzeit mit seinem Liebsten Roland und war sein Leid zu Ende und seine Freude fing an.

Brüderchen und Schwesterchen
(KHM 1819, vol.1, pp.47-52)

... Abends kamen sie in einen großen Wald und waren so müd von Jammer, Hunger und dem langen Weg, daß sie sich in einen hohlen Baum setzten und einschließen. ...
Whereas the Grimms’ text of ‘Der Liebeste Roland’ disposes of the witch two-thirds of the way through the story by having her succumb to the thorns, Taylor delays her demise until the very end. (In fact, as we shall see, he manages to avoid the need to punish her altogether.) Once again, the violence of the original narrative is diminished, leaving the fairy hanging in the hedge, neither ‘blutig’ nor ‘tödt’, but very much alive and only temporarily restrained. Grethel changes back from being a rose and ‘on they went’. Exactly where they were going and why is not explained. Grethel’s tiredness becomes a convenient excuse for Taylor to give some new direction to the story. His choice of direction is unfortunate though. What reason has Hansel to believe that by hastening home he can find help? After all, his parents have already made it clear by their action of abandoning the children to ‘the wild beasts of the forest’ (II.59-60) that there is little likelihood of their being warmly received at home. Once more, Taylor’s oversight indicates that he had difficulty maintaining narrative consistency over an extended period of time.

There follows the episode in which Grethel, after temporarily turning herself into a stone, then reverts to human form and waits for Hansel’s return at the shepherd’s house. Taylor curtails this episode somewhat, compared with his original version of it in ‘Roland and May-bird’, by leaving out firstly Grethel’s earlier self-transformation into a stone (II.219-20) and secondly the ‘false bride’ episode in which the heroine has to stop the hero marrying another woman (II.240ff.). The English translator and editor appears to have lost all control over his narrative now. His hero has been left completely in limbo by this second omission. To rectify this, Taylor accordingly thinks up a reason for his long absence and has him ‘led astray’ by the ‘spiteful fairy’, while remaining strangely oblivious to the fact that he last left her hanging hors de combat in a hedge of thorns. He then repeats his previous error of having the children ‘set out to go home’.

A modern reader well versed in folk- and fairy-tale conventions will by now have noticed that this English hybrid version of Taylor’s is an artificial construct that rides rough-shod over the normal pattern of traditional oral narratives. Although all four constituent tales are classified in Aarne-Thompson’s index (see Thompson 1977, p. 482ff.) as ‘tales of magic’, there is a distinct difference between the first two stories and the last two. The first two, ‘Fundevogel’ and ‘Hänsel und Grethel’, are both ‘Kindermärchen’, i.e. stories in which the hero and/or heroine are children and remain children, returning to the family home of their parent(s) at the end, after the story’s conflict has been resolved. Holbek (1987, p.451) gives a brief definition of a ‘children’s fairy tale; the Grimm’s’ story on which Holbek concentrates his argument in the first half of his work is ‘Rotkäppchen’, another good example of a ‘Kindermärchen’ and the subject of the next chapter. The second pair of stories,
though, 'Der Liebste Roland' and 'Brüderchen und Schwestern', are 'Zaubermärchen', i.e. tales in which, after a sequence of magical happenings, the hero and heroine finally overcome all odds and celebrate their wedding to each other (cf. Holbek's definition of the 'fairy tale', ibid., p.452). The 'Kindermärchen' involves only a very limited number of 'moves' or episodes, often the hero(ine) merely leaves home and then returns to it. The 'Zaubermärchen' usually comprises several moves and is complicated by digressions, as for example in 'Der Liebste Roland'. The significant difference between the two forms of tale is the age of the hero and heroine. In a 'Kindermärchen' the protagonists remain children, whereas in a 'Zaubermärchen' they grow and develop into marriageable adults. Taylor has a few difficulties with the two distinct varieties of narrative he is handling here. It may not come as a surprise to us that the shepherd should ask Grethel to marry him. Admittedly we had been led previously to believe that Hansel and Grethel were 'two little children', but, in the improbable world of the fairy-tale, characters have a habit of growing up suddenly and without prior warning. That Grethel should then turn down the shepherd's proposal though, 'because she wished to be faithful to her dear Hansel', does come as something of a shock. We had grown used to the idea of the two children being brother and sister, an idea not merely prompted in us by our knowledge of the now better-known version of 'Hansel and Grethel' but one also reinforced by Taylor's text. Line 123 has the witch referring to Hansel explicitly as Grethel's 'brother'. Of course the fairy could be making a mistake, as she is not to know that the two children are not siblings. It is more likely, however, that Taylor was the one to make the mistake, and had overlooked the fact that his text here was not consistent with the opening of his story. After all, it is highly unlikely that he would have wished his readers to consider the possibility that the final marriage of Hansel and Grethel might be an incestuous one!

Given the historical period in which Taylor was writing, it is understandable that he should remain unaware of this generic distinctions between the 'Kindermärchen' and the 'Zaubermärchen', but it is difficult to imagine the more scholarly Grimm brothers allowing themselves the same freedom in their editorial activities, even though they lived in the same era as Taylor. They were certainly more aware of the need to maintain narrative coherence than their first English translator.

One final feature of this section of Taylor's version of the story can be noted here, viz. the second occurrence of Grethel's fatigue. At this juncture in the narrative, Taylor extends the adventures of the two protagonists by introducing the last of the four Grimm stories, 'Brüderchen und Schwestern'. In a somewhat sexist departure from the original text here, Taylor has only Grethel becoming tired, even though both children then lie down to sleep (ll.263-5). It would be very
surprising if Hansel were not also tired, given that he has spent a considerable time wandering around lost before finding Grethel and then appears to have set out on this journey home without a moment’s rest!

But as they slept the fairy—who had gone out of the bush at last—came by; and finding her wand, was glad to lay hold of it, and at once turned poor Hansel into a fawn, while he was asleep.

Soon after Grethel awoke, and found what had happened: and she wept bitterly over the poor creature; and the tears too rolled down his eyes, as he laid himself down beside her. Then she said, ‘Rest in peace, dear fawn, I will never, never leave thee.’ So she took off her golden necklace, and put it round his neck, and plucked some rushes, and plaited them into a soft string to fasten to it; and led the poor little thing by her side, when she went to walk in the wood: and when they were tired they came back, and laid down to sleep, by the side of the hollow tree, where they lodged at night; and nobody came near them but the little dwarfs, that lived in the wood; and these watched over them, while they were asleep.

At last one day they came to a little cottage; and Grethel having looked in, and seen that it was quite empty, thought to herself, ‘We can stay and live here.’ . . .

Here the story depicts the hero’s and heroine’s stay in the cottage in the forest, the subsequent hunt in which the hero participates in his new shape as a fawn, and the appearance of the king at the cottage on the third evening of the hunt.

. . . Das Mädchen aber war erschrocken, daß nicht sein Rehlein, sondern ein König mit goldener Krone herein gekommen war. Aber der König sah es freundlich an,
and had explained from the thorns—and had been verurtheilt; die Tochter ward gehegt und gepflegt und sprang in dem Schloßgarten herum.

Der König führte das schöne Mädchen in sein Schloß, wo die Hochzeit mit großer Pracht gefeiert wurde und war es nun die Frau Königin und lebten sie lange Zeit vergnügt zusammen; das Rehlein ward gehegt und gepflegt und sprang in den Wald geführt, wo sie die wilden Thiere zerrissen, wie sie sie erblickten; die Hexe aber ward ins Feuer gelegt und mußte jammervoll verbrennen. Und wie sie davon verzehrt war, verwandelte sich auch das Rehkölbchen und erhielt seine menschliche Gestalt wieder und Schwesterchen und Brüderchen lebten glücklich zusammen, bis an ihr Ende.

So runs the concluding section of this extraordinary amalgamated English version of four separate stories from the Grimms' collection. By now, Taylor's rendition has become conspicuously suspect. He summons up the fairy—belatedly explaining that she has successfully extricated herself from the thorns—and has her transform Hansel into a fawn. Why she should want to do this is not explained nor is the question why she should not transform Grethel as well, seeing that earlier she was so intent on laying hold of Grethel (when the latter was in the form of firstly a swan and then a rose) and had on these occasions ignored Hansel. The villain's intentions, which at the outset were distinctly evil and murderous, amount now to no more than capricious mischief. Taylor has ignored the opening
section of 'Brüderchen und Schwesternchen' where the hero is driven by his thirst to drink from the stream that has been enchanted by the witch—in this story his stepmother—and is thus transformed into a fawn. He also changes the golden garter (1.280), an obvious erotic symbol, into a necklace, and because he has given the two protagonists the role of lovers and not siblings, the subsequent hunting episode loses all the significance it has in the original.

The Grimms' story KHM 11 deals with a brother and sister who have quite distinct character traits, a fact which would seem to indicate that they are an example of 'splitting' (Holbek 1987, p.435ff.), embodiments of two conflicting tendencies within the one personality. 'Schwesternchen' has a need for security and is consequently cautious and over-protective towards her brother. 'Brüderchen' on the other hand is impulsive and adventurous and has a desire for excitement and freedom. His transformation into an animal is a figurative expression of this impulsiveness. Taylor's handling of the later episode, in which 'Brüderchen' takes part as an elusive quarry in the king's hunt, fails to do justice to this figurative dimension of the story. The golden garter around the neck of the fawn is an erotic signal that lures the king on to discover 'Schwesternchen', his future bride. Interpretations like Bettelheim's (1976, pp.78-83), which see in the figure of 'Little Brother' merely 'animalistic tendencies' (ibid. p.82) or 'asocial, destructive' personality traits (ibid. p.83), miss the important point that, without her brother's impetuousness, 'Little Sister' would never have encountered and married the king. Taylor's version of the story ignores the clear-cut character differences by misrepresenting the hero's desire to participate actively in the hunt as simple curiosity and by exaggerating the seriousness of the wound he subsequently receives, thus obscuring the heroine's overly protective attitude towards her brother. Of course, because in Taylor's version the hero and heroine are not siblings but lovers, this episode's narrative function in the original story of introducing the heroine to the man who will be her husband (Holbek's Move III, Holbek 1987, pp.424ff.) is completely bypassed. This is an inevitable consequence of fusing two 'Kindermärchen' with two 'Zaubermärchen'.

Taylor now brings his lengthy story to a hasty conclusion, omitting the section in 'Brüderchen und Schwesternchen', where the heroine must contend with her stepsister as a 'substituted bride', and preferring instead to tie up all the loose ends as quickly as possible. Grethel has to turn down a second proposal of marriage, a refusal which the king takes remarkably stoically. Indeed, his gesture of providing for Grethel and her partner for the rest of their lives is an extraordinarily generous one. The final sentence breaks with the conventions of the fairy-tale's 'happy end' in that it leaves us with a situation rife with possibilities for future conflict: for the rest of his life Hansel must accept the
charity of a rival for Grethel’s hand, a situation unthinkable in a traditional folk narrative where all opposition to the hero’s claims must be removed by the end so that he alone ascends the throne with his bride; and the villainous fairy, whose eventual demise is also to be expected at the end, escapes the grisly punishment meted out to her and her daughter in the original (ll.323ff.) and instead is recalled merely in order for her to undo her earlier misdeeds. In his first version of the story, ‘Hansel and Grettel’, Taylor at least allows the king to punish the evil-doer--how exactly is not made clear: ‘and he [the king] sent for the fairy and punished her: and the fawn was changed into Hansel again . . .’ (German Popular Stories 1823, p.195). In this later version the fairy is not punished, having merely to give restitution. She remains alive at the end and thus can also be seen as a constant threat to the well-being and security of the married couple, although by now the reader has probably forgotten the original intensity of her evil, so far back does it lie and so insignificant and pointless have her subsequent actions been.

As with ‘Snow-drop’, Taylor’s adaptation has resulted in a much watered-down version of the original, diluted here in fact to the point of insipidness. Taylor’s story of ‘Hansel and Grethel’ appears to have received only one previous critical comment and this one concerns its earlier version, ‘Roland and May-bird’. It is a surprisingly favourable one at that (Di Benedetto 1986-7, pp.146-7): ‘Più felice risulta la rielaborazione ottenuta con Roland and Maybird, dove i diversi elementi tratti da Fundevogel, Der liebste Roland e Hänsel und Gretel resi in modo molto più omogeneo, danno vita ad un racconto piacevole, senza omettere granché dell’originale ed evitando semmai qualche ripetizione.’ In the light of this chapter’s analysis of Taylor’s adaptation and amalgamation, this assessment must be vehemently disputed. It is patently untrue to claim that Taylor’s version is a homogeneous one, given the number of inconsistencies in his narrative. The extent and severe nature of Taylor’s omissions which bring about these inconsistencies have been made plain in the comparative analysis above and need no further comment. Exactly what repetition has been avoided by Taylor is not indicated by Di Benedetto, but the reader might well wish that the English translator had not devoted so much time and space to the retelling of the first half of ‘Hänsel und Grethel’, with its repeated episode of the children being abandoned in the forest, especially as the climax of this story is not included by Taylor in his version. That the result of Taylor’s endeavours is ‘a pleasant story’ (‘un racconto piacevole’), being a subjective evaluation, is perhaps less disputable. It all depends on what one deems ‘pleasant’. If ‘a pleasant story’ means one deprived of the more ‘unpleasant’ features of the originals, esp. the violence and the emotional intensity of the conflict between villain and hero(ine), then the evaluation is accurate. The striving for such ‘pleasantness’
though has other consequences and results in a version whose narrative structure is mutilated and incoherent. Taylor would have done well in this instance to observe the Grimm brothers’ own strictures about free adaptations of ‘Volksmärchen’ in their ‘Vorrede’ to the second edition of the KHM of 1819 (KHM 1857, vol.1, pp.22-3):


It is interesting to note here that, like Taylor, the Grimms were prepared to accept that the oral tradition, whereby stories are passed on from one person, one generation, one language, or one culture to another, will involve retelling, alteration, and adaptation. What was unacceptable to them was the sort of deliberate and arbitrary amalgamation undertaken by Taylor. They never commented on this aspect of Taylor’s work and Wilhelm Grimm’s response to the second volume of German Popular Stories in 1826, in which ‘Roland and May-bird’ appeared, was even more restrained and diplomatic than his earlier one to the first volume (quoted in Hartwig 1898, p.10): ‘Er [der zweite Band der Märchen] schließt sich ganz dem ersten an und der Ausdruck scheint mir, wie dort, natürlich und angemessen. Die Auswahl ist Ihrem Plane gemäß, und die radierten Blätter sind leicht und geistreich behandelt.’ There is no evidence to suggest that the Grimms knew of Taylor’s later Gammer Grethen volume, but in the light of the above excerpt from their ‘Vorrede’ to the KHM it is not difficult to imagine what their opinion of Taylor’s story ‘Hansel and Gretel’ would have been. It is also of note that in this excerpt the same botanical imagery appears as in the letter to Edgar Taylor quoted at the beginning of Chapter II (see above, p.56). The repeated choice of such plant imagery would indicate that the Grimms thought of traditional stories as organic entities which grew and developed according to certain natural laws and which were susceptible to interference and damage from outside influences. With this in mind, it would perhaps be more appropriate and more generous

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12 It is not listed among the contents of their library by Denecke and Teitge (1989), though Taylor’s German Popular Stories and Lays of the Minnesingers are, along with the John Edward Taylor’s The Fairy Ring (1846) and the Addey ed. of Household Stories (1853).
to regard Taylor's tale of 'Hansel and Grethel' as an attempt to graft together two quite different species of story, the 'Kindermärchen' and the 'Zaubermärchen', resulting in a patchwork hybrid, hardly a natural product, but a lasting curiosity nevertheless.

Taylor's three other attempts at 'grafted' narratives were more successful in that in these cases he chose stories of the same character. 'The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet' (German Popular Stories 1823, pp.118-28, entitled simply 'Chanticleer and Partlet' in Gammer Grethel), for example, is made up of three animal tales (KHM 10, 41, and 80) and 'Hans and his Wife Grettel' (German Popular Stories 1826, pp.82-97) is composed of four humorous anecdotes (KHM 77, 32, 128, and 34). In both these instances, Taylor had no real difficulty in maintaining narrative continuity because he was able to fuse several stories, each containing a central couple similar enough in character to be treated as identical in the combined version. The third example, 'The Young Giant and the Tailor' (German Popular Stories 1826, pp.46-67), is less successful than the first two in that, as in 'Hansel and Grethel', Taylor chooses three tales (KHM 90, 20, and 114) which, though superficially similar, do not quite fit together neatly: in this case, they are three 'tales of the stupid ogre', but the last one, 'Vom klugen Schneiderlein', is also partly a 'romantic tale' with the plot revolving around a princess who will only marry a suitor able to answer her riddle and then to perform a task set by her. Taylor is forced to make some significant omissions in this amalgamation and to change his central character halfway through the story. Finally he leaves out the romantic interest, the princess, altogether. Nevertheless, the end result is a narrative which, despite its greater length (in Gammer Grethel Taylor found it necessary to divide it up into two stories, 'Thumbling the Dwarf and Thumbling the Giant' and 'Master Snip'), has considerably fewer inconsistencies than 'Hansel and Grethel'.

In conclusion, it can be noted that Taylor seems to have been one of only two English translators of the KHM in the nineteenth century to create such grafted versions. The anonymously translated story 'John's Three Trials' in Grimms' Goblins ([1861], pp.196-200) is, to my knowledge, the only other composite version, being made up of 'Die weiße Schlange' (KHM 17) and 'Die drei Sprachen' (KHM 33). More recently, Brian Alderson (1990) has done the same with 'Der kluge Knecht' (KHM 162), 'Der faule Heinz' (KHM 164), and 'Die hagere Liese' (KHM 168), in his story 'Lazy 'Arry, Sunny Jim and Skinny Lizzie' (Alderson 1990, pp.87-92).
For more than thirty years following the appearance of the first volume of *German Popular Stories* in 1823, Edgar Taylor’s translations and adaptations remained the most important source of the Grimm’s tales and the benchmark for subsequent collections published in both England and America. John Edward Taylor was the next translator and editor to create a significantly new collection of the *KHM*, *The Fairy Ring* (1846), which, though providing a different selection of stories, was still clearly modelled on his cousin’s earlier editions. (His work will be the subject of the chapter following this one.)

Before then, though, the publisher James Burns of London had issued two volumes—one in 1843 and another in 1845. No dates are given in the volumes themselves, but Low’s *The English Catalogue of Books from 1835 to 1863* (1864, p.613 and p.878) gives the above years. The preface by the unnamed editor to the first of these volumes, *Popular Tales and Legends*, is an apt description of the nature of both of them (pp. viii-ix): ‘To return once more to the present compilation, I must bespeak indulgence for the heterogeneous manner in which its materials are put together, and for what will be thought by many, the strange jumble of subjects and styles which it displays. Child’s Fairy Tales—Ancient Traditions of the North—Irish Legends—Tales of Chivalry—Popular Household Stories, as told at the firesides of England, Germany, and Scotland—all will be found mingled together without any pretension to arrangement.’ This first volume contains, amongst its thirty-four stories, eight from the Grimm’s *KHM*. Seven of these are adaptations of stories from Edgar Taylor’s *German Popular Stories*, possibly adapted in order to disguise their source. These are ‘Hansel and Grettel’ (*KHM* 11), ‘The Golden Bird’ (*KHM* 57), ‘The Golden Goose’ (*KHM* 64), ‘The Grateful Beasts’ (*KHM* 104a), ‘Jorinda and Jorindel’ (*KHM* 69), ‘Frederick and Catherine’ (*KHM* 59), and ‘King Crooked-Chin’ (*KHM* 52). The eighth story is ‘The Old Widow’, the first English translation of ‘Das alte Mütterchen’ (*KHM* 208). The second volume, *Household Tales and Traditions of England, Germany, France, Scotland, etc.*., is part of the ‘Burns’ Fireside Library series which was started in 1845.
and included such other titles as *Evenings with the Old Story Tellers* and *Twelve Nights’ Entertainments or Tales of Various Lands*. The volume contains fifty-one tales, of which nearly two-thirds—thirty-two in all—are from the Grimms’ collection. Once again, with one exception, all these are versions of stories which Edgar Taylor had included in his two volumes of *German Popular Stories*: many of them are once more obviously adaptations of Taylor’s versions, with improvements and corrections, while others are quite new translations of the same stories, e.g. ‘Dame Holle’ (*KHM* 24), ‘The Robber Bridegroom’ (*KHM* 40), and ‘The Seven Ravens’ (*KHM* 25). The one exception to this pattern is ‘Little Red Cap; or, Little Red Riding-Hood’. It was not one of the tales translated in *German Popular Stories* and Edgar Taylor had probably ruled out the story from consideration for the reason outlined in his Preface to *German Popular Stories* 1823 (p.xi): ‘The nature and immediate design of the present publication exclude the introduction of some of those stories which would, in a literary point of view, be most curious. With a view to variety, they [the Translators] have wished rather to avoid than to select those, the leading incidents of which are already familiar to the English reader, and have therefore often deprived themselves of the interest which comparison would afford.’ The story ‘Little Red Cap; or, Little Red Riding-Hood’ would consequently appear to be the first English version of the Grimms’ ‘Rotkäppchen’ (*KHM* 26).

These two Burns volumes are not well-known. Morgan (1965, p.190) lists the 1845 edition as no. 3423 in his bibliography with the remark ‘Many from Grimm, retold’ and includes it in his section devoted to ‘Adaptations’: ‘Here are listed . . . publications in which the wording of the Grimms’ tales is seriously modified, or perhaps only the subject matter borrowed.’ Although there is much in this remark that applies to the Burns edition of 1845, it remains nevertheless an overgeneralization as it is by no means applicable to all of the stories in this volume. Some of the versions are reasonably faithful translations of the Grimms’ originals, e.g. ‘Hansel and Gretel’ is the first accurate and complete English rendering of ‘Hänsel und Gretel’ (*KHM* 15), and ‘Snow-flake’ is vastly superior to Taylor’s version of ‘Sneewittchen’ (*KHM* 53), being bold enough to include at the end, for instance, the stepmother’s punishment, though it still balks at her earlier attempt at cannibalism.

The only other commentator to refer to the Burns volume is Brian Alderson in his British Library exhibition notes of 1985, where he describes it briefly as a ‘little-known compendium’ (p.[4]).

Despite its obscurity and lack of durability (no further editions seem to have been published), *Household Tales and Traditions* is a fascinating and puzzling collection in that it contains a mixture of, on the one hand, relatively accurate and faithful translations of Grimm and, on the other, some inexplicably corrupt and contaminated texts. There seems to have been little consistency in the
editorial policy behind its compilation. Once again, the translators remain anonymous, nor is there any indication of the sources drawn upon. The occasional footnotes are not particularly helpful or illuminating in this respect, as we shall in the case of 'Little Red Cap'. A close examination of the texts of the stories reveals that the translators had access to the third edition of the *KHM* published in 1837, though there is no evidence that they knew of the existence of the fourth and fifth editions of 1840 and 1843. For example, the translation of 'Dornröschen' (*KHM* 50), 'Thorn-Rose', refers to 'a rusty key' (*Household Tales & Traditions* p.81) used by the heroine to open the door to the chamber in which the old woman sits spinning. The phrase 'ein verrosteter Schlüssel' does not appear until the 1837 *KHM* edition (*KHM* 1837, p.226). In the same story, at the moment when the curse is enacted and the castle and its contents fall asleep along with the princess, there is no mention of the wind dying down or the leaves on the tree outside also ceasing to move, as occurs in the original from the fourth edition of 1840 onwards. At the same time however, it is clear that the translators did not always turn to this more recent edition of the German original and instead often relied on Taylor's first translation. A good example is the story 'Snow-flake' where Taylor's text is corrected on many occasions. The improved, more complete ending has already been mentioned; the queen's nature and emotions are more accurately conveyed and she is correctly described on more than one occasion as 'the wicked stepmother'; and other details from the original, like the heroine's lying in her coffin 'without decaying' and the prince's accompanying servants, are added. These corrections were evidently made on the basis of the German text that Taylor had worked from originally, i.e. the second edition of 1819, not the third or any later edition. One example will suffice, viz. the queen's response to the mirror when it informs her that she is no longer the most beautiful woman in the land. In the second edition of the *KHM* the text runs 'Als die Königin das hörte, erschrak sie und ward blaß vor Zorn und Neid' (*KHM* 1819, vol.1, p.186), later replaced in the third and subsequent editions by 'Da erschrak die Königin und ward gelb und grün vor Neid' (*KHM* 1837, p.236). The version in the Burns edition of 1845 renders the queen's response in this manner: 'When she heard this, she started [!] and turned pale with rage and envy' (p.134) and thus clearly has the earlier German edition as its source. A comparison of the opening paragraph of Taylor's first version of *KHM* 53 in *German Popular Stories* with that in the later Burns edition shows the manner in which the latter has adapted and improved upon the former.
Sneewittchen  
(*KHM* 1819, vol.1, pp.185-193)

Es war einmal mitten im Winter und die Schneeflocken fielen wie Federn vom Himmel herab, da saß eine Königin an einem Fenster, das einen Rahmen von schwarzem Ebenholz hatte, und nähte. Und wie sie so nähte und nach dem Schnee aufblickte, stach sie sich mit der Nadel in den Finger und es fielen drei Tropfen Blut in den Schnee. Und weil das Rothe im weißen Schnee so schön aussah, dachte sie bei sich: 'Hätt ich ein Kind so weiß wie der Schnee, so roth wie Blut und so schwarz wie der Rahmen!' Bald darauf bekam sie ein Töchterlein, das war so weiß wie Schnee, so roth wie Blut, und so schwarzhaarig wie Ebenholz und wurde darum das Sneewittchen (Schneeweißchen) genannt. Und wie das Kind geboren war, starb die Königin.

Snow-drop  (*German Popular Stories* 1823, pp.128-9)

It was in the middle of winter, when the broad flakes of snow were falling around, that a certain queen sat working at a window, the frame of which was made of fine black ebony; and as she was looking out upon the snow, she pricked her finger, and three drops of blood fell upon it. Then she gazed thoughtfully up on the red drops which sprinkled the white snow, and said, 'Would that my little daughter may be as white as that snow, as red as the blood, and as black as the ebony window-frame!' And so the little girl grew up: her skin was as white as snow, her cheeks as rosy as the blood, and her hair as black as ebony; and she was called Snow-drop.

Snow-flake  (*Household Tales & Traditions* [1845], p.134)

It was in the middle of winter, when the flakes of snow were falling around like feathers from heaven, that a certain queen sat working at a window, the frame of which was made of black ebony; and as she kept sewing and gazing upon the snow, she pricked her finger, and three drops of blood fell from it. Then she fixed her eyes thoughtfully upon the red drops which looked so beautiful with the white snow, and said, 'Would that I had a little daughter as white as that snow, as red as the blood, and as black as the ebony window-frame!' And soon after the queen had a little girl, that as she grew up, her skin was as white as snow, her cheeks as rosy as the blood, and her hair as black as ebony; and she was therefore called Snow-flake.

The later version is far from perfect, but its superiority over the former, at least as far as fidelity to its source is concerned, is immediately discernible, especially in its inclusion of those passages omitted by Taylor: the initial simile with its reference to 'heaven', the precise nature of the queen's work, her absorption in the beauty of the scene before her, and of course the fact that she has still to give birth to her child. The choice of name for the heroine, 'Snow-flake', is perhaps to be questioned, though it is arguably better than Taylor's original invention. The rest of the text is of similar quality--not perfect but a definite improvement on its predecessor. Only the rendering of the
verses leaves something to be desired. ‘Say, glass, that hангest on the wall,/Who is fairest of 
beauties, all;’ and ‘Thou art the fairest here, O queen;/But Snow-flake, over the hills, I ween,/Where 
the dwarfs are,/Is fairer far’ are very clumsy poetic attempts, and typical in fact not only of the verse 
translations but also of the overall inconsistency of quality throughout the book.

Above and beyond these unexplained discrepancies, the Burns volume is also remarkable in 
that it follows a practice seen first of all in Taylor’s ‘The Frog-prince’, his version of KHM 1, ‘Der 
Froschkönig’. This practice is one of deliberate contamination of the original text with a version of 
it taken from another source. It is similar to the sort of amalgamation or grafting that Taylor 
undertook in composing his *Gammer Grethel* version of ‘Hansel and Grethel’, except that in that case 
the stories were all from the same source, having been published by the Grimm brothers as separate 
and independent entities. In the case of ‘The Frog-prince’, Taylor had replaced the original resolution 
of KHM 1 with a version taken either from the Grimms’ own ‘Anmerkungen’ of 1822 (where they 
retell the story of ‘Der Froschprinz’ from the second volume of the first KHM edition of 1815) or 
possibly from the source cited by Taylor in his own Notes, Dr. Leyden’s story of the ‘Frog-lover’ 
(or ‘The Well of the World’s End’). Taylor nowhere acknowledges this contamination, preferring 
instead to pass his version off as genuine Grimm (see Sutton 1990). The Burns edition of 1845 takes 
up this version by Taylor and reproduces it with only a few alterations, usually by way of replacing 
a word with a suitable synonym, e.g. ‘Then she began to lament her loss’ (*German Popular Stories* 
1823, p.206) becomes ‘Then she began to bewail her loss’ (*Household Tales & Traditions* [1845], 
p.61). At the story’s conclusion, the Burns edition then goes a step further by adding as an 
afterthought a résumé of the Scottish story ‘The Wall [Well] of the world’s end’ and draws another 
analogy, this time to the ending of ‘The Golden Bird’, a version of KHM 57 ‘Der goldene Vogel’ in 
the same volume which is, like ‘The Frog-prince’, also an adaptation of one of Taylor’s translations.

A more glaringly obvious example of contamination in *Household Tales & Traditions* is the 
story of ‘Cinderella’. A footnote on the first page alerts the reader to the fact that this is another 
hybrid story: ‘This version is taken, in some of its incidents, from the German’ (p.37). What might 
seem to be a useful footnote turns out to be less than helpful in that it does not inform the reader 
exactly which incidents are German and which are not. The text itself begins in an identical manner 
to Taylor’s version of the story, ‘Aschenputtel’ (*German Popular Stories* 1826, pp.33-46), except that 
the Burns edition cannot bring itself to bury the heroine’s mother ‘in the garden’ (which presumably 
would be contrary to all decency and religious norms) and instead places her ‘in the church-yard’. As 
the story proceeds, the episodes owe increasingly less to the Grimms’ ‘Aschenputtel’ and

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conspicuously more to Charles Perrault's 'Cendrillon' (Perrault 1967, pp.157-65). Instead of the helpful birds of the Grimms' version, a 'good old fairy' appears who tells Cinderella 'what to do' (p.39). This is always a sure sign that the better-known French version of the story is being drawn upon in order to replace Aschenputtel, the refreshingly independent and active heroine of the Grimm brothers, with the more traditional figure of Cinderella, a character singularly lacking in spirit and initiative. The Burns edition appears to favour heroines who are 'modest'. When Cinderella is presented by her prince to the king, his father, the latter 'received her with great kindness, and praised her modesty and beauty' (p.42). Similarly, in 'Thorn-rose', the twelve fairies bestow their gifts on the new-born child in this way: 'One gave her virtue, a second beauty, a third riches, a fourth modesty, and so on with every thing that is good and valuable in the whole world' (p.80). The Grimms in all of their versions list at most only the first three gifts--obviously the editor/translator of Household Tales & Traditions felt that they had omitted an important fourth which needed adding in this English adaptation of the story. In Victorian children's fiction, especially for girls, a 'good girl's behaviour was always modest, indicative of unselfish submission to those in authority over her, such as her parents. It was also nicely calculated to be appropriate to her station in life, making it necessary that she should have an acute consciousness of her own relative situation in the class hierarchy' (Rowbotham 1989, p.23).

The one other contaminated version of a Grimm story in the Burns edition is 'Little Red Cap'. It too is furnished on its first page with a footnote: 'In the whole of the latter part, as well as in some other points, this well-known story, as we here give it, is indebted to the German version. We may just remark, once for all, how much more imaginative and ingenious the foreign editions are than our English ones. The Wolf's conversation with Red Cap, &c. p.16, is inimitable' (Household Tales & Traditions [1845], p.15). Once again the footnote is defective. The assessment of the comparative quality of English and 'foreign' editions may well be accurate, though it is clearly a gross overgeneralization in that it fails to specify precisely which editions are being referred to. Much more gravely misleading though is the first sentence of the footnote because it fails to show exactly how much the text of the story before us is indebted to the Grimms' 'German version'. As the following analysis will show, not only the 'latter part' but in fact by far the greater part of 'Red Cap' in the

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13 Jacobs (1967, p.229) refers to such contamination which characterizes many English fairy tales in the nineteenth century as 'a mélange confus of Perrault and the Grimms.'

14 For a trenchant criticism of Perrault's heroine, see Bettelheim (1976, pp.236-77, esp. pp.251-3).
Burns edition is taken directly from *KHM* 26, ‘Rotkäppchen’. Only at the climactic moment of resolution of the story’s conflict does the translator depart markedly from the Grimms’ original. In almost all other respects, the story is pure Grimm.

The Grimms’ version of the story given below is taken from their third edition of the *KHM*. It is difficult to be sure exactly which edition the English version is based on, the second of 1819 or the third of 1837. The differences between the two are mainly ones of punctuation, though occasionally individual words and phrases are also altered. There is nothing in these alterations though that points definitively to the earlier or to the later edition of the original as being the source of the story ‘Red Cap’. Clues in favour of the 1819 edition being the source are the renderings of (i) ll.71-2 as ‘Ah! if I could . . .’ where only the 1819 ed. includes the exclamation ‘ei! wenn ich . . .’, (ii) l.83 as ‘open the door to me’ where the 1819 ed. is ‘mach mir auf’, and (iii) ll.104-6 as ‘When she got to the house she could not help wondering that the door stood open’ where the 1819 ed. has a more similar syntactical structure than that of 1837: ‘Wie es ankam, stand die Thüre auf, darüber verwunderte es sich’. On the other hand, evidence of use of the 1837 edition can be found in (i) ll.77-8, changed from 1819 (‘ständ noch eine schöneren’) and translated as ‘there was a still prettier one beyond it’ and (ii) ll.179-80 changed from 1819 (‘daß es den Wolf gesehen’) and translated as ‘that she had met the wolf’. On the basis of the translation’s line 83, ‘farther and deeper into the wood’, one could argue that the translator has used both the 1819 and the 1837 editions: 1819 gives ‘immer weiter in den Wald hinein’ and 1837 gives ‘immer tiefer in den Wald hinein’!

The 1837 version has been chosen because, as was shown above (see p.104), it was used as the basis for at least one other story in the collection and seems to have been the most recent edition of the *KHM* used by the translators of the Burns edition. This fact alone gives the book historical value, as it is the only edition of the Grimms’ tales in English to draw on this third edition of 1837 as its source.

**Rotkäppchen**  
(*KHM* 1837, pp.133-137)

Es war einmal eine kleine süße Dirne, die hatte jedermann lieb, der sie nur ansah, am allerliebsten aber ihre Großmutter, die wußte gar nicht, was sie alles dem Kinde geben sollte. Einmal schenkte sie ihm ein Käppchen von rotem Sammet, und weil

**Little Red Cap; or, Little Red Riding-Hood** (*Household Tales & Traditions*, [1845], pp.15-18)

There was once upon a time a sweet little maid who was beloved by every one who saw her; but she was loved most of all by her grandmother, who knew not what to give her, she was so fond of her. Once she presented her with a cap of red
ihm das so wohl stand, und es nichts anders mehr tragen wollte, hieß es nur das Rotkäppchen. Da sagte einmal seine Mutter zu ihm: 'komm, Rotkäppchen, da hast du ein Stück Kuchen und eine Flasche Wein, die bring der Großmutter hinaus: weil sie krank und schwach ist, wird sie sich daran laben; sei aber hübsch artig und grüß sie von mir, geh auch ordentlich, und lauf nicht vom Weg ab, sonst fällt du, und zerbrichst das Glas, dann hat die kranke Großmutter nichts.

Rotkäppchen sagte: 'ich will schon alles gut ausrichten', und gab der Mutter die Hand darauf. Die Großmutter aber wohnte draußen im Wald, eine halbe Stunde vom Dorf. Wie nun Rotkäppchen in den Wald kam, begegnete ihm der Wolf. Rotkäppchen aber wußte nicht was das für ein böses Tier war, und fürchtete sich nicht vor ihm. 'Guten Tag, Rotkäppchen', sprach er. 'Schönen Dank, Wolf.' 'Wo hinaus so früh, Rotkäppchen?' 'Zur Großmutter.' 'Was trägst du unter der Schürze?' 'Kuchen und Wein für die kranke und schwache Großmutter; gestern haben wir gebacken, da soll sie sich etwas zu gut tun und sich stärken.' 'Rotkäppchen, wo wohnt deine Großmutter?' 'Noch eine gute Viertelstunde im Wald, unter den drei großen Eichbäumen, da steht ihr Haus, unten sind die Nußhecken, das wirst du ja wissen' sagte Rotkäppchen. Der Wolf dachte bei sich: 'das junge zarte Mädchen, das ist ein guter Bissen für dich: wie fängst du an, daß du den kriegst?' Da ging er ein Weilchen neben Rotkäppchen her, dann sprach er: 'Rotkäppchen, sieh einmal die schönen Blumen, die im Walde stehen, warum guckst du nicht um dich? ich glaube du hörst gar nicht darauf, wie die Vögelin so lieblich singen? du gehst ja für dich hin als wenn du zur Schule gingst, und ist so

velvet, and, as it became her so well, and she hardly ever wore any other afterwards, she was called by everybody, LITTLE RED CAP.

Her mother said to her one day, 'Come, Red Cap, here are a piece of cake and a flask of wine, carry them to your grandmother; she is ill and weak, and they will help to make her strong; and be sure you behave yourself prettily and civilly, and salute her kindly from me; take care too that you walk on in an orderly way, and run not off the road, else you will fall and break the glass, and then your grandmother will get nothing.'

Red Cap said, 'All that I will do quite right;' and she kissed her mother, and set off on her journey.

Now her grandmother's house was in the middle of a wood, some miles distant from the village where Red Cap's mother lived; and just when Red Cap had got to the wood the wolf came up to her: but Red Cap did not know what a wicked animal he was, so she was not at all afraid of him.

'Good day to you, Little Red Cap,' said he. 'Many thanks to you, Mr. Wolf,' answered the little maid. 'And where are you going so early in the morning, Red Cap?' 'To my grandmother.' 'What are you carrying under your apron, Red Cap?' 'Wine and cake, for my sick grandmother; we baked the cakes yesterday, that they might be nice and firm.'

'But, Red Cap, where does your grandmother live?' 'A good way farther on, in the wood,' answered the little maid;--'there you will see the house, and you may know it by the tall tree which grows up to the chimney-top.'

When he heard this the wolf said
Rotkäppchen schlug die Augen auf, 
und als es sah wie die Sonne durch die 
Bäume hin und her sprang, und alles voll 
schöner Blumen stand, dachte es ‘wen ich 
der Großmutter einen Strauß mitbringe, der 
wird ihr auch lieb sein; es ist ja noch früh, 
daß ich doch zu rechter Zeit ankomme’, 
und sprang in den Wald und suchte 
Blumen. Und wenn es eine gebrochen 
hatte, meinte es weiter hinaus stände eine 
noch schönere, und lief darnach, und lief 
immer tiefer in den Wald hinein. Der Wolf 
aber ging geradeswegs nach dem Haus der 
Großmutter, und klopfte an die Türe. ‘Wer 
ist draußen?’ ‘Rotkäppchen, das bringt dir 
Kuchen und Wein, mach auf.’ ‘Drück nur 
auf die Klinke’, rief die Großmutter, ‘ich 
bin zu schwach, und kann nicht aufstehen.’ 
Der Wolf drückte auf die Klinke, trat 
hinein, und ging, ohne ein Wort zu 
sprechen, geradezu an das Bett der 
Großmutter, und verschluckte sie. Dann 
nahm er ihre Kleider, tat sie an, setzte sich 
ihre Haube auf, legte sich in ihr Bett, und 
zog die Vorhänge vor.
The double title is, like the footnote quoted above, an indication that the story is a hybrid version. ‘Little Red Cap’ is of course a translation of ‘Rotkäppchen’, while the alternative title and name (which is never used in the text of the story that follows) ‘Little Red Riding-Hood’, is borrowed from the first English translation of Perrault’s tale ‘Le Petit Chaperon Rouge’: ‘The Little Red Riding-Hood’ in Robert Samber’s Histories, or Tales of Past Times (1729). This book introduced Perrault’s tales to English readers and would have been responsible for making the French version of ‘Little Red Riding-Hood’ the one most familiar to the English-speaking world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This familiarity was, as we have seen, the likely reason why Edgar Taylor excluded it from his collection. The Grimms’ version also has an element of familiarity built into the text. The use of the definite article before the two male characters, ‘der Wolf’ (l.27) and ‘der Jäger’ (below, l.141) is a sign that these figures need no introduction and will already be familiar to the narrator’s audience.

The opening paragraphs of the English text are typical in their style of the whole story. There is a woodenness about them that is in marked contrast to the easy-flowing rhythms of the German original. Some phrases are translated poorly, e.g ‘and she hardly ever wore any other afterwards’ (l.8-9) is inaccurate; ‘be sure you behave yourself prettily and civilly’ (l.15-17) comically misconstrues the adverbial use of ‘hübsch’; and one wonders what on earth is meant by taking care to walk ‘in an orderly way’! Red Cap’s reply to her mother, ‘All that I will do quite right’, is a good example of the stiff unidiomatic style of this version of the story, a story which in the original is notable for its constant employment of direct speech and dialogue (a feature remarked upon in the Burns edition’s footnote). Red Cap’s expression of thanks to the wolf for his initial greeting is also unidiomatic, and the reason she then gives for having baked the cakes ‘yesterday’, viz. ‘that they may be nice and firm’ (l.44-5), is either a complete misreading of the original or an interpolation made in order to provide a rational explanation for the fact that the cakes were not exactly fresh but had been baked the day before.16

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15 See Darton (1982, p.88). The text of Samber’s version of the story can be found in Opie (1974, pp.95-7).

16 In a letter of 20 October 1992 David Blamires has kindly drawn my attention to a story ‘Anna and her dog’ in Maria Joseph Crabb’s Tales for children in a familiar style, originally published by Darton & Harvey in 1805 and then going through several editions in the nineteenth century. In this story there is a comment on a child eating stale plum-cake which would explain the Burns edition’s interpolation: ‘for she [the child’s governess] never allowed her to eat any bunns, or plum-cake, till they had been a day and a night from the pastry-cook’s; for new bread, and new bunns, are not good

111
In a translation which, as we shall see, is in fact unique in its attempts to make the events it is recording seem rational, it is odd that the grandmother’s house should be moved to a distance of ‘some miles’ from the village in which Red Cap lives. One assumes from the original’s ‘eine halbe Stunde’ that grandma resides no more than a mile away, given that the heroine is a very young girl with comparatively short legs! However, the English translation here provides her with an unnecessarily long journey to make, and one that she would be unlikely to be expected to walk in the dark (see below, 1.204). Like Sneewittchen, the heroine here is an innocent victim confronted by a villain who is spurred on by very powerful motives, this time an all-consuming greed. Unlike Taylor’s story ‘Snow-drop’, this English version of ‘Rotkäppchen’ does not play down the villain’s evil designs and renders the phrase ‘ein böses Tier’ (1.29) appropriately as ‘a wicked animal’. This particular villain is not motivated solely by malice. He has a very human streak to him and the reader cannot but admire his clever stratagem of distracting the heroine from her duties and enticing her to break her original promise to her mother. Certainly the English editor must have warmed to the wolf: witness, in his footnote (quoted above, p.107), the approving comment on the conversation between the villain and the heroine: ‘The Wolf’s conversation with Red Cap . . . is inimitable’ (*Household Tales & Traditions* [1845], p.15). The translator is also prepared to render correctly the wolf’s relishing of the prospect of eating the heroine, signalled by the words ‘das ist ein guter Bissen für dich’ (II.43-4), whereas Taylor had omitted the equivalent phrase in his story of ‘Hansel and Grethel’ (see above, Chapter III, p.91).

The next departure from the original is to be found in the description of the whereabouts of Grandma’s house. The English version reduces the number of trees shading her house from three to one, while failing to mention the species of tree and omitting the ‘Nußhecken’ altogether. That the one tree remaining ‘grows up to the chimney-top’ might be a feature added to provide a useful link with the final episode where a second wolf jumps on the roof of the house (and we are not told precisely how he manages this in the Grimms’ original), but the English version then fails to make this link explicit when it arrives at this episode. More intriguing is the reason then given by the English text for the wolf’s delay in laying his paws on the heroine. A question left unanswered by the Grimms’ version of the story is why the wolf should not eat up Red Cap immediately he sees her. Perrault’s version depicts the wolf as not daring to devour her at this time because of the presence of woodcutters in the forest (Perrault 1967, p.113: ‘mais il n’osa, à cause de quelques Bûcherons qui

for the stomachs of little children’ (Crabb 1858, p.31-2).
étaint dans la Forêt’). The English translator had evidently decided that this was a reasonable explanation and one conspicuously lacking in the Grimms’ version. Accordingly s/he added the woodcutters, along with some hunters because the presence of the latter would prepare the reader for the fact that, as in ‘Rotkäppchen’, it is later a hunter who rescues the heroine from the jaws of the wolf. This is the first indication that this English version of the story is a contaminated one. In the added presence of the woodcutters we see the presence of Perrault. It is the first indication as well that the English translator is intent on making this version of the story as logical and as rational as possible.

The second indication of this concern for rationality is to be found in another addition provided by the English translation. In lines 76-7 Red Cap is portrayed setting down the cakes and wine she is carrying in order, presumably, that she may have her hands free to pick flowers. This makes very good sense of course, but such reasonableness is not germane to the Grimms’ version, as we shall see again later. It is perhaps surprising that the English version, in its desire for logical consistency, does not proceed to explain how the wolf manages to swallow Grandma and then put on the clothes she was wearing. Did he take time and care to undress her first? Or did he, having devoured her, clothes and all, then don some other apparel from her wardrobe?! 

100 Rotkäppchen aber war herum gelaußen nach Blumen, und als es so viel hatte, daß es keine mehr tragen konnte, fiel ihm die Großmutter wieder ein, und es machte sich auf den Weg zu ihr. Es wunderete sich, daß die Türe aufstand, und wie es in die Stube kam, sah es so seltsam darin aus, daß es dachte: ‘Ei, du mein Gott, wie ängstlich wird mirs heut zu Mut, und bin sonst so gerne bei der Großmutter!’

105 Darauf ging es zum Bett, und zog die Vorhänge zurück: da lag die Großmutter, und hatte die Haube tief ins Gesicht gesetzt, und sah so wunderlich aus: ‘Ei, Großmutter, was hast du für große Ohren!’

110 ‘Daß ich dich besser hören kann.’ ‘Ei, Großmutter, was hast du für große Augen!’ ‘Daß ich dich besser sehen kann.’ ‘Ei, Großmutter, was hast du für große Hände!’ ‘Daß ich dich besser packen kann.’ ‘Aber, Red Cap all this time was running about gathering flowers in the wood, and looking at the little birds which were perched upon the bushes around her; and when she had got as many in her lap as she could carry, she remembered her grandmother, and hastened back to the road. When she got to the house she could not help wondering that the door stood open, and when she came into the room, everything seemed so strange that she said to herself, ‘Oh dear, how dull I feel to-day, when before I used to be so glad with my grandmother!’ Then she went to the bed and drew back the curtains, and there was her grandmother (as she thought), with her cap pulled deep over her face, and looking so strange. ‘Ah, grandmother, what great ears you have!’

17 See Ritz (1985, p.25-8) for an amusing account of this inconsistency.
Großmutter, was hast du für ein entsetzlich großes Maul! ‘Daß ich dich besser fressen kann.’ Und wie der Wolf das gesagt hatte, sprang er aus dem Bette und auf das arme Rotkäppchen, und verschlang es.

‘That is that I may hear you better, child.’

‘Ah, grandmother, what large eyes you have!’

‘That is to see you the better.’

‘Ah, grandmother, what great hands you have!’

‘That is that I may lay hold of you the better.’

‘Ah, grandmother, what a dreadfully large mouth you have!’

‘That is that I may the better eat you.’ And as the wolf said these words he sprang out of the bed upon poor little Red Cap, and was opening his mouth to eat her up, when, behold, an arrow shot him through the body, and he fell dead at her feet.

A huntsman had been going by; and when he saw the door of the old grandmother’s cottage standing open, he thought he would look in and see what was the matter. So he slipped in quietly behind the door, and heard all that the wolf said to Red Cap; and just when he saw that he was going to devour her, he aimed a shot at the wicked animal and killed him; so little Red Cap was saved. The good huntsman then led her home to her mother, and she told him all the story by the way; and as he left her at the door, he said to her, ‘See that you never run away from the road again, all your life, nor do what your mother has forbidden you.’
Da waren alle drei vergnügt; der Jäger nahm den Pelz vom Wolf, die Großmutter aß den Kuchen und trank den Wein den Rotkäppchen gebracht hatte, und Rotkäppchen dachte bei sich 'du willst dein Lebtag nicht wieder allein vom Wege ab in den Wald laufen, wenn dirs die Mutter verboten hat'.

A further addition made by the English translator is the sight of 'little birds' perched on the bushes (ll.102-3) and it seems an unnecessary one, as Red Cap would already appear to have enough to distract her. The next addition though is another rationalised interpolation: Red Cap enters her grandmother's room 'and there was her grandmother (as she thought), with her cap pulled deep over her face'(ll.115-7). At this point in the story, just before the climax is reached, the Grimms' original draws the audience into the events by adopting the heroine's perspective: 'da lag die Großmutter, und hatte die Haube tief ins Gesicht gesetzt' (ll.111-13). The English version, on the other hand, maintains a narrative distance by standing back and making an aside for the purpose of explaining the reality behind the appearance of what Red Cap sees. In fact, the English translator has missed an important element in the tale here, viz. the heroine's confusion about, and at the same time fascination for, what is happening. The exact nature of her emotional response is completely undermined by the English version's rendering of this sequence of events.

Firstly, Red Cap's state of mind is described as 'dull' (l.111), hardly an adequate translation of 'ängstlich'. Once more, as in Edgar Taylor's adaptation of 'Sneewittchen', the emotion of 'Angst' is not conveyed properly. None of the possible meanings suggested by the word 'dull'--sad, downcast, gloomy, drowsy, obtuse--are right in this context, even though they, especially the last, might give a reason for Red Cap's perceptual inability to distinguish the features of the wolf hidden in her grandmother's clothing. In the original though, hers is a heightened state of mind brought on by inexplicable apprehension. She is alerted and fascinated by what she sees and what she cannot explain.

Secondly, the famous dialogue between her and the wolf, which is even more 'inimitable' than the earlier one between the two, is translated into such lame English that the emotional tension of the situation is quite lost and the modern-day reader feels justifiably disappointed. As Anne Wilson (1976, p.4) aptly puts it:
Reading any version of *Little Red Riding-Hood*, we can still sense through the written words, the oral story as it was passed down through the ages, chanted as if it were a rite. The words, known by heart, will only have varied slightly with each telling. They led each audience on through each well-known and well-beloved incident, until the crescendo was reached:

"Oh grandmother, what big teeth you have!"
"All the better to eat you with, my dear!"

The words vary slightly in English versions, and naturally they are different in the versions of Charles Perrault and the Brothers Grimm, but their purport is exactly the same. In the oral situation, the members of the audience will correct the teller, if they consider that he has diverged unsatisfactorily from either the chanted words which they love, or from the progression of events.

How the nineteenth-century reader of Burns edition of *Household Tales and Traditions* would have felt about this rendering of the now famous conversation can only be conjectured. A precedent had been set by Robert Samber’s translation of Perrault’s version (1729) and it was better, though perhaps only marginally so, than that of the Burns edition of 1845.

*Histories, or Tales of Past Times* (1729)  
(quoted in Opie 1974, pp.96-7)

So she said to her, *Grandmamma, what great arms you have got!* It is the better to embrace thee my pretty child.  
*Grandmamma, what great legs you have got!* it is to run the better my child.  
*Grandmamma, what great ears you have got!* It is to hear the better my child.  
*Grandmamma, what great eyes you have got!* It is to see the better my child.  
*Grandmamma, what great teeth you have got!* It is to eat thee up.

*Household Tales and Traditions* ([1845])

‘Ah, grandmother, what great ears you have!’  
‘That is that I may hear you better, child.’  
‘Ah, grandmother, what large eyes you have!’  
‘That is to see you the better.’  
‘Ah, grandmother, what great hands you have!’  
‘That is that I may lay hold of you the better.’  
‘Ah, grandmother, what a dreadfully large mouth you have!’  
‘That is that I may the better eat you.’

A modern reader would of course find the now almost obsolete use of the word ‘great’, especially in the Samber’s phrase ‘What great legs you have got!’, highly comical. This aside, the
failure in the version of 1845 to capture any recognizable rhythm, brought about by its clumsy repetition of 'that', and its lack of effective assonance and alliteration—the sibilants of the original, 'Daß ich dich besser fressen kann' are especially striking—make it sound as if the wolf is now having difficulty speaking fluent English, whereas earlier his use of language, especially in order to deceive others, was masterly. It comes as an unexpected and almost comic relief that the hunter, by his swift action at this point, puts both the wolf and the reader out of their misery! It was not until the next English version of 'Rotkäppchen' in the 1853 Addey edition of Household Stories that the translators thought to invert the verb and the adverbial phrase and thereby achieve a greater rhythmical effect: 'The better to hear/see/touch/eat you with' (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.130). This pattern was then adopted by subsequent translators.

This is the obvious climax of the story and, oddly enough, the point where the text completely abandons its German source and opts for an abrupt deus ex machina solution to the crisis. The interjection 'behold' (l.135) sounds distinctly biblical, as if an angel had entered the scene, and certainly the huntsman must seem to the heroine at this moment of her imminent death like some force of divine intervention. True to this role, the hunter guides the heroine back home to her mother and, like the good father figure that she evidently lacks, admonishes her for her disobedience, and brings this first part of the story to its happy conclusion.

Of course, much of the Grimms' version is missing here in this contamination from some other source. I have been unable to find a version of the tale prior to 1845 where the wolf is dispatched with an arrow. This resolution may well be an invention on the part of the first English translator of the Grimms' story. If so, then s/he set a precedent to others for altering the original ending of the story. The Opies' comment (1974, p.94), in referring to Perrault's tale where the heroine succumbs to the wolf's greed and is not rescued, is an appropriate one here:

Subsequent tellers of the tale, however, have disagreed about whether Red Ridinghood should be killed or saved, and if saved by whom, and if swallowed whether she alone, or her grandmother as well, should be allowed to survive the ordeal. Thus Mrs. Craik, author of John Halifax, Gentleman, a mother of much good sense, who rendered the fairy tales 'anew' in 1863, did not feel the tale required a happy ending. In Madame de Chatelain's Merry Tales for Little Folk, 1868, on the other hand, the wolf was just about to spring at Little Red Ridinghood when a wasp stung his nostril, which gave a signal to a tomtit, which warned a huntsman, who let fly an arrow 'that struck the wolf right through the ear and killed him on the spot'. In Felix Summerly's edition, in the early 1840s, in which the story is set firmly on English soil 'near the forest in Hampshire, which is called the “New Forest”', Little Red Ridinghood screamed as loudly as she could, 'and in rushed her father and some other faggot makers, who, seeing the wolf, killed him at once'.
The variety of endings found in English adaptations of the story since the Burns edition of 1845 is indeed astonishing. The next English translation of the story in Household Stories (1853) has an ending which is even more abrupt and violent than that of the earlier translation. Here the wolf devours both Grandma and the heroine, Little Red-Cap, and then falls asleep on the bed. The hunter enters the room 'and when he came to the bed, he saw the wolf lying in it. "What! do I find you here, you old sinner? I have long sought you," exclaimed he; and taking aim with his gun, he shot the old Wolf dead' (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.131). This change, which leaves the heroine and her grandmother irretrievably dead, necessarily involves an amendment to the last section which accordingly begins: 'Some folks say that the last story is not the true one, but that one day ...' (ibid., p.131).

Many more recent versions of the story, especially those intended for young children, avoid the wolf's swallowing of the heroine and her grandmother. Shavit (1989, p.155) has listed some of the devices used in modern adaptations of KHM 26 which bypass the violence of the original:

The adaptor of the Puppet edition is the most extreme, completely doing away with the potentially violent scene, making sure that even the wolf escapes unscathed: 'When the wolf saw the hunter's long rifle, he had a change of mind. Now it was his turn to be frightened. He had time for just one yelp before running out of the house as quickly as he could.' Other adaptors, however, elect to punish the wolf, apparently so as to see poetic justice done. Nevertheless, they omit the violent scenes between the wolf, the grandmother, and the girl. In the Puppet edition, the grandmother hides in the closet, escaping harm and the girl is rescued before the wolf has a chance to devour her. 'But grandmother saw the wolf too! She dashed into her clothes closet and locked the door behind her, doing it so quickly that the wolf hardly knew what was happening. At that moment a hunter passed the house. He heard Little Red Riding Hood's frightened scream and burst open the door.' The adaptor of the Pop-Up edition provides a similar solution: 'Fortunately, at that moment, the forester arrived. He ran inside and was just in time to rescue the little girl. Red Riding Hood breathed a sigh of relief when she realized what a narrow escape she had had.'

It can be assumed from this variety of resolutions to the story's climax that English and American adaptors have taken exception to the original Grimm version. On what precise grounds is not immediately clear. Is it the violence of the original bedroom scene that was thought to be too much for an English audience to accept? Or the violence of the subsequent rescue, with its surgical removal of the two female figures unharmed from the wolf and the calculated disposal of the villain? Or was

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18 Shavit gives no documentation for the editions cited, except to note that the Puppet Book was published in 1970 while the Pop-Up Book has no date of publication.
the whole conclusion deemed too unrealistic and fanciful to be believed? The Burns edition's translator, being moved, as we have seen, by a desire to have the events s/he is narrating, make rational sense, may well have thought the latter. The Burns version, after all, does not shrink from the violent end met by Grandma. It simply refuses to resurrect her. Her death is final, an alteration that entails the translator having to make a further adjustment to the final section of the story.

Es wird auch erzählt, daß einmal, als Rotkäppchen der alten Großmutter wieder Gebackenes brachte, ein anderer Wolf ihm zugesprochen, und es vom Wege habe ableiten wollen. Rotkäppchen aber hüttete sich, und ging gerade fort seines Wegs, und sagte der Großmutter daß es dem Wolf begegnet wäre, der ihm guten Tag gewünscht, aber so böß aus den Augen geguckt habe: 'wenns nicht auf offener Straße gewesen wäre, er hätte mich gefressen'. 'Komm', sagte die Großmutter, 'wir wollen die Türe verschließen, das er nicht herein kann.' Bald darnach klopfte der Wolf an, und rief 'macht auf, Großmutter, ich bin das Rotkäppchen, ich bring dir Gebackenes'. Sie schwiegen aber still, und machten die Türe nicht auf, da ging der Böse etlichemal um das Haus, und sprang endlich aufs Dach, und wollte warten bis Rotkäppchen Abends nach Haus ginge, dann wollt er ihm nachschleichen, und wolle in der Dunkelheit fressen. Aber die Großmutter merkte was er im Sinn hatte. Nun stand vor dem Haus ein großer Steintrog; da sprach sie zu dem Kind 'nimm den Eimer, Rotkäppchen, gestern hab ich Würste gekocht, da trag das Wasser, worin sie gekocht sind, in den Trog'. Rotkäppchen trug so lange, bis der große große Trog ganz voll war. Da stieg der Geruch von den Würsten dem Wolf in die Nase, er schnupperte und guckte hinab, endlich machte er den Hals so lang, daß er sich nicht mehr halten konnte, und anfing zu rutschen: so rutschte er vom Dach herab, und gerade in den großen Trog hinein, und ertrank. Rotkäppchen aber ging

It happened some time afterwards that Red Cap’s mother sent her on an errand to one of her aunts, when another wolf met her and tried to entice her from the road. But Red Cap remembered what her friend, the hunter, had told her, and she went straight till she came to her journey’s end. As soon as she saw her aunt, she told her that she had met the wolf, who had wished her good morning, but that he stared so fiercely at her all the time, with his large eyes, that she believed if she had not been on the high-road he would have eaten her up.

'Come,' said her aunt, 'we will fasten the door and the windows carefully, so that he cannot get in.'

Soon after this there came a knock at the door; and the wolf called out, 'Open the door, dear aunt, I am Red Cap;--I have brought you some nice cakes.'

But they kept quite still and did not open the door. Then the wolf ran round and round the house to see if there was any other way of getting in; and at last, when he found he could not get into the house, he jumped upon the roof, and seated himself there to wait till Red Cap set off to go home, when he thought to slip quietly after her, and eat her up in the dark. But her aunt heard what was going on, and guessed what the wolf was about.

Now there stood before the house a large and very deep stone trough, and her aunt said to Red Cap, ‘Let us get the buckets and fill the trough up to the very
fröhlich nach Haus, und tat ihm niemand etwas zu Leid.

So they went to work, and when they had filled it almost to the top, her aunt said, 'Red Cap, take your bucket, and go into the kitchen and fill it with the water in which the pudding was boiled, and pour that too into the trough.'

Red Cap did as she was bid, and by this time the great trough was quite full.

They then opened the window very quietly and peeped out to see what would happen. But now the smell of the pudding began to reach the wolf's nose; he snuffed and snuffed, and looked round about, and down; and at last he made such a long neck that he lost his balance, and began to slip; so he slipped down from the roof, straight into the great trough, and was drowned. Red Cap and her aunt, who had now ventured to look out at the door, saw how well their plan had succeeded, and that the wicked wolf was dead. Then Red Cap walked joyfully home, and no one did her any harm.

This final section of the story is also often omitted from English versions, probably because it is thought to be an unnecessary appendix to a tale that already has a sufficiently conclusive end. The first English translation returns to the source text though and gives a thorough and accurate account of the subsequent adventures of the Grimms' heroine. Naturally, in the English version, she no longer has a grandmother, so a suitable substitute has to be found in the form of 'one of her aunts' (1.175). This aunt is much more circumspect than her German counterpart. She makes sure that not only the door but also the windows are fastened (ll.187-9) and that, before she and her granddaughter go outside to view the wolf's demise, they check out the situation by looking firstly through the window (ll.220-2) and then through the door (ll.230-1). Her caution is eminently reasonable and no doubt sets a good example to the young girl in her charge. The aunt's cooking exploits too are treated by the English narrator a little more realistically than in the Grimms' version where Grandma has been cooking up sausages in such a massive amount of water that it easily fills the huge stone trough outside the house! Red Cap's aunt has only enough cooking water to top up the trough that has already been filled with fresh water (though the question may still be asked: where was this fresh
The English translation has, apart from its small additions and its one central departure from the original, kept close to the basic structure of the source story. A young girl is sent by her mother on an errand to her grandmother’s house and on the way encounters a wolf. She is rescued from its clutches by a hunter and learns as a consequence of her ordeal how to cope with any future encounters with wolves. These are the bare bones of the story, which is of course another ‘Kindermärchen’ and concentrates ‘on a test where children are opposed to frightful monsters, but the dimensions of sexuality and social opposition are absent’ (Holbek 1987, p.422). Interpretations of KHM 26 which claim that the story is about the problems of puberty and ‘budding sexuality’ (see esp. Bettelheim 1976, pp.166-183) show a blatant disregard for the Grimms’ text. There is no growth to adult maturity as in the true ‘Zaubermärchen’. However, despite this lack, there are still certain significant changes evident in the heroine’s attitudes and behaviour as the story progresses. At the outset we have a girl who is innocent, ignorant, and gullible. She is confronted and outmanoeuvred by a clever and devious villain, the wolf. At the end--and we must of necessity take the whole story into account, as the Grimms and their English translator have given it to us, with its final episode of the demise of the second wolf, tricked into falling off the roof and drowning in a trough of water--at the very end of the story we have, in contrast to its opening, a heroine who in co-operation with her clever grandmother/aunt confronts and outwits a gullible villain, the second wolf. This ending is crucial to the story. It is not merely another version or variant. It is the natural ending to a story which, seen from this somewhat detached perspective, would seem to be about a learning experience. In brief, the story shows how a young girl develops from a naïve gullible child into a child who is well aware of the dangers of the world and can cope with them when they confront her.

The story is in fact unique amongst the Grimms’ collection in its beginning and its ending. The child-grandmother relationship is the only one of any significance to be found in the KHM. Usually the initial relationship is one between (step-)parents and their children. The figure of the ‘Großmutter’ appears as a character on only two other occasions, viz. ‘Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren’ (KHM 29), and ‘Der Teufel und seine Großmutter’ (KHM 125), where, as the titles indicate, she is the devil’s grandmother who helps the hero of the story to outwit her diabolical grandson. In ‘Die

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19 The ‘pudding’ she has cooked has presumably the original meaning (now extant perhaps only in ‘black pudding’) of a kind of sausage boiled in the stomach or entrails of an animal, rather than that of a sweet farinaceous dish, which would obviously not have appealed to the wolf’s appetite nearly so much.
Gänsehirtin am Brunnen' (KHM 179), there is a brief reference to a grandmaternal figure whom the narrator identifies as the source of the story he is telling. Similarly, with the exception of 'Der alte Großvater und der Enkel' (KHM 78), which is more of a moral tale than a true 'Märchen', grandfathers play only a marginal role, as for example in 'Dornröschen' (KHM 50) and 'Der Hase und der Igel' (KHM 187). The fact that the heroine is loved by all is also unusual--the traditional fairy-tale hero(ine) is usually disliked by at least one other person (a sibling or a parent or step-parent). The ending too is unusual with its repetition of the encounter between heroine and villain, and the noticeably different outcome: the clever way in which the female figures exploit the wolf's own baser nature, his irrepressible greed, to bring about his downfall--both literally and figuratively.

Both the German and English versions of the story are clearly 'cautionary tales', which warn children of the dangers of not listening to and obeying the sensible advice of their elders and betters. One further, quite small but crucial alteration serves to highlight the attitude of the English translator to the purport of the story. In the original story, at the end of her terrifying experience, the Grimms' heroine is shown to be capable of drawing her own conclusions from what she has undergone: 'Rotkäppchen dachte bei sich "du willst dein Lebtag nicht wieder allein vom Wege ab in den Wald laufen, wenn dirs die Mutter verboten hat"' (ll.170-3). The heroine of the English version is not nearly so capable. Not only does she have to be 'led home to her mother'; she also requires a brief lecture from the hunter (ll.151-4): 'and as he left her at the door, he said to her, "See that you never run away from the road again, all your life, nor do what your mother has forbidden you."' The English version would thus seem to adopt a different approach to the learning processes of children. It suggests that children are not capable of drawing their own conclusions from their experiences (as clearly Rotkäppchen in the Grimms' version of the story is), but need to have the correct attitudes inculcated into them by adult authority figures. Only then are children able to learn and internalize the important lessons of life.

Because of the extra additions and the division of the different voices of the dialogue into separate paragraphs, the English text is--despite its earlier omissions--considerably longer than the German original. The additions, as we have seen, are made chiefly out of a concern for maintaining credibility. However, this concern unwittingly defeats its own purpose. There is a hidden and not very pleasant undertone to this English version of the story, and one that was probably overlooked by the translator. The events of the altered English version, if taken realistically, would no doubt have instilled in its heroine a hideous and lasting feeling of guilt for the fact that she was responsible for the death of her innocent grandmother. That she manages to escape such feelings of guilt is evident
from her ‘joyfully’ walking home at the very end (I.233). But this is hardly realistic. She would have to be a very ‘dull’ child indeed to forget the dire consequences of her earlier actions so easily! In altering the story in order to keep the events as credible and realistic as possible, the translator ignores the emotional realities and consequently undermines the whole purpose of these alterations.

The departure of the translation from the central episode of the original (where both grandmother and granddaughter are devoured by the wolf and then extricated from it by the hunter) obscures another important feature of the German source: its element of fantasy. Once more, the conflict typical of much children’s literature in England, that between reason and fantasy, is enacted in this version of *KHM* 26, and reason is the ultimate winner.

Only one ‘fantasy’ element remains from the original, viz. the unrealistic figure of the talking wolf. It is perhaps surprising that this figure was not also altered or removed by the translator, but such a drastic act of censorship would obviously have destroyed the one remaining distinguishing mark of this famous story. In omitting though the episode where the heroine and her grandmother are devoured by the wolf and then cut out of its stomach, the English translation, like Edgar Taylor’s version of ‘Snow-drop’ twenty years earlier, side-steps a central issue: the subject of the body and its processes. In doing this and in disposing so readily of the figure of the grandmother, this English version ignores much of the imaginative and emotional complexity of the original, and, as a consequence, misses an important dimension of the story.

The Grimms’ original tale shows how Rotkäppchen loses and then regains control over herself and her life. The audience of the narrative lives through her experience vicariously and experiences the same sense of excitement and fear and, at the end, the same sense of satisfaction and security as the heroine does.

The first English translation, however, does not furnish nearly so satisfying an experience. Just as it is lacking in natural speech rhythms, so also in its omission of the thrilling climax it fails to fulfil the need for fantasy, essentially because of its failure to do justice to those physical and emotional realities that are the necessary basis for such fantasy. This last failure is without doubt due to the translator’s persistent attempts to transform the fantastic and unbelievable features of the German original into something that would seem more acceptable and reasonable to an English audience. In this endeavour the translator would have found staunch support in the over-anxious comments of Sara Trimmer from 1803 (quoted above, Chapter I, p.47) as well as in the four lines of traditional English verse (quoted in Rowbotham 1989, p.265):
Curved is the line of beauty
Straight is the path of duty
Walk the straight path and you shall see
The other ever follow thee.
JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR’S *THE FAIRY RING* (1846):
‘VIOLET’


So does Michaelis-Jena (1975, p.191) introduce the figure of John Edward Taylor, both the author and the printer of the next important edition of English translations of the *KHM, The Fairy Ring: A New Collection of Popular Tales*, published by John Murray of London in 1846. Apart from Michaelis-Jena’s article, *The Fairy Ring* and its author have received scant attention from commentators: Michaelis-Jena herself, rather than discussing the contents or the quality of Taylors’ compilation as she does with his cousin’s *German Popular Stories*, instead provides historical and biographical information on the edition and its compiler as well as some previously unpublished correspondence between Taylor and his publisher; earlier Morgan (1965, p.181) had summarily dismissed Taylor’s translation with the curt phrase ‘Unwarranted liberties’ and had assigned to it the sign of the all-damning dagger—equivalent in his eyes to ‘the inverted thumb in the ancient Coliseum’ (ibid., p.3); Alderson (1978, p.6) is equally brief in describing Taylor’s English style simply as ‘wooden’. Only more recently has Blamires (1989) drawn attention to the choice of stories made by Taylor and to the exact identity of the edition of the *KHM* which served as its source, viz. the fifth edition of 1843.

The *Fairy Ring* was historically a much more important edition than previously recognized, especially in the United States, where it first appeared in 185120 and became an immediate best

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20 Roorbach (1939) gives this date for what would seem to be the first American edition of *The Fairy Ring* published by Abraham Hart of Philadelphia.
seller. This American publication, appearing in three successive editions (1851-4) and then again in at least four further editions under the new title *Stray Leaves from Fairy Land, for Boys and Girls* (1854-8)\(^2\) is strangely overlooked in the article by Hand (1963). It may well have been pirated from the first English edition of 1846. The layout and page-numbering of the text are identical with those of the English edition; only the Notes are differently set. The illustrations are clearly imitations (and rather poor ones) in reverse format of Richard Doyle's original drawings, and in the Preface these are attributed to one Napoleon Saroney. Only the title piece is new, replacing Doyle's original one. The Preface itself, supposedly penned by Taylor, is the same as that of the English edition with two exceptions: firstly this change of acknowledgement to the artist and secondly the alteration of the date and place of its writing--now 'New York, January 1848' (Taylor 1854, p.vi). It seems unlikely that Taylor ever travelled to America.

These American editions have received little attention up till now, and the fact that Taylor published a second, revised and enlarged edition of *The Fairy Ring* in 1847 is also not widely known. This edition, republished again by John Murray ten years later in 1857, adds another seven stories to the thirty-six originally published in the first edition of 1846 (see Tabulated Concordance) and is notable for the fact that it includes 'The Wild Man', the only English translation of 'De wilde Mann' (*KHM* 136a) before that of Zipes (1988). The 'New Edition' of 1857 appears to have been the last time *The Fairy Ring* was published in Great Britain and it certainly did not cross the Atlantic as its predecessor had done.

John Edward Taylor's selection of the *KHM* did not attain the success and longevity of his cousin's *German Popular Stories* and *Gammer Grethel* volumes. The most recent publication of Taylor's translations seems to have been in *Grimm's Fairy Tales. The Robber-Bridegroom and Other Stories* (London: Mellifont Press). This edition, which has no date, though the Brüder Grimm-Museum catalogue gives 'um 1965', contains amongst its ten stories two versions by Taylor: 'The Goose Girl at the Well' and 'The Pink'. Nevertheless *The Fairy Ring* remains a noteworthy contribution to the history of the Grimms' tales in English. It is the third English edition (after Cunningham's and Thoms's) in which the translator is named on the title page, and in exactly the same year as Edgar Taylor's name appeared for the first time, albeit posthumously, on the title page of the second edition of his *Gammer Grethel*. John Edward would seem to have pipped his cousin at

\(^2\) Jacob Grimm noted the details of the 1856 ed. of this work (listed in Denecke and Teitge 1989, p.42, no.19) in a hand-written entry to his copy of the first vol. of the Addey ed. of *Household Stories* (1853) but misread the title's 'Stray Leaves' as 'Starry Leaves'.

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the post, since he had a copy of *The Fairy Ring* in his hands on Boxing Day 1845, and this edition he sent to the Grimm brothers with its dated inscription: ‘To Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm with the respectful Compliments of the Translator. London Dec. 26. 1845’. Evidence of Taylor’s pride in his family name and its etymology, though modestly concealed, can be found in his Note to the story ‘Thumbling’s Travels’ (Taylor 1846, p.355): ‘One striking feature of these tales, peculiar to Germany, is the frequent introduction of the Tailor, as a representative of mental prowess and cunning. On this point I have no conjecture to offer.’ The reader cannot help but smile here at the ironical reticence of this allusion!

In an undated letter to his publisher, John Murray, quoted by Michaelis-Jena (1975, pp.191-2), Taylor writes:

My dear Sir,

I send you seven of the tales as a specimen. There are 147, I find, which have not been translated by my Cousin Edgar: So we have choice enough. I have read over again some of his translations with the originals, and have followed his principle of translation. When you have had time to look over these sheets I will give you a call, perhaps you will drop me a line to say when.

Yours faithfully
John E. Taylor

It would be very desirable (if you think well of the book) to get it out by Easter--as it is just a book for a child’s present--I think I should clear your shelves of a couple of hundred amongst my friends little and big.

P.S. One story of Thumbling has been translated, but not this one of his Travels.

Taylor’s calculation of the number of stories still to be translated into English is not quite correct. The 1843 edition of the *KHM*, which he used as his source, contains 194 tales; and according to Edgar Taylor’s Notes to *German Popular Stories*, the latter contains fifty-eight of the *KHM* (in reality sixty-one; see the Appendix to Chapter I), which would mean that 136 remain, plus two stories (*KHM* 43, added in 1837, and *KHM* 107, added in 1843), giving a total of 138. Taylor was evidently unaware of Thoms’s *Lays and Legends of Germany* (1834) which contained translations of ‘Dat Erdmänneken’ (*KHM* 91), ‘Doktor Allwissend’ (*KHM* 98), and ‘Der Geist im Glas’ (*KHM* 99), all of them included by Taylor in *The Fairy Ring*. In a second letter (quoted by Michaelis-Jena 1975, p.192) Taylor, replying to a letter from his publisher, corrects Murray’s opinion of the stories’ quality with the words

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22 In a copy of *The Fairy Ring* (1846) in the Brüder Grimm Museum, Kassel.

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'You are wrong in thinking these are the refuse of the Collection--most of them had not appeared in German when my Cousin's volumes were published. Grimm has added them since; and in my opinion many of them are quite as attractive as any that have appeared.' This is also not strictly true. Of Taylor's thirty-six stories, twenty-four had already appeared in the 1819 second edition of the KHM which Edgar Taylor had originally used as his source. Therefore, only twelve--exactly a third--are new tales taken from subsequent editions of the KHM. All seven stories added to the second edition of The Fairy Ring (1847) were also to be found in the 1819 edition of the German original (i.e. KHM 67, 96, 108, 119, 121, 123, and 136a). Taylor seems in this letter to have been putting some pressure on his publisher who at the time was evidently harbouring doubts about the undertaking.

In the undated letter quoted in full above, it is noteworthy that Taylor was prepared to follow his cousin's 'principle of translation'. He does not explain here what he regarded this principle to be, but a later letter to Jacob Grimm (dated January 7, 1848, and quoted in Michaelis-Jena 1975, pp.194-5) elaborates on the subject:

The principle I laid down was to render it [my selection of stories] in as pure Saxon-English as possible, and to adhere to the spirit more than to the letter of the original--although indeed I had seldom to depart from either. In one or two stories, I was obliged to make some slight modifications, in deference to the prejudices which prevail amongst us in England. In a second Edition of the work I introduced several more of the stories, and revised the whole carefully. I am too well aware how scanty and insufficient are the Notes I added--excepting such portion as I extracted from your volume of Illustrations; Mr. Murray intended the book for children--and I did not feel at liberty therefore to lengthen the Appendix, only to gratify my own inclination.

In comparison with the Notes to German Popular Stories the ones to The Fairy Ring are, with the exception of those to 'Thumbling's Travels' which extend to no less than six pages, indeed 'scanty': only twenty-five of the thirty-six tales are provided with notes. Jacob Grimm's reply to this letter (February 15, 1848) in which he gives a polite evaluation of The Fairy Ring is cited in Schröder (1925, p.202): 'das buch selbst lasen wir mit großem behagen und die deutschen texte, schien es uns, hatten unter Ihrer geschickten hand ein stattliches, reinlicheres aussehen gewonnen', whereby it is not clear whether Jacob Grimm is congratulating Taylor on his success as a translator or as a printer.

Taylor is the first of several translators of the KHM who point to the Biblical distinction between the spirit and the letter (2 Corinthians 3:6: '... for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life'). See, for example, more recently, Alderson (1990, p.188): 'All too often their [the Grimms'] Märchen ('strange little tales'--the word itself is impossible to cope with) have been mistranslated and
bowdlerised, or, worst of all, set down in versions which may be accurate as to the letter but which miss the spirit of the tales'; and Carter (1982, p. 237): 'In other words I have translated freely, although I hope accurately, but in the language of our times; as Scripture says, "The letter kills, but the spirit gives life." I have tried to remain faithful to the spirit of the originals while, as the peasants who retold these tales did, telling them in the light of our own experience.' Interestingly, John Edward Taylor avows in his letter to Jacob Grimm that, in the case of his translation, the spirit was seldom incompatible with the letter. Only in a small number of instances did he find himself 'obliged' to make alterations to the text, alterations which were occasioned by 'deference to the prejudices which prevail amongst us in England.' One is reminded of his cousin's being 'compelled sometimes to conciliate local feelings' (see above Chapter I, p.15).

Just as the format of The Fairy Ring follows that of German Popular Stories with its characteristic mixture of stories intended specifically for young readers and learned notes aimed at adults with an antiquarian interest, so, indeed, John Edward Taylor's editorial licence is of the same ilk as his cousin's twenty years earlier.

He pursues an identical policy of omitting sections of the original where the German text seems unnecessarily diffuse: e.g. in the Notes to 'The Two Brothers', his version of KHM 60 'Die zwei Brüder', he confesses 'I have shortened this story a little, by omitting two incidents which occur in another tale' (Taylor 1846, p.366). He then proceeds to summarize one of the incidents that have been omitted (the episode of the knife turning rusty on the 'death' of one of the brothers) but fails to mention the second incident, i.e. the final episode in the story with the hero's hunt for the snow-white hind and his rescue from the witch by the second brother who sleeps in the marital bed of his twin and is subsequently beheaded and then restored to life by the latter. This editorial stratagem of making a half-confession about omissions in the translation is one, as we have already seen, that Edgar Taylor had employed earlier (e.g. in 'Snow-drop' and 'Hansel and Gretel'). Two other stories in The Fairy Ring where similar unacknowledged omissions take place are 'The True Bride' (KHM 186 'Die wahre Braut') and 'The Hedgehog and the Hare' (KHM 187 'Der Hase und der Igel').

Following another practice of his predecessor, especially noticeable in Gammer Grethel, John Edward Taylor also provides several of the characters in the stories with names that they did not have in the original German, e.g. the unnamed heroes of 'Der Geist im Glas' (KHM 99) and 'Die weiße Schlange' (KHM 17) are called respectively Karl and Heinrich in The Fairy Ring, while, the heroine of 'Die wahre Braut' (KHM 186) is given the name of Christel.

The same religious taboos that prevailed at the time of the appearance of German Popular
Stories are evident in the later Taylor’s censorship of references to God and the Devil. The phrase ‘auf Gottes Erdboden’ (KHM 1843, p.456), for example, becomes in The Fairy Ring ‘in the wide world’ (Taylor 1846, p.298). KHM 125 ‘Der Teufel und seine Großmutter’ is transformed into ‘The Dragon and his Grandmother’, while even KHM 99 ‘Der Geist im Glas’ has any possibility of controversy removed from it by being furnished with a new title: ‘The Dwarf in the Bottle’.

All in all, though, John Edward Taylor’s translations are more reliable and faithful to the ‘letter’ than his cousin’s. Occasionally there are instances of error, e.g. in ‘Bruin and the Dwarf’ (the first English version of KHM 161 ‘Schneeweیchen und Rosenrot’) at the moment when the bear leaves the home of the two girls in spring, Taylor misconstrues the phrase ‘blieb er an dem Thürhaken hängen’ (KHM 1843, p.340) and renders it as ‘he remained hanging on the latch, as if loth to go’ (Taylor 1846, p.8). In fact this new rendering adds an extra dimension of meaning to the incident that was not present in the original: the bear is both literally and figuratively ‘torn’ in his reluctance to leave his future bride, Snow-white!

While it may be an over-generalization to describe Taylor’s style as ‘wooden’ (Alderson 1978, p.6), there are admittedly moments when the English translation veers away from euphony and into clumsiness: an example from the same story is the sentence ‘Sometime afterwards Snow-white and Rose-red went one day to angle for a dish of fish.’ Apart from such moments, the style of The Fairy Ring flows straightforwardly and smoothly, especially when read aloud. In his Preface to The Fairy Ring Taylor signals his editorial and stylistic intentions with the words ‘In the selection of the following stories, I have wished to consult the tastes of my young readers, and have studied to preserve as strictly as possible that simple style of narrative and language which gives to these tales their peculiar charm’ (Taylor 1846, pp.iv-v). Here is Taylor’s version of the opening passage of KHM 171 ‘Der Zaunkönig’, a passage which for obvious reasons has posed problems for translators.

**Der Zaunkönig**  
*KHM* 1843, vol.2, p.384)

In den alten Zeiten da hatte jeder Klang noch Sinn und Bedeutung. Wenn der Hammer des Schmieds ertönte, so rief er ‘smiet mi to! smiet mit to!’ Wenn der Hobel des Tischlers schnarrte, so sprach er ‘dor hast! dor, dor hast!’ Fieng das Räderwerk der Mühle an zu klappern, so sprach es ‘help, Herr Gott! help, Herr Gott!’ und war der

**The King of the Birds**  
(Taylor, The Fairy Ring 1846, p.315)

In times of old, every sound had its meaning. When the smith struck his hammer, it sung out, ‘Bang, bang!’ The joiner’s plane put its head close to the wood and cried, ‘Hush! hush!’ The wheel-work of the mill clapped as it worked, ‘Work-a-way, work-a-way!’ and if the miller was a cheat, he had no sooner set the mill a-going, than it would
Müller ein Betrüger, und ließ die Mühle an, so sprach sie hochdeutsch, und fragte erst langsam ‘wer ist da? wer ist da?’ dann antwortete sie schnell ‘der Müller! der Müller!’ und endlich ganz geschwind ‘stiehlt tapfer, stiehlt tapfer, vom Achtel drei Sechter.’

first say in a drawling tone, ‘Who goes there? who goes there?’ then presently it would reply quickly, ‘The miller! the miller!’ and at last the wheels would whirl quickly about, crying, ‘Steal boldly, steal boldly! nobody will scold you.’

The English version, as is expected, omits the the reference to ‘Herr Gott’; it also fails to do justice to the differences between dialect and High German in the original. Nevertheless with its use of assonance and onomatopoeia this is a fair showing, especially in the light of the fact that the next English translator of this story in the Addey edition of 1853 simply gave up and omitted the whole paragraph, following the translator’s time-honoured adage: if in doubt, leave it out!

The story chosen from The Fairy Ring for closer scrutiny in this chapter is Taylor’s rendering of ‘Rapunzel’ (KHM 12), a story which has provided some difficulty for English translators, especially in the name of its titular heroine. It is a narrative which even in its original German form was not without controversy (see Rölleke’s remarks in KHM 1819, vol.2, pp.573-4). The first English version of it exhibits perhaps both the best and the worst qualities of John Edward Taylor as a translator.

Rapunzel

(KHM 1843, vol.1, pp.74-78)

Es war einmal ein Mann und eine Frau, die wünschten sich schon lange vergeblich ein Kind, endlich machte sich die Frau Hoffnung der liebe Gott werde ihren Wunsch erfüllen. Die Leute hatten in ihrem Hinterhaus ein kleines Fenster, daraus konnte man in einen prächtigen Garten sehen, der voll der schönsten Blumen und Kräuter stand, er war aber von einer hohen Mauer umgeben, und niemand wagte hinein zu gehen, weil er einer Zauberin gehörte, die große Macht hatte, und von aller Welt gefürchtet wurde. Eines Tags stand die Frau an diesem Fenster, und sah in den Garten hinab, da erblickte sie ein Beet, das mit den schönsten Rapunzeln bepflanzt war, und sie sahen so frisch und

Violet

(Taylor, The Fairy Ring 1846, pp.321-328)

There was once a man and his wife, who had for years longed in vain to have a child; but at length the good woman had hopes that their wish would be granted. At the back of their house was a little window, which looked on to a beautiful garden, full of flowers and fruit. The garden was surrounded by a high wall, and no one dared to go into it; for it belonged to an old fairy, who had great power and was feared by the whole world.

One day, as the good woman was standing at the window, and looking down into the garden, her eye fell upon a bed of beautiful violets, which smelt so sweet that she longed to have some. And
grün aus, daß sie lüstern wurde, und das größte Verlangen empfand von den Rapunzeln zu essen. Das Verlangen nahm jeden Tag zu, und da sie wußte daß sie keine davon bekommen konnte, so fiel sie ganz ab, sah blaß und elend aus. Da erschrak der Mann, und fragte 'was fehlt dir, liebe Frau?' 'Ach,' antwortete sie, 'wenn ich keine Rapunzeln aus dem Garten hinter unserm Hause zu essen kriege, so sterbe ich.' Der Mann, der sie gar lieb hatte, dachte 'eh du deine Frau sterben läßest, holst du ihr von den Rapunzeln, es mag kosten was es will.' In der Abenddämmerung stieg er also über die Mauer in den Garten der Zauberin, stach in aller Eile eine Hand voll Rapunzeln und brachte sie seiner Frau. Sie machte sich sogleich Salat daraus, und aß sie in voller Begierde auf. Sie hatten ihr aber so gut, so gut geschmeckt daß sie den andern Tag noch dreimal so viel Lust bekam. Sollte sie Ruhe haben, so mußte der Mann noch einmal in den Garten steigen. Er machte sich also in der Abenddämmerung wieder hinab, als er aber die Mauer herab geklettert war, erschrak er gewaltig, denn er sah die Zauberin vor sich stehen. 'Wie kannst du es wagen,' sagte sie zornig, 'in meinen Garten wie ein Dieb zu kommen, und mir meine Rapunzeln zu stehlen?' 'Ach,' antwortete er, 'ungern habe ich mich dazu entschlossen, und nur aus Not: meine Frau hat eure Rapunzeln aus dem Fenster erblickt, und hat ein so großes Gelüst danach, daß sie sterben würde wenn sie nicht davon zu essen bekäme.' Da ließ die Zauberin in ihrem Zorne nach, und sprach zu dem Mann 'verhält es sich so, wie du sagst, so will ich dir gestatten Rapunzeln mitzunehmen so viel du willst, allein ich mache eine Bedingung: du mußt mir das Kind geben, das deine Frau zur Welt bringen wird. Es soll ihm gut gehen, und ich will für es sorgen wie eine Mutter.' Der Mann sagte in der Angst alles zu, und als die Frau in Wochen kam, so erschien gleich die

every day, as she looked out of the window, her longing for the violets grew stronger and stronger; but when she thought how impossible it was to get the flowers, she pined away and grew pale and thin. At this her husband became alarmed, and said, 'What ails you, wife?' 'Alas!' answered she, 'unless I can have some violets from the garden behind our house, I shall soon die.' The man, who loved his wife dearly, thought to himself, 'I cannot let my wife die; so, cost what it may, I will get her some of the violets.'

In the evening, therefore, he climbed over the wall into the fairy's garden, plucked a handful of the violets and brought them to his wife. The good woman was highly delighted; but the next day the violets had faded, and she had a still greater longing for some more. So at last, in order to get any peace, the good man was obliged to venture into the garden again. When evening came, he climbed over the wall; but scarcely had he set foot in the garden, when he started with fright at seeing the old fairy standing before him. 'How dare you come like a thief into my garden and steal the flowers?' cried she angrily. 'Alack!' replied the man, 'I came quite against my will; but my wife saw your violets from the window, and took so great a fancy to them, that she would have died if I had not got her some.'

The old fairy's anger now softened, and she said, 'Well, if that's the case you may take as many violets as you please, but upon one condition; you must give me the child which your wife will soon bring into the world. I promise you that it shall be well provided for, and I will take as good care of it as a mother.' So the poor man, in his trouble, promised what the old fairy required; and when the good woman gave birth to the child, the fairy appeared, gave it the name of Violet, and carried it off.
The story of Rapunzel is so well known to English speakers nowadays that it comes as a surprise to find a version of it in which the heroine has a completely different name. Taylor’s choice of the name of the girl and of the plant from which she gets her name, Violet, can perhaps be regarded as an example of what Morgan designated ‘unwarranted liberties’ in Taylor’s translations of the KHM. However, the first English translator of the story had quite understandable difficulties to overcome.

The German word ‘Rapunzel’ appears to have been unknown to him. In his Notes to ‘Violet’ Taylor simply names the title of the original story but then fails to comment on his own choice of title for his English version of the tale. We have already seen some of the problems encountered by Edgar Taylor when rendering words for specifically German forms of food into their equivalent English (see above, Chapter I, p.28). The problem surfaces again here. The term ‘Rapunzel’ according to the DWh (1984, vol.14, p.122) is the ‘name von salatpflanzen, namentlich valeriana locusta, campanula rapunculus und phyteuma spicata; . . . (in zwei arten: rüben-rapunzel und feld- oder winter-rapunzel).’ The salad plant ‘Rapunzel’ (its modern botanical name is valerianella locusta) is still well known and widely eaten in Germany. It has long been relished as a salad in late autumn and early winter when other salad varieties are no longer available; this is especially the case in Hessen where it is traditionally served at Martinmas with roast goose, dumplings and red cabbage. In other German-speaking areas it is known as ‘Feldsalat’ (in Switzerland ‘Nüßlisalat’). The common English name for the same plant is ‘corn salad’ or ‘lamb’s lettuce’. According to the OED (1989, vol.3, p.948) corn salad, ‘a small succulent plant . . . found wild in corn-fields, and cultivated as an early salad’, is first mentioned in England in 1597 in Gerarde’s Herbal, and the OED cites other references to it throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Had Taylor known of this plant (which is probably doubtful as it does not seem to have been widely cultivated in England), he would still have had difficulty with either ‘corn salad’ or ‘lamb’s lettuce’ as an appropriate name for his heroine. Mrs. Edgar Lucas (1900) appears to have been the only English translator to identify the plant ‘Rapunzel’ as ‘corn salad’, though this was then changed to rampion in the 1909 edition of this work. John Edward Taylor could, following the Italian version of the story in Il Pentamerone (which he knew and subsequently translated), have opted for ‘Parsley’, but again the word is ‘not a girl’s name. Besides, his cousin Edgar had already avoided using the word ‘parsley’ when translating Büsching’s ‘Das Märchen von der Padde’. The heroine in this story (a version of KHM 63 ‘Die drei
Federn') is called 'Petersilie' because of her appetite for parsley. Edgar Taylor had cleverly changed the object of her craving, and consequently her name, to 'Cherry'. His younger cousin, in translating 'Rapunzel', for some strange reason avoids the notion of food altogether and opts for a flower instead of an edible plant.

His choice of 'violet' is an ingenious one but only to the extent that it provides him with the convenience of a familiar girl’s name. In other respects, his choice results in a definite weakening of the original story’s vivid imagery and its associated meanings.

Successive translators after him have found equally ingenious solutions to the problem of rendering the heroine’s name into English, and with varying success. The next version of the tale appeared in the anonymously translated Addey edition of Household Stories (1853, vol.1, p.81-5). Here the title 'Rapunzel' is retained in the English but the heroine’s mother is now depicted as having an irresistible craving for radishes growing in the next-door garden. Oddly, though, no explanatory connection is made in the text between the heroine ‘Rapunzel’ and the radishes that her mother longs for. Mrs. Paull, in an inspired solution, translates ‘Rapunzel’ simply as ‘lettuces’ and then renders lines 66-7 quite brilliantly: ‘and gave her the name Letitia, but she was always called Lettice, after the name of the vegetable which grew in the garden’ (Paull [1872], p.73). Matilda Davis (1855) is the first of several translators to choose the second species of plant named in the gloss to ‘Rapunzel’ in the Grimms’ dictionary: campanula rapunculus. This is the ‘rüben-rapunzel’ listed in the DWb and is cultivated primarily because of its edible roots. It is the English ‘rampion’ as defined in the OED (1889, vol.13, p.161): ‘A species of bellflower, Campanula Rapunculus, of which the white tuberous roots are sometimes used as a salad.’ Like the translator of ‘Rapunzel’ in the Addey edition, Davis fails to make the necessary link between the plant name (rampion) and the name of her heroine (Rapunzel). Lucy Crane (1882) is the first of those translators subsequent to Davis who opt for the bellflower rampion and either simply call the heroine Rampion or make an explicit link between the plant rampion and the heroine’s German name, Rapunzel: ‘the witch appeared, and, giving the child the name of Rapunzel (which is the same as rampion) she took it away with her’ (Crane 1882, p.73). Margaret Hunt (1884) follows suit, but instead of providing this explanation in the text of the story, she adds it as a learned footnote: ‘Rapunzel, Campanula rapunculus (rampion), a congener of the common harebell. It is a long white spindle-shaped root which is eaten raw like a radish, and has a pleasant sweet flavour. Its leaves and young shoots are also used in salads—and so are the roots, sliced’ (Hunt 1884, vol.1, p.50). After Hunt, Beatrice Marshall (1900), Mrs. Edgar Lucas (1909), and, more recently, Peter Carter (1982) have also settled for rampion in their translations. The choice
of this botanical species would appear to be incorrect here since *campanula rapunculus* is a plant—Hunt’s notes notwithstanding—whose roots rather than leaves are eaten,\(^{23}\) and the German text, while not being unambiguously specific, does seem to suggest that it is the conspicuous nature of the plant’s leaves—a characteristic of *valerianella locusta*—which attracts the woman’s attention and arouses her uncontrollable greed.

A further relevant point here is that this more likely plant of the *Valeriana* family, contains, as the botanical name indicates, traces of the drug valerian which has traditionally been, and still is, ‘given in hysterical and neurotic conditions as a sedative’ (*The Extra Pharmacopoeia* 1936, p.912). The woman’s pregnancy craving and its satisfaction in the original German story would seem to have a sound basis in pharmaceutical medicine.

John Edward Taylor will have none of this and his English version completely sidesteps the notion of a pregnancy craving. By having the woman long for violets, Taylor’s text borders on the nonsensical. His rendering of lines 15-20: ‘her eye fell upon a bed of beautiful violets, which smelt so sweet that she longed to have some’. One is prompted to ask: why, if she can already see and smell the violets, does she want ‘to have some’? The husband’s act of picking the violets results in the flowers fading and his wife’s desire for more. Her appropriation of the violets is therefore shown to be self-defeating. She would have been better off leaving them where they were, so that she could continue to enjoy them from a distance. It is also difficult to imagine her pining away and growing pale and thin just because she cannot reach or touch the flowers. Taylor is here following closely in the footsteps of his cousin in dodging details of the physical and emotional symptoms of pregnancy (see above, Chapter I, p.18). Like Edgar before him, he exhibits a certain prudishness about the nature and intensity of human desires and cravings.

The later Taylor’s treatment of the woman’s ravenous and insatiable appetite for the plant is another example of the way in which the early English translators of Grimm either bypass or diminish the importance of the body and its basic instincts. In Edgar Taylor’s story mentioned above, ‘Cherry, or the Frog Bride’, the original sentence ‘Die alte Frau aber lebte stille und eingezogen mit ihrem Töchterlein, das den Namen davon hatte, daß es Petersilie lieber als alle andere Speise ab, ja einen rechten Heißhunger darnach hatte’ (Büsching 1820, pp.286-7) is translated ‘But the old woman lived

\(^{23}\) Cf. also Luke (1982, p.398) who notes this fact while still preferring rampion as first choice: ‘Strictly the English for *Rapunzel* is “rampion” (a bell-flower with edible white tuberous roots)’. The third species of plant listed in the *DWB, phyteuma spicata*, also belongs to the rampion or bellflower family and its leaves are not suitable for eating.
at peace at home with her daughter, who was called Cherry, because she liked cherries better than any other kind of food, and would eat scarcely any thing else’ (German Popular Stories 1826, pp.97-8) which hardly does justice to the phrase ‘ja einen rechten Heißhunger’. Similarly, in his version of KHM 122, ‘Der Krautesel’, where the ‘salad’ of the English title provokes this response from the witch: ‘Die Hexe dachte an nichts Arges und der Mund wässerte ihr so sehr nach dem neuen Gericht’ (KHM 1819, vol.2, p.431), Edgar Taylor simply leaves the sentence out, allowing no mention of the physical symptoms of the witch’s greed. Earlier in the story he had ignored the passage where the hero swallows the magical bird’s heart and is subsequently made to drink an emetic which forces him to vomit up the heart. Another example of such translatorial austerity in alimentary matters, this time from John Edward Taylor once more, is his omission from ‘Bruin and the Dwarf’ (his version of KHM 161 ‘Schneewisichcn und Rosenrot’) of the dwarf’s vituperative outburst: ‘unser einer . . . , der nicht so viel hinunter schlingt als ihr, grobes Volk’ (KHM 1843, vol.2, p.335).

By choosing to call his heroine Violet in the story of the same name and to alter accordingly the true nature of her mother’s original craving, Taylor has managed to avoid what was evidently a sensitive area to English readers. He does retain the notion that the woman believes herself to be pregnant (II.3-5)24 while omitting, as we would expect by now, the reference to ‘der liebe Gott’, one of those religious additions first introduced by Wilhelm Grimm to the second edition of 1819. Taylor’s alterations ensure that such expressive phrases as ‘und sie sahen so frisch und grün aus, daß sie lüstern wurde’ (II.17-18),25 ‘und aß sie in voller Begierde auf’ (II.36-7), and ‘hat ein so großes Gelüsten darnach’ (II.52-3) have no real equivalents in the first English version. The ‘oral cravings’, which depth-psychological interpreters have made so much of (see esp. Drewermann 1986, pp.67ff.)—and, together with these, a whole dimension of the original story—go completely missing in Taylor’s translation. It is also noticeable that Taylor, like his namesake before him, has difficulty on one occasion in accurately conveying the precise nature of the emotion of ‘Angst’: ‘trouble’ (I.60) is hardly adequate. On a second occasion (I.122) he gets it right.

One apparent improvement on the Grimms’ original is the greater readability of Taylor’s version achieved by the division of the text into a larger number of paragraphs. Though the texts of both the 1843 edition of the KHM and the 1846 volume The Fairy Ring are printed two columns per

24 The next English edition, Household Stories, published by Addey in 1853 leaves this out.

25 Cf.Edgar Taylor’s handling of the word ‘anlustern’ in ‘Sneewittchen’ (see above, Chapter I, p.37).
Rapunzel wurde das schönste Kind unter der Sonne. Als es zwölf Jahre alt war, schloß es die Zauberin in einen Thurm, der in einem Walde lag, und weder Treppe noch Thüre hatte, nur ganz oben war ein kleines Fensterchen. Wenn die Zauberin hinein wollte, so stellte sie sich ganz unten hin, und rief

75 'Rapunzel, Rapunzel, laß mir dein Haar herunter.'

Now Violet had long and beautiful hair, as fine as spun gold. When she heard the old fairy’s voice, she unbound her tresses, fastened them to a hook in the window, and the hair fell down twenty yards long, till it reached the ground, and the old fairy climbed up to the window.

Violet was the fairest child under the sun. When she was twelve years old, the fairy shut her up in a tower, which stood in a large wood, and had no entrance either by steps or door; but high up near the top was a little window. And when the old fairy wished to enter the tower, she went under the walls, and cried,

70 Rapunzel hatte lange prächtige Haare, fein wie gesponnen Gold. Wenn sie nun die Stimme der Zauberin vernahm, so band sie ihre Zöpfe los, wickelte sie oben um einen Fensterhaken, und dann fielen die Haare zwanzig Ellen tief herunter, und die Zauberin stieg daran hinauf.

80 'Violet, Violet, I am here; Quickly let down your golden hair!'

Rapunzel hatte lange prächtige Haare, fein wie gesponnen Gold. Wenn sie nun die Stimme der Zauberin vernahm, so band sie ihre Zöpfe los, wickelte sie oben um einen Fensterhaken, und dann fielen die Haare zwanzig Ellen tief herunter, und die Zauberin stieg daran hinauf.

85 Nach ein paar Jahren trug es sich zu, daß der Sohn des Königs durch den Wald ritt, und an dem Thurm vorüber kam. Da hörte er einen Gesang, der war so lieblich, daß er sich still hielt, und horchte. Das war Rapunzel, die in ihrer Einsamkeit sich die Zeit damit vertrieb, ihre süße Stimme erschallen zu lassen. Der Königssohn suchte vergeblich nach einer Thüre des Thurm, der Gesang hatte ihn aber so sehr das Herz gerührt, daß er jeden Tag hinaus in den Wald gieng und darauf horchte. Als er einmal so hinter einem Baum stand, sah er die Zauberin herankommen, und hörte wie sie hinauf rief

90 'Rapunzel, Rapunzel, Now Violet had long and beautiful hair, as fine as spun gold. When she heard the old fairy’s voice, she unbound her tresses, fastened them to a hook in the window, and the hair fell down twenty yards long, till it reached the ground, and the old fairy climbed up to the window.

95 Tag hinaus in den Wald gieng und darauf horchte. Als er einmal so hinter einem Baum stand, sah er die Zauberin herankommen, und hörte wie sie hinauf rief

100 'Rapunzel, Rapunzel,' 'Violet, Violet! I am here;"
laß dein Haar herunter.’

Da ließ Rapunzel die Haarflechten herab, und die Zauberin stieg zu ihr hinauf. ‘Ist das die Leiter, auf welcher man hinauf kommt,’ sprach der Königsohn, ‘so will ich auch einmal mein Glück versuchen.’ Und den folgenden Tag, als es anfieng dunkel zu werden, ging er zu dem Thurme, und rief

‘Rapunzel, Rapunzel, laß dein Haar herunter.’

Alsbald fielen die Haare herab, und der Königsohn stieg hinauf.

Anfangs erschrak Rapunzel gewaltig als ein Mann zu ihr herein kam, wie ihre Augen noch nie einen erblickt hatten, doch der Königsohn fieng an ganz freundlich mit ihr zu reden, und erzählte ihr daß von ihrem Gesang sein Herz so sehr sei bewegt worden, daß es ihm keine Ruhe gelassen, und er sie selbst habe sehen müssen. Da verlor Rapunzel ihre Angst, und als er sie fragte ob sie ihn zum Manne nehmen wolle, und sie sah daß er jung und schön war, so dachte sie ‘der wird mich lieber haben als die alte Frau Gothel,’ und sagte ja, und reichte ihm ihre Hand. Sie verabredeten daß er alle Abend zu ihr kommen sollte, aber die Zauberin, die nur bei Tage kam, merkte nichts davon, bis einmal Rapunzel anfieng und zu ihr sagte ‘sag sie mir doch, Frau Gothel, wie kommt es nur, sie wird mir viel schwerer herauszuziehen, als der junge Königsohn, der ist in einem Augenblick bei mir.’ ‘Ach du gottloses Kind,’ rief die Zauberin, ‘was muß ich von dir hören, so hast du mich doch betrogen!’ Und in ihrem Zorne packte sie die schönen Haare der Rapunzel, schlug sie ein paar Mal um ihre linke Hand, griff eine Scheere mit der rechten, und ritsch, ritsch, waren sie abgeschnitten, und die

Quickly let down your golden hair.’

Then Violet let fall her long tresses, and the fairy climbed up. ‘O ho!’ said the king’s son to himself, ‘is this the ladder? I’ll try my luck too.’ So the next evening he went to the tower, and cried,

‘Violet, Violet! I am here; Quickly let down your golden hair.’

Straightways Violet’s long tresses fell down to the ground, and the king’s son climbed up.

When Violet saw a man enter her little room she shrieked with alarm; but the king’s son spoke to her in a kind and gentle voice, and told her how his heart had been so moved by her singing, that he could not rest night or day until he had seen Violet herself. Then Violet forgot her fright; and when the king’s son asked her whether she would take him for a husband, and she saw how young and handsome he was, she thought to herself, ‘He will surely love me more than old Mother Gothel.’ So she consented to be his wife and gave him her hand. And before the king’s son went away, they planned that he should come every evening to the tower. But the old fairy, who only came in the day-time, observed nothing, until Violet said to her one day without thinking, ‘Tell me, Mother Gothel, how happens it that you are so much heavier than the king’s son, who climbs up the tower in the twinkling of an eye?’ ‘Ah! you wicked girl,’ exclaimed the old fairy, ‘what do I hear? you have deceived me.’ And so saying, in her rage she seized Violet by the hair, slapped her twice on her left hand, took a pair of scissors, and in an instant all her
schönen Flechten lagen auf der Erde. Und sie war so unbarmerzig daß sie die arme Rapunzel in eine Wüstenei brachte, wo sie in großem Jammer und Elend leben mußte. beautiful tresses were cut off and lying upon the floor! But not content with this, the old fairy was so cruel, that she led poor Violet into a desert, and left her to pass her days there in tears and sorrow.

In *The Fairy Ring* Taylor proved himself to be a dab hand at rhyming verse. He captures here the half rhyme of the original German couplet ‘Rapunzel, Rapunzel, laß (mir) dein Haar herunter’, something which later translators have failed to do. The now standardized and less poetic English form ‘Rapunzel, Rapunzel, Let down your hair’ was initiated by the Addey edition of *Household Stories* (1853) and retained by Davis (1855), Crane (1882), Hunt (1884) with ‘thy’ in place of ‘your’; and the most recent translators of Grimm--Manheim (1978), Alderson (1978), and Zipes (1988)--have all adopted this formula. In many other instances Taylor outstrips his successors in his handling of the verses scattered throughout the Grimms’ tales. One example will suffice: in his version of *KHM* 169 ‘Das Waldhaus’, ‘The House in the Woods’, Taylor renders the quatrain ‘schön Hühnchen, schöner Hähnchen, und du schöne bunte Kuh, was sagst du dazu?’ (*KHM* 1843, vol.2, p.383) as ‘My pretty Cock, My pretty Hen, And thou, my pretty brindled Cow, Tell me, all, what think ye now?’ (Taylor 1846, p.256); and ‘du hast mit ihm gegessen, du hast mit ihm getrunken, du hast an uns gar nicht gedacht, nun steh auch wo du bleibst die Nacht’ (*KHM* 1843, vol.2, p.383) as ‘You have had food and you have had drink, But of us you had not the grace to think; So find as you can for yourself a bed, For what care we where you lay your head?’ (Taylor 1846, p.257). By comparison the Addey edition’s translation of these verses is definitely ‘wooden’: ‘Pretty Hen, pretty Cock, And pretty brindled Cow, What have you to say to that?’ and ‘You have eaten with him, You have drunk too with him, And yet you have not thought of us, Still you may pass the night here’ (*Household Stories* 1853, vol.2, p.728).

Admittedly Taylor introduces a sense of urgency into his version of the famous couplet in ‘Rapunzel’, an urgency which is not there in the original; but his solution is superior to, say, Carter’s (1982, p.29) somewhat lame pair of lines from over 130 years later: ‘Sweet Rampion, Sweet Rampion, Let down your hair to me.’

At other moments Taylor’s choice of words is not so successful. He makes a small error in misreading ‘Nach ein paar Jahren’ as ‘Two years passed’, a mistake which he makes elsewhere as well (e.g. in this story 1.141) and which others have made after him--the translator(s) of the Addey edition, for instance. In addition he clumsily and unnecessarily uses the word ‘thus’ on three occasions
in close proximity (l.84, 90, and 95). 'How happens it' (l.134) is also a far from felicitous phrase, but 'you wicked girl' for 'du gottloses Kind' (l.136) is, given the taboos of the time, a better attempt than his cousin's rendering of the phrase 'Sneewittchens gottlose Stiefmutter' as 'Snow-drop's old enemy the queen' at the end of 'Snow-drop' (see above, Chapter I, p.42).

There is another instance--both amusing and instructive--of mistranslation in Taylor's text. This is the one and only example of a story where the English translator adds an element of violence which is not there in the original. The complete misrepresentation of lines 139-40, 'schlug sie ein paar Mal um ihre linke Hand' as 'slapped her twice on her left hand', is an error that others after Taylor have persisted with. The next English version of the story repeats the mistake: 'in a fury she gave her a couple of blows with her left hand' (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.84), as do Mrs. Paull ([1872], p.61) and Lucy Crane (1882, p.74): 'and struck her several times with her left hand'. The frequency with which this error appears in these 19th century versions of Grimm makes one wonder whether the translators had constantly been drawing on their predecessors' works as cribs. Taylor initiated the error and others may well have copied it from him. It may seem unlikely that this passage would provoke the same improbable rendering--why hit her specifically on her left hand?!--in four separate instances. If, however, the four are indeed independent of one another, then the error can be explained, at least in part, by the English translators' readiness to accept that some form of corporal punishment was necessary at this juncture of the story. In the Grimms' original tales children are seldom slapped or beaten (an exception is KHM 14 'Die drei Spinnerinnen'). When they are, as in the case of KHM 11 'Brüderchen und Schwestern', the victims see it as a justifiable reason for leaving home. The parents' willing acceptance, by contrast, of the necessity of corporal punishment in a child's upbringing in Victorian England (see Quennell 1958, pp.139ff., and Walvin 1982, pp.45-52) may explain the translators' repeated misconstruing of the original here. Whatever the reason, this episode in 'Rapunzel' is a singular instance of the English version being more violent than the German original--usually, as we have seen in Edgar Taylor's case and as will again be seen in other English editions, it is very much the other way about!

Denselben Tag aber, wo sie Rapunzel verstoßen hatte, machte die 150 Zauberin Abends die abgeschnittenen Haare oben am Fensterhaken fest, und als der Königsohn kam und rief

On the evening of the day when the fairy had driven Violet away, she fastened the long tresses of her hair to the hook in the window. By and by came the king's son, as usual, and called out,
In his version of this final episode of the story, Taylor makes two additions which intensify the dramatic nature of the denouement. He depicts the prince’s unsuspecting climb up the tower via Rapunzel’s hair; and then his sudden shock and change of mood at discovering instead of his beloved the ‘old fairy’ at the top are conveyed in an exclamatory ‘Alas!’ (l.157). Taylor also provides a link between the reunion of hero and heroine here and their first encounter earlier in the story by having Violet explicitly ‘singing’ (l.176). The Grimms’ original does not make it clear how the heroine is using her voice when the prince comes upon her; the English translation does.
There are also, however, two instances where the English translation fails to live up to the quality of the original. Firstly, the use of the phrase ‘looked spitefully’ for ‘mit bösen und giftigen Blicken’ (I.158) recalls Edgar Taylor’s weak handling of similar descriptive passages in his ‘Snowdrop’ (see e.g. above, Chapter I, p.33). Secondly, John Edward Taylor’s treatment of the arrival of twin children—a somewhat surprising event, even in the original—is questionable in its timing of this occurrence. Since the prince has already been wandering ‘for several years’, the clause describing the children ‘who had lately been born’ causes confusion and unnecessarily casts doubt on the identity of the father!

This latter criticism may seem to be a minor one, but it does highlight a problem that English translators have had with this episode and one which the Grimm brothers themselves encountered between the first and second editions of the KHM, viz. the problem of Rapunzel’s pregnancy. Later English translators like Mrs. Paull ([1872]) and Margaret Hunt (1884) avoided the issue altogether and set a precedent for many 20th century translations and adaptations of the story into English: they simply omitted the twins. We have already seen how J. E. Taylor in the first English translation of ‘Rapunzel’ avoided the notion of a pregnancy craving at the outset of the story; we must give him credit though for retaining the children at the story’s end. Even if doubt arises about the timing of the children’s birth in his version, nevertheless he evidently did not feel in any way compelled to remove the twins, as several of his successors have done.

The original story is itself, in one particular episode, one of the least satisfactory of all of the Grimms’ tales. This episode effectively illustrates the difficulties involved in editing and altering the texts of traditional stories purely out of a moral concern for the sensibilities of the reader.

In the original version of the story of ‘Rapunzel’ first published in 1812, the heroine’s secret meetings with the prince are revealed to her foster mother in the following fashion (KHM 1812, p.41): ‘So lebten sie lustig und in Freuden eine geraume Zeit, und die Fee kam nicht dahinter, bis eines Tages das Rapunzel anfing und zu ihr sagte: “sag’ sie mir doch Frau Gothel, meine Kleiderchen werden mir so eng und wollen nicht mehr passen.”’ In other words, it is her pregnancy that prompts her to make the unwitting revelation that the prince is visiting her in the tower at night. This of course makes the story into one about the potentially tragic consequences of keeping the young in ignorance of the so-called ‘facts of life’. This disastrous ignorance can in turn be traced back to the selfishness of the mother figures in the story who show little maternal regard for the real welfare of their child. The selfish and obsessive desire of the natural mother for the plant ‘Rapunzel’ is mirrored in the equally obsessive and self-centred desire on the part of Frau Gothel for the child Rapunzel and for
the latter’s total seclusion from the rest of the world. This selfishness is shown in the end to be futile and self-defeating. The next generation, who are likewise infected by this selfishness (witness Rapunzel’s response to the prince’s proposal in lines 125-7 and the prince’s failure to ‘rescue’ Rapunzel from the tower--given the fact that he seems quite content with the situation, why should he bother?!), suffers for the sins of the previous generation; but only temporarily: the final recognition of the depth and sincerity of their love for each other (underscored in lines 183-4 of Taylor’s version by his addition of the phrase ‘his dear Violet’) brings about their reunion.

Wilhelm Grimm’s revised version of Rapunzel’s unthinking confession (ll.132-5), introduced in the second edition of the KHM in 1819, is a considerable weakening of the original story and involves the same sort of nonsensical solution to problems arising from moral concerns that we have seen to be so prevalent in later English translations. The heroine has no reason to ‘give the game away’ so readily. Such a mistake makes her out to be more than just the understandably and excusably naive and ignorant girl she is in the original; it turns her into a silly, stupid creature who comes close to losing the reader’s sympathy at this point.

In recognizing the unsatisfactoriness of Wilhelm Grimm’s solution to the problem posed here by his readers’ expectations (see also Rölleke’s comments in KHM 1819, vol.2, pp.573-4), one must also acknowledge that the problem itself was in this instance well nigh insurmountable. Short of leaving out the story altogether from his new edition of the collection, there was not much else that Wilhelm Grimm could have done to rectify the matter. Any change to the original which omitted the reference to pregnancy would inevitably have meant a drastic lessening of the impact of the story of ‘Rapunzel’. The very word ‘Schwangerschaft’, which appeared in the first German version of the tale in reference to the mother’s original pregnancy (KHM 1812, p.40), also had to be expunged from the second edition of 1819. In the light of these considerations it must be admitted that John Edward Taylor’s subsequent amendments to the story somewhat shrink in significance. On balance, perhaps he should be admired for retaining as much as he did. His translations are certainly far superior in terms of both faithfulness and readability than the next edition of the Grimms’ tales to appear in England.
VI

HOUSEHOLD STORIES (ADDEY & CO. 1853): ‘THE FEATHER BIRD’

The two-volume edition of Household Stories collected by the Brothers Grimm which was published by Addey and Company in 1853 represents a strange but significant milestone in the history of English translations of the Grimms’ tales. It is the first English edition to attempt to equal the scope and scale of the German original. In fact, the revised version of the work in one volume by David Bogue of Fleet Street in 1857 claimed on its title page that the translation was ‘complete’. However, a comparison of its contents with its source, the 1850 edition of the KHM, reveals that it in fact omits fourteen stories of the 210 to be found in the 1850 original. Blamires (1989, p.77) is the first to identify the source and the contents of Household Stories, though he does not comment that, among the stories to be omitted, there was also KHM 82 ‘De Spielhansl’. Blamires also notes ‘the element of religious superstition or perceived contravention of Biblical teaching’ which seems to have been the reason for the omission of certain stories, but there would appear to be one exception to this pattern: ‘Die Brosamen auf dem Tisch’ (KHM 190), an animal tale with no religious content, is for some inexplicable reason also omitted. It can also be remarked at this juncture that Household Stories is notable for being the only English edition before Zipes (1988) to include a version of ‘Der Räuber und seine Söhne’, a story which appeared as KHM 191 in only the fifth (1843) and sixth (1850) editions of the KHM.

Despite the incompleteness of this English edition, its sheer size marks it out from its predecessors and must have been a contributing factor in its popularity throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Trevelyan’s comment (1952, p.84) that ‘In the middle years of the Century, Grimm’s [sic] and Andersen’s fairy tales came over from the Continent and conquered England’, despite being unspecific, could be taken to refer to the Addey edition of the Grimms’ tales and to the various reissues of these translations. For the first time English readers were able to gauge something of the magnitude of the Grimm’s original collection. Trevelyan also notes (ibid., p.84) that ‘Children’s books of which the pleasure was intended to be shared with grown-ups was [sic] a characteristic invention of the time’ and cites the examples of Gulliver’s Travels and Robinson Crusoe.
as well as the *Arabian Nights*. Children's books in the mid-Victorian era were widening their scope and enlarging their size, and the 1853 Addey edition of *Household Stories*, of which Jacob Grimm possessed a copy (see above, Chapter V, p.126, footnote 21), is a good illustration of this trend.

Quantity, however, does not guarantee quality. In all there are 196 stories in the Addey edition and the translations are of a strangely mixed quality. There seems to have been little consistency in translatorial policy. This varying quality and lack of consistency in *Household Stories* may be explained by the fact that more than one translator had participated in the enterprise. The Preface to the 1853 edition is attributed to 'The Translators' who refer to themselves in the first person plural form, 'we' and 'our'. The 1857 edition conceals the plurality of translators by replacing the *sic* first sentence of the passage quoted below with the impersonal phrases 'In this translation . . . it has been simply endeavoured . . .' and by omitting the reference to 'The Translators' (*Household Stories* 1857, p.v). Exactly who these—once again anonymous—translators were has never been ascertained, though Alderson (1985, p.[5]) suggests that they may have been members of the family of E. H. Wehnert, the illustrator of this edition. Edward Henry Wehnert (1813-1868) was, according to Leslie Stephen's and Sidney Lee's *Dictionary of National Bibliography* (1908-9, vol.20, p.1062), born in London of German parents and after receiving his education in Göttingen and his artistic training in Paris he returned to London where he gained greatest success as a book illustrator. His illustrations to *Household Stories* are, like the texts themselves, a mixed bag and have elicited varying and sometimes conflicting opinions about their quality. One can compare, for example, Alderson's 'often lively drawings' (1985, p.[5]) and Blamires' 'agreeable period pieces' (1989, p.77) with Zirnbauer (1975, p.217): 'Wehnerts raumsprengende, historisierende, zudem unproportionierte Figuren mit ihren ausdruckslosen, stereotypen Puppengesichtern sind der personifizierte Widerspruch zum Geiste der Brüder Grimm.'

In one respect the translators were clearly able to agree, viz. in their concern about religious matters, and this concern was openly admitted in the original Preface (*Household Stories* 1853, vol.1, p.iv):

In our translation of these 'Household Stories' we have simply endeavoured to render the homely talk of Germany into the homely talk of our own country. We have omitted about a dozen short pieces to which English mothers might object, and for good and satisfactory
reasons have altered, in a slight way, four other stories. The mixture of sacred subjects with profane, though frequent in Germany, would not meet with favour in an English book.26

The four stories which the translators ‘altered’ are probably ‘Marienkind’ (KHM 3), ‘Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren (KHM 29), ‘Der Teufel und seine Großmutter’ (KHM 125), and ‘Der Bauer und der Teufel’ (KHM 189), where the figures of the Virgin Mary and the Devil are replaced, respectively, by a ‘Guardian Angel’ and a ‘Giant’ or an ‘Evil Spirit’. However, a close perusal of the texts reveals that there are other significant alterations that have been made and that were not admitted to in the Preface.27 It is also highly questionable whether the translations can always be said to be in the style of ‘the homely talk of our own country’. Alderson (1978, p.6) describes the language used as ‘hopelessly bad English’ and then again (1985, p.[5]) as ‘almost unreadable’, which is perhaps to overstate the case, since he is also forced to admit that Household Stories ‘was probably the most widely read English translation in the nineteenth century’ (ibid., p.[5]). If it was so ‘widely read’, it cannot have been all that ‘unreadable’. The publisher’s blurb on the back cover of the 1984 reissue by the Chancellor Press contradicts Alderson and describes the text as ‘clear’ and ‘readable’. It is, of course, to be expected that publishers, in their desire to promote a book, might exaggerate its quality. The American edition of the original Addey & Co. volumes, German Popular Tales and Household Stories, first published in America in 1853 by the firm Francis of New York and reissued by Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. of Boston in 1861, was reviewed in vol.92 of The North American Review (1861, p.283) and described thus: ‘The new and excellent translation now before us is published in such a style as to render it an attractive book for the holidays.’ The reviewer may not have been completely objective in this appraisal since The North American Review was itself published by Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co.!

A similar paradox is to be found in the American scholar B. Q. Morgan’s evaluation (1965, p.181) of the quality of the translations in this edition. In listing the 1853 and 1857 editions of Household Stories, Morgan gives them both the sign of the section mark, i.e. ‘neither wholly good not wholly bad’ (ibid., p.3), and of the later edition Morgan says, noting that it contains some revision of the 1853 edition, that it ‘fails in simple directness’ (ibid., p.181). What he does not realize

26 For accounts of the important influence of religion on the life and literature of Victorian times, see Trevelyan (1952, pp.103ff.), Dalziel (1957, pp.159ff.), and Rowbotham (1989, pp.53ff.).

27 The translators did not, in contrast to the two Taylors and William Thoms, add any explanatory notes to the stories.
is the fact that the work he then lists as no. 3149, *Grimm’s Goblins* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867) is made up of thirteen stories all taken—apart from two altered titles—word-for-word from the 1857 edition of *Household Stories*. This later, American (!) edition he awards the sign of the asterisk, i.e. excellence. We have here a good example of an assessment of a work of translation which throws doubt on the validity of Morgan’s whole method of evaluation. It was already noted in the Introduction (pp.4ff.) that Morgan’s faith in the consistency of translators must be questioned, especially in instances of books where more than one translator was involved. Such is the case here with *Household Stories*. It is difficult to generalize about this work, precisely because of the varying quality of the large number of translations it contains.

There are innumerable examples that could be cited in order to illustrate the fluctuating character of the English texts in the Addey edition.

Occasional lapses in word order would seem to indicate that at least one of the translators was German and did not speak completely fluent English. To take just one example, the passage in ‘Der treue Johannes’ (*KHM* 1850, vol.1, p.39) where the three ravens are discussing the king’s future “O ja, wenn ein anderer schnell aufsitzt, das Feuergewehr, das in den Halftern stecken muß, heraus nimmt und das Pferd damit todt schießt, ...”’ is rendered as “‘Oh yes, if another gets on quickly and takes the firearms which are in the holster out, and with them shoots the horse dead, ...”’ (*Household Stories* 1853, vol.1, p.32).

On other occasions there are phrases that exemplify W. H. Auden’s description of ‘a bad reader/translator’ (1963, pp.3-4): ‘A bad reader is like a bad translator: he interprets literally when he ought to paraphrase and paraphrases when he ought to interpret literally.’ An example of the former is to be found at the end of the first paragraph of ‘The Robber and his Sons’ where the German proverb ‘Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm’ is translated perfectly literally and therefore stiltedly as ‘The apple falls not far from its tree’(*Household Stories* 1853, vol.2, p.802). Zipes’ version of 135 years later is incomparably better: ‘Like father, like son’ (1988, vol.2, p.379). An example of paraphrastic translation occurs at the end of ‘The Discreet Hans’ (and the title itself, even considering the older meaning of ‘discreet’ as ‘prudent’, is a clumsy rendering of *KHM* 32’s ironical ‘Der gescheite Hans’). In the original (*KHM* 1850, vol.1, p.198) the hero’s mother gives him advice on how he should woo Grethel: “‘Das hast du dumm gemacht, Hans, mußtest ihr freundliche Augen zuwerfen.” “Thut nichts, besser machen.” Hans geht in den Stall, sticht allen Kälbern und Schafen die Augen aus und wirft sie der Grethel ins Gesicht. Da wird Grethel böse, reißt sich los und lauft fort, und ist Hansens Braut gewesen.’ In the English translation of 1853 (vol.1, p.160) the very literal
violence (to animals!) of the original scene is omitted and the translator uses an English idiom in concealing this omission: "Then you acted stupidly, Hans; you should have looked at her with friendly eyes." "To behave better, do nothing [!]" thought Hans; and then he went into the stall, and made sheep’s eyes [!!] at Grethel. And after that Grethel became Hans’s wife.' This last example shows how indisputably bad the translation can be at times.

At other times, the text follows similar patterns to those established by Edgar Taylor. To take the example of ‘Little Snow-White’ (vol.1, pp.253-62), the cannibalistic intentions of the queen are again omitted: though the hunter does bring the tokens of the boar’s tongue and heart to her, she does not eat them; again, the word ‘Gemüse’ is ignored and replaced this time with ‘porridge’; and the fateful apple is dislodged from its position of lying within the heroine’s mouth, not her throat. Elsewhere the same difficulty (or carelessness) with the notion of ‘Angst’ that Edgar Taylor exhibited is apparent here in this edition published thirty years after German Popular Stories. In the 1853 version of ‘Frau Holle’ (KHM 24), ‘Old Mother Frost’, the good daughter’s response to being ordered to retrieve the spindle from the well is one of ‘distress of mind’ (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.121). Edgar Taylor had preferred ‘sorrow’ (German Popular Stories 1826, p.109). Again, in the story ‘Strong Hans’ (a translation of KHM 166 ‘Der starke Hans’), the hero’s mother is abducted to the robbers’ cave and into the presence of their captain: ‘The latter, as soon as he saw the woman enter, came up to her and said, that if she were quiet and not passionate, they would do her no harm’ (Household Stories 1853, vol.2, p.718), which is hardly an accurate transcription of ‘sie sollte nur ruhig und ohne Angst sein’ (KHM 1850, vol.2, p.374).

In contrast to Taylor’s ‘Snow-drop’, the new 1853 version of the story ‘Sneewittchen’ (KHM 53) does specify the nature of the queen’s work at the beginning of the story: she was ‘stitching her husband’s shirts’, an activity that seems a little odd, considering her position of regal wealth and authority! And the 1853 version of ‘Allerleirauh’ (KHM 65) outdoes Edgar Taylor’s first translation in its delicacy. The king’s incestuous wish to marry his own daughter, prompted at first by the promise he made to his wife on her death-bed, is openly and insistently expressed in the original KHM 65 (1819, vol.1, p.248): ‘Ich will meine Tochter heirathen, denn sie ist das Ebenbild meiner verstorbvenen Frau und sonst kann ich doch keine Braut auf Erden finden.”’ This had been toned down by Taylor (German Popular Stories 1826, p.190), who ignores the sudden ‘heftige Liebe’ felt by the

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28 Matilda Davis (1855) is the first of the English translators to restore the queen’s cannibalistic urge and also to include ‘vegetables’ in the dwarfs’ diet.
king for his daughter and reduces his desire to a hesitant enquiry: "May I not marry my daughter? she is the very image of my dead wife: unless I have her, I shall not find any bride upon the whole earth, and you say there must be a queen." The Addey edition goes much further and the resulting adaptation, which replaces the direct speech with indirect here and then side-steps the issue of the king's original promise, is ridiculously nonsensical (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.337): 'He told his councillors that he wished to marry his daughter to his oldest councillor, and that she should be as Queen. When the oldest councillor heard this he was delighted.'

That the English style of Household Stories does not shy away from long words (a feature hardly congruent with 'homely talk') is evident in the paragraph following Snow-White's eventual revival (Household Stories, vol.1, p.261): 'Full of joy, the Prince answered, "You are safe with me;" and he related to her what she had suffered, and how he would rather have her than any other for his wife, and he asked her to accompany him home to the castle of the King his father. Snow-White consented, and when they arrived there the wedding between them was celebrated as speedily as possible, with all the splendour and magnificence proportionate to the happy event.' This use of 'long' words was probably a sign of the times. See, for example, Trevelyan (1952, p.112): 'An Elizabethan reading a Victorian newspaper article or listening to the conversation of modern educated people, would be bewildered by long words unfamiliar to him which have been formed, usually from the Latin, not for the purposes of poetry . . . but for the prosaic purposes of science and journalism, and for the discussion of social and political problems'. This tendency was evident in the popular literature of contemporary 'Penny Dreadfuls' as well. Here is one paragraph from 'Paul the Poacher' (1850) in which the act of rape is narrated with much wordiness (quoted in Haining 1975, p.175): 'A frantic shriek burst from the maiden's lips as the earl seized her in his arms, and then she fell insensible upon the floor, overpowered by the intensity of her highly wrought feelings. Her unconsciousness did not prevent the voluptuary from executing the purpose for which he had caused her to be ensnared, and her insensibility enabled him to accomplish its perpetration without hindrance or resistance.'

As we have seen, religious concerns were paramount in the minds of the translators of Household Stories, who were prepared to make alterations to the original texts in the light of these concerns and to justify these alterations as being in keeping with the expectations of Victorian parents, especially mothers, who are singled out by the Preface as the ones who would be most perturbed by the breaking of any taboos. The ten years from 1846 to 1856 were characterized by a renewed evangelical zeal and a widespread condemnation in Britain of the sensationalism of much of the popular literature of the time (see Dalziel 1957, Chapters V, VI, and VII). One of the stories included
in *Household Stories* is ‘The Handless Maiden’. This is a translation of *KHM* 31 ‘Das Mädchen ohne Hände’ and counts among the better ones in the collection; the translator must have warmed to this tale, probably because of the biblical-sounding language and the emphasis on the heroine’s modesty, her dutiful submission to her father’s will, her self-sacrifice and maternal devotion, i.e. all those qualities traditionally expected of Victorian heroines (see Rowbotham 1989). The story is thus a further illustration of the fluctuating quality of this particular edition.

With these points in mind, we can now turn to the complete text of one particular story in the Addey edition. It is the first English translation of the Grimms’ variant of the Bluebeard legend, ‘Fitchers Vogel’ (*KHM* 46).

The story of Bluebeard had already been known in Britain for some time. The version by Perrault had been translated in Robert Samber’s *Histories, or Tales of Past Times* (1729). There was also a similar story of apparently English origin, ‘Mr. Fox’, a variant of *KHM* 40 ‘Der Räuberbräutigam’, which was known in the eighteenth century and recorded by Jacobs (1967, pp.148-51, and p.253 of the Notes). G. Caldwell of Paisley had published *The Popular History of Blue Beard, or, the Effects of female curiosity* in 1828. This work was reissued in various editions throughout the nineteenth century, e.g. Dean and Son of London brought out a penny history with woodcuts around 1850 entitled *Blue Beard; or, Female Curiosity* (listed in Opie 1974, p.250). The tale, which is a classic horror story, cannot therefore have been new to the Victorian reading public of the mid-nineteenth century. The 1853 Addey edition version of it, appearing as it did in this historical context, comes as something of an unexpected surprise. It involves a drastic and highly questionable bowdlerization of the horrific event at the heart of this traditional story.

**Fitchers Vogel**

(*KHM* 1850, vol.1, pp.263-7)

Es war einmal ein Hexenmeister, der nahm die Gestalt eines armen Mannes an, gieng vor die Häuser und bettelte, und fieng die schönen Mädchen. Kein Mensch wußte wo er sie hinbrachte, denn sie kamen nimmer mehr wieder zum Vorschein. Eines Tages schien er vor der Thüre eines Mannes, der drei schöne Töchter hatte, als ein armer schwacher Bettler, und trug eine Kötze auf dem Rücken, als wollte er milde Gaben

**The Feather Bird**

(*Household Stories* 1853, vol. 1, pp.221-4)

Once upon a time there lived a Sorcerer, who used to take the form of a beggar, and go begging before the houses, and stealing little girls, and nobody knew where he took them.

One day he appeared before the house of a man, who had three pretty daughters, as a poor, weak, old cripple, carrying a sack on his back to put all his alms in.
darin sammeln. Er bat um ein bischen Essen, und als die älteste herauskam und ihm ein Stück Brot reichen wollte, rührte er sie nur an, und alsbald mußte sie in seine Körze springen. Dann eilte er mit starken Schritten fort und trug sie durch einen finstern Wald in sein Haus, wo alles prächtig war. Da gab er ihr was sie nur wünschte, und sprach 'es wird dir wohlgefallen bei mir, denn du hast alles, was dein Herz begehrt.' Das dauerte ein paar Tage, da sagte er 'ich muß fortreisen und dich eine kurze Zeit allein lassen, da sind die Hausschlüssel, du kannst überall umhergehen und alles sehen, nur nicht in eine Stube, die dieser kleine Schlüssel aufschließt, das verbiete ich dir bei Lebensstrafe.' Auch gab er ihr ein Ei und sprach 'das verwahre mir sorgfältig und trag es lieber beständig bei dir, denn ginge es verloren, so würde ein großes Unglück daraus entstehen.' Sie nahm die Schlüssel und das Ei, und versprach alles wohl auszurichten. Als er aber fort war, konnte sie der Neugierde nicht widerstehen, und nachdem sie das ganze Haus von unten bis oben durchsucht hatte, gieng sie auch zu der verbotenen Thüre und öffnete sie. Wie erschrick sie aber, als sie hineintrat; da stand in der Mitte ein großes blutiges Becken, und darin lagen todtte zerhauene Menschen. Sie erschrick so sehr, daß das Ei, das sie in der Hand hielt, hineinplumpe. Zwar holte sie es geschwind wieder heraus und wischte das Blut ab, aber es half nichts, denn es kam den Augenblick wieder zum Vorschein; sie wischte und schabte, aber sie konnte es nicht herunter kriegen. Nicht lange, so kam der Mann von der Reise zurück, und das erste war, daß er Schlüssel und Ei zurückforderte. Sie reichte es ihm mit Zittern hin, er betrachtete beides genau und sah wohl daß sie in der Blutkammer gewesen war. Da sprach er 'bist du gegen meinen Willen in die Kammer gegangen, so sollst du jetzt gegen deinen Willen wieder hinein. Dein Leben ist zu Ende.' Er

He begged for something to eat, and when the eldest girl came out and offered him a piece of bread, he only touched her and she was compelled to jump into his sack. Then he hurried away with great strides, and carried her through a dark forest to his house, in which everything was very splendid. There he gave her what she wished, and told her, 'All will be well with you, for you will have all your heart can desire.' This lasted two days, and he then said, 'I must be off and leave you for a short time alone: these are the house-keeping keys, you can look over everything; but into one room which this little key unlocks, I forbid you to enter, on pain of death.' He gave her also an egg, saying, 'Preserve this carefully for me, and always carry it about with you, for if it be lost a great misfortune will happen.'

She took the key and the egg, and promised all he required; but as soon as he was gone her curiosity overmastered her, and after she had looked over the whole house, from attic to cellar, she unlocked the forbidden door and went in. She was terribly frightened when she entered the room, for in the middle there stood a large basin, wherein was some blood.

In her terror the egg fell from her hand, and rolled into the basin; and although she fished it out again directly and wiped it, it was of no use, for, scrub and wash all she might, the blood appeared as fresh as ever. The next day the man came home, and demanded the key and the egg. She handed them to him with trembling; and he instantly perceived that she had been into the forbidden chamber. 'Have you then dared to enter that room against my will?' said he; 'then now you enter it again against yours. Your life is forfeited.' So saying, he drew her in by the hair and locked her up.
The title of this story is one that has posed problems for English translators, as it did for the Grimm brothers themselves who seemed uncertain about the meaning of the villain’s name. The original ‘Anmerkungen’ to KHM 46 from 1822 give a brief and unconvincing etymological explanation: ‘Zur Erklärung von Fitchers-Vogel dient das isländ. Fitfuglar, Schwimmvögel, sie sah weiß aus wie ein Schwan’ (KHM 1837, p.933). Here in the first English version the translator has chosen to avoid the proper name of ‘Fitcher’ in both the story’s title and its conclusion, referring to the villain as simply ‘the Feather King’ (see below, ll.148-9). The next two translators, Matilda Davis (1855) and Margaret Hunt (1884), opt for ‘Fitcher’s Bird’ as a title and omit the first name ‘Fitze’ in the later verses. Beatrice Marshall (1900, p.173) gives as her title ‘Odds and Ends Bird’ and subsequently names the villain as ‘Mr. Fitz Odds and Ends’ (ibid., p.176) with no accompanying explanation. More recent translators have found a variety of solutions in their titles: ‘Fowler’s Fowl’ (Manheim 1978), ‘Fetcher’s Fowl’ (Luke 1982), and, inexplicably (perhaps a printing error?), ‘Fichter’s Bird’, changed then to ‘Fitcher’ in the text of the story (Zipes 1988). Of these, Manheim’s is an original nomenclature which plays on the bird imagery later in the story and has biblical echoes as well: ‘Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust’ (Psalms 91: 3-4). Luke’s is also a clever choice, linking the name of ‘Fetcher’ to the villain’s habit of ‘fetching’ girls against their will. The other, more popular option of ‘Fitcher’ (also in Alderson 1990) has no semantic associations in English except for the connection with ‘fitch’, another name for a polecat; but none of the editions cited draw attention to the possible overtones of this word.29

In the parallel versions of the story given above and below, the gaps in the right-hand column, as previously, make the major omissions in the text of English translation quite conspicuous. Before these are considered though, there are other, smaller changes that merit attention.

Some of these alterations seem to be inexplicable. For instance, it is not at all clear why ‘die schönen Mädchen’ should be rendered as ‘little girls’ (1.4). The English phrase at the outset here

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29 For English translators’ similar difficulties with the title of ‘Fundevogel’ (KHM 51), see above, Chap. II, p.85.
observes two important features of the original story: the nubile age of the young women and their attractive appearance. Conversely, the sorcerer’s age and appearance are transformed not only by his own magic but also by the English translator into something more than those of a mere beggar. He becomes an ‘old cripple’ (l.9), a transformation that heightens the contrast between his appearance as a helpless victim and his true nature as an active villain. However, the first omission in lines 5-6, though not a glaring one, is sufficient to alert us to the translator’s approach, adopted here and throughout the rest of the story, of diminishing both the villain’s evil-doing and the tension created in the original by the mystery (and horror) surrounding his victims’ fate. The phrase ‘denn sie kamen nimmer mehr wieder zum Vorschein’ adds a sinister note lacking in the English version.

The Addey edition makes the same error that we have seen John Edward Taylor make before in reading ‘ein paar Tage’ (II.21-2) as ‘two days’. More serious though is the failure of language and style in the next section where the girl succumbs to temptation. The choice of words (especially in the phrase ‘her curiosity overmastered her’, l.34) is so laboured, and the style so lacking in tension, that it reinforces what we have just suspected: the translator is deliberately diluting much of the force and impact of the original story. Lines 37-41 are particularly effective in lessening the suspense by having the girl, at the end of her tour of the house, unlock the door and enter the room, whereas the original depicts her going up to the door and then opening it. The syntactical break at the end of the German sentence (l.38), followed by the intensifying phrase ‘Wie erschrack sie aber, als sie eintrat’ is ignored in the English version which clumsily repeats her act of entering the room and fails to convey both the intensity of her fear and the reason for it.

This latter omission, a glaring one, confirms our earlier suspicions about the translator’s intentions. That the girl has strayed upon ghastly evidence of a serial killing is almost totally bypassed by the English version. What remains of the original’s horrific scene of slaughter (II.40-2) is merely ‘a large basin, wherein was some blood.’ This rendering is so tame that it leaves the reader wondering exactly what it was that gave the girl her ‘terror’ and how she recognized that it was blood in the basin rather than, say, tomato juice. The presence of the blood is never explained in the rest of the English version of the story. Instead, it serves only to act as an indelible token of the girl’s (and subsequently her sister’s) disobedience. The Sorcerer returns, demands to see the key and the egg, whereupon the girl hands them to him ‘with trembling’--another unidiomatic use of English. Again the English version diminishes the tension of the original by failing to translate the phrase ‘er betrachtete beides genau’ and by substituting ‘instantly’ for it, thus omitting the moment of awful pause as he looks closely at the key and the egg. Then the girl suffers her fate, viz. to be dragged into

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The translation then proceeds and, as a consequence of these earlier omissions, is forced to alter the next scene in which the second and third sisters undergo the same test as their older sibling.

‘Jetzt will ich mir die zweite holen’ sprach der Hexenmeister, gieng wieder in Gestalt eines armen Mannes vor das Haus und bettelte. Da brachte ihm die zweite ein Stück Brot, er fieng sie wie die erste durch bloßes Anrühren, und trug sie hinaus. Es ergieng ihr wie ihrer Schwester, sie ließ sich von ihrer Neugierde verleiten, öffnete die Blutkammer und schaute hinein, und mußte es bei seiner Rückkehr mit dem Leben büßen. Er gieng nun und holte die dritte, die aber war klug und listig. Als er ihr die Schlüssel und das Ei gegeben hatte und fortgereist war, verwarhte sie das Ei erst sorgfältig, und dann gieng sie in die verbotene Kammer. Ach, was erblickte sie! ihre beiden lieben Schwestern lagen da in dem Becken jämmerlich ermodert und zerhackt. Aber sie hub an und suchte ihre Glieder zusammen und legte sie zurecht, Kopf, Leib, Arm und Beine. Und als nichts mehr fehlte, da fiengen die Glieder an sich zu regen und schlossen sich an einander, und beide Mädchen öffneten die Augen und waren wieder lebendig. Da freuten sie sich, küßten und herzten einander. Der Mann forderte bei seiner Ankunft gleich Schlüssel und Ei, und als er keine Spur von Blut daran entdecken konnte, sprach er ‘du hast die Probe bestanden, du sollst meine Braut sein, und was du verlangst, das will ich thun.’ ‘Wohlan,’ antwortete sie, ‘du mußt vorher einen Korb voll Gold meinem Vater und meiner Mutter bringen und muß es selbst auf deinem Rücken hintragen; derweil will ich die Hochzeit bestellen.’ Dann lief sie zu ihren Schwestern, die sie in einem Kämmerlein versteckt hatte und sagte ‘der Augenblick ist da, wo ich euch and soon they got well and were very happy, and kissed and embraced one another.

On his return the Sorcerer demanded the key and the egg; and when he could find no spot of blood on them, he said to the maiden, ‘You have withstood temptation; you shall be my bride, and whatever you desire that will I do.’

‘Very well,’ she replied; ‘then first you must take my father and mother a sackful of gold, and you must carry it yourself on your back; in the meantime I will arrange the wedding.’ Then she ran
Der Hexenmeister hob den Korb auf seinen Rücken und ging damit fort, er drückte ihn aber so schwer, daß ihm der Schweiß über das Angesicht lief. Da wollte er sich ein wenig ruhen, aber gleich rief eine im Korb 'ich schaue durch mein Fensterlein und sehe daß du ruhst, willst du gleich weiter.' Er meinte die Braut rief ihm das zu und machte sich wieder auf. Hernach wollte er sich wieder setzen, aber es rief abermals 'ich schaue durch mein Fensterlein und sehe daß du ruhst, willst du gleich weiter.' Und so oft er stillstand, rief es, und da mußte er fort, bis er endlich stöhndend und außer Athem den Korb mit dem Gold und den beiden Mädchen in ihrer Eltern Haus brachte.

The second sister suffers the same modified fate as the first, but at this point the English translation itself begins to suffer for its earlier omissions and to border on the unbelievable and nonsensical. The question must be asked why the second sister on entering the forbidden chamber did not then attempt to rescue the first, whom she would surely have discovered to be locked in there! It may seem unfair to highlight illogicalities in the texts of fanciful and unrealistic stories like this one, but such a glaring inconsistency is much more serious than the sort of inexplicable, dream-like puzzle that the Grimms’ originals occasionally pose. One example of this latter sort can be found in the story ‘Die Bienenkönigin’ (KHM 62) where the three brothers arrive at a mysterious castle: ‘sie gingen
durch alle Säle, bis sie vor eine Tür ganz am Ende kamen, davor hingen drei Schlösser; es war aber mitten in der Türe ein Lädelein, dadurch konnte man in die Stube sehen. Da sahen sie ein graues Männchen, das an einem Tisch saß. Sie riefen es an, einmal, zweimal, aber es hörte nicht; endlich riefen sie zum drittenmal, da stand es auf, öffnete die Schlösser und kam heraus’ (*KHM* 1857, vol.1, p.341). How the locks on the outside of the door are opened from the inside is not explained. At moments like these in magical stories there is no room for realism!

The illogicality resulting from the alteration of the fate of the two elder sisters in the first English version of *KHM* 46 is much graver, and one can only be amazed that this inconsistency did not occur to the translator who at this point hastily proceeds to the episode with the third sister. She undergoes the same test and succeeds where her predecessors have failed. Only now do we learn the exact nature of their fate: they have been imprisoned in the room and deprived of food. That they are ‘half starved’ is perhaps hard to believe, though admittedly we do not know the precise length of time that they have been incarcerated. Their speedy recovery would seem to suggest that they really only needed one good meal to restore them to health and happiness.

This done, their escape from the house and the eventual demise of the villain are next prepared for. In a strange reversal of roles, the villain, as a consequence of his mistaken belief that the heroine has complied with his commands, now relinquishes his power over her. This is an odd and inexplicable feature of the original story, and one that is retained in the English translation. In the seventh and final edition of the *KHM*, Wilhelm Grimm made this transference of power even more explicit, replacing ‘“und was du verlangst, das will ich thun”’ (l.92-3) with the clear narratorial statement ‘Er hatte jetzt keine Macht mehr über sie und müßte tun, was sie verlangte’ (*KHM* 1857, vol.1, p.237). Why the villain should lose his power at the moment when he tells--not asks!--her to be his bride is a paradox that defies explanation. The heroine has not in fact kept completely to the letter of the original test: she merely kept the egg from falling into the blood, but just by making sure to keep the egg, not herself, out of the forbidden room. The sorcerer labours--literally--under the delusion that she has obeyed him to the letter. The heroine has no real *moral* superiority over him as a consequence of her actions, which were not ones of complete obedience and compliance; her advantage seems to stem solely from the fact that she has proved herself *cleverer* and *more cunning* than he is. Bettelheim’s questionable Freudian reading of the story as a ‘cautionary tale which warns: Women, don’t give in to your sexual curiosity’ (1976, p.302) rides roughshod over this distinction: if the third sister had not ‘given in’ to her curiosity, she would never have succeeded in discovering and rescuing the other two! There is then both irony and poetic justice in the sorcerer’s having to

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carry the two sisters back home in the same way as he abducted them—but both together now, not separately. This superior cunning on the part of the heroine, along with the attendant irony, is shown again in the following episode of her own escape, an episode which in its English form unfortunately undergoes the same sort of disastrous revision that occurred earlier in the text.

Daheim aber ordnete die Braut das Hochzeitfest an und ließ die Freunde des Hexenmeisters dazu einladen. Dann nahm sie einen Todtenkopf mit grinsenden Zähnen, setzte ihm einen Schmuck auf und einen Blumenkranz, trug ihn oben vors Bodenloch und ließ ihn da hinausschauen. Als alles bereit war, steckte sie sich in ein Faß mit Honig, schnitt das Bett auf und wälzte sich darin, daß sie aussah wie ein wunderlicher Vogel und kein Mensch sie erkennen konnte. Da gieng sie zum Haus hinaus, und unterwegs begegnete ihr ein Theil der Hochzeitsgäste, die fragten

'Du Fitchers Vogel, wo kommst du her?'
'Ich komme von Fitze Fッチers Hause her.'
'Was macht denn da die junge Braut?'

Endlich begegnete ihr der Bräutigam, der langsam zurück wanderte. Er fragte wie die andern

'Du Fitchers Vogel, wo kommst du her?'
'Ich komme von Fitze Fキッチers Hause her.'
'Was macht denn da die junge Braut?'
'Hat gekehrt von unten bis oben das Haus, und gückt zum Bodenloch heraus.'

Der Bräutigam schaute hinauf and sah den geputzten Todtenkopf, da meinte er es wäre seine Braut und nickte ihr zu und grüßte sie freundlich. Wie er aber samt seinen Gästen ins Haus gegangen war, da langten die Brüder und Verwande der Braut an, die zu ihrer Rettung gesendet waren. Sie schlossen alle Thüren des Hauses zu, daß niemand entfliehen konnte, und steckten es an, also daß der

Meanwhile, at home the Bride prepared the wedding-feast, and invited the friends of the Sorcerer to come. Then she took a turnip and cut out places for the eyes and teeth, and put a head-dress on it and a crown of flowers, and set it at the topmost window, and left it there peeping down. As soon as all was ready she dipped herself in a cask full of honey, and then, ripping up the bed, she rolled herself among the feathers until she looked like a marvellous bird, whom no one could possibly recognise. After this she went out of the house; and on the way some of the wedding-guests met her, and asked her whence she came; and she replied, 'I come from the house of the Feather King.'

'How does the young Bride?' asked they.

'She has taken herself to the top of the house, and is peeping out of the window.'

Soon after the bride-groom met her, as he was slowly travelling back, and asked exactly the same questions as the others, and received the same answers.

Then the bridegroom looked up and saw the decorated turnip, and he thought it was his Bride, and nodded to it and kissed his hand lovingly. But just as he was gone into the house with his guests, the brothers and relations of the Bride, who had been sent to her rescue, arrived. They immediately closed up all the doors of the house, so that no one could escape, and then set fire to it; and the Sorcerer
and all his accomplices were burnt to ashes.

The ironical reversal of fortune is made obvious here in the German original: just as the villain initially tricked the heroine by disguising himself as a beggar, so the heroine now turns the tables on him, firstly by disguising a skull to look like her (a grimly sardonic comment on the villain’s failed attempt to transform a house of death into one of love) and secondly by disguising herself as a strange bird, in which form she makes her escape. The skull is replaced in the English version by a mundane turnip, whereby the original symbolism is completely lost. And the further irony of the heroine’s description of her grotesque replica as being the face of an obedient wife who has just performed her housekeeping duties (‘Hat gekehrt von unten bis oben das Haus’) also goes missing here, along with the five lines of verse (ll.147-51) and their repetition.

The translation then labours through the clumsy syntax of lines 163-6, missing on the way the narrative’s ironical adoption of the villain’s perspective (‘ihr’ rendered as ‘it’, l.162), to the final conflagration--a brutal retribution that scarcely seems justified, given the English version’s refusal to specify the nature of the crimes that the villain has committed. What has he done exactly? The text indicates only that he has kidnapped three girls against their will and locked up two of them in a room without food for an unspecified period of time. That they had to share the room with a basin ‘in which was some blood’--the source of which is never identified--cannot have made their ordeal any easier, but this crime hardly merits the death penalty as punishment for its perpetrator.

The persistent and deliberate reduction of violence that the translation carries out results not only in a weakening of the character of the evil villain; it also means that the singular qualities of the heroine of the original story are considerably diminished. The less evil and forceful her antagonist appears to be, the less heroic a role she inevitably comes to play as protagonist. This is a great pity. KHM 46 is remarkable--but by no means unique--in its portrayal of a woman who displays none of the so-called stereotypical features of the fairy-tale heroine, making the reader question in this instance those critics who have maintained that the Grimms’ stories are slanted in a sexist way (see e.g. Bottigheimer 1987, who mentions this story only very fleetingly). Instead we have a character who is clever, astute, resourceful, and who shows admirable initiative in actively extricating‘herself and her less capable sisters from the clutches of the evil villain. A sense of irony and poetic justice is another quality she displays and one which she shares with her not too distant relative in KHM 40
'Der Räuberbräutigam': both adopt their antagonists' stratagem of deceit in order to turn the tables on them, adding at the same time their own personal note of grim humour to their triumph.

Clearly, the first English translation of KHM 46 is yet another example of considerable dilution of a Grimm original, and one must assume that this watering down was undertaken in order to protect the sensibilities of the readers—presumably young Victorian children—from the extreme violence of the original. As the Preface to Household Stories indicates (quoted above, p.145), mothers looking for suitable reading matter for their children were the targeted buyers of the book; and it would have been mothers who would no doubt have objected to certain elements in the Grimms' original stories: not only the handling of religious themes but also the mayhem, murder and dismembering present in such tales as KHM 46. Their maternal concerns were clearly uppermost in the minds and policies of the translators and editors of Household Stories. In the case of 'The Feather Bird', the end result, as we have seen, is a story of questionable quality and one which at times borders on absurdity.

There are other examples in Household Stories where this same policy of diminishing the violence of the Grimms' original is evident, though not with quite the same disastrous results. The heroine of 'The Seven Crows' (the Addey edition's version of KHM 25 'Die sieben Raben') is not permitted to cut off her finger in order to open the door to the glass castle; instead she merely 'bent her little finger, and put it in the door, and luckily unlocked it' (Household Stories 1853, vol.1, p.127). Edgar Taylor in his translation of the same story some twenty-seven years earlier (German Popular Stories 1826, pp.206-11) had retained the original act of self-mutilation; the Addey edition's translator deemed it unnecessary, and, one can argue, with some justification: why, if the finger fits, is it necessary to cut it off before inserting it in the lock? But such an objection, based on realistic assumptions as it is, ignores the moral act of self-sacrifice that the story requires of its heroine at this point. In another story similar to 'Fitchers Vogel' in its themes, 'Der Räuberbräutigam' (KHM 40), the heroine witnesses the death of one of the villain's victims who is first drugged and then stripped, chopped up and salted, presumably in preparation for being eaten by the band of robbers. Edgar Taylor had kept the drugging with wine, but he could not bring himself to relate the other gruesome details and completely avoided the dismembering of the maiden, so that only her ring—and not the finger it is on—flies into the heroine's lap. Typically, Taylor does mention the cut-off finger in his Notes, though even here he keeps silent about the earlier stripping, mutilation, and salting of the woman's body. Likewise, the Burns edition of Household Tales and Traditions ([1845]) omits these details, retaining only the severing of the finger which Taylor had alluded to in his Notes. The third
English translation of the story in the Addey edition of *Household Stories* follows suit, leaving out the indignities performed on the victim’s corpse and keeping only the cutting off of the finger, which is perhaps surprising considering that the same detail had been altered, as we have seen, in the earlier story ‘The Seven Crows’.

This is yet one more example of the inconsistency that characterizes the policies of the editors and translators of *Household Stories*. Elsewhere, acts of bloody violence and dismemberment are retained, as for example when the Addey edition is prepared to admit at the end of its version of ‘Der treue Johannes’ (*KHM* 6) the king’s beheading of his own children and his sprinkling of the stone statue of Faithful John with their blood. The one earlier English version of this tale, in Edgar Taylor’s second volume of *German Popular Stories* (1826), had stopped at the point where the king’s intention to kill his children was sufficient to restore Faithful John to life. The actual deed of infanticide was not required. On another occasion, at the end of ‘The Legend of Saint Joseph in the Forest’ (*KHM* 201 ‘Der heilige Joseph im Walde’), the translator has opted to add more detail to the punishment meted out to the covetous eldest daughter than the German text originally provided: the snakes and lizards, which in the German ‘stachen auch endlich das böse Kind todt’ (*KHM* 1850, vol.2, p.546), are depicted much more singularly and with greater anatomical precision: ‘and soon one stuck its fang into the breast of the Daughter and she fell dead’ (*Household Stories* 1853, vol.2, p.857).

It is a noteworthy fact that during this period of the nineteenth century popular literature intended specifically for adults was characterized by its preoccupation with violent crime (see Haining 1975 and Kalikoff 1986). The so-called ‘Penny Dreadfuls’ which specialized in gruesome accounts of real and imaginary crimes were prevalent throughout the nineteenth century. It was not until the 1860s, i.e. a few years after the first publication of *Household Stories*, that such reading matter began to be directed also to a ‘juvenile public’ (Haining 1975, p.16). The need to shield the young, especially the children of the middle-classes, from the depiction of excessive violence was evidently weakening during these years and may explain not only the unpredictable way this issue was handled in *Household Stories* but also the fact that the majority of subsequent English versions of Grimm reveal a readiness to translate the traditionally ‘grimmer’ moments of the *KHM* with far greater accuracy.

The next English collection from 1855 by Matilda Davis (the subject of the following chapter) is the first of a new generation of translations which make a genuine attempt at fidelity to the original texts. Davis’s versions of both ‘Der Räuberbräutigam’ and ‘Fitchers Vogel’ retain all the details of the slaughter and dismembering; only in her rendering of line 60 of the latter (see above, p.152) does
she shy away from making any mention of the blood that flows from the brutal slaughter of the first sister.

The 1853 edition of Household Stories can be seen therefore as a turning-point in the history of English translations of the *KHM*. Not only was it the first English edition to display the magnitude of the Grimms' endeavours, it also became so popular that it was, in Alderson's words (1985, p.[5]), 'probably the most widely read English translation in the nineteenth century.' This is perhaps surprising, given that the texts are, as has been shown, far from reliable and that there followed other, more accurate and more readable translations soon after. However, the success of this version of the *KHM* may well be due not so much to its textual quality as to the ability of the publishers to promote the work, especially the two firms of George Routledge (London and New York) and Crosby and Nichols (Boston) who took over the copyright and published the first of many reissues of these translations in the early 1860s.

The sheer size and number of Household Stories made it a treasure-trove for other publishers, some of whom seem to have followed the example of the Boston firm of Ticknor and Fields (the publishers of Grimm's Goblins so highly appraised by Morgan) in pirating texts from it. Often the original source is either not acknowledged or simply disguised through alteration of the titles of the stories chosen. The many texts in Household Stories have had an amazingly long life, appearing in publications issued by George G. Harrap (c.1890), John F. Shaw (1904), E. P. Dutton & Co. (1904), William Collins (1906ff.), Grosset and Dunlap (c. 1909), Charles Scribner's Sons (1920 and 1941). More recently, in 1981, Avenel Books of New York brought out The Complete Brothers Grimm Fairy Tales, edited by Lily Owens and containing all but one of the *KHM* (that being once again *KHM* 82, 'De Spiehlansl') of which no fewer than seventy-one are taken from Household Stories. In 1984 the Chancellor Press reissued the complete text of the 1857 revised edition of Household Stories under the title The Complete Illustrated Stories of the Brothers Grimm and it met with such a demand that it was reprinted in 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1989. The present author obtained his copy of this edition as a remainder from W. H. Smith's bookstall at Waterloo Station at the end of 1991. It was available, also remaindered, as far away from its original source as New Zealand that same year. An antipodean edition, Grimm's Fairy Stories, was published by View Productions of Sydney in 1987 and all fourteen of its stories are from the original Addey edition. The texts of Household Stories have certainly travelled a long distance, both historically and geographically, since they first appeared in 1853. Like the heroine of 'Fitchers Vogel', they have travelled with their true identity often cleverly disguised.