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What's in a Title? A bibliographical study of the marketing of Grimms' fairy tales in English translation in the nineteenth century

"Fairy Tales, Fairy Tales! Who does not care for Fairy Tales?", confidently exclaimed Charles Smith in his introduction to an 1894 collection of fairy tales.¹

But it had been a long development to arrive at such an enthusiastic and all-encompassing appreciation of fairy tales as children's reading. And although the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had seen a revalidation of the imagination, the idea that fantasy and the imagination had a role to play in the education of children did not have a positive reception for some time. Even in the early 1800's, texts which leaned too much to the fanciful and playful or favoured imaginative elements over didactic lessons were still considered with suspicion and fairy tales in particular were perceived as unacceptable children's reading.

Hostility towards fairy tales had a long history. Seventeenth century objections to imaginative literature had been articulated by the Puritans for religious reasons, and reservations about the suitability of fairy tales as children's reading continued to be expressed through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century by rational, moral and evangelical writers. This opposition was based on different grounds, but whatever the various facets of objection, they united around the key term of instruction: the Puritans saw instruction as the means of salvation from original sin, the rationalists foregrounded instruction in facts and useful knowledge over superstitious nonsense, while the Christian moralists focused on Christian instruction as the main basis for education. Even the Romantics, who promoted the fairy tale in a reaction against Enlightenment notions, thought of traditional tales as "instructive," considering them the main and most important, because natural, source of education.

The debate over whether fairy tales were acceptable in the nursery continued throughout the nineteenth century and their unsuitability as a vehicle for instruction is cited again and again as a reason why these stories are considered to be inappropriate for children. In the *Guardian of Education* (1802 – 1805), for example, Mrs Trimmer's review of children's literature offering guidance to parents and educators in their choice of appropriate reading matter, she censured anything that offended against propriety and Christian principles. Her judgment of Perrault's tales, republished in 1803, is exemplary of the Evangelical rejection of fairy stories; they were improper because they did not "supply any moral instruction level to the infantine capacity".² Not quite twenty years later, Mrs Sherwood reinforced the view that children's stories should dispense useful information and instruct their readers in moral or religious values:

Fairy tales ... are in general an improper medium of instruction because it would be absurd in such tales to introduce Christian principles as motives of action. ... On this account such tales should be very sparingly used, it being extremely difficult, if not impossible, from the reason I have specified, to render them really useful.³

For fairy tales to achieve acceptance as children's tales, they needed to be considered as serious and morally responsible reading matter by an élite audience and it was the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen (KHM)*, translated by Edgar Taylor in 1823, which played a crucial role in legitimising fairy tales in England. The distrust of material written for entertainment is, in my opinion, a key determinant for the positive reception of the Grimms: the *KHM* were (originally) not primarily intended for the amusement of the reader but for (scholarly) study. This aim to instruct associates them with the tradition of literature written for children with a didactic and moral purpose and thus makes them acceptable to parents and educators. Nevertheless, the fairy tales in the *KHM* were entertaining, and not primarily instructive for the child reader, making them also acceptable to children.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the *KHM* were cited in numerous articles asserting the moral value of traditional stories as appropriately educational reading and by the end of the century the attitude towards fairy tales had changed markedly. In two surveys in the 1880s, fairy tales were in the top ten titles of literature for children; the Grimms' tales were voted second favourite by parents and educators, and took eighth place according to children.⁴ The wide acclaim, even by those who were opposed in general to the negative consequences of "degenerate" storytelling by servants,⁵ established the German tales as the model or primary version of the fairy tale.

The influence of the Grimms' tales is also borne out in publishing terms. Taylor's translation was an immense success: a second edition came out after just nine months in 1824, and a third in 1825. 1826 saw the publication of volume two, with a second edition in 1827, and a re-issue of volume one in 1834. Throughout the nineteenth century, every single decade since the 1820s saw a new translation of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*; a certain indicator of the tremendous interest in and large market for the Grimms. They had become a household name, perceived by the reading public as a guarantor of imaginative but not trivial reading matter.

As association with the Grimms became a mark of excellence, this brand name recognition was exploited by the publishing market selling very different material under titles which suggested a link with the German tradition. There is no definitive bibliographic study of the *KHM* in translation and it is extremely difficult to trace the many collections of "Grimm's Tales", "Grimm's Fairy Tales" or "Grimm's Goblins" which claim to be new translations but may be anything from unacknowledged re-prints of established texts to polemic material that has no connection with the Grimms' tales at all.

The status of the Grimms' name as a 'brand' is also evident in the cavalier usage of the apostrophe in their name, at times recognising only one of the brothers as "author", sometimes

both. It is not unusual for editions to be marketed first as “Grimms’ xxx” and then as “Grimm’s xxx ” in a subsequent edition. Late Taylor editions are an example for this practice when the 1876 edition was sold as *Grimm’s Goblins* while the 1877 edition had the title *Grimms’ Goblins*. Often, one edition is sold with both usages where the singular is used for the front cover and the plural is used on the inside title page. Examples for this are the above-mentioned *Grimm’s / Grimms’ Goblins* issues where the 1877 uses *Grimms’ Goblins* on the front cover and *Grimm’s Goblins* on the inside title page. A translation by Paull similarly is marketed in 1872 with *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* on the front cover and *Grimms’ Fairy Tales* on the inside title page. An 1898 translation by L. L. Weedon even has three usages: *Grimms’ Fairy Tales* on the front cover, *Grimms Fairy Tales* on the frontispiece, and *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* on the inside title page. Such inconsistent usage suggests that although there was a highly marketable recognition of the Grimm name, there was no understanding of (and perhaps interest in?) the fact that the *KHM* had been produced by two brothers. *Grimm’s Tales* etc is even used for editions which specify in their sub-title or in their introduction that the tales had been collected by more than one person. Most surprisingly, Margaret Hunt’s scholarly translation in 1884 also uses the singular, *Grimm’s Household Tales*. Because of the professedly scholarly orientation of this translation one could perhaps argue that recognising only one Grimm as “author” was an informed decision and that Hunt was aware of the fact that although the tales had been collected by both brothers, it was Wilhelm Grimm who was primarily responsible for (the often substantial) editorial input from the second edition of 1819 onwards until his death in 1859.

The last edition of the *KHM* contained 210 tales in all, but it was only with Margaret Hunt’s 1884 translation that they were all translated and published as a complete edition. Before then, every single translation of the Grimm tales was a selection from the complete German corpus, ranging from only a handful of tales to Wehnert’s extensive 1853 edition which contained 196

stories. Criteria for the selection of stories for translation differed, although concerns as to the profanity, crudity, sexually explicit nature and cruelty of tales in the German corpus were shared by all translators. It is in this context that the choice of title for the various translations becomes significant. The title does not only indicate that the translation is from the Grimms' *KHM*, but also identifies individual English collections in terms of tone and content. Using a title which is associated with a popular translation links the new or re-issued or unacknowledged edition with an established and successful version and claims its identity.

Of course, since these are translations, one could argue that titles which are similar or even identical to each other do not indicate an intention to mislead but are the result of an attempt at rendering the original German title in English and any duplication in the wording is a result of the process of translation. However, this does not fully apply because English renderings of the German title "*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*" (a literal rendering would be: "*Children's and house tales", a more natural translation could be: "Tales for children and the home") do not reproduce all lexical items of the source. Instead, quite free translations or shortened versions are used, partly because it is not easy to transpose the original into natural English. Taylor, in a sense, set the trend with his very free rendering, *German Popular Stories*, which perhaps has less to do with the difficulties posed by the German title than with the prevailing hostility towards fairy tales in the receptor culture. With this title he associated his translation with the approved genre of the moral and didactic tale with its allusion to Maria Edgeworth's highly successful *Moral and popular tales* and he establishes a link with Johann Karl August Musäus's literary tales *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1782-86) translated as *Popular Tales of the Germans* (London: John Murray, 1791).

Focusing on the titles used for translations of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, I will attempt an overview of some aspects of the "unauthorised" reception of the Grimms in the nineteenth century. Because of the indiscriminate use of identical or very similar titles for different

translations, and because editions tended to put together different selections from the *KHM*, the only way to determine the identity of a particular edition is close textual study of individual texts. Each of the bona fide translations of the *KHM* in the nineteenth century worked from their own selection of source texts and developed a distinctive style. In this study, I used one of the most popular stories, "Dornröschen" (popularly known in English as "Sleeping Beauty") as a textual tracking device to determine which translation was used for a particular edition, and whether, in fact, the Grimm name was used to market material that was not at all associated with the German tradition. The story of "Sleeping Beauty" was available in English translation in two versions: one originated from the French tradition, Perrault's "La belle au bois dormant", first translated in 1737 by Robert Samber, and the other based on the German tradition via Grimm. Although the two versions share many motifs, nevertheless there are distinct differences between them as well. In the German, for example, the barren Queen is told by a frog that she will have a daughter, there are thirteen instead of seven fairies, the entire court falls asleep with the princess, and most famously of all, the prince kisses the princess awake while in the French version he only sinks to his feet adoringly. As the nineteenth century progresses, titles are used to market editions which contain either the French version of the tale or an adapted version using motifs from both traditions but which are clearly associated with the Grimms.

Textually based bibliographical study of the Grimm reception shows that the exploitation of the Grimm name or titles associated with them is widespread and used for a variety of material. It does not apply only to pirated editions or unacknowledged reprints, but also to the practice of re-issuing an established collection under a new title. In addition, an existing and successful title was often used to publish a collection of different tales from the original selection, or a collection of tales was advertised as "newly" published but contained, in fact, existing material which was

recycled in new and varying combinations of tales. The bibliographical material is quite complex and potentially confusing, and although there are large areas of overlap, the following discussion will examine the marketing of the *KHM* in translation and the use of the Grimms as a brand name under five categories. The first section will look at bona fide translations and how a positive identity was created through the use of specific titles for the *KHM* in English translation. The second section traces the marketing of successful bona fide translations under a variety of different titles for identical collections, while the third part teases apart how the same title is used for very different, bona fide translations. Section four cites examples where bona fide titles are used to publish material which has no connection with the Grimm tradition whatsoever. Section five will focus on the influence of titles originally established for pirated versions but then used for bona fide translations.

1) **Bona fide translations – establishing a “title identity” for the *KHM***

The tremendous success of Taylor's original translation of the *KHM* as “German Popular Stories” established the Grimms' tales in English and established a “prototype identity” for translations of the *KHM*. How strong the impact of this title was can be traced in its frequent appearance either in its original or in an amended form throughout the century for a variety of different editions. Later translators use the three lexical items of Taylor's original in varying combinations in the course of the century and often the title is used as a subtitle as well.

Initially though, it was Taylor himself who capitalised on the success of his *German Popular Stories* when he brought out a revised version of his original translation. This was published in 1839 as *Gammer Grethel: or German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories* and this same text was published under a slightly different title again in 1846, 1856 and 1888 as *German Popular Stories and Fairy Tales as Told by Gammer Grethel*. These two titles of Taylor's revised translation suggest a close link, or perhaps even identity with the 1823 version by incorporating the original title. But in fact, Taylor in a sense plagiarises, or pirates himself because this revised translation departs so dramatically from the source text that it bears little resemblance either to the German story or his own original translation of it in the 1823 *German Popular Stories*.

While the morally charged atmosphere of the receptor culture entailed a certain amount of editing in most translations of fairy tales, the changes introduced by Taylor in his revised translation are so extensive that little is left of the original German tale. In fact, Taylor changes core motifs to such an extent that this version should more properly be considered an adaptation rather than a translation. In his study of children's literature in England, Darton has called the resistance to the depiction of sexual, religious and bodily matters in fairy tales the "sin-complex".⁶ Consideration of such sensibilities had governed Taylor's early 1823 translation to a certain extent but the licence taken in the revised version is considerable and goes beyond substantially re-writing the Grimm stories themselves by including other material. The collection of 39 stories and two songs also contains nine stories which are not by Grimm. They are authored fairy stories by Büsching, Tieck and Ottmar, one story from the Danish collection *Kämpfe Visir* and traditional, oral material for which the sources are unclear. In mixing material from different traditions and marketing it under the umbrella heading associated with the Grimm collection, Taylor exploits the success his own original translation had established.

But he also moves away from being the translator of an established work and ultimately establishes himself more as an editor or collector of popular material, similar to the Grimms, Perrault, Basile and Straparola. He again uses the technique of associating himself with established traditions, in this case with the oral tradition of storytelling, which is ironic given his heavy authorial input. He establishes a link with oral material in two ways: firstly, the "Gammer" in his title harks back to the sixteenth-century comedy-farce *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, performed at Christ College, Cambridge in about 1562, which contains a collection of oral English material.⁷ Secondly, he introduces a narrator, the Gammer Grethel who is present in the title of his revised version. Taylor links his Gammer Grethel to the famous *Märchenfrau*, Dorothea Viehmann, who was one of the main contributors to the Grimms' collection. Wilhelm Grimm had celebrated her in the introduction to the 1819 edition of the *KHM* and used her portrait as a frontispiece (as does Taylor in his revised translation). But while Grimm acknowledges his main contributor, she remains outside the story; Taylor, on the other hand, appears to blur the boundaries between contributor and narrator. He introduces a frame story of Gammer Grethel sitting down and telling the stories in the volume on successive evenings, each story identified as "Evening the first, second, etc". This establishes an implicit link to the famous Italian collections by Straparola and Basile, and, of course *The Arabian Nights*, which use the

device of a framing story in which a number of women gather together and tell each other stories over a number of evenings. However, unlike the Italian versions, Gammer Grethel is not actually the narrator. The stories are only attributed to her and Taylor's introductory note explains and mediates her as a distant and unrelated figure outside the framework of narration.

Taylor's title, *German Popular Stories*, or parts of it, was used later in the century to market translations which had been published previously under a different title. The earliest of these, *German Stories: Being Tales and Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Literature of Germany*, [Cunningham], 1855 is a particularly confusing case. It is attributed to R.P. Gillies in the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* because it uses the title of a collection of authored fairy tales and short German novels published by R. P. Gillies in 1826 in 3 volumes. It is, however, an unacknowledged reprint of volume two of G. G. Cunningham's *Foreign Tales & Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Fugitive Literature of Germany*, 1828, which contained among its mixture of literary tales, traditional tales, legends and "unauthored" traditions five stories from the *KHM*. It is interesting that Gillies's title was chosen to market the pirated Cunningham. Presumably this is, because its sub-title (*Being Tales and Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Literature of Germany*) is reminiscent of Cunningham's original edition, while the main title (*German Stories*) establishes a connection to the Grimm tradition in translation, even though only a minority of tales are from the *KHM*. These translations are heavily indebted to Taylor's 1823 texts, suggesting a reworking of the stories from the texts of the English translation. Of course, it can also be argued that the original Gillies edition associated itself with the Grimm tradition, especially as it was published only 5 years after Taylor's *German Popular Stories*.

According to the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, one other edition is published under a title which establishes links with Taylor. This is a bona fide anonymous translation of the *KHM* published originally in 1853 as *Household Stories* and illustrated by Edward Wehnert. This edition was marketed in America from the beginning (1853) throughout the century under a title different from the original British one, expanding on it by adding the recognisable beginning of Taylor's original translation to the American title: *German Popular Tales and Household Stories*.

2) Bona fide translations issued under various titles

Wehnert's version was a very popular edition in the nineteenth century and it is a good example for the practice of marketing an established translation under a range of very different titles. Using a new title suggests new material from the popular Grimms' stories and allows circulation of old material stimulating interest and sales. The 1853 *Household Stories* was a large collection of 196 tales and extensively illustrated by Edward Wehnert. It is often identified by reference to the illustrator's name for ease of reference (and also perhaps because it has been suggested that members of his family were involved in the translation).⁸ Interestingly, this new *KHM* translation used the identical title under which a very small collection of German fairy stories which have no link to the Grimm tradition was published in 1850 as part of Darton's Holiday Library. The title *Household Stories* or *Household Tales* established itself increasingly in the course of the century and is often used today as an accepted English rendering of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

Wehnert's *Household Stories* was an extremely popular translation and was sold throughout the century under no fewer than six very different titles. The majority of these editions would be marketed by different publishers without changes to content, selection of stories and also using the same illustrations. The original edition appeared under the title *Household Stories* (1853, 1857) and in 1862 it came out as *Grimm's Household Stories*. In 1867, thirteen of the stories from the *Household Stories* translation are pirated in a collection of mixed material and published as *Grimm's Goblins*. (This edition and the use of the title *Grimm's Goblins* will be discussed further below.⁹) In 1879, the full collection was sold under the title *Clever Alice and Other Tales* as part of *The Grimm Fairy Library*. In 1882, it was sold under the title *Grimm's Fairy Tales* on the front cover of the book while the inside title page uses the 1853 title *Household Stories collected by the Brothers Grimm*. As already mentioned, for American editions the title *German Popular Tales and Household Stories* was used. In addition, there is, in 1876, an unacknowledged edition which uses a different illustrator (Kronheim). Nevertheless, it claims to be a "new" translation, although it uses the texts from the 1853 original translation. A further curious feature of this edition is that it uses the original title (*Household Stories*) but the frontispiece and colour illustrations are the same as those used in an 1875 edition of a different translation by Matilda Louisa Davis which had originally come out in 1855 as *Home Stories*. In the British Library catalogue, great confusion exists over these 1875 and 1876 editions; they are both attributed to Davis although the title used in the catalogue is *Household Stories* which is identified with the Wehnert text.

The title *Home Stories*, on the other hand, was closely associated with Matilda Louisa Davis's 1855 translation - another very popular version. This is another interesting example illustrating the marketing of an established translation under different titles. According to the British Library Catalogue, it appeared as *Household Stories* in 1857, but on close inspection this again proves to have been confused with the Wehnert edition even though the catalogue credits Davis. In 1875, it appeared again as *Home Stories* but this edition does not acknowledge Davis as the translator. The British Library Catalogue lists an 'additional copy' of this 1875 *Home Stories* edition but this is, in fact again, a version of the 1853 [Wehnert] *Household Stories* without Wehnert's illustrations but with illustrations which are very similar to the original Davis edition. In 1882, Davis's translation is available as *Grimm's Fairy Tales, Andersen's Fairy Tales, Arabian Nights* and finally, in 1893, as *Grimm's Fairy Tales*. Both of these editions are unacknowledged reprints.

Finally, Taylor's translation and revised translation provide ample material for confusion over what exactly is marketed by the different titles which are associated with his name. His original translation was offered under three different titles as *German Popular Stories* (from 1823 throughout the century), as *Grimm's Goblins, Grimm's Household Stories* (1876) and as *Grimms' [sic] Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old, German Popular Stories* (1877). The practice of picking up established titles from other translations is followed here by marketing the later editions with subtitles linking them to the increasingly recognisable *Household Stories* for the 1876 edition and by re-using Taylor's own, original title (*German Popular Stories*) as a subtitle for the 1877 edition.

For his revised, adapted, translation, long titles and title-subtitle are used in permutations of the original 1823 title (*German Popular Stories*), of the popular *Gammer Grethel* tag, and generic titles (*German Fairy Tales*):

1. *German Popular Stories and Fairy Tales as Told by Gammer Grethel*, 1839, 1863
2. *German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories as Told by Gammer Grethel*, 1846, 1862, 1863
3. *Grimm's Gammer Grethel; Or, German Fairy Tales*, 1862

3) The same title for very different translations

In contrast to the confusion caused by issuing the same material under different titles, I now move to the equally bewildering situation where different material is marketed under one title. My discussion so far has already shown a number of instances where the identical title is used for different translations. This is the case both with bona fide translations and with pirated editions. As was already mentioned above, there is great confusion over the titles *Home Stories* and *Household Stories* both of which are used for both Wehnert and Davis. The fact that the two British Library copies of *Home Stories* in 1875 and 1876 are entirely different editions (one is Davis's *Home Stories*, the other Wehnert's *Household Stories*) which share the *same* frontispiece and the same colour illustrations (which are not Wehnert's) further increases ambiguity over the status of these texts. To confuse matters even more, the title *Household Stories* was also used by Lucy Crane for her 1882 translation, a fairly faithful rendering of the German source text. In addition, the Wehnert text and Davis's translation share yet a further title; they were both published as *Grimm's Fairy Tales* in 1882 and 1893 respectively, and the Davis translation is, in fact, a pirated version. Furthermore, *Grimm's Fairy Tales* is actually the title of a new, bona fide translation by Mrs H. H. B Paull in 1872 and it was also used for a translation by L. L. Weedon in 1898.

Grimm's Fairy Tales

Paull (original)
Wehnert (re-issue)
Davis (pirated)
Weedon (original)

Household Stories/ Home Stories

Wehnert (original)
Davis (pirated)
Crane (original)

Again one could argue that this is of no great importance since these texts are translations, and thus present the same material; after all, one can assume that the buyer would have been interested in the tales collected by the brothers Grimm rather than a particular translation of them. However, given that these are editions aimed at the children's market, and calling to mind the hostile attitude to fairy tales as children's reading matter which prevailed in a more or less pronounced form through the century, adults would have been extremely concerned *which* translation they bought, as the reassuring comments in the introductions indicate.

Which edition is chosen is particularly important because the whole range of material in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* presented most translators working for the children's market with substantial problems. Every single edition took care to reassure potential buyers that offensive stories had not been included and that the wording of the tales themselves had been adapted not to offend. However, to what extent this editing, both in content and form, was carried out, varied substantially between the different translations available. And this certainly applies with the examples given here: Davis's, Paull's and Crane's translations and the Wehnert text. The choice of stories included in each of these versions, apart from the core of favourites, differs substantially and the tone of the translations conveys quite divergent notions. Davis's translation is quite free, verging on an adaptation, particularly in the narrative register chosen which consciously departs from the simplicity of the source texts. She deploys the conventions of established children's literature and edits out acts of "perceived" cruelty (in the story of the sleeping beauty, the cook, for example, is no longer about to punish the kitchen boy but reaches out for the spice box instead).¹⁰ It is a translation which has clear didactic overtones and which is adapted as children's reading matter. The Wehnert text, on the other hand, does not show this concern, although it states in the preface that "about a dozen short pieces to which English mothers might object" were omitted because of their "mixture of sacred subjects with profane."¹¹ In the treatment of the translation itself, though, this text is fairly faithful and does not shy away from rendering any of the sexual implications in the German source text of "Dornröschen" (Sleeping Beauty) which other translators edited. For example, the majority of translations edited the sequence in which the queen learns that she will have a child. In the German source text, she is bathing in a pond in the woods and shares the water with a frog which announces her pregnancy. English translations had difficulties depicting this and edited the passage in such a way that the frog was no longer instrumental in the conception of the child. Wehnert's text is one of the few which faithfully renders this motif. In fact, Wehnert's text even strengthens some of the sexual aspects in Sleeping Beauty, for example in the description of the sleeping princess, which focuses on her sexual allure and renders her an object of erotic contemplation and seduction for the prince who is impelled by her beauty to kiss her – again, a motif edited out by other translators.¹² Paull's translation on the other hand, like Davis's, conforms to the conventions of children's literature and is again such a free rendering that it should really be called an adaptation: core motifs are altered, the narrative structure is substantially changed,

taking out certain parts ("unnecessary" repetition) but adding in others (didactic admonishments, moral asides and explanation of narrative developments which the German text does not spell out) and casting the tale of the sleeping beauty in terms of an adventure story which is distinctly oriented towards a boy reader.¹³

4) Bona fide titles for other material

I will now move to editions where the Grimm titles are applied to material of a very different nature. The examples here show the use of the "Household Stories / Tales" title which is, of course, a title that was originally primarily associated with Wehnert's version (although it had been used before his 1853 edition) and which had become identified with the Grimms more and more in the course of the century. This was particularly the case after Margaret Hunt used it for her scholarly translation which came out in 1884 as *Grimm's Household Tales*. It is clearly associated with the Grimm tradition but also was used extensively for editions of mixed material from various traditions, some of which include Grimm stories, others which have no link with the German tradition at all:

1. *Household Tales and Traditions of England, Germany, France and Scotland*, 1845
mixed material, some Grimm
2. *Household Stories*, 1850
no link with Grimm
3. *Household Tales and Popular Stories*, 1862
mixed material, some Grimm
4. *Household Stories from the Land of Hofer*, 1870
Austrian tradition
5. *Household Tales and Fairy Stories*, 1872, 1877
mixed material, no link with Grimm at all
6. *Grimm's Household Tales*, 1888
Gardiner translation derivative of Hunt and Paull

The last item uses the same title which Margaret Hunt had used for her scholarly translation. Not only does the editor Alfonzo Gardiner plagiarise Hunt's title, but he also relied heavily on her translation and interestingly, given the very different intention in Mrs H. H. B Paull, he also draws on her translation in his 1888 collection of tales. Linked to this is an interesting, anonymous, text, *Grimm's Tales*, which was a selection of newly translated tales for use in schools. Textual evidence closely links this with Margaret Hunt's translation but because it was

published in 1878, six years before her complete translation of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, it is probable that it is an unacknowledged Hunt, rather than a pirated version.

5) Bona fide translation under title associated with pirated version

My last example is an intriguing case where the exploitation of the Grimm name for polemic material produced such a memorable title that it is then used for bona fide material. The title *Grimms' Goblins* was originally used for an 1861 George Vickers edition of a whole range of unacknowledged stories from different traditions, including some morally adapted Grimm stories. For example, "The Princess Rose," their "Sleeping Beauty" version, bears little resemblance to the original: it is a moral tract against greed and the gulf between the rich and the poor. In 1867, the title *Grimm's Goblins* was used for a selection of anonymously translated Grimm stories which are in fact pirated from Wehnert's 1853 *Household Stories*, while the illustrations are based on Cruikshank's designs for Taylor's original 1823 translation.

Most interestingly, however, Taylor's connection with the *Grimm's Goblins / Grimms' Goblins* title does not only exist via the illustrations in the pirated Wehnert but also more directly.

Taylor's original translation was also published twice under this title, in 1876 as *Grimm's Goblins* as the main title, and in 1877 under the main title of *Grimms' Goblins*.

Grimms' Goblins, Translated from the German, Fairy Books for Boys and Girls, 1861, 1875 mixture of stories from various traditions, including some morally adapted *KHM*

Grimm's Goblins, Sel. from the *Household Stories of the Brothers Grimm*. With Illustrations in Colors, from Cruikshank's Designs, 1867
pirated selection of *KHM* stories from Wehnert edition

Grimm's Goblins. Grimm's Household Stories, trans. from the *Kinder und Haus Märchen* [sic] by E. Taylor. 24 Illustrations after George Cruikshank. With Original Notes by E. Taylor, 1876 original Taylor

Grimms' Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old, trans. from the *Kinder und Haus Märchen* [sic] Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition. With 24 Illustrations after George Cruikshank, 1877
original Taylor

The 1877 edition, in fact, uses two different titles. On the front cover it is *Grimms' Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old* while the inside title page has the title *Grimm's Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old, German Popular Stories*. After this title page, the full 1876 title page

with Grimm's *Goblins*, *Grimm's Household Stories* is bound in which suggests that the 1876 edition is a duplicate of 1876 with a new title page and front cover added on.

Not only is the material that is available in these four editions substantially different, ranging from moral, didactic, polemic authored tales to bona fide translations but even where Grimm material is involved, this differs in terms of the closeness of the translation and the selection of the stories.

Conclusion

In all, four titles establish themselves in the course of the century and are associated with the Grimm corpus at different times. The early years are characterised by the "German Popular Tales" model established by Taylor, from mid-century the "Household Tales / Stories" title establishes itself for bona fide translations, while in the second half of the century "Grimm's / Grimms' Fairy Tales" becomes popular and is often, though not exclusively, associated with reprints or unacknowledged compilations from various sources. "Grimm's / Grimms' Goblins" is also extremely popular and of all titles, most confusing because it is used for such a diverse range of material. For the reader, or today, the bibliographer, it is practically impossible to identify a version by title (or catalogue) only. The confusion in the British Library Catalogue over the Wehnert and Davis texts in 1857 and again in 1875/76 or the mis-attribution of the 1878 *Grimm's Tales* translation to Davis by Morgan in his *Critical Bibliography* are just two examples which illustrate that only close analysis of texts allows identification of which translation is used in any particular edition.¹⁴ I have only discussed texts which I have been able to examine in detail rather than relying on bibliographic listings. The narrow range of titles for Grimm translations given in critical bibliographies, nineteenth century listings, publishers' catalogues etc shows an even greater extent of re-using titles across a diversity of bona fide translations, anonymous (that is, often unacknowledged or pirated) editions, and material not linked to the Grimm corpus at all that I have shown in my discussion above. Further research involving close textual analysis is needed to establish the actual status of texts.

Bibliography of editions referred to

Clever Alice and Other Tales, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, with Illustrations by E. H. Wehnert, in *The Grimm Fairy Library*, 10 vols (London: Routledge, 1879) 8^o, pp.564 - Wehnert

Foreign Tales & Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Fugitive Literature of Germany (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co, 1828) 12°, pp. xii.407 & 415 (vol 2) - G. G. Cunningham, second vol. several KHM stories, translation indebted to Taylor

Foreign Tales and Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Fugitive Literature of Germany, 2 vols (Glasgow: Fullarton & Co, 1854) pp.viii.407 - Cunningham

Gammer Grethel: or German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, rev. trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: Bell, 1839) pp.xii.350 - Edgar Taylor, revised

German Popular Stories and Fairy Tales as Told by Gammer Grethel, from the Collection of MM Grimm, rev. trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: Bell, 1888) pp.xii.306 - revised Taylor

German Popular Stories, trans. from the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition, trans. Edgar Taylor (London: Baldwin, 1823) 8° pp. xii.240 - Edgar Taylor; bona fide KHM

German Popular Stories, trans. from the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition, vol 2, Trans. Edgar Taylor (London: Baldwin, 1824-26) 12° vol 1 is a reissue of the original, vol. 2 pp. iv.256 - Edgar Taylor, bona fide KHM

German Popular Stories, trans. from the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition, with Introduction by John Ruskin (London: Hotten, 1869) 8°, pp.xxvi.335 - Taylor reprint

German Popular Tales and Household Stories, Newly trans. (New York: Francis, 1853) 2 vols. – Wehnert – American edition

German Popular Tales and Household Stories, Newly trans. (Boston: Crosby & Nichols, 1862) 2 vols., vol 1 pp 456, vol 2p.430 – Wehnert – American edition

German Stories sel. from the Works of Hoffman, de la Motte Fouque, Pichler, Kruse & others by R.P. Gillies, Esqu. in 3 volumes (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1826), 12° vol 1 pp xiv.333, vol 2 pp. 358, vol 3 pp. 363 - R.P. Gillies, does not contain any Grimm tales – title is used for unacknowledged Cunningham in 1855

German Stories: Being Tales and Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Literature of Germany, (Edinburgh: Fullarton, 2nd 1855) 12°, pp. 415 - unacknowledged Cunningham, attributed to R.P. Gillies in *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*

Grimm's Fairy Tales, A New translation, by Mrs. H.H.B. Paull, Translator of "Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales," and Author of "Lucy West," "Mary Elton," "Pride and Principle," etc. Specially Adapted and Arranged for Young People, with sixteen Original Illustrations by W. J. Weigand (London: Warne, [1872]) 8°, pp.viii.575 - Mrs H. B. Paull, bona fide KHM – this edition has two different titles: *Grimm's Fairy Tales* on the front cover of the book, *Grimms' Fairy Tales* on the inside title page

Grimm's Fairy Tales (London: Routledge, 1880) 8° pp.564 - Wehnert version without the illustrations; this is also issued under two titles: *Grimm's Fairy Tales* on the front of the book, *Household Stories collected by the Brothers Grimm* on the inside front page

Grimm's Fairy Tales, Andersen's Fairy Tales, Arabian Nights (London: Routledge, 1882) 4°, pp.80 - unacknowledged Davis

Grimm's Fairy Tales, translated by Mrs. H. H. B. Paull (London: Warne, 1887) 8°, pp.xii.522 - Paull reprint

Grimm's Fairy Tales (London: Routledge, 1893) pp.180 - unacknowledged Davis

Grimm's Fairy Tales (London: Warne & Co, [1893]) revised Paull, listed in Sutton

Grimm's Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, etc. with Illustrations (London: Ward & Locke, 1881) 8°, pp.vi.312 – a reissue of Bertall 1872 *Household Tales* – this edition has two different titles: *Grimm's Fairy Tales and Popular Stories* on the front cover of the book and on the inside title page *Grimm's Fairy Tales and Other Popular Stories*

Grimms' Fairy Tales, trsl. by L.L. Weedon (London: Nister, 1898) 8 pp.208 – collection of 32 Grimm stories, no Dornröschen – this has three different title versions: *Grimms' Fairy Tales* on the front cover, *Grimms Fairy Tales* in frontispiece, *Grimm's Fairy Tales* on inside title page; the outside board of the book is illustrated in the style established for *Grimm's Goblins*-editions with an eagle carrying a dwarf over a castle silhouette against the setting sun

Grimm's Goblins, Sel. from the Household Stories of the Brothers Grimm, With Illustrations in Colors, from Cruikshank's Designs (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867) 8°, pp.111 – KHM
unattributed Wehnert reprint

Grimm's Goblins, Grimm's Household Stories, trans. from the Kinder und Haus Marchen by E. Taylor, 24 Illustrations after George Cruikshank, with Original Notes by E. Taylor (London: Meek, 1876) 8°, pp.xxiv.296 - Taylor original translation reprint

Grimms' Goblins, trans. from the German, Fairy Books for Boys and Girls (London: G. Vickers, 1861) 4°, pp.240 - unacknowledged stories from different traditions including adapted KHM; moral adaptation 'The Princess Rose'

Grimms' Goblins (London: George Vickers, 1875) 8°, pp.337 - mixture of stories from different traditions including some morally adapted KHM

Grimms' Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old, trans. from the Kinder und Haus Marchen Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition, With 24 Illustrations after George Cruikshank (London: Meek, 1877) 8°, pp.xxiv.296 - Taylor original translation reprint – this edition has three title pages with different titles: on the front cover it is *Grimms' Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old*, inside title page has the title *Grimm's Goblins: Fairy Stories for Young and Old, German Popular Stories* and it then has the 1876 title page with the title *Grimm's Goblins, Grimm's Household Stories*, trans. from the Kinder und Haus Marchen by E. Taylor, 24 Illustrations after George Cruikshank, with Original Notes by E. Taylor

Grimm's Household Tales, with the Author's Notes, trans. from the German and ed. by Margaret Hunt, with a Preface by Andrew Lang, M.A. (London: Bell, 1884) pp.lxxv.452 & vol 2 599 - Margaret Hunt bona fide KHM

Grimm's Household Tales, John Heywood's Literary Readers, ed. by Alfonzo Gardiner (Manchester: Heywood, 1889) 8°, pp.xvi.255 – bona fide KHM, anonymous translation derivative of Paull and Hunt

Grimm's Tales, Selected and trans., Especially for Use in Schools, Bell's Reading Books (London: Bell, 1878) 8°, pp.vi.120 - [unacknowledged Margaret Hunt?], bona fide KHM

Home Stories, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans. by Matilda Louisa Davis, Illustrated by George Thompson (London: Routledge, 1855) 12°, pp. viii.376 - Matilda Louisa Davis, bona fide KHM

Home Stories, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans. by Matilda Louisa Davis (London: Bogue, 1857) 8° – listed in BL catalogue but copy no longer available; second copy listed under the same heading is 1857 Wehnert *Household Stories*

Home Stories, Alice Haven (New York: Appleton, 1869), pp.372 – a collection of eight authored stories, not all of them fairy tales

Home Stories, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, with illustrations (London: Routledge, 1875) 8°, pp.vii.564 – unacknowledged Davis– shares frontispiece and colour illustrations with 1876 *Household Stories*

Household Stories, trans. from the German from the Grimm's *Household Stories*, Darton's Holiday Library (London: Darton & Co., 1850), pp.140 – small collection of German fairy stories, not all stories linked with Grimm

Household Stories, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans., with two hundred and forty illustrations by Edward H. Wehnert, 2 vols (London: Addey, 1853) 8°, vol 1: pp. vii.436, vol. 2: vii.866 - no translator, bona fide KHM

Household Stories, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans., with 240 Illustrations by E. H. Wehnert, Complete in One Volume (London: Bogue, 1857) pp.viii.552 - Wehnert reprint – in BL catalogue listed as another edition of *Home Stories* newly translated by M. L. Davis

Household Stories, collected by the Brothers Grimm, newly translated, with colour illustrations by Kronheim (London: Routledge: 1876) 8°, pp.vii.564- unacknowledged Wehnert – this edition and the 1875 *Home Stories* edition are two different translations and selections from Grimm but they share the same frontispiece and colour illustrations; the *Household Stories* edition does not have the Wehnert illustrations (although the texts that go with Wehnert)

Household Stories, from the Collection of the Bros. Grimm, trans. from the German by Lucy Crane and Done into Pictures by Walter Crane (London: MacMillan, 1882) 8°, pp.x.269 - Lucy Crane, bona fide KHM

Household Stories from the Land of Hofer: Or, Popular Myths of Tirol, with illustrations by T. Green (London: Griffith & Farran, 1870) 8° , pp.iv.420 - other tradition

Household Tales and Fairy Stories, A Collection of the Most Popular Favourites (London: Routledge, 1872) 8°, pp.567 - mixture of French, English and German stories; 'The Sleeping Beauty in the Woods' (Perrault)

Household Tales and Fairy Stories, A Collection of the Most Favourite Tales (London: Routledge, 1877) 8°, pp.567 - mixture of French, English and German stories – listed as a duplicate of 1872 in BL catalogue but has slightly amended title

Household Tales and Popular Stories, Selected and trans. from the Writings of the Brothers Grimm, W. Hauff and Others, with Numerous Illustrations by Bertall (London: Ward & Locke, 1862) 8°, pp.vi.312 - mixture from different traditions including KHM

Household Tales and Popular Stories, sel. and translated from the writings of the Brothers Grimm, W. Hauff and others, with numerous illustrations by Bertall (London: Ward, Lock & Co [1881]) 8° pp.vi.312 – mixture of other material – this book was published under two titles, the first one on the front cover of the book and *Grimm's Fairy Tales and Other Popular Stories* on the inside title page

Household Tales and Traditions of England, Germany, France and Scotland, Burns Fireside Library (London: Burns, [1845?]) 12°, pp. viii.188 - mixture / adaptation of Perrault, KHM and other tales

The Home Treasury of Old Story Books, Illustrated with Fifty Engravings by Eminent Artists (London: Low, 1859) 8°, pp.viii.288 - adaptation of Edgar Taylor and Perrault, 'The Sleeping Beauty in the Woods'

¹ *Fairy Tales from Classic Myths for Boys and Girls*, told by Charles H. Smith, pictured by Alfred Jones (London: Heywood, [1894]). p. 3

² Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1984), p.180.

³ Quoted in Angela Bull, "Fairy Tales with a Purpose", *Nineteenth Century Children, Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories 1780-1900*, Gillian Avery (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965), pp. 40-6 (p. 41).

⁴ Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (London: Drane, 1888), quoted in Angela Bull, "Fairy Tales for Pleasure", *Nineteenth Century Children, Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories 1780-1900*, Gillian Avery (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965), pp. 121-37 (p. 137).

⁵ Joseph Cundall, "'German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories', Translated from the Collection of MM Grimm, by Edgar Taylor 1846", *British Quarterly Review*, 6 (August and November 1847), pp. 189-208 (p. 203).

⁶ F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England. Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3rd ed. rev. by Brian Alderson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.99.

⁷ *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, by Mr. S., Mr. of Art [c.1562], published by Gibbings & Co. for the Early English Drama Society (London: Gibbings, 1906) The title also aligns itself with the more recent and very influential collection of nursery songs *Gammer Gurton's Garland or the Nursery Parnassus*, (Stockton, [1783?]) which was re-published with additions in 1810 in London.

⁸ Alderson, Brian, "Grimm Tales in English", British Library exhibition notes (London: The British Library, 1985), p.[5]

⁹ Martin Sutton, *The Sin-Complex, A Critical Study of English Versions of the Grimms' Kinder- und Hausmärchen in the Nineteenth Century* (Kassel: Brüder Grimm Gesellschaft, 1996), p.165.

¹⁰ In Davis's translation, the English title of the story of the sleeping beauty is "Rosaline".

¹¹ *Household Stories*, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans., with two hundred and forty illustrations by Edward H. Wehnert, 2 vols (London: Addey, 1853), p. iv.

¹² In Wehnert's text, the English title of the story of the sleeping beauty is "Briar Rose", an attempt at rendering the original "Dornröschen".

¹³ In Paull's translation, the English title of the story of the sleeping beauty is "May Blossom".

¹⁴ Bayard Quincy Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1927*, 2nd ed., completely revised and greatly augmented (New York: The scarecrow Press, 1965), p.182