



School of Advanced Study  
Institute of English Studies  
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## 'A Gentleman of Literary Eminence'

*Faustus, From the German of Goethe, Translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, edited by Frederick Burwick and James C. McKusick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 398 pp. £85.00 Hardback 9780199229680*

A Review Essay

by

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*Faustus, from the German of Goethe, Translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited by Frederick Burwick and James C. McKusick

### Presentation of the volume

The plain description as it appears on the title page of the volume is repeated on the cover [Illustration 1] and elsewhere. Prospective purchasers and readers who rely on library catalogues and scholarly bibliographies are invited to believe they are being offered a substantial volume containing a work of Coleridge not previously accepted as such. The potential importance of the volume is explained on the blurb and repeated on the Oxford University Press website (as it appears at the time of writing November 2007). We reprint it here:

'The major work of German literature, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust* (1808), was translated into English by one of Britain's most capable mediators of German literature and philosophy, Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Goethe himself twice referred to Coleridge's translation of his *Faust*. Goethe's character wrestles with the very metaphysical and theological problems that preoccupied Coleridge: the meaning of the Logos, the apparent opposition of theism and pantheism. Coleridge, the poet of tormented guilt, of the demonic and the supernatural, found himself on familiar ground in translating *Faust*. Because his translation reveals revisions and reworkings of Coleridge's earlier works, his *Faust* contributes significantly to the understanding of Coleridge's entire oeuvre.

Coleridge began, but soon abandoned, the translation in 1814, returning to the task in 1820. At Coleridge's own insistence, it was published anonymously in 1821, illustrated with 27 line engravings copied by Henry Moses after the original plates by Moritz Retzsch.<sup>2</sup> His publisher, Thomas Boosey, brought out another edition in 1824. Although several critics recognized that it was Coleridge's work, his role as translator was obscured because of its anonymous publication. Coleridge himself declared that he "never put pen to paper as translator of

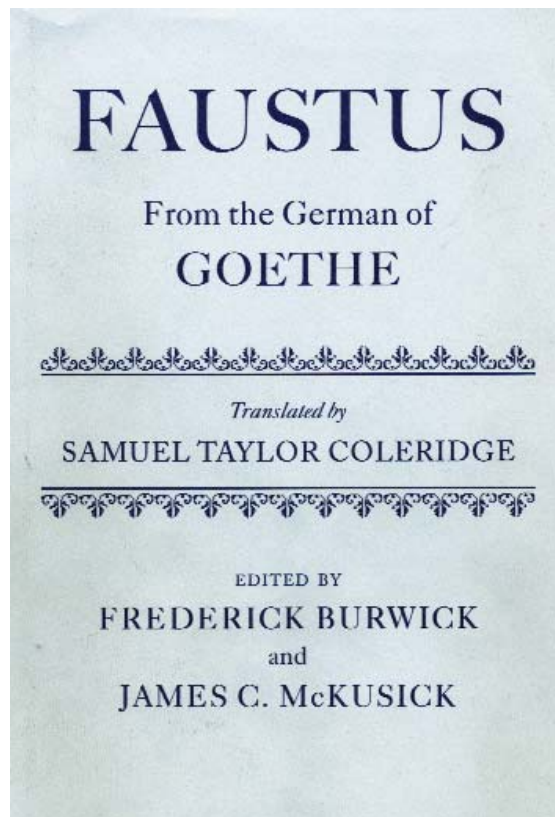


Illustration 1

Faust", and subsequent generations mistakenly attributed the translation to George Soane, a minor playwright, who had actually commenced translating for a rival press.

This edition of Coleridge's translation provides the textual and documentary evidence of his authorship, and presents his work in the context of other contemporary efforts at translating Goethe's *Faust*.<sup>3</sup>

The publication of this volume by Oxford University Press has been trailed as a major literary 'discovery' – one journalist who had received a personal briefing described it as equivalent to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>4</sup>

The volume is published with the imprint of the Clarendon Press in their prestigious series of scholarly editions of standard works of English literature. The reprinted *Faustus* translation, with notes by the editors, accounts for about a third of the volume.<sup>5</sup> Of *Faustus*, only about a quarter of the play is directly translated into verse, the rest summarised in prose.

The attribution of *Faustus* to Coleridge is presented, as the quotation shows, not as a hypothesis but as an established fact. Nowhere in the volume is any indication given that the question is an open one, a decision that raises the scholarly stakes. If the attribution of the translation can be validated, the republication of *Faustus* would indeed be a major event. On the other hand, if *Faustus* is not a translation made by Coleridge, or is not likely to have been made by Coleridge, in whole or in part, then it is not only the reputation of the volume's editors that is hazarded but those of the managers, the academic advisers, and the Delegates of Oxford University Press who decided that it deserved to be published in the uncompromising form in which it has now appeared.

In the comments that follow, besides considering the evidence for the attribution of *Faustus* and commenting on other pieces in the volume, we transcribe original materials, some not generally known or not easily accessible, which are relevant to the question of attribution, and which, in our view, deserved to have been included if readers were to be given enough information on which to base a judgement. In addition we publish for the first time manuscripts relating to Coleridge and his relations with publishers not previously printed and the texts of correspondence with Goethe. Our article seeks therefore not only to review the volume but to carry forward an understanding of the questions that are raised by its publication.

### **The historical and biographical record**

The starting point for any inquiry into the possibility that Coleridge may have been involved in the writing of *Faustus*, we suggest, should be the contemporaneous biographical documentary record. It is extraordinarily rich.

In May 1820 Coleridge was living as a semi-invalid under the care of friends in Highgate, near London, and it was from there that he wrote a letter to Messrs Boosey and Sons, the firm that was to publish *Faustus* in the autumn of 1821. Surprisingly, the text of this letter is not included in the volume. It is given here in full, transcribed from a xerox of the original in Yale University Library.<sup>6</sup>

[10 May 1820]

'Dear Sirs

It is a duty I owe to truth and to myself that I should let you know, that in diverting my time and labor from an original work, on which I am now employed, (should this be the case) I have no earthly motive, and no other impulse but the pleasure I should have, in being of any real service to you, and the pain and reluctance I feel in refusing you any thing which I could, with-

out wronging myself and those connected with me, grant. Within the last two months I have declined two offers, each from a different person, to furnish critical materials on any work, I myself chose, at twenty guineas per sheet, the size &c that of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. My reason for this was my dislike to writing for any thing or any one, and the request of my best friends founded on the conviction, that it is at once my interest and my duty to bring into publishable form, one after the other, the entire works, the component parts of which are already in my own papers, or those of the Short-hand Writer. —

But there is another objection to the present proposal, to which I dare not blind myself. If I have rightly understood you, you wish to have no more Leaves of Letter-press, than Prints- allowing only two or three additional for the introduction. Now had this been consequent on a Translation of the entire Faust under my name, with the substitutes for the passages morally or prudentially untranslatable; I should in this case feel no impropriety in [words deleted 'applying my self and?'] abridging the tale and applying it to the illustration of the Plates. But as it is, I scarce know how to ward off the notion, that I am connecting my name with a work in bad repute with the religious part of the Community without having space or opportunity to explain myself. What have the Purchasers of the Prints to do with the poetic or moral merits or demerits of the Poem? All, they want, is the Story; and [words deleted 'as for'] this, any man of common sense who can write English & read German can do as well as I — Nor is that all. For such [word deleted 'are'] is my inveterate habit of doing as well as possibly I can do whatever I do at all, that many other men could do in half the time, & with less than half the tro[uble]and perhaps having nothing in hand which this would interrupt would be amply repaid by a sum, it would be perfectly convenient for you to offer & yet a wrong to myself to accept. —

However this may be, as I am quite certain that I have no trading feelings; [phrase substituted for 'nothing of the feelings'] that I never have derived & never shall derive any advantage from bargaining — so I am quite determined that I never will suffer [word deleted 'none'] any of it contingent mortifications or awkwardnesses. I never will subject myself under any other necessity but that of answering, Yes or No. - - . Without my name I should feel the objections & the difficulty greatly diminished but to give my name to the mere Letter-press subservient to productions of an art not connected with my own pursuits — this, I more than fear, my Friends & Family will regard as a sort of Job-work, which they would not like to see authored by — yours sincerely — S. T. Coleridge.'

The letter from Booseys, to which this is a reply, has not been traced.<sup>7</sup>

Burwick and McKusick also unaccountably omit Coleridge's accompanying note on 'My advice & Scheme' dated 12 May 1820 that he sent to Booseys with his letter. This is the only statement of Coleridge's views on the matter that is known to exist and, we suggest, it ought to have been included in the volume with a discussion of how far the advice was taken by the translator of *Faustus*.

'1. A preliminary Essay, stating briefly the peculiar character of Goethe as man, philosopher, & poet; more at large, the specific character of his Faust, including it's purposes, & the tone of mind presupposed in the Reader as well as it's form of Style, Humor of Pathos, Imagery, &c. Then to explain it's Nationality as a German Poem, with it's high merit on this very account — it is, perhaps, the only properly original work of German Poesy, & with the Louisa of Voss the most national — but from these very causes, especially the state of mind in those, whom Goethe had a right to calculate on as his readers, and the inclosed number of those Readers, often most unfit, & and in large portions uninteresting to the English Public. —

2. Exactly such an analysis of the Work from Scene to Scene, as we have a delicious model of, in Gray's Anal. of the BIRDS of Aristophanes, in 2<sup>nd</sup> Volume of Matthias's Edition of Gray's Works.

3. Interspersed in the analysis, beautiful or otherwise noticeable, yet inoffensive, passages, translated in the manner & metre of the original: as far as would be acceptable to the English Ear.

4. Each of the Scenes entire, exceptionable Lines excluded, on which Retch's Plates are founded — translated poetically as [Manuscript torn] [S.] T.C.'

We can reasonably infer from Coleridge's letter and its enclosure that he had been approached to supply passages of translation in verse to accompany the firm's intended publication of a set of engravings by Henry Moses after Moritz Retzsch that illustrated



scenes from the play. [See 'The Retzsch engravings in the English-speaking world' below]. Booseys had evidently made an offer of payment and perhaps offered to negotiate a higher amount. We can also reasonably infer that Booseys sent Coleridge the prose *Analysis of the Tragedy*, that Booseys published in 1820 and which may already have been available in print form – a text whose authorship Burwick and McKusick attribute to Daniel Boileau. [But see below 'The other texts reprinted in the volume'].

Transcriptions of Coleridge's letter and enclosure have long been available in printed form in *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited by Earl Leslie Griggs, a standard work of which copies are to be found in major libraries.<sup>8</sup> However, the reply by Booseys, also omitted, that was not printed by Griggs, is only available in printed form in a brief article—essentially a news item—by Carl F. Schreiber in the *Yale University Library Gazette* of 1947, a source to which few scholars have easy access.<sup>9</sup>

The letter itself is not known to have survived but we have the draft from which the publisher's clerk prepared the formal reply that was written, probably by Thomas Boosey, on to the paper of Coleridge's letter, as was then the practice. It is not an 'incomplete draft' as Schreiber suggested in 1947, but a record of the reply actually sent to Coleridge. The following is transcribed from the xerox copy kindly supplied by Yale University Library.

'DR SIR. We should be wanting in gratitude to you after your friendly advice and still more friendly and candid comment in your note of yesterday not in the first place to return you our very sincere thanks. And we trust you will give us credit when we say that it is very far from our wish that your name should be placed in the title of any work where the author is evidently subordinate and where it appears for the purpose of furthering a work which would be derogatory to his literary Character. Our reason for applying to you in the first instance you must be aware, was advice upon a subject (which were it practicable) would we are sure from the attention you have bestowed upon it have reflected credit upon the author and perhaps have proved lucrative to the publisher, but if you for a moment conceived it had the appearance of job-work and that we applied to you merely for the purpose of using your name we must undeceive you. We have reason to believe that from your conception of the intention & merit of the Poem, you are able to point out the beauties of the artist [Retzsch] who has given such scope to his imagination [illegible words] to require not the remarks of an admirer of the Art but one eminently acquainted with the singularly Philosophical Tragedy—'

William A. Speck, one of a number of scholars who investigated the claims of *Faustus* before Burwick and McKusick, and whose large collection of materials relating to Goethe is now in Yale University Library, concluded that his discovery of this exchange of letters between Booseys and Coleridge settled the matter, and others have agreed. The sequence seems clear. Booseys, who had heard that Coleridge had once intended to translate *Faust* [See 'The broken agreements with Murray and Longmans' below]. approached him with a proposal; Coleridge declined the invitation; Booseys thanked him and turned elsewhere, picking up some of Coleridge's suggestions.

The person who prepared *Faustus*, whoever he or she was, if starting from scratch in May 1820, had at most eighteen months in which to do the work. If he or she had had to wait until the full set of the Retzsch engravings was available, the maximum time available is reduced further. Since the translator comments favourably on the engravings [81], and they were published in two parts, the first on 1 June, the second on 1 July 1820, the time available if there were no delays, is at most fifteen months.

The conjecture requires that, after the completed exchanges with Booseys in May 1820, there was another exchange, or series of exchanges, that are unrecorded. The conjecture requires that Coleridge changed his mind, took an initiative, decided to

break an agreement that he had made in 1814 with the publisher Murray, went back to Booseys, and despite his earlier indignant protests that he would never accept anonymous subliterate jobbing work, and that he would never bargain, he nevertheless negotiated a publishing agreement. The conjecture then requires that Coleridge did the translating work, or picked up and added to work he had already done - although his letter makes no mention of having already done any of the translation work; and that he then provided the completed manuscript to Booseys in time for *Faustus* to be reviewed in the October 1821 issue of the *European Magazine*.

The conjecture further requires that Coleridge's friends at Highgate who could not have escaped knowing what he was doing as Burwick and McKusick admit [liv] and the many others who were directly involved in the production of the book, including Thomas Boosey, kept quiet about Coleridge's involvement, both at the time and later. The conjecture also requires that Coleridge, a writer well known for his table talk and his tendency to expatiate at length on his ideas and works, acted so far out of character that he never permitted a hint of his involvement with *Faustus* to pass his lips. Indeed it requires that he misled his closest friends for the remainder of his life.

### Table Talk

During the latter part of his life Coleridge published little in book form. His literary and intellectual life consisted mainly of conversations with - or monologues in the company of - chosen groups of friends who assembled at Highgate for the purpose. Although the reliability of the numerous records of these conversations that his friends made cannot always be entirely relied upon, Coleridge appears to have believed that publication in print was optional. Like Socrates, he would find his Plato, like Johnson he would find his Boswell, as indeed he did.

The following extract from a letter from Hudson Gurney to Dawson Turner dated 15 July 1816 has not hitherto been printed:

'Did you ever meet Coleridge? I dined with him at Hookham Freres the day before I left town. His eloquence is really wonderful; possibly it might not do often, but I was greatly struck, expecting no very particular entertainment but merely having curiosity to see a man one had heard talked of. It appeared to me that if he had been a man in the world's affairs, and amongst the same sort of associates, he would have brought into play very much the same kind of power as Burke.'<sup>10</sup>

Some accounts of Coleridge's table talk about Goethe and *Faust* were not selected to be transcribed in full in the standard printed edition and are not easily accessible.<sup>11</sup> We note a few here, all of which would have to be explained, or rather explained away, if the conjecture were to be validated.

The conjecture requires, for example, that we find an explanation for the evidence of Maria Gisborne, not mentioned in the volume, who visited Coleridge on 25 June 1820, that is at the very time when, according to the conjecture, Coleridge should have been hard at work on the translation.

'I found Coleridge surprisingly altered in his appearance; his size is immense, his hair white. He is like a man of seventy, who has a young look... He should like to translate the Faust, but he thinks that there are parts which could not be endured in English and by the English, and he does not like to attempt it with the necessity of the smallest mutilation.'



The conjecture requires either that the supposed post-May 1820 renegotiation with Booseys had not yet occurred, reducing even further the interval in which Coleridge is conjecturally required to have been doing the work, or that he was misleading her.<sup>12</sup>

Giacchino de' Prati, who lived in England from 1823 until 1852, records in his autobiography that he began to visit to Coleridge frequently from May 1825, that is after the publication of *Faustus*, noting that Coleridge spoke German 'quite correctly, and with a soft Hanoverian accent.'<sup>13</sup> The following extract is relevant to the question of attribution.

'Before and after tea, the conversation was promiscuous, but afterwards some subject was introduced upon which Coleridge expanded himself in a torrent of eloquence. All around him were so taken up with his speech, that seldom a word or a whisper was heard during the whole time he was addressing the company. I remember with delight the instruction and pleasure I derived from these discourses, which cannot be better compared than with the dialogues of Plato. The finest loftiest ideas, pouring forth amidst the most blooming poetical phrases, allegories, and types, now spiced with Socratic irony, now strengthened by close and all-penetrating argumentation, afforded me an intellectual banquet, nowhere to be met either here or in any part of the continent. Goethe and Madame de Stael were perhaps the only ones who could compete with Coleridge in fluency, depth, and originality of conversation. All three are gone. Who shall now dare to assume their station?

Once when walking with him in the garden, we were speaking about the difficulty of translating. "Truly," said he, "no one knows how difficult it is to translate well, but he who has attempted to translate a masterwork, I have done all the justice I could to "Wallenstein" but I could not venture upon translating "the Camp" which is perhaps the most original part of the work. I would have attempted to translate your favourite "Faustus", but I must give it up in despair. To translate it so as to make the English readers acquainted with the plot, is a foolish task. . .'

In order to explain what appears to be an unambiguous remark referring to the future made at an undetermined date after *Faustus* had been published, Burwick and McKusick only comment that he 'spoke from sad experience'. [liii]

A conversation on another occasion is recorded by John Hookham Frere: <sup>14</sup>

'F. Had you ever any thought of translating the 'Faust'?

C. Yes, I had but I was prevented by the consideration that though there are some exquisite passages, the opening [he gives examples] there is a great deal of it I do not admire, and some I reprobate.'

If Coleridge had indeed been the translator of *Faustus*, this remark comes near to what was called at the time the lie direct – it is described by Burwick and McKusick as 'evasive'.

'F, Did you ever see Shelley's translation of the Chorus in 'Faust' you were mentioning?

C. I have and admire it very much...'

We are asked to believe that at a time when the main access to Shelley's translation was in a grand volume that reprinted *Faustus* alongside Shelley's translation, that neither Coleridge nor any of his friends or colleagues let slip that the translations from *Faust* of the two most poetic writers of the age had been brought together.<sup>15</sup>

For their conjecture to be sustained, Burwick and McKusick have to disregard or overturn explicit denials made by Coleridge near the end of his life, and reported in print soon after his death. For example:

[16 February 1833]

'I need not tell you, that I never put pen to paper as translator of Faust.'<sup>16</sup>

None of the later hearsay remarks by outsiders that Burwick and McKusick record, some from years later, can be given equal weight with the numerous direct reports of what Coleridge himself said. Having adopted the position that Coleridge was the translator, almost as an *a priori* declaration of faith, Burwick and McKusick are obliged to conjecture that Coleridge consistently misled his closest friends. Time after time they attempt to explain away evidence that contradicts or undermines their conviction, disbelieving what was said both by Coleridge and by the many others who – according to the conjecture – would have had to have been complicit.

### Correspondence with Goethe

Is there any documentary evidence offered in the volume that might persuade readers to accept that these conjectured events actually took place? In the first words of the Introduction Burwick and McKusick present what they regard as decisive:

'On 4 September 1820, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote to his son August that Samuel Taylor Coleridge was translating *Faust*. What happened to the translation? The question has long baffled scholars of Goethe and Coleridge. The answer, as it turns out, is much the same as the solution to the mystery in Edgar Allen Poe's tale of the 'Purloined Letter,' It was there in plain sight all along. The search ought to have commenced with a look at the translations that were forthcoming at the very time of Goethe's letter.' [xv]

In the Chronology [xi] Burwick and McKusick repeat that they have evidence that Coleridge was at work on the translation during the months immediately before *Faustus* appeared:

'1 August [1820] Bohte informs Goethe that STC is at work on a complete translation of Faust (Goethe-Schiller Archive, ms 28/88. Bl.362f)  
4 September [1820] Goethe, in letter to his son, says STC is translating Faust'

If these were valid summaries of the documents, then weight would indeed be added to the conjecture. The letter from Goethe to his son has long been available in printed form. What has not been available and, unaccountably, is not transcribed or discussed in the volume, is the letter from Bohte to Goethe on which the remark to his son is based. Since the point is central to the claims made in the volume, we have obtained a copy of the letter of 1 August 1820 from the archives at Weimar, and transcribe it here with a translation into English.<sup>17</sup>

London, 1 August 1820.

Your Honour,

Permit me the pleasure of presenting you with the enclosed London Magazine, out today, hoping that the first article in this issue will find your Honour's interest and gratification.

The editor of this journal is my friend John Scott Esq., known for his various estimable literary products, as for instance 'Paris Visited' etc. etc.

To the best of my knowledge this article as well as the 4th in this magazine, 'Description of Certain Frescos', was sent to him by a friend who is at present in Italy and whose acquaintance he made two years ago in the said land.

With the progressive cultivation of German literature in this country people have for some time become especially aware of Your Honour's Faust - to which the splendid outline engravings by Ret[z]sch have contributed much.- Another article with extracts from significant passages in translation appeared in Blackwoods Magazine in the first issue of last month - and I have learned to my pleasure that the poet Coleridge here is working on a complete translation of this dramatic poem.

In Edinburgh great attention is being paid to German literature-Under the title *Florae Germanicae* there appear in the above-mentioned journal from time to time translations of the leading dramatic poets - as you will find in the journal out today an essay on Müllner's King Yngard - without doubt from the pen of my Edinburgh friend Sr. P. Gillies, an advocate there.

I also keep Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh supplied with our most interesting new literary items.

As the little article in the present journal entitled 'Mr Ebert and Mr Dibdin' - will much interest friends in Dresden first as well as Mr Brockhaus the bookseller in Leipzig - I take the liberty of asking Your Honour when finished reading it to allow these gentlemen to have scrutiny of this journal.

I have the honour to sign myself with the greatest devotion to Your Honour  
Yours very truly  
H.Bohte  
To His Honour Privy Counsellor von Goethe in Weimar <sup>18</sup>

The letter does not warrant the implication that Burwick and McKusick place on it that Bohte is eagerly telling Goethe that Coleridge has been signed up to make a translation, or even that a translating project is under way. Bohte's letter is of a type commonly found during all the centuries of print. As the leading German bookseller in London, 'German Bookseller to the King' - who was also king of Hanover and ruler of other territories in Germany - he is keeping the leading German author informed of recent literary news and gossip. At around the same time John Murray was writing similar letters to Byron in Italy.

The issue of the *London Magazine* sent by Bohte included a long and highly favourable review of the Retzsch engravings written pseudonymously by Thomas Wainwright, a prolific writer, artist, connoisseur, and journalist, who was later to become famous as a poisoner.<sup>19</sup> [See *The Engravings*]. Wainwright also wrote a review of *Faustus*. [See 'The Evidence of the Reviews']. The recently founded *London Magazine*, whose aims included promoting knowledge of German literature, had, incidentally, proposed a contract to Coleridge that he had not taken up, one of the offers of job work that he had referred to dismissively in his letter to Boosey, quoted above.<sup>20</sup>

Burwick and McKusick declare that Bohte 'would have told him [Goethe] of the public demand for the work, and informed him too, that Boosey had commissioned Coleridge to assist with an expanded second edition' [xxi, our italics]. There is no evidence that any such letter was ever written; it is a speculation invented by Burwick and McKusick needed to complete the conjectured series of events. What we do have are letters to Goethe from the firm of Boosey, the actual publisher of the Retzsch engravings, the prose *Analysis*, and of *Faustus*, sent through an intermediary, Johann Christian Hüttner, that we transcribe, translate, and publish in full for the first time.<sup>21</sup>

London 4 July 1820

The enclosed outlines to Faust have been sent by the undersigned as ordered by his Excellency Privy Counsellor Goethe from Mr Boosey the bookseller.

The portraits of His Excellency and of the prince of Meiningen are ready. Miss Dawe sent proofs of the text a fortnight ago (she told me so today) to her brother in Petersburg, asking if he had anything to change. As soon as they have arrived back from there, probably around mid-August, it will only take two weeks to finish them. Thus they can be despatched from here to Weimar around the beginning of September.

Your most devoted servant  
Joh[ann] Chr[istian] Hüttner<sup>22</sup>

There was a further round of correspondence a few weeks later.

London, 22 August 1820

Boosey and Co. booksellers are much flattered that his Excellency Privy Counsellor Goethe is not displeased with the engravings of Faust and the description of them and have the honour to send the conclusion with their great respect. This firm has sent to the signatory of this letter the note included herewith and His Excellency may learn from it something of the anonymous writer who has done the explanatory notes.

This week I am sending with the packet boat the fourth parcel containing the last part of the proceedings of the Linnaean Society, under the address of his Royal Highness. The two books ordered in the Serene name will be sent off with the next post.

Your very devoted servant  
Joh[ann] Chr[istian] Hüttner<sup>23</sup>

Hüttner enclosed a copy of a letter, written in English from Booseys to himself which he passed to Goethe. It incidentally provided an answer to a question that Goethe had asked Hüttner about the prose Analysis that accompanied the engravings.<sup>24</sup> [See The other texts reprinted in the volume]

19 August 1820  
4 Broad St

Sir

We consider ourselves very much indebted to you for having transmitted a copy of the outlines to Faust with the Analysis to Mr de Goethe, and see ourselves gratified by the notice he had been pleased to take of them. The author, or rather compiler of the Analysis, is a German in humble circumstances, a man of no little ability, and professing a very considerable Knowledge of the English language. The Analysis is merely a literal translation of a portion of the Tragedy to explain the Outlines, and if it have any merit it is its closeness to the Original. To have attempted more would have been presumption, and doubtless would not have Succeeded. Mr Huttner must be well aware of the difficulties of giving a free translation of the whole of the incomparable tragedy, it would require a translator possessing a through knowledge of both languages, a poet, besides other requisites to do it the justice it deserves.

We remain

Sir your Obliged Sr.-

Boosey & Sons

PS

Perhaps it may be gratifying to Mr de Goethe to know, that in consequence of the extensive Sale of the Outlines in this country, great curiosity has been excited respecting the tragedy, and of course has had a great Sale lately.

Unless there are letters that are entirely lost, that is the sum total of the correspondence that took place with Goethe. It is concerned with the engravings [see The Engravings] and there is no mention of Coleridge. Indeed it seems unlikely that Boosey even bothered to send Goethe or Hüttner a copy of *Faustus*.

### The broken agreements with Murray and Longmans

There had been an earlier attempt to persuade Coleridge to attempt a translation of Goethe's play. Many literary figures in Britain had long believed that he alone had the knowledge of German language and philosophy, the experience of translation, and the poetic imagination to rise successfully to the challenge. But did he ever complete the work? On 31 August 1814, as has long been known, Coleridge entered into a contract with the publisher John Murray, to provide a translation of Goethe's *Faust*, although he complained that the terms—£100 to be paid partly as an advance and then instalments—were 'humiliatingly low'. What happened next has to be inferred from the documentary record. However, already by 16 October Coleridge had given up the project, complaining that 'Murray, the Bookseller, has treated me in a strange way – about a translation of Goethe's *Faust* – but it is not worth mentioning except that I employed some weeks unprofitably – when it was of more than usual necessity that I [shou]ld have done otherwise.' On 30 March 1815, he told Byron that he had himself convinced Murray to give up the project on the grounds that parts of the play were obnoxious.<sup>25</sup> It is not known whether the money advance Coleridge had received was netted from the advance that he received from Murray in 1816 for other works, including *Christabel* – a work that had been composed long before but not published in printed form and did not require Coleridge to do much new drafting – although that appears likely and direct evidence may be discoverable from the Murray archives.<sup>26</sup>

According to Burwick and McKusick, the reason why *Faustus* was published without Coleridge being named – 'at his insistence' they speculate – was that Coleridge did not wish to be exposed as having broken his contact with Murray. Whether, if there had been evidence to connect Coleridge with *Faustus*, that might have been an adequate biographical explanation could have been considered. What has not hitherto been known to Coleridge scholars is that, in making his contract with Murray Coleridge had already breached a contract with Longmans, the other leading London publisher at the time. We take the opportunity here to publish three letters from Longmans.<sup>27</sup>

'S. T. Coleridge Esq.

Dear Sir

We beg to offer you One Hundred Pounds for the Copy-right of a volume of Poems of 360 pages containing a selection of your best poems. The amount of our account against you which is about £27.0.0 to be deducted – £20.0.0 to be paid on demand –£20.0.0 more when the MS is delivered complete & the remainder when the volume is published.

Believe us

Dear Sir

Yrs very truly

Longman & Co

[16 April 1816, draft kept by the publisher as a record]

Mr. Coleridge

It was with considerable surprise that we read an advertisement in the Morning Post of this day of a volume of poems written by you, to be published by Mr. Murray; (one of which was in fact printed by us some years ago for the Lyrical Ballads, & afterwards cancelled [Christabel]. From Recollecting the Agreement into which you entered with us in May 1811 for a Volume of Poems we do consider that you were strictly bound in honor if not in law, to make us the first tender of any. As you have always met with every attention & civility from us, we are the more surprised that you should have gone to another publisher when there existed the above mentioned agreement between you & our firm. Pray do us the favor to write a few lines of expla-



nation on this subject.

Mr. Murray

Having an agreement of five years standing with Mr. Coleridge for a volume of poems, on which we made an advance of money, we had thought it right to write him a letter a copy of which we inclose for your perusal.'

As far as we can discover there is no other record of this episode, although something relevant may be discoverable in the Murray archives. It is not known, for example, whether Coleridge replied or paid his debt. To an extent, the episode can be said to give some weight to Burwick and McKusick's conjecture in that it shows that important transactions between authors and publishers may not always enter the documentary record, or are discovered later, and that others may still be found. However these and other letters also confirm that Coleridge already had a poor reputation among publishers that was well deserved. He was a notorious non-finisher who serially pocketed advances from publishers for literary work that he never completed.

Incidentally, the letter from Longmans adds other hitherto unknown details to another much-studied literary episode. The work that Longman saw referred to was the collection of poems that Murray published in 1816 under the title *Christabel*. It has long been known that it had been intended that *Christabel* should be published in Longmans' 1800 edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, but that Wordsworth required that the poem be omitted, so ejecting Coleridge from the joint enterprise that the two men had begun together in 1797. If, as appears from the Longmans' letter, a version of *Christabel* had already been set in type, not only did Longmans have two legitimate complaints against Coleridge, but the breach between the two poets becomes even more understandable.

### The Engravings

Facing the printed text of *Faustus* at appropriate places, the volume includes reproductions of the engravings of scenes from *Faust* executed by Henry Moses in 1820. Reduced to about a quarter of the size of the originals, and shown horizontally, they are shaded lightly in grey – as the originals were not – so that users of the volume can more easily appreciate the contrast between the inserted illustrations and the white paper on which they are set. Although in general the main features can be seen, some are unduly faint and detail is lost. For example, you have to look hard to see the prompter's face peeping out of the stage platform in the 'Prelude in the Theatre', a highly poetical – and witty – composition that ignores the conventions of chronology and proscenium realism. [See Differences between Retzsch and Moses, and also Illustration 5]

Since the captions on the engravings are so small as to be almost unreadable with the naked eye. Burwick and McKusick have printed, without comment, captions in letterpress underneath, mostly – but not always – copying the wording of the caption on the engraving. The error made by the engraver in Plate 6, 'Faustus and Mephistopheles in the witches cave' [Illustration 3], they mistranscribe as ' . . . in the witch's cave', and this error is repeated in the 'List of Illustrations' [x], although the first publication of the engravings in 1820 included a printed *erratum* 'for "cave" read "kitchen"'. Anyone familiar with the play knows that there is no witches cave nor witch's cave in Goethe's *Faust*.

The publishing information that formed part of each engraving, including the dates of publication, that formed another line of text under the captions in the 1820 first publication of these engravings, is not shown or transcribed. Whether Burwick and



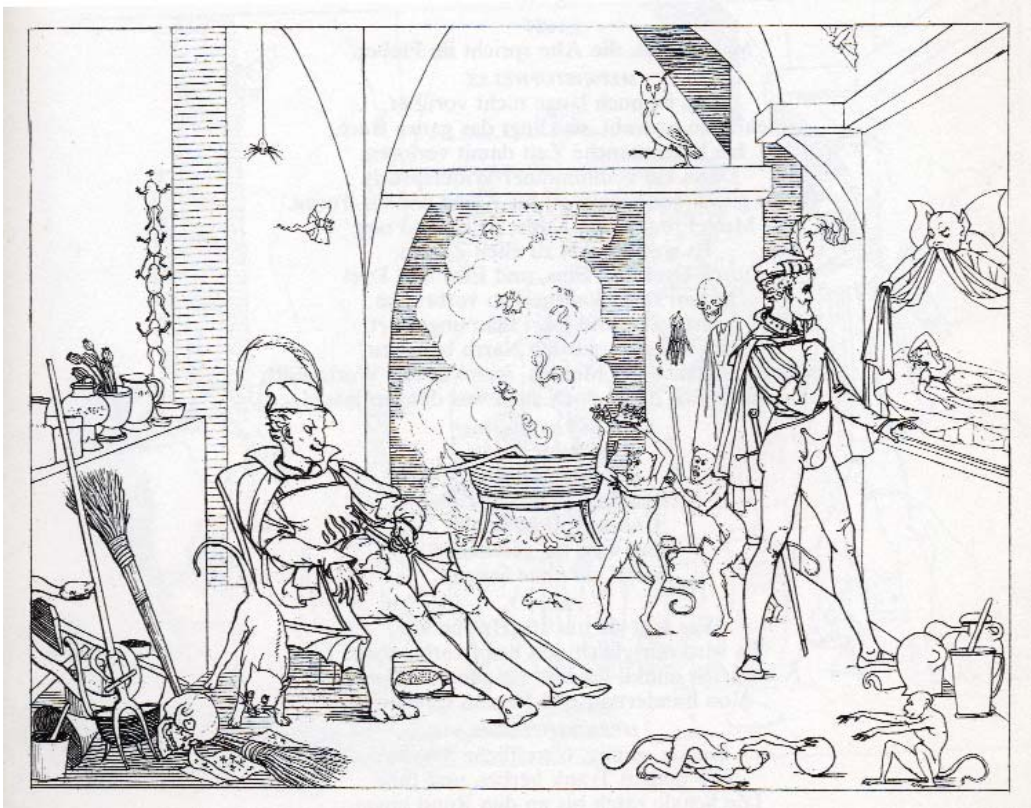


Illustration 2



FAUST AND MEPHISTOPHELES IN THE WITCHES' CAVE.

Illustration 3

McKusick chose to use a later reissue of the engravings, from which the publication line was removed from the copper plates or whether they have simply shaved the reproductions is not noted, but if the publication line had been reproduced, it would not have been legible.

Engravings were able to carry knowledge of literary works across language barriers. What Burwick and McKusick have not brought out is that it was the arrival in London of three different sets of engravings of scenes from Goethe's *Faust* that led to the sudden interest in the play itself and to the spate of translations, including *Faustus*, that followed. Contrary to the usual pattern of diffusion within a single language area, the first translations into English of parts of Goethe's *Faust*, including *Faustus*, were ancillary to the engravings.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Retzsch engravings in the English-speaking world**

The sequence of events can be briefly summarised. Moritz Retzsch, who was the artist as well as the engraver, prepared a series of copper engravings of scenes from *Faust* for Goethe's German publisher, J.G. Cotta. Retzsch's *Umriss* drew on a style being popularised by John Flaxman in England, offering only a clear outline without the shading of background associated with other forms of image-reproduction, such as line engraving or mezzotint, that attempted to capture the qualities of paintings. Retzsch later produced *Umriss* for other literary works, including some by Schiller and Shakespeare, and to *Faust part 2*, in what became an ongoing series in which other artists were also employed to work in the same style.<sup>29</sup> Examples from *Faust part 2* are included as Illustrations 12 and 13. Goethe approved enthusiastically of the *Faust Umriss* as did many others who saw them or copies adapted from them, including Byron, Shelley, and Delacroix whose own artistic career began with a series of scenes from *Faust* for which he employed the new medium of lithography. Goethe also highly approved of a quite different set of illustrations to *Faust* prepared earlier by the German artist Peter Cornelius that was also available to be bought in London.<sup>30</sup> [See Illustrations 4, 5, and 6]

The *Umriss* of Retzsch were sold in temporary covers, loosely stitched together in a temporary envelope. Imported copies were sold in London by the German bookseller to the King J. H. Bohte. It was in 1820 that the firm of Thomas Boosey and Sons, in association with Rodwell and Martin, a firm who also sold engravings, commissioned the English line engraver, Henry Moses, to produce a set of copies of Retzsch's *Umriss*. In the absence of international copyright, there was no legal impediment to their doing so. But there may have been other reasons connected with limitations on the supply of *Umriss* – copper plates could normally not produce more than about 1,500 copies without having to be re-engraved and, although the Retzsch *Umriss* were re-engraved, they were in demand all over Western Europe. The paper on which the *Umriss* were printed and the size differed from norms in use in England. The 'Outlines' by Moses were published in two instalments as was common, with premium prices for the first impressions taken from the plates that were highly prized by connoisseurs of engravings for their clarity and contrast. The copper plates of Moses's engravings are dated several weeks after Boosey's exchanges with Coleridge discussed above, and it is not known if he saw any engravings at that time.

The following table summarises the main sequence. Included are the prices where we have been able to discover them. As was normal, engravings were expensive, sometimes extremely expensive, compared with books, expensive though books





Illustration 4

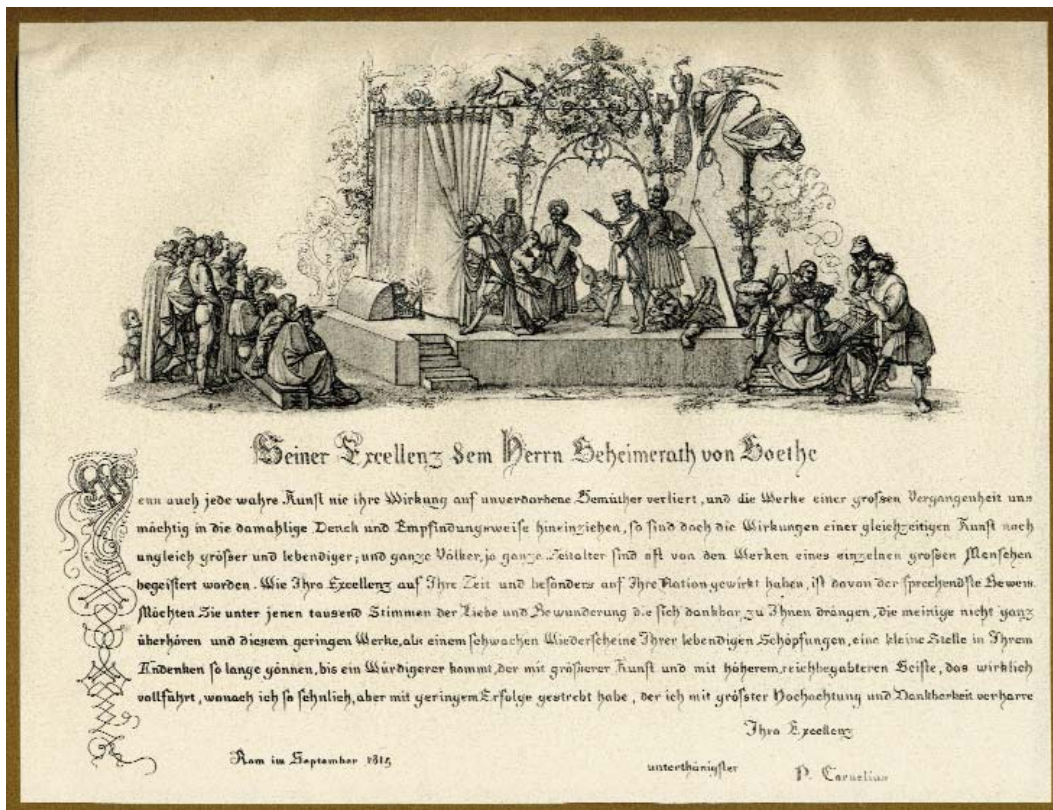


Illustration 5



Illustration 6

were too. Although listed below as a sequence, the engravings of Retzsch, Cornelius, and Moses were all available simultaneously in London.<sup>31</sup>

**Engraved illustrations of scenes from *Faust* available in the English-speaking world, with prices in shillings**

1816. Retzsch. The original publication of *Umrissse* in Germany, 26 engravings, oblong quarto 'quer folio' [not easily available in London]

1817. Cornelius. Publication in Germany of 8 engravings prepared by T. Ruschewyh, available from Boosey, 'very large folio'<sup>32</sup> 160

? 1819/1820. Retzsch. The plates of *Umrissse* re-engraved in Germany, 3 more added, and some sets sent to Bohte in London, others to France, price in Germany florins 4<sup>33</sup> in England 12.5

1820. Moses adapted from Retzsch. 26 engravings published in two parts, the first dated 1 June, the second 1 July, proofs<sup>34</sup> 21 [10.5 each part]

After both parts had been published, available in two sizes of paper  
 imperial quarto 21  
 medium quarto 14

The prose *Analysis* 'in illustration of the above Outlines and printed uniformly with them in two parts' quarto 6



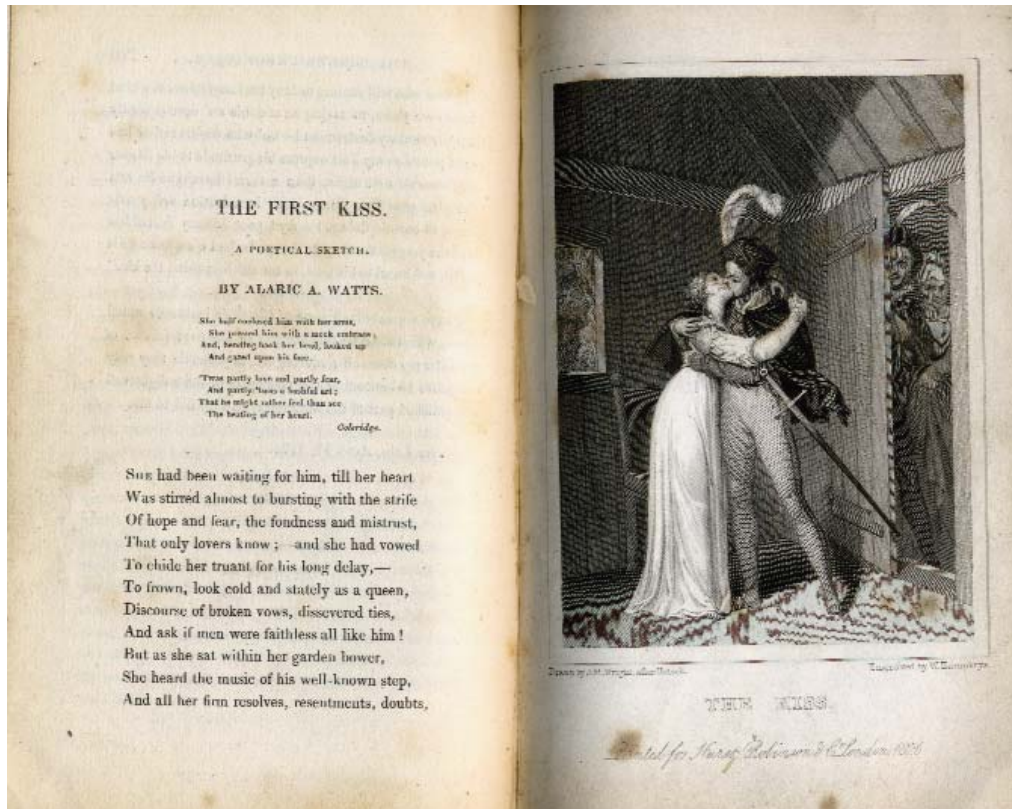


Illustration 7

'large paper' version

8

*Outlines and Analysis* available 'neatly done up together in extra boards' for an extra cost of one shilling or one shilling ten pence for the imperial quarto version.<sup>35</sup>

Date unknown. Moses versions are re-engraved in small oblong format by J. Kennerley, perhaps pirated<sup>36</sup>

na

1824. An American edition. *Illustrations of the celebrated tragedy of Faustus by Goethe; engraved and published by Henry Stone* (Washington D.C.).<sup>37</sup>

1825. One of Retzsch's outline engravings, number 15 showing the kiss in the summer house, is re-engraved as a line engraving on steel and published with a long invented passage of verse by Alaric A. Watts, in effect adding a passage to the story that was not in *Faust*.<sup>38</sup> [see Illustration 7]

1826. Delacroix's lithographs

na

1828. Moses' versions, as adapted by Kennerley, are re-engraved in small oblong pocket size by two engravers, noted as Trueb and Branche, and sold in Germany, France, and Britain, with captions in French and German.<sup>39</sup> The versions that were self-censored for the British market are thus carried to Germany.

3

1830. The 1820, full size, version with the prose *Analysis*, still available at a reduced price<sup>40</sup>

2.5

1832. Moses' versions, full size, *Faustus from the German of Goethe. Embellished with Retsch's Series of Twenty-Seven Outlines Illustrative of the Tragedy, Engraved by Henry Moses. New edition with Portrait of the Author, and An appendix Containing the May-Day Night Scene translated by Percy Bysshe Shelley*, quarto (London: Edward Lumley).

na

1836. Cotta produces a new set of eleven *Umrisse* by Retsch, illustrating scenes from *Faust part 2*.<sup>41</sup>

na

1839. The engravings to both parts are re-engraved by J. Brain of London in pocket format on steel, so enabling almost unlimited quantities of copies to be impressed without the need for re-engraving.<sup>42</sup>

1839. The whole set of 40 steel engravings for parts 1 and 2 are included with the English translation of both parts of *Faust* by J. Birch

The illustrations to *Faust*, especially those by Retsch, continued to be closely associated with the way Goethe's play was received in Britain and America during much of the nineteenth century

### *Faustus, from the German of Goethe*

The thin book that Burwick and McKusick ascribe to Coleridge's pen was not printed in the octavo format as was usual with literary works of the period, but in the larger format of quarto.<sup>43</sup> The quarto format enabled the engravings and the accompanying text to be bound together, although anyone using the book in that way would still have had to turn it sideways to look at the engravings. If the accompanying text were rebound on its own, it was liable to be placed on a different shelf in a library and subsequently separated, as has happened to many travel books of the time, in which the engravings and maps were of a different size from the printed text. *Faustus* was however printed with unusually wide margins at both sides and at top and bottom so that those who wished to buy the book separately, having perhaps already bought the engravings, could do so. If rebound as a work on its own, the trimming would then reduce the book to the size of an octavo, although with unusually narrow margins, and some of those who have encountered the book after rebinding have mistaken the format. The price in temporary binding was 6 shillings, a fraction of the price of the engravings, but much the same as, for example, works by Byron of similar length that were normally priced at five shillings and sixpence [5.5s] before binding.<sup>44</sup>

*Faustus* was presented at the time as available in both formats. We show a published advertisement notice (not mentioned by Burwick and McKusick), for 'a new translation' placed by the publisher in the Sunday newspaper, *The Examiner* [Illustration 8] that notes the two ways. If bought on its own, *Faustus* contained a portrait of the author, that is, of Goethe, that Burwick and McKusick do not reproduce, distorting further the way in which *Faustus* presented itself to purchasers and readers at the time.<sup>45</sup> [Illustration 9]

Burwick and McKusick, who do not discuss how engravings were manufactured and published, mistakenly call Moses's engravings 'octavo' [xxii]. In the Bibliography they offer different measurements of engravings from the different editions, appar-



NEW ROYAL WEST LONDON THEATRE.  
**T**O-MORROW, Dec. 31, TUESDAY, and WEDNESDAY, a  
 Splendid Melo-drama called CHARLES the TERRIBLE. To conclude  
 with TRUTH, or HARLEQUIN TOUCHSTONE.

---

GOETHE'S FAUSTUS, A NEW TRANSLATION.  
 Just published, by Hoosey and Sons, 4, Broad-street, Exchange, beautifully  
 printed on fine Hot-pressed Paper, and embellished with a correct and  
 highly-finished Portrait of the Author,  
**F**AUSTUS, from the German of GOETHE, a New Transla-  
 tion, price 6s. in extra boards; also a Quarto Edition of the same  
 Work, together with Retsch's Series of Twenty six much admired Outlines,  
 illustrative of it, engraved from the Originals by Henry Moses, price 20s. in  
 boards.  
 \* \* \* The Outlines may be had separately, price 14s.

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POPULATION.  
 Just published, price 2s.  
**T**HE QUESTION of POPULATION, particularly as it re-  
 lates to the Increase of Numbers in the Inhabitants of the United  
 States, carefully examined and fully considered; being a detection of the

Illustration 8

ently unaware that the engravings were impressed from the same set of metal plates that had been manufactured in standard British sizes in inches, such as 5 inches by 7: any differences between copies are due to stretching or shrinkage of the paper as it dried after being impressed.

Burwick and McKusick appear to assume that the Moses engravings were viewed as illustrations in printed books. In fact that was not the only, or even the usual, way. They could be kept in a cabinet, or a portfolio, along with other engravings. They could be held on the lap or on a desk, and turned over in order, or passed round as topics of conversation in company. They could be returned to again and again without



Illustration 9

having to read the accompanying text as the reviewer of *The Examiner* remarked, and was also the practice of Shelley, Byron, and others [See also 'The evidence of contemporary reviews' below]. The fact that the engravings were designed as if the events were being seen from the audience sitting at the theatre could provide viewers with some of the experience of actually being present at a performance of Goethe's *Faust*. There was no way in which they could be viewed squeezed horizontally into an octavo-sized book, as in the present volume.

*Faustus* presented itself as a piece of subliterary work that was a useful ancillary to the engravings. 'As this little publication is designed to serve also as an accompaniment to the [Moses *Outlines*] it has been thought advisable to subjoin a Table of Reference to the several subjects of the plates.' In *Faustus*, when it was first published, that table is at the end of the book - not at the front where Burwick and McKusick have repositioned it without comment. By this device too, Burwick and McKusick and the managers and designers of Oxford University Press have forced a modest text that was commissioned, designed, and manufactured to accompany an art publication into the conventions of a literary text with inserted illustrations. Or put another way, in May 1820, Coleridge was right to understand that he was being offered jobbing work.

### **Differences between Moses and Retzsch**

Henry Moses—or rather those who commissioned him to re-engage Retzsch's *Umriss*—made substantial changes, a point of importance to an understanding of the presentation and reception of *Faust* in England and one that Burwick and McKusick do not discuss.

The 'Prelude in the Theatre' engraved by Moses was not 'of his own design' [x] but copied from the engraving of by Peter Cornelius, in his arabesque style. [Illustration 5].<sup>46</sup>

In Retzsch the costumes are shown as those of the sixteenth century, when the events in the play are fictionally represented as having occurred. Moses, in making the costumes less time-specific, elides or downplays the codpieces prominent in the originals. However, if that change was made out of prudery, in the scene in the witches' kitchen, the opposite occurred: the woman whom Faust sees in the mirror, clothed in the original, is shown as part naked. [Illustrations 2 and 3]

### **Self-censorship**

The biggest change was the omission of the figure of 'God the Father' in the illustration of the 'Prologue in Heaven'. We illustrate the two versions. [illustrations 10 and 11]. This is a substantial act of self-censorship on the part of the producers of the Moses engravings, probably precipitated by the spate of public and private prosecutions for 'blasphemous libel' that were occurring at this time.<sup>47</sup> Some Christian groups believed that the Old Testament injunction against graven images applied to artistic representations of God, a point picked up by the reviewer Thomas Wainwright in the *London Magazine* in February 1820, who noted, in commenting on the Retzsch engravings, that '[the Germans] do not hesitate still to introduce the person of the Deity in compositions of a mixed nature.'<sup>48</sup> However, the change, if noticed, was not commented on by Richard Horne, when he reviewed both sets together in *The Examiner*. [See 'The evidence of the contemporary reviews' below]. What may have caused the British producers to self-censor this picture is that there is direct eye contact between the Deity





Illustration 10



Illustration 11

and the Luciferian figure of Mephistopheles. God and the Devil are chatting together as if they were human beings. In the last couplet of the discussion—one of the most famous in *Faust*—a later translation by George Soane [159] translated ‘menschlich’ as ‘kindly’ instead of ‘human’.

When Francis Leveson-Gower produced his *Faust, a Drama*, published by Murray in 1823 [reprinted in pages 285 -311 of the volume], he was accused by at least one reviewer of having deliberately omitted passages out of fear of the ‘societies’—organisations such as the Society for the Suppression of Vice, led and financed by political and ecclesiastical notables, who sent snoopers into bookshops and brought private prosecutions against publishers of texts that were thought to undermine respect for the official religion.<sup>49</sup> Some publishers, and many assistants in their shops, were entrapped and imprisoned in the years 1820 to 1822, including Richard Carlile who reprinted Shelley’s *Queen Mab*. And it was at the time when *Faustus* was being published that Byron was resisting attempts by John Murray to make changes to the text of his drama of *Cain*. ‘The two passages cannot be altered without making Lucifer talk like the Bishop of Lincoln.’<sup>50</sup>

In a notice of forthcoming publications in the *London Magazine* (a piece of direct evidence not mentioned by Burwick and McKusick) the publishers of *Faustus* openly acknowledged that the abridgement they were offering was being self-censored.

‘The Publishers of Moses’s Etchings from Retch’s Outlines to the Faustus, have engaged a Gentleman of Literary Eminence to prepare a Translation of a considerable portion of that wild and singular play into English Blank Verse. A brief Abstract of the several Scenes will unite these Transactions, and form a connected Story; it not being advisable to translate the whole, for reasons which every reader of Goethe will readily admit. The Work will form an Octavo Volume, and will be published in the course of next month.’<sup>51</sup>

These matters, central to an understanding of the reception of *Faust* in the English-speaking world, and a case study in how literary texts were adapted in response to the censoring pressures of the time, are not discussed in the volume.

### **The evidence of contemporary reviews**

What did contemporary reviewers make of *Faustus*? Although normally anonymous, they were literary insiders, often authors themselves, and keenly attuned to the news, styles, and fashions of contemporary literature. The evidence they offer is potentially of great value.

Burwick and McKusick unaccountably omit the 1832 ‘Preface to the Third Edition’—the last edition of *Faustus* until the present volume. After five lines of explanation this Preface consists of a thirty-nine line extract from a review in ‘a celebrated weekly paper’ that can be identified as *The Examiner*.<sup>52</sup> Apart from their general interest as an early response to Goethe’s *Faust*, the reviewer’s remarks are almost entirely directed at the engravings. He has both sets before him, the *Umrisse* by Retzsch available from Bohte’s shop and the Moses versions available from Booseys. He prefers the Moses versions, commending in particular the facial expressions—a point irrecoverable by anyone dependent on the miniaturised versions in the volume. As the reviewer notes, commending a phrase in the Introduction, ‘the scenes are so well selected for the Plates, that they afford a connected view of the whole drama. . .’ And he comments on how engravings are viewed: ‘We have never repeated so frequently the inspection of any publication of engravings.’ *The Examiner* is not mentioned by Burwick and McKusick.



Burwick and McKusick discuss the nine page review of recent art, one of a series provided pseudonymously in the *London Magazine* for December 1821 by 'C. van Winkbooms', a journalist with a highly distinctive droll and allusive style which –although Burwick and McKusick do not mention the fact - has long been identified as having been written by Thomas Wainwright, the future poisoner.<sup>53</sup> The *London Magazine* was the most literary of all the journals of the time, including de Quincey, Hazlitt, and Lamb and other friends of Coleridge among its writers –indeed printed in a recent issue is a pseudonymous or playful letter from 'Grasmeriensis Teutonizans' discussing recent German literature and mentioning Coleridge in a footnote. Of the occasional residents of Grasmere in the Lake district who knew German only Coleridge and de Quincey are candidates and Coleridge no longer lived there. At this time de Quincey had lodgings in London above the shop of Bohte the German bookseller.<sup>54</sup>

Burwick and McKusick quote a passage from the *London Magazine* in which the anonymous Wainwright compares the prose *Analysis of the Tragedy* with the verse version, that is with *Faustus*.

'Boosey has published a very pleasing abstract of this Labyrinthine poem, with copious and sufficiently faithful versions of blank verse.' [xxvi]

Burwick and McKusick then interrupt the sentence, that they imply they have quoted in full, in order to argue with the reviewer. By substituting 'of' for 'in' they further alter the meaning. What the *London Magazine* printed was:

'Boosey has published a very pleasing abstract of this Labyrinthine poem, with copious and sufficiently faithful versions in blank verse, which, maugre [for malgré] the apology in the preface, can give the reader no very satisfactory idea of this Drama, written in the most varied metres, principally rhymed, and which is essentially lyrical, both in conception and execution. However as "the preceding prelude" (so the traducteur elegantly has it) and the 'prologue' are omitted, it is more appropriate to the mere fashionable seekers of semi-instructive amusement; while its rival, by Mr Soane, will better satisfy the inquisitive and thoughtless student in poetry who may be guiltless of German.'

The words 'very pleasing', picked out by Burwick and McKusick as evidence for contemporary admiration of the literary skill of the translator of *Faustus*, are not a compliment but a putdown, a preparation for the arch, almost sarcastic, tone of the rest of the passage.

As for the long review in the *European Magazine* of October 1821 [xxiii], what Burwick and McKusick say in their paraphrase is:

'the reviewer of the Boosey edition found the translation, in spite of its 'fidelity' less powerful than it might have been.' [xxiii]

The use of the word 'powerful' to describe a literary text, a neologism coined by Wordsworth and popularised by Hazlitt, would have been a telling point. However what the reviewer wrote was, 'the translator in one instance shews us that it was in his power to do considerably better', a phrase that means something quite different.

Picking out the reviewer's phrase 'is evidently a great proficient . . . who seems to feel his subject everywhere else', Burwick and McKusick again omit the main point being made in the review. When read within its sentence, all we have is a mild concession within a general condemnation:

'This, it must be allowed, is far, very far, from equalling the blank verse; and indeed the same may be said against all the rhyme in the volume. Margaret's hymn to the Mater Dolorosa is also very inferior. We would venture to say, that even with *our* limited knowledge of the German language, we would have given a more pleasing version of these pieces than the present translator, who is evidently a great proficient, and who seems to feel his subject everywhere else.'

The reviewer consistently praises the anonymous prose that he attributes to George Soane, and he lets it be known that, as a literary insider, he has been told that Soane also wrote the verse. The passage that the editors break off in mid sentence –after ' . . . Christabelle tried at it and resigned it' - to assure their modern readers that they know better.

'Rumor says, the author of Christabelle tried at it and resigned it; and the same worthy authority next mentioned Mr. George Soane as his successor in the undertaking. If the present volume be his, as Sir Toby Belch says, "wherefore are these things hid?" It certainly would not disgrace any former fame Mr. S. had acquired, for so perfect a feeling of the author's meaning throughout, shews that the same mind could invent as well as imitate.'

The meaning is plain. The reviewer wishes to assure Soane that he need not be ashamed of his verse version, advice that was heeded for Soane published a different translation of *Faust* over his own name in 1825.

The third review known to Burwick and McKusick – in the short-lived *New Edinburgh Review* – is known to have been written by the young Thomas Carlyle, perhaps the most enthusiastic and knowledgeable champion of Goethe in the nineteenth century, who was at the time working on his own translation of another work by Goethe. Although Carlyle's review is a text not easily accessible, it is passed over by Burwick and McKusick in one sentence 'it [*Faustus*] was dismissed as failing to convey the fullness of Goethe's meaning' [liii]. But, apparently reluctant here too to allow doubt to enter their readers' minds, Burwick and McKusick again do not reveal quite how damning Carlyle's judgment was. The opening words are:

'The title-page of this work excites expectations which the work itself is very little calculated to fulfil. It is no translation of Faust; but merely a pretty full description of its various scenes, interspersed at frequent intervals with extracts of considerable length, rendered into clear and very feeble blank verse – generally without great violence to the meaning of the original, or any attempt to imitate the matchless beauties of its diction; the whole intended mainly to accompany a series of plates illustrative of Faust, which have lately been engraved by Mr Moses from the drawings of Retsch, a German artist. "The slight analysis, drawn up as an accompaniment to Retsch's Outlines being out of print, the publishers felt desirous to supply its place with a more careful abstract of Faust, which while it served as a book of reference and explanation for the use of the purchasers of the plates, might also possess some claims to interest the general reader. With this view,' &c

We entertain no prejudice whatever against this "more careful abstract". It seems to be a solid inoffensive undertaking, founded on the immutable principles of profit and loss, and is accomplished quite as well as could be expected. But we have felt mortified at seeing the bright aërial creations of Goethe metamorphosed into such a stagnant, vapid, *caput mortuum*; and we cannot forbear to caution our readers against forming any judgement of that great foreigner from its present representative.'

Carlyle goes on to transcribe a series of passages from *Faustus*, setting them alongside the original German, as examples of 'a thousand such unhappy failures'.

It was because *Faustus* 'was not greeted with great public fanfare' as Burwick and McKusick – apparently without irony – demurely summarise the three reviews, [liii]



that, they go on to speculate, Coleridge 'saw no reason to step forward and take credit as translator' [liii].

### **Who provided the verse passages of *Faustus*?**

Who was 'the Gentleman of Literary Eminence' mentioned in the 'Works preparing for publication'? The fact that *Faustus* was published anonymously, as were many translations, was a normal act of modesty on the part of the producers: it does not require an explanation as if it were unusual. Nor does it require its author to have 'insisted' on anonymity.

Coleridge, we can be certain, would not have drafted the error 'witch's cave' or have approved the proofs in which that error occurred. And much of the rest of the book, including the verse parts, may have been prepared as jobbing work either by an employee or by someone who was commissioned. London contained a large population of bilingual, often trilingual, immigrants and refugees, and a workforce of local writers and translators, often men and women hoping to start on a literary career, eager for jobbing work.<sup>55</sup> All works of importance first published in other European languages, some very long, were quickly translated into English without the translator being named, and it is only by chance that evidence survives that enables the identity to be found. There were eight foreign language bookshops. The offshore publishers, such as Galignani in Paris, employed writers with knowledge of more than one language, some of high ability, who were able to turn their pens to whatever was needed.<sup>56</sup>

In *Specimens of the German Lyric Poets*, 1823, another book of verse translations from the German published at around the same time as *Faustus* by Boosey and Rodwell and Martin, it was noted that some translations were provided by Mr Mellish, British Consul in Hamburg, and also, as another piece of anonymous subliterary work that: 'The publishers prevailed upon a gentleman, a German by birth of great taste and knowledge of the literature to furnish Biographical Sketches of most of the eminent Writers from whose Works the Selection was made.' As another example, one of the follow-up publications in the Retsch series, the re-engravings made by Henry Moses of the '*Umrisse*' for Schiller's *Fridolin*, the translated verse accompaniment was acknowledged to be the work of John Payne Collier, who was already well established in his long literary career as poet, prose writer, writer of pastiche, and author of fake Shakespearian texts.<sup>57</sup> The title page to the *Umrisse to Schiller's Fridolin* does not necessarily imply that Collier was the compiler or author of the prose 'Remarks on Retsch's Outlines to Fridolin', the equivalent of the 'Analysis to the Tragedy of Faust', a similar piece of subliterary work arranged on the same plan.

So who was the 'A Gentleman of Literary Eminence'? In 1821 Coleridge was undoubtedly an eminent literary figure, but was he a gentleman? In the conventions of the day when the word denoted a member of the gentry, or at least someone who had enough private income that he did not have to work, probably not, although he did come from a professional family. The description does however fit George Soane, son of Sir John Soane, a prolific – but always minor - published author and playwright to whom the piece was attributed by the insider Wainewright and accepted by cataloguers ever since.

### **Stylometrics**

If there had been grounds for associating Coleridge with *Faustus*, it might have been fruitful to discuss how far particular passages might be particularly ‘Coleridgean’ as Burwick and McKusick do—‘In *Faustus* there are also passages that should prompt the reader to shout ‘Coleridge!’ [xlili] Although we agree with Burwick and McKusick that there are fine passages, modern readers who, at best, can only have read a fraction of the vast amount of translated verse being produced in Britain in the 1820s are unlikely to be as reliable in their stylistic judgements as the literary men and women of the time. Not a single knowledgeable or insider commentator at the time it was published ever claimed that *Faustus* was so ‘Coleridgean’ that it had to be the work of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Burwick and McKusick provide a chapter of stylometric analysis in which the ‘Signature’ software programme is employed to make a quantified stylistic comparison between *Faustus* and Coleridge’s verse play *Remorse*, and more limited comparisons with other texts in the volume, including some written as prose and jobbing work. The conjectural attribution of *Faustus* to Coleridge, Burwick and McKusick say, does not depend upon the stylometrics, although the weak claims made in the chapter—‘fully consistent with the hypothesis’ [325]—become a ‘strong statistical correlation’ when summarised in the body of the book [xliv]. So in the end they themselves rightly accord primacy to scholarship.

### **The other texts reprinted in the volume**

Besides *Faustus*, the volume includes a number of other texts reprinted from early editions that help to track the arrival of knowledge of Goethe’s *Faust* in Britain. The desire to promote the conjectural attribution of *Faustus* to Coleridge means that the reprinted texts are not arranged in chronological order of publication. Nor is there any discussion of access, readerships, or impact, either of the texts or of the engravings.<sup>58</sup> Because the volume is broken up into different sections, with a wide disparity in the degree of coverage and commentary, a broad view of the diffusionary process (from illustrations to accompaniments, to partial translations, some in mixed prose and verse, and then to a spate of complete translations in verse) does not emerge.

More could be said, for example, on textual matters. But, since the volume is concentrated on *Faustus*, we only offer a few points on the other texts, although here too, more could be said.

In the selection of texts to be included, we might have expected to see the translations by Percy Bysshe Shelley of the ‘Prolog im Himmel’ and ‘Walpurgisnacht’. The latter had a particularly close association with *Faustus* having been reprinted alongside that text and the Moses engravings in the edition of 1832, printed as a grand quarto.

A decision to omit Shelley’s translations from the volume might be defended on the grounds that his translations are easily accessible elsewhere, but that is not true of the remarks added by Leigh Hunt to the first publication of ‘May-Day Night’, in *The Liberal* in 1822 in which Hunt compares *Faust* with the plays of Webster and Middleton, just as others noted the more obvious comparison with Marlowe. None of these attempts to place *Faust* in an English dramatic tradition, part of the process by which it was assimilated into the English-speaking world, is adequately discussed.<sup>59</sup> Hunt, incidentally, who outlived both Shelley and Coleridge, is another literary insider who, according to Burwick and McKusick’s attribution of *Faustus*, has to be conjectured to have kept silent.

The attribution of the [prose] *Analysis of the Tragedy* to Daniel Boileau, like the at-



Illustration 12

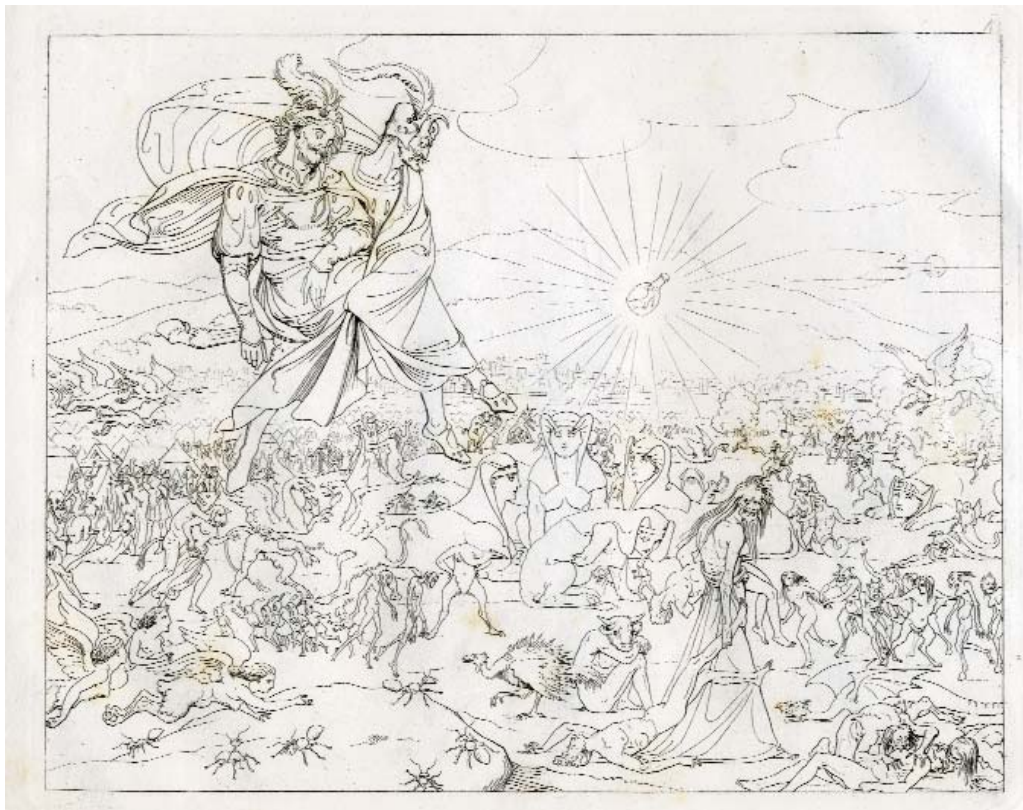


Illustration 13



tribution of *Faustus* to Coleridge, is presented as if it were an established fact rather than a conjecture, 'The anonymous translator was Daniel Boileau' [178]. A late hint of doubt occurs in the Bibliography [330] where the text is described as '? trans. Daniel Boileau' in contrast with *Faustus* 'trans S.T.C.' that remains unqualified throughout the entire volume.

Burwick and McKusick's attribution is based on the fact that Boileau is the named author of knowledgeable works on German literature being published in London at around the same time. They do not discuss the passage in which the unnamed author attests to the historical accuracy of the engravings. 'Forty years ago, a doctor or chemist's study at Isny, Überkingen, or some other towns in that neighbourhood, very much resembled Faust's chamber; even Kästners study was like it' [182].<sup>60</sup> These details, presented as drawn from personal observation in 1780 in two small German towns unconnected with the Faust legend, Burwick and McKusick might have noticed, do not fit easily with what is known of the life of Boileau who was brought up in Berlin, educated at Halle, spent some years in Paris, settled in England in 1792, and was still writing in 1834.<sup>61</sup> What Burwick and McKusick have not noticed is that the text whose authorship they attribute to Boileau is an abridgement and adaptation of the accompaniments written in German ('Vorrede' and 'Anzeige der zu den Umrisen gehörenden Stellen') that came from Germany in the envelope with the Retzsch engravings. It is not an original work written in English that requires us to search for an 'author' living in Britain with a good knowledge of German literature: it is piece of subliterate paratextual work prepared in German in Germany for Cotta's first publication of the Retzsch engravings in 1816. Its adaptation into English in 1820—which did not even alter the date implied by the 'forty years ago'—could have been done by anyone with a modest knowledge of German. When Goethe asked who was the author, perhaps being himself unaware that the piece was mainly taken from materials supplied in German by Cotta [see Correspondence with Goethe], Boosey's literalist reply that 'the author or rather compiler of the Analysis, is a German in humble circumstances' betrays some puzzlement that Goethe should be interested in knowing who prepared such subliterate work.

The piece, both in German and English, is however full of interest. The main purpose was to associate *Faust* with the *Cyropedia* of Xenophon, the *Telemachus* by Fénelon, and the *Letters to his Son* of the Earl of Chesterfield, that is, to present it as a morally uplifting story to be equated with the three principal – and politically and ecclesiastically unexceptionable – educational works in use across Europe. By this ancient literary device, Cotta attempts to preempt objections to the play – and to the engravings – by Christian and other groups who would not want to see its representations of sexuality, the unconscious mind, and the nature of the Christian religion given currency even in fictional form. In Britain, where the same struggle against the censoring of literature was being played out, works with erotic content were paratextually presented as warnings to the innocent offered in the tradition of Shakespeare.<sup>62</sup> Objections by religious groups were disarmed in advance by pointing out that Milton had given Satan a leading role in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>63</sup>



The case that *Faustus* is a work by Coleridge has not been made. The conclusion of the predecessors of Burwick and McKusick, who went over the ground with the infor-

mation available in 1947 and decided that the piece was not written by him, has not been overturned. Indeed, the large amount of more recent research, and the new archival, unnoticed, and other information that we ourselves have added, makes the attribution even less plausible.

The decision by the producers of the volume to present the conjecture as a 'discovery' diminishes its usefulness as a scholarly publication. It could have been presented as a matter on which questions of attribution are more open - entitled, for example, 'Goethe's *Faust*: Translations, prefaces, engravings, analyses, and other writings associated with the early reception of Goethe's *Faust* into English.' This would have followed the lead of the recent excellent two-volume edition in the same Clarendon Press series of *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings associated with George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham* (Oxford 2007) in which the editors Robert D. Hume and the late Harold Love scrupulously set out the problems of explaining and contextualising the texts, and determining authorship, noting, for example, that 'in an alarming number of cases we have no assurance that even a collaborative attribution can be justified.'

The history of how the fame of Goethe's *Faust* reached the English-speaking world through engravings is, as we tried to show, far more instructive than the accounts given in the volume, not only as an episode in literary history but as a case study of how works crossed language boundaries and how they were accommodated to local pressures in the harsh conditions of reactionary post-Waterloo Europe. As it is, with *Faustus, From the German of Goethe, Translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, potential purchasers and readers should be warned. This volume is not what it appears to be. Nor is it consistent with the normal standards of Oxford University Press. We suggest that Oxford University Press should consider amending their website or including a reference to this review article.

RP, WStC, ES

February 2008; editorial corrections 7 March 2008

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil mit Zeichnungen von Peter Cornelius. Eingeleitet von Alfred Kuhn* (Berlin, 1920).

<sup>2</sup> 'Henry More' in the printed version.

<sup>3</sup> Transcribed from the OUP site: <http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/LiteratureEnglish/WorldLiterature/Germany/?view=usa&ci=9780199229680>.

<sup>4</sup> For example: <http://www.rarebookreview.com/2007/01/23/coleridges-faust-found/>

<sup>5</sup> The volume is concerned with *Faust Part 1*. *Faust Part 2*, not published until 1832 after Goethe's death, in which Faust is redeemed and made aware of the consequences of his actions, may be regarded as modifying some of the objections to Part 1 of the play made by some Christian commentators in Britain.

<sup>6</sup> Kindly supplied by Natalia Sciarini of Yale University Library [YCGL MSS6, box 2, f. 87].

<sup>7</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article on Coleridge

<sup>8</sup> Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, v, 42-44.

<sup>9</sup> Carl F. Schreiber, 'Coleridge to Boosey - Boosey to Coleridge', in *Yale University Library Gazette* 20 (1947): 6-10.

<sup>10</sup> Dawson Turner manuscripts, Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge. We thank Adam Green for recognising the potential importance of the letter when he catalogued the papers in 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Carl Woodring, ed., *Table Talk*, in the Bollingen edition of the *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Maria Gisborne and Edward E. Williams, *Shelley's Friends, Their Journals and Letters*, edited by Frederick L. Jones (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951) 37.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in M. H. Fisch, 'The Coleridges, Dr. Prati, and Vico', in *Modern Philology* 41 (1943): 120.

<sup>14</sup> *Table Talk*, i, 573.

<sup>15</sup> *Faustus from the German of Goethe. Embellished with Retsch's Series of Twenty-Seven Outlines Illustrative of the Tragedy, Engraved by Henry Moses. New edition with Portrait of the Author, and An Appendix Containing the May-Day Night Scene translated by Percy Bysshe Shelley, quarto* (London: Edward Lumley, 1832). The initials L. H. shows that the addition was made by Leigh Hunt. Until this edition, the main access to Shelley's translation was in the journal *The Liberal*, 1822, that came out at much the same time as *Faustus* and in *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, printed in a small edition in 1824 and suppressed at the behest of Shelley's father, but enthusiastically reviewed with extensive quotations in the *Edinburgh Review* (1824) 509. The piece was also reprinted in *The Cabinet, or The Selected Beauties of Literature, Second Series* (Edinburgh, 1825) 429, along with pieces by Coleridge.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in *Table Talk*, 1, 343, with useful additional information in the footnote.

<sup>17</sup> We record our thanks to Sabine Schäfer, archivist, Goethe und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar.

<sup>18</sup> London, den 1. August 1820

Ew. Wohlgeboren!

Erlauben mir das Vergnügen beikommend heute ersienes [sic] London Magazine zu überreichen, in der Hoffnung, daß der [sic] in diesen [sic] Hefte enthaltne erste Abhandlung Ew. Wohlgeboren Interesse und Vergnügen gewähren wird.

Der Redakteur [sic] dieses Journals ist mein Freund John Scott Esq bekannt wegen verschiedner achtungswerthen literärischen Produkten - wie z.B. "Paris visited" etc. etc.

Soviel mir bekannt ist ihm dieser Aufsatz so wie auch der 4te in diesen [sic] Magazine "Description of certain Frescos" von einem Freunde

ingesandt, der gegenwärtig in Italien und dessen Bekanntschaft er vor zwei Jahren auf einer Reise in erwähnten [sic] Lande gemacht.

Unter der fortschreitenden Cultivierung der deutschen Literatur in diesem Lande ist man seit einiger Zeit besonders aufmerksam auf Ew: Wohlgeboren

Faust geworden - wozu die herlichen Umrissse von Retsch vieles beigetragen.- Eine andre Abhandlung mit Auszügen von merkwürdigen Stellen

in Uebersetzung erschien in Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine untern 1ten vorigen Monathes - und vernehme mit Vergnügen, daß der hiesige Dichter Coleridge an einer gänzlichen Uebersetzung dieses dramt: Gedichte [sic] arbeitet.

In Edinburgh besonders ist man sehr aufmerksam auf die deutsche Literatur -Unter den [sic] Titel Florae Germanicae erscheinen in vor-erwähnten

Journale von Zeit zu Zeit Abhandlungen und Uebersetzungen der vorzüglichsten dramatischen Dichter, - so finde in heute ersienes [sic] Journal eine Abhandlung über Müllners König Yngurd-ohne zweifel von der Feder meines Edinburgh Freundes Sr. P. Gillies Esq. dortiger Advocat.-

Auch liefre fortwährend unsern[sic] intressantesten literärischen Novitäten an Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh.

Da der kleine Aufsatz in gegenwärtigen [sic] Journale betitelt "Mr. Ebert and Mr. Dibdin" erstern [sic] Freunde in Dresden so wie auch H. Buchhändler Brockhaus in Leipzig, sehr interessiren - so wage ich die Bitte Ew. Wohlgeboren zu bemühen nach Eigner Durchsicht diesn Herren eine Durchsicht dieses Journal gütigst zu vergönnen.

Ich habe die Ehre mich zu unterzeichnen mit der größten Hochachtung Ew. Wohlgeboren ganz ergebens[ter]

H.Bohte

An Wohlgeboren Herrn Geheimenrath von Goethe in Weimar

<sup>19</sup> Although Burwick and McKusick footnote Patrick O'Leary, *Regency Editor, Life of John Scott* (1983), they do not use it to identify the pseudonymous reviewer of *Faustus* although his identity has long been securely established. Nor do they make use of other relevant information to be found in that book, such as the fact that the editor, John Scott, lodged in Bohte's premises, and used the *Magazine* to commend his engravings. The most up to date information is summarised by Annette Peach in her article on Wainwright in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>20</sup> Coleridge's letter to Robert Baldwin, the proprietor, dated 11 November 1819, is printed



by Griggs, iv, 975.

<sup>21</sup> Although not transcribed they are referred to and summarised in the footnotes to the Weimar edition that was evidently the source used by Schreiber.

<sup>22</sup> London, den 4. July 1820

die beykommenden Umrisse zu Faust sind Unterschriebenem für Se. Exc. Hrn. Gehrath von Goethe zur Besorgung von dem Buchhändler *Boosey* übergeben worden.

Die Bildnisse Sr. Excell: und des Prinzen von Meiningen sind fertig. Abdrücke von der Schrift schickte Miss *Dawe* vor vierzehn Tagen (so sagte sie heute) an ihren Bruder in Petersburg, ob er vielleicht etwas daran zu ändern fände? Sobald sie von dort hier wieder eintraffen, welches etwa in der Mitte des August seyn dürfte, wird es nur noch 14 Tage erfordern um sie zu vollenden. Mithin könnten sie wohl zu Anfang Septembers von hier nach Weimar abgehen. Unterthänigst

Joh. Chr. Hüttner

Sr. Excellenz

Hrn GRath v. Goethe

<sup>23</sup> London den 22. August 1820

Der Buchhändler *Boosey & Comp.* finden sich sehr geschmeichelt, daß Se. Excell. der Herr Geheimrath von Goethe mit den Kupfern zu Faust und der Beschreibung derselben nicht unzufrieden sind, und haben die Ehre hierbey, den Beschluß darvon ergebenst zu übersenden. Dieses Haus hat an Unterschriebenen hier beygelegten Brief geschickt, woraus Se. Exzellenz etwas über den *Anonymus* erfahren werden, welcher die Erklärungen übersetzt hat.

Es geht diese Woche mit dem Paketboote das 4te Paket, enthaltend den Beschluß der verhandlungen der Linnäischen Gesellschaft, unter der Adresse Sr. Königl. Hoheit ab. Die zwey von Sr. Excellenz, im Nahmen *Serenissimi* anbefohlenen zwey Bücher, gehen mit folgendem Posttage ab.

Ganz unterthänigst

Joh. Chr. Hüttner

Our thanks are due to Birgit Fiebig of the Goethe and Schiller Archiv in Weimar.

<sup>24</sup> Goethe, *Werke. Weimar edition* (Weimar, 1887-1919) xxxiii, 203.

<sup>25</sup> Summarised on page xvi-xviii. For the Murray side of the correspondence, Burwick and McKusick rely on Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray* (1891), a work prepared in accordance with Victorian conventions. As far as we can ascertain, they have not consulted the Murray archives that have been accessible for many decades on request.

<sup>26</sup> A draft of the contract for two volumes for 70 guineas, that may imply some netting off of outstanding obligations, is printed by Griggs, 4, 634.

<sup>27</sup> Transcribed by Michael Bott, from the archives held at Reading University Library, with a few editing amendments by the present authors.

<sup>28</sup> Burwick and McKusick do not mention a number of works that could have guided them through, notably Catherine Waltraud Proescholdt-Obermann, *Goethe and his British Critics* (European University Studies, Peter Lang, Frankfurt 1992), William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (London and New Haven 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1994), and Viola Hildebrand-Schat, *Zeichnung im Dienste der Literaturvermittlung: Moritz Retzschs Illustrationen als Ausdruck bürgerlichen Kunstverstehens* (Würzburg 2004). Or among older works, Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, continued by Edmund Goetze (Dresden 1911), IV, iii, pages 765 -72 on *Faust*; Arthur Rümmer, *Das illustrierte Buch des XIX. Jahrhunderts in England, Frankreich und Deutschland 1770-1860* (Leipzig 1930), or the compendium of Goethe's comments on the various illustrations to *Faust* and his other literary works, Richard Benz, *Goethe und die romantische Kunst* (Munich no date, Vorwort dated 1940). For de Staël and *Faust*, John Claiborne Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism: Truth and propaganda in Stael's De l'Allemagne 1810 -1813* (Cambridge, 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Artists of literary *Umrisse* other than Retzsch, listed in Cotta's advertisements of 1835 are C. Dittenberger (to Schiller's *Toggenburg*), and J.M. Wager (to Schiller's *Eleusisches Fest*).

<sup>30</sup> The Cornelius engravings are discussed by Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey, *German printmaking in the age of Goethe* (London: British Museum, 1994).

<sup>31</sup> The *Umrisse* are, for example, listed as available in London in Bohte's *Catalogue of Books* (1824); copy in British Library.

<sup>32</sup> Boosey's catalogue, British Library. The fact that the Cornelius engravings were available to be bought in London was noted by the *London Magazine*, 1820, 136.

<sup>33</sup> Advertisement in Cotta's edition of Retzsch's *Umriss* of *Fridolin*, 1824, as issued in the original paper envelope, private collection. Price in London from *London Magazine*, 1820, 140.

<sup>34</sup> Copies of the first publication in two parts in their temporary drab paper wrappers, British Library.

<sup>35</sup> Noted also in the *Quarterly Review* list of new publications, October 1820, 271.

<sup>36</sup> Only known to the authors of this article from an undated, later 19<sup>th</sup> century, version made by a photographic process, *Illustrations to Goethe's Faust in Twenty-Seven Outline Engravings by Moritz Retzsch* [sic]. (No publisher, date, or place of publication given but a 'new edition' listed in the trade catalogues from 1843). Kennerley is known as the engraver of a portrait of Byron published in 1819 in the fake *Don Juan; With a Biographical Account of Lord Byron and his Family . . . Canto 3* (London: William Wright, 1819) and elsewhere. Kennerley's version repeats the mistake 'Witches Cave' but shows the woman clothed.

<sup>37</sup> Not seen.

<sup>38</sup> In *Literary Souvenir for 1826*, edited by Alaric A. Watts, available in time for Christmas 1825. The epigraph ascribed to Coleridge is adapted from his poem, 'Love'. Watts's composition makes clear towards the end that the encounter his verses recount is between Faust and Margarete. As the proprietor of *The Literary Souvenir*, who commissioned short pieces from Coleridge for his publication, including one printed in the same volume, and himself a prolific poet, Watts was among many literary insiders who might have been expected to have known if Coleridge had had a hand in *Faustus*.

<sup>39</sup> The woman in engraving 6 is shown clothed.

<sup>40</sup> Advertised, for example, by Ackermann in the 1830 *Forget Me Not*.

<sup>41</sup> *Umriss zu Goethe's Faust, zweiter Teil. Gezeichnet von Moritz Retzsch. Elf Platten nebst Andeutungen*

<sup>42</sup> They are described as 'twenty-nine engravings on steel, after Moritz Retzsch' on the title page of Birch's version of *Faust, part 1* also published in 1839.

<sup>43</sup> As the printers' key signatures confirm.

<sup>44</sup> William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual*, iv, (1859), 906, correctly described the book as quarto. We take the price from the official London book trade catalogue, *The London Catalogue of Books, with their Sizes, Prices, and Publishers, Containing the Books published in London, and those altered in Size or Price, since the Year 1810 to February 1831* (London: Robert Bent 1831). The item is listed as *Faust, a Drama*, but since the publisher is given as Boosey, the entry can only refer to *Faustus*. The book was no longer available when the next edition of the trade catalogue appeared in 1839, although the Retzsch *Outlines* were still available in quarto at the reduced price of 12 shillings. The quarto 'Analysis of the Tragedy' is listed along with the Moses engravings as available in 1843 at 10 shillings and sixpence, confirming that it had a longer life than *Faustus* which it both preceded and then superseded in the market place as the accompaniment to Retzsch. Both the *Analysis* and *Faustus* were printed by Alexander Walker, in a font that he used for texts that were due to be stereotyped, a technology in which he was a pioneer which made possible the production of almost unlimited copies at falling marginal cost, but we cannot confirm that they were stereotyped.

<sup>45</sup> The portrait frontispiece is also noted in other references. 'A New Translation of Goethe's Tragedy of *Faustus*, in 8vo, with a Portrait of the Author, and in 4to. with a Series of Twenty-seven Outlines, to illustrate the above-mentioned Tragedy, engraved by H. Moses, after Retzsch's Originals.' 'Works preparing for publication' *London Magazine* September 1821 page 341; and 'Faustus, from the German of Goethe; with a Portrait of the Author, 8vo. 6s' in 'Works preparing for publication' *London Magazine* November 1821 page 577.

<sup>46</sup> *Goethes Faust, Der Tragödie erster Teil mit Zeichnungen von Peter Cornelius. Eingeleitet von Alfred Kuhn. Verlegt bei Dietrich Reimer/Ernst Vohfen*, (Berlin, 1920).

<sup>47</sup> Prosecutions were being frequently reported as they happened in *The Examiner*, 1820, 702. Representations of God were produced by William Blake for his *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1826). The Retzsch originals are not known to have aroused any adverse comment in Germany,

<sup>48</sup> Page 137 in the Routledge facsimile.

<sup>49</sup> Noted by, for example, the reviewer for *The Literary Examiner*, 19 July 1823.

<sup>50</sup> Byron to Murray 3 November 1821. *Byron's Letters and Journals* edited by Leslie A. Marchand, ix, 53

<sup>51</sup> *London Magazine*, July 1821, 104 'Works preparing for publication'.

<sup>52</sup> *The Examiner*, 14 October 1821 [page 648 of the annual volume], initialled R. H. [Richard Horne] The newspaper normally had a weekly circulation of 7 to 8 thousand copies. The initials L.H. in the third edition that reprints from the review, show that Leigh Hunt, the editor of *The Examiner*, was responsible for the inclusion of Shelley's translation of 'May-day Night' in that edition.

<sup>53</sup> Routledge facsimile edition, 1994, p. 655.

<sup>54</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article on Thomas De Quincey.

<sup>55</sup> Discussed, for example, by contributors to Peter France and Kenneth Haynes, editors, *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English. volume 4. 1790-1900* (2005) who emphasise both the low status given to translation work and the numbers of people employed in the subliterate sector.

<sup>56</sup> For example, confining the list to native-English speakers, J. W. Lake, author of a much-reprinted life of Byron, also translated German verse into English verse for Cotta, as did Cyrus Redding and C. P. Patmore. As other examples, and without wishing to suggest an exhaustive list, the claims of John Bowring, George Borrow, John Payne Collier, Frederic Shoberl, and some of the later translators of *Faust* could also have been considered, as well as translators from Schiller noted in, for example, R. Pick, *Schiller in England 1787-1960, A Bibliography* (1961).

<sup>57</sup> *Fridolin, or The Road to the Iron-Foundery; A Ballad, by F. Schiller, with a translation by J. P. Collier, Esq Author of the Poetical Decamerone. Illustrated with Eight Engravings in Outline by Henry Moses, from the Designs of Retsch* (London 1824). It was commented on favourably by *The Examiner*, 1824, 276.

<sup>58</sup> Although information may be fragmentary, the editors have not offered what is readily available, eg on the circulation of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Nor have they consulted the publisher Murray's archives for the Leveson-Gower translation. As for the engravings, as early as 1821 the Scottish music publisher, George Thomson was urging his artist to copy the style of Retsch, see, for example, the letter quoted by Shelley M. Bennett, *Thomas Stothard: The Mechanisms of Art Patronage in England c. 1800* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988) 57.

<sup>59</sup> The Moses engravings had reached Shelley in Italy before April 1822, by which time *Faustus* could also have arrived, although there is no record of Shelley having seen it. See Timothy Webb, *The Violet in the Crucible, Shelley and Translation* (Oxford 1976) for a full account of Shelley's engagement with *Faust* through the Moses engravings. H. B. Forman, ed., *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1876) iv, 284, who assumed that Shelley read *Faustus*, commented: 'Its merit is certainly very moderate; and perhaps its only title to be remembered is that fortunate omission of the Prologue in Heaven and most of the Walpurgisnacht, which secured to us Shelley's incomparable translation of those two scenes.'

<sup>60</sup> We correct the volume's mistranscription of 'Überkingen'. The Kästner referred to was Abraham.

<sup>61</sup> He is listed in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* [by J. Watkins and F. Shoberl] 1816.

<sup>62</sup> For example, the Preface by the Translator to *The Amours of the Chevalier de Faublas* (London 1822)

<sup>63</sup> For example, to take contemporary examples, in Byron's Preface to *Cain* (1820), a text that required negotiation with his fearful publisher Murray. Byron, like Cotta and others including the translator of *Faublas*, also sought shelter by adducing examples from elsewhere in Europe, in this case Gessner's *Death of Abel*, a device that attempts to shame would-be censors by implying that they are out of touch and provincial.