

“Il me faut forger une arme de la littérature”

Felix Paul Greve among the Magazines

IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE with André Gide, the German-born author and translator Felix Paul Greve, who later took on a new identity as the Canadian Frederick Philip Grove, succinctly stated that his ultimate goal in life was influence. As his family background, contrary to Gide's, did not allow him to rely on what he considered the most effective means to this end, financial wealth, he had to look for an alternate agency to exert power. This he hoped to find in literature. Writing to Gide in June of 1904, he declares: “L'influence: c'est ça, ce que je souhaite [...]. Je crois l'influence de la vie supérieure à celle de la littérature. [...] La richesse serait une arme admirable. Maintenant il me faut forger une arme de la littérature. Mais le but—c'est la vie” (Ernst and Martens 69–70).¹ Greve became a prolific mediator, translating, among others, Oscar Wilde, H.G. Wells, George Meredith, Gustave Flaubert, and André Gide into German, all the while trying to produce and promote his own works. In this context, periodicals played an important role.

Felix Paul Greve's first publications comprised a review of Stendhal's novel *Lucien Leuwen*, newly released by the French publishing house Éditions de la Revue Blanche, and a commentary on volumes eleven and twelve of Friedrich Nietzsche's complete works. Both appeared in 1901 in the supplement to the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a renowned daily newspaper that had been founded by Johann Friedrich Cotta at the end of the eighteenth century (Schwarzkopf 1, 16). Greve lived in Munich at that time, pursuing his studies, while attempting, ultimately, to become a writer. That Greve knew the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and tried to enter its pages was probably

related to the fact that it reprinted the news of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (Schwarzkopf n.p., 107, 120), where Greve had stayed in early 1901, and that Professor Adolf Furtwängler, Greve's university teacher in archaeology (Martens, *Felix Paul* 116–19), was a regular contributor. With his first review, Felix Paul Greve introduced himself as a connoisseur of French language and literature, especially of its realistic tendencies, which were to become important for his own later writings in Germany and Canada. For the time being, however, Greve renounced these interests and turned to a different, more promising kind of literature to gain him access into the artistic circles of Munich. His second start, so to speak, began with aestheticism, the other end of the range of literary tendencies flowering at the turn of the century, and was prepared for through his commentary on Nietzsche.

In this reorientation Greve might have been influenced by a fellow student of archaeology, Karl Gustav Vollmoeller, who also tried to establish himself as a writer and who, since 1897, had enjoyed close contacts with the poet Stefan George and his circle (Kluncker 33; Martens, *Felix Paul* 48, 77). For George, personal relations were of uppermost importance; as a rule, he only accepted contributions for the circle's magazine, *Blätter für die Kunst*, from artists he or one of his close friends knew in person (Kluncker 29). Thus Greve had to take his time and work his way into the coterie. In August 1902, Greve thought the time ripe to hand in seven poems to be considered for publication in George's *Blätter* (Divay lxi),² but his attempt at placing himself in the exclusive magazine proved unsuccessful. Greve, it is true, did fulfill one of the prerequisites of appearing in the *Blätter*, namely the one of not yet being identified with an existing literary group (Kluncker 52). Nonetheless, George was in favour of larger contributions that might reveal the author's artistic specificity, especially in the case of first appearances in the *Blätter*. The material submitted by Greve failed to meet this criterion, as George pointed out in a postcard to Friedrich Gundolf, who since 1900, in close cooperation with George, had been responsible for the *Blätter*'s editorial correspondence (Kluncker 51, 63–64).³

But even if Greve's contributions had appeared in the *Blätter für die Kunst*, it seems doubtful that such a publication would have served to gain him wide renown. George's *Blätter* was an atypical magazine insofar as it did not reach out for a receptive public audience that might enjoy its contributions; rather, it addressed itself to poets who worked in a similar vein and would

be interested in becoming members of the circle (Kluncker 22, 26, 46).⁴ Accordingly, the *Blätter für die Kunst* could not be obtained through the book-sellers but had to be subscribed to or consulted in select bookstores in Berlin, Vienna, and Munich where they were on display (Kluncker 62–63).⁵ Although from 1898 onwards, the George circle opened itself more to the public, releasing selections from the *Blätter* in a general edition (Kluncker 34), it remained an exclusive group that stood apart from the literary market and that followed its own mechanisms.

Paramount was the intricate relation between literature and the poet's financial situation. Not only did the ideal member of the circle renounce a professional life in order to concentrate on his art, he also avoided publishing in other magazines and reserved his creative energy for the George circle. His contributions to the *Blätter* were not remunerated; on the contrary, he had to pay for the printing costs (Kluncker 53, 60–61). Even if, in the beginning, financial aspects might have been of minor importance to Greve, as he was still receiving a fellowship from Hamburg and could count on the support of his friend Herman F.C. Kilian (Martens, *Felix Paul* 126, 146), they were soon to gain prominence and affect his further career, for he did not enjoy the financial independence of a George.

At any rate, Greve saw his relation to the George circle not as an end in itself, but also as an investment in his future. Close ties to George, he hoped, would impress the publishers and ease his way into print. This can be inferred from his letter of December 1901 to the Hamburg publisher Alfred Janßen, in which he offers the manuscript of his poems *Wanderungen* and points to his exclusive connection.⁶ Janßen, however, showed no interest and Greve had to look for an alternative means of publication. With George as his example, he took recourse to a private printing that mirrored the master's products in more than one sense. Just like the *Blätter für die Kunst*, Greve's *Wanderungen* was produced by the Berlin printing house Otto von Holten and could be obtained through the Munich commissioned publishers Jacob Littauer (Kluncker 63).

The George circle's impact on Felix Paul Greve may equally be noticed in another context. Under the influence of the French symbolists, who, at the end of the nineteenth century, rendered international masterpieces into their mother tongue, George and his friends came to value mediation as an important task in their literary careers. Consequently, in George's oeuvre

translations amount to approximately the same percentage of publications as his own works; the same holds true for his contributions to the *Blätter für die Kunst* (Kluncker 88). Even if his own prolificacy as a translator forestalled the publication of translations by other members of his circle in the *Blätter* (Kluncker 90), most of them also worked as translators. In this respect, too, Greve lived up to the circle's habits, rendering into German Dante's *Vita Nuova*, Walter Pater's "A Prince of Court Painters" and Marius the Epicurean, Robert Browning's "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon'" and "In a Balcony" (Divay 219–20; Martens, Felix Paul 372; Pacey, *Letters* 520) and starting his translations of the works of Oscar Wilde.⁷ However, having failed to have a selection of his poetry printed in the *Blätter für die Kunst*, Greve realized that he had to look for new alliances, if he were to permanently secure a foothold in the literary market.

His attempts at establishing connections and thus furthering his own cause were facilitated by a procedure that Maximilian Harden, editor of *Die Zukunft*, had introduced. Harden invited authors and translators to submit so-called "Selbstanzeigen," that is, short abstracts of their latest works to be published in his magazine under a rubric of their own. From 1902 onward, when he announced his volume of poetry *Wanderungen*, Greve made ample use of this opportunity to draw the attention of readers and publishers to his productions. As Harden allotted enough space for the self-reviews, they were sometimes turned into more extensive discussions. Greve's self-review of his translation of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, published in 1903, is a case in point. Having been able to interest J.C.C. Bruns publishers in Oscar Wilde's *Intentions*, Greve sought to enlarge his Wilde project and proposed a new German rendition of *Dorian Gray*. Johannes Gaulke's version, which had appeared under the auspices of Max Spohr in Leipzig, was inadequate in Greve's eyes and illustrated nothing more than the necessity of a new translation. For a critical evaluation of Gaulke's text and a defence of his own new translation Greve counted on an article of his entitled "Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen," which was supposed to appear in July 1902 in the supplement to the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung*. For still unknown reasons, however, the article failed to be published. This was all the more embarrassing to Greve as he referred to this article in the preface to his *Dorian Gray* in order not to repeat himself and to cut his argument short (V). Given this predicament, Greve decided to use the self-review of his *Dorian Gray* in *Die*

Zukunft to explain the state of affairs and supply some of the reasons that he had meant to give in the unpublished article.

Apart from the self-reviews, and as a second opportunity to prove his artistic talent, Greve relied on the publication of excerpts from his works, sometimes accompanied by an explanatory comment. Thus, on 29 November 1902 Greve wrote to J.C.C. Bruns asking whether they would consent to the inclusion of half a chapter of his translation of Wilde's *Dorian Gray* in a magazine. A few days later, Greve specified that he had the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* in mind (Martens, Felix Paul 334–35), a periodical founded in 1890 by Otto Brahm under the title *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben* and connected with the renowned publishing house S. Fischer (Dietzel and Hügel 2: 441–43).⁸ Again, Greve's friend Karl Gustav Vollmoeller might have served as the connective link, since he also contributed to the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*.⁹ Although Greve's engagement with this magazine has been known for years, its influence on his career has so far been underestimated. Even if Greve's idea of including a chapter of his translation of Wilde's *Dorian Gray* in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* did not materialize for the simple reason that another translator's version was chosen,¹⁰ Greve continued to offer his texts to the editor, Oscar Bie. The latter not only published Greve's translation of James McNeill Whistler's "Ten O' Clock" but also Oscar Wilde's "Lehren und Sprüche für die reifere Jugend," which, from internal evidence, is attributable to Greve.¹¹ It is a slightly abbreviated, but otherwise identical version of Greve's translation of Wilde's "Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young," of which, in May 1902, 150 copies had been privately printed by J. Gotteswinter, Munich, and sold on commission by J. Littauer Kunsthandlung. As most of the translations in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* remained unsigned, it is even possible that Greve translated additional texts for this periodical. One might speculate that another contribution from late 1903 or early 1904 was by Greve. From his correspondence with Rudolf von Poellnitz, it is clear that one of Greve's translations of Wilde's fairy tales had been accepted by this magazine, but at the last instant the text could not be printed because von Poellnitz, in whose Insel Verlag the complete book of fairy tales was to appear, objected to its publication. Greve, who had already dispatched the tale, informed von Poellnitz that he would try to prevent its printing and have the magazine fill the lacuna with something else (Pacey, *Letters* 534–35). The unsigned translation of aphorisms by George Meredith that appeared

in the fourth quarter of 1903 is a likely candidate for such a substitution. This probability is enhanced by the fact that in his *Freistatt* article on Meredith, published in September 1904, Greve refers to a few trifles by the British author that he, Greve, had published in translation in magazines.¹²

Although his business relation to the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* brought Greve into contact with S. Fischer, nothing permanent came of this connection. Only Greve's translation of the correspondence of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett-Barrett appeared under Fischer's auspices in 1905, prepared for by two long excerpts that appeared in the publishing house's own magazine in 1904.¹³ As his letters to André Gide reveal, Greve felt offended by S. Fischer, having been treated "comme le premier venu" ("like anybody"), with the result that he considered taking him to court (Ernst and Martens 74, 134). In 1907, Greve still felt the impact of his quarrel with S. Fischer and the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, for when editor Oscar Bie wished to include a text by André Gide in his periodical, he ignored Greve's good standing with the French author, contacted Gide directly and proposed Kurt Singer as a possible translator.¹⁴ Discovering Singer's German version of Gide's *Le Retour de l'enfant prodigue* in *Die Neue Rundschau*, Greve, quite understandably, felt frustrated. In his letter of 25 April 1907 he reminded Gide of his promise according to which Greve was to be his only German translator (Ernst and Martens 164). Gide, however, in his dealings with Oscar Bie, had made sure to preserve Greve's interests; he refused to grant *Die Neue Rundschau* exclusive rights so that the text in question would remain in the author's possession allowing Gide to cede the German translation rights again for a book publication.¹⁵ The publishing house Oesterheld, where Greve's translations of Gide's tractates were to appear, nevertheless rejected the insertion of a new German version of *Le Retour de l'enfant prodigue* in the proposed volume precisely because Singer's translation had already appeared in *Die Neue Rundschau*.¹⁶

This negative experience had been preceded a few years before by an equally distressing occurrence. While working on the translation of André Gide's *Les Nourritures terrestres*, Greve, again, wished to include part of his translation in a magazine and accordingly wrote to Gide:

Pour "hausser" l'intérêt, qui se portera vers vos livres, il me semble habile de publier quelques pages (quelque chose de ciselé) dans un

journal. Malheureusement pour le moment il n'y a pour moi que la "Freistatt."—Toutefois on lit ce journal. Il me semble qu'un auteur comme vous ne perd rien en apparaissant dans un journal secondaire qui néanmoins compte parmi ses collaborateurs quelques écrivains de premier ordre. (Ernst and Martens 78)¹⁷

The magazine *Freistatt* Greve had in mind was a Munich-based weekly of politics, literature, and art edited by Alexander Freiherr von Bernus and Friedrich Glaser (*Dietzel and Hügel* 3: 831–32). In 1904, it seems to have been the only magazine that was not afraid to publish the contributions of a man whose name was associated with fraud and jail (Martens, *Felix Paul* 209–21). Gide obviously applauded the procedure but disapproved of the second-rate *Freistatt*, for in his next letter Greve explained:

La revue la plus importante en Allemagne, je crois, c'est *Die Neue Rundschau*. Pour y insérer une partie des *Nourritures*, certainement il serait nécessaire de supprimer le nom du traducteur, parce que moi et M. Bruns, nous avons intenté un procès à M. S. Fischer. Mais si l'on passerait cette traduction d'une partie des *Nourritures*, ou plutôt cette partie de la traduction des *Nourritures* par les mains de M. Franz Blei?...Qu'est-ce que vous en dites? (Ernst and Martens 78–79)¹⁸

Taking up Greve's astonishing proposition, André Gide turned for help to Greve's literary rival, Franz Blei,¹⁹ who then suggested placing the fragment "Menalkas" in Harden's *Zukunft* (Ernst and Martens 80; Theis 11–12). Greve wrote to Gide that in this case one might as well add his name, since Harden was to print a short notice by him on H.G. Wells, which would appear with his signature. Gide, who remained untroubled by Greve's past and was more than content with his translation, agreed to that suggestion (Ernst and Martens 82, 84). He left the decision to Franz Blei, however, and entrusted him to investigate Harden's standpoint in this matter (Theis 14). Ultimately, the translation appeared without Greve's name, which made some people attribute it to Franz Blei. Even worse in Greve's eyes, Maximilian Harden suggested that Greve could consider himself lucky that his translations were taken for Blei's (Theis 41). Greve did not value Blei's translations and even Gide admitted that Greve was the more talented of the two;²⁰ nevertheless,

Gide tried to convince Greve that he was at fault for blaming Blei alone, as it was Greve who first proposed to omit the translator's name and later wrote that one might add it, if Gide still wanted to.

Greve's rage was all the more extreme as he had had a similar experience with Blei in connection with his first Wilde translation. In July 1902, two months after the publication of Greve's *Lehren und Sprüche für die reifere Jugend*, an excerpt from his translation had anonymously figured in the magazine *Die Insel*. For the clarification of the translator's name, Franz Blei, in whose responsibility fell the compilation of the magazine's final numbers (Salzmann 590; Sarkowski 28), seemed to have relied on the review of Greve's translation that was to appear in the same issue. However, as Blei explained to Gide in December 1905, the review got lost and the Wilde excerpt appeared without any hint as to who its translator was (Theis 41–42). Just as in the case of the "Menalkas" episode three years later, Franz Blei was credited with the translation of the aphorisms,²¹ especially since Blei had rendered into German some prose poems by Wilde that had been published in a preceeding number of the same magazine. Greve was reminded of that incident, for in April 1905, one month before the anonymous appearance of his "Menalkas" translation in *Die Zukunft*, Franz Blei had published in the magazine *Freistatt* new aphorisms by Oscar Wilde under the title "Neue Sprüche und Lehren" and around the same time had edited the second edition of his *In Memoriam Oscar Wilde*, which included "Lehren und Sprüche für die reifere Jugend von Oscar Wilde," translated by Franz Blei. As Greve complained to Gide, Blei indeed seemed to have used Greve's earlier efforts as the basis for his own new Wilde publications (Ernst and Martens 147).²²

Although the rivalry with Blei might have been reason enough for Greve to stop contributing to the *Zukunft* and look for alternatives, a second motive made itself felt: Maximilian Harden was not in favour of André Gide and thus did not support the publication of his texts as wished by Greve.²³ When Greve wanted to promote his translation of Gide's *Saül* by publishing an excerpt in a magazine, he turned to Siegfried Jacobsohn's newly founded *Schaubühne* explaining to Gide that this is an excellent journal for affairs of the theatre (Ernst and Martens 160). The *Schaubühne* with its focus on the renewal of dramatic art²⁴ differed significantly from the broader *Zukunft*, but still there were close relations between the two. Maximilian Harden supported Jacobsohn in his publishing efforts, taking on the role of mentor

(Pross 72). It comes as no surprise, then, that in September 1905 we find an advertisement for the *Schaubühne* in Harden's *Zukunft*, which might have drawn Greve's attention and directed him to the new magazine. Greve's relation to the *Schaubühne* proved advantageous. Not only could he place two poems and a Gide translation in its pages,²⁵ he also benefited from Jacobsohn's business connections to Berlin publishing houses. Oesterheld & Co., which edited Jacobsohn's magazine from 1906 to 1908,²⁶ became the publisher of Greve's new Gide translations, *Ein Liebesversuch und andere Novellen* (1907). When in 1909 the *Schaubühne* changed its alliances to the publishing house Erich Reiss, Greve accompanied the magazine, offering to Reiss his translation of Gide's *Saül* and *La Porte étroite* as well as his rendition of Alexandre Dumas's *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (Martens, Felix Paul 288). All three of them appeared in 1909.

On closer inspection, Greve's publications in periodicals seem to have conformed to a specific pattern. He started out with reviews and self-reviews, followed by selections from his translated works. In the latter case, Greve's strategy was twofold. He tried to place in magazines excerpts from works for which he had already found a publisher, for example, for his translation of Wilde's *Dorian Gray*, which was to appear with J.C.C. Bruns. He also sought to interest publishing houses in printing full book-length translations of works he had so far only been able to sell in part for inclusion in magazines. Thus Greve drew the attention of Rudolf von Poellnitz to his Whistler translation, which had appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, proposing to release it in book form (Martens, Felix Paul 217). Von Poellnitz, however, showed no interest in this offer. From 1904 onward, Greve's contributions to periodicals became more diversified, with his own original works and literary criticism gaining ground. His publications in the magazine *Freistatt* illustrate this development. In June 1904, Greve's poem "Die Hexe" appeared in its pages, succeeded in the next nine months by three installments of poems from the pen of a certain Fanny Essler, a pseudonym probably comprised of Felix Paul Greve and his partner Else Endell.²⁷ Interspersed among these were Greve's translation of Robert Browning's "Cleon" (July 1904), an unsigned and so far overlooked translation of Algernon Charles Swinburne's "Phaedra" (February 1905), which Greve mentions in a letter of 1904 to Gide (Ernst and Martens 74), as well as an article on George Meredith (September 1904). The importance of the *Freistatt* for Greve's

career is not restricted to the fact that it served him as a publishing outlet. In at least one case, it propelled him to new creative work. In September 1904, the *Freistatt* published a two-part article by August Endell on the Bavarian National Museum, in which Endell, the husband of Greve's lover Else, criticized the architecture of the building, the arrangement of the museum's collections, and some of its regulations. It is very likely that here we have the kernel for Greve's unpublished farce "Das Blutbad im bayrischen Nationalmuseum," which he mentioned in a letter to Gide and in his novel *Maurermeister Ihles Haus*.²⁸

The strategic necessity of having one's name appear in magazines, if success in literary matters was one's aim, was so obvious to Greve that he planned to found his own periodical, scheduling the appearance of the first number for April 1906. He had a political and literary weekly in mind, "a sort of German 'Mercure de France,'" as he wrote to H.G. Wells (Martens, Felix Paul 252), which was to be called "Einundzwanzigstes Jahrhundert." Outlining his plans to Gide in the late summer of 1905, Greve described the literary scope of the journal as international, with contributors coming from all nations and to include the French writer himself. For publicity and propaganda, Greve counted on his novel *Fanny Essler*, which, he was sure, would make a stir, and not only in the artistic circles it depicted (Ernst and Martens 128, 138). Eventually, though, Greve had to abandon his plans of founding his own periodical because he could not secure the funding for such a venture. A few years later, still seeking independence from his publishers, he envisioned the founding of his own publishing house. "Dans deux ans je serai éditeur moi-même,"²⁹ he wrote to André Gide on 11 December 1908 and the next day he signed his letter to Gide with the words "F.P. Greve futur éditeur" ("F.P. Greve future publisher") (Ernst and Martens 181–82). But neither in Germany nor later in Canada would Greve be able to realize these plans.

Traditionally, literary magazines have served as the major marketplace in the literary system, providing authors with opportunities to establish contacts with critics, editors, and publishing houses that, in the best case, could lead to life-long associations and secure permanent influence. In the case of Greve, however, not everything ran as smoothly as desired. His editors denied him the esteem he longed for and the public, although fond of his

translations, did not appreciate his own literary works. Greve's disillusionment is clearly expressed in a letter to Gide of 1907:

Ça durera encore environ 10 ans, avant d'être débarrassé de mes dettes. Et alors? Alors la vie commencera. Le succès? Mais je n'y compte plus. Je me suis défait de mes illusions. Le travail, voilà tout. Force de travail je gagne, je "fais" vingt mille marks par an. On commence à me lire: eh bien, peut-être ça raccourcira un peu la période du travail: peut-être, mais je n'y compte plus. Je fais des livres, comme le cordonnier fait des bottes. La vie? C'est "Wirken", je ne sais pas le mot français. On ne peut pas "wirken" par des livres. On "wirkt" par l'argent. C'est ma théorie, du moins. (Ernst and Martens 161, 163)³⁰

In 1904, Greve still hoped that even without financial wealth he might be of influence and thus partake in what to him was the epitome of life. Literature seemed a passable weapon in the struggle for prominence and recognition. In 1907, however, Greve regarded literature basically as a means of earning his livelihood and paying off his debts. The literary success that might have resulted in the opportunity to exert power had faded into the distance because the circumstances Greve found himself in allowed only for craftsmanship, not artistry.

In the long run, the negative experiences undergone in Germany taught Greve not to rely exclusively on the production of literature as a means of income after he had established himself in Canada. As he explained to Raymond Knister on 26 April 1929:

Let us not forget that 'Art for art's sake' is nonsense. It is very hard to explain briefly just what I mean. But I may say that I have made it a rule to make what money I need by other activities rather than by writing. [...] I have recently been attacked in an unfair way: Grove himself fights for money, it was said; why else autograph books in bookstores; why lecture from coast to coast? Well, exactly; I lecture because I can make a few pennies that way without selling my writing. (Pacey, *Letters* 267)³¹

And in a postscript he adds: "Balzac and Scott—two great geniuses who scattered their unique talents by writing for money at a feverish rate" (267). This, no doubt, may be taken as a very elucidating comment on his own literary career in Germany, a career that, in the end, did not yield the influence he had hoped for.³²

NOTES

- 1 "Influence, this is what I desire. I consider the influence of life superior to that of literature. Wealth would be an admirable weapon. Now I have to forge a weapon from literature. But the final goal is life." All translations are the author's own.
- 2 Greve wrote to Karl Wolfskehl, an influential member of the George circle, in order to inquire about the time frame for sending manuscripts: "Ich möchte Sie fragen, wann ich wohl an Herrn George Manuser. schicken muss, wenn ich Aussicht haben will, dass das eine oder andere Verslein von mir in die Bl[ätter] kommt. Mir würde sehr viel daran liegen" ("I would like to ask you when I would have to send a manuscript to Mr. George in order to have a chance of seeing one or the other little poem of mine appear in the Bl[ätter]. This would mean very much to me") (Divay lxv).
- 3 George's words were "F.P.G. sandte auch! doch zu wenig um als einführungsbeitrag zu gelten" ("F.P.G. sent something as well! but too little to serve as introductory contribution") (Boehringer and Landmann 120).
- 4 Thus we may read in the introduction to the first number of the *Blätter*: "wenn wir diese blätter verbreiten so geschieht es um zerstreute noch unbekannte ähnlich-gesinnte zu entdecken und anzuwerben" ("when we distribute these pages, it is done to uncover and recruit dispersed and still unknown like-minded people") (Kluncker 26).
- 5 These were Behr's bookstore in Berlin, Leopold Weiss in Vienna, and Littauer's Kunstsalon in Munich, which, in 1896, had substituted Léon Vanier's bookstore in Paris.
- 6 "Der Verfasser des mit gleicher Post an Sie abgehenden Manuscriptes, in Hamburg beheimatet, steht dem Münchener Kreise der 'Blätter für die Kunst' nahe" ("The author of the manuscript dispatched to you under the same cover, a resident of Hamburg, is closely associated with the Munich circle 'Blätter für die Kunst'") (Martens, Felix Paul 319). Greve equally referred to the George circle when he wrote his first letter to the publishing house J.C.C. Bruns offering a translation of Wilde's *Intentions* (Martens, Felix Paul 320–21) and when he introduced himself to Rudolf von Poellnitz, managing director of the Leipzig publishing house Insel (Pacey, *Letters* 516).

- 7 According to Else von Freytag-Loringhoven, Greve started to translate "more for pleasure than business" (Hjartarson and Spettigue 69); with Oscar Wilde, however, Greve picked an author whose aesthetic was not only close to that of the George circle, but who had currently attracted wide public interest so that his translations fell on fertile ground.
- 8 In 1904, the magazine changed its title to *Die Neue Rundschau*.
- 9 Karl Gustav Vollmoeller, "Catherina, Gräfin von Armagnac und ihre beiden Liebhaber," *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* 14 (1903): 273–314; Gabriele d'Annunzio, "Francesca da Rimini," trans. Karl Gustav Vollmoeller, *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* 14 (1903): 1063–1101, 1167–1212.
- 10 As the *Dorian Gray* excerpt in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* differs considerably from Greve's versions, which appeared under the auspices of J.C.C. Bruns, it is unlikely that Greve was the anonymous translator.
- 11 Volume fourteen of the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* comes close to a special issue on Wilde as it includes, apart from Greve's Wilde translation and an excerpt from someone else's *Dorian Gray*, Max Meyerfeld's "Erinnerungen an Oscar Wilde" and Oscar Bie's review of Greve's *Fingerzeige*.
- 12 "Im letzten Frühjahr erschien, abgesehen von ein paar Kleinigkeiten, die der Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes schon früher in Zeitschriften publizierte, zum ersten Mal einer der großen Romane des Engländers George Meredith in deutscher Sprache" ("Last spring, one of the great novels of the Englishman George Meredith appeared for the first time in German, apart from a few trifles which the author of this essay published earlier in magazines") (Greve, "Meredith" 721).
- 13 Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett-Barrett, "Briefwechsel," [trans. Felix Paul Greve,] *Die Neue Rundschau* 15 (1904): 774–804, 949–74. Just like Greve's translation of Wilde aphorisms that appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* in 1903, this magazine contribution has so far passed unnoticed. Greve's translation is preceded by an article by Rudolf Kassner, "Robert Browning und Elisabeth Barrett Barrett," 769–74.
- 14 Greve would have preferred Gide to redirect Bie to him: "S'il [Oscar Bie] a demandé votre [André Gide's] collaboration à vous-même, c'est parce qu'il m'a blessé un jour, et que c'est toujours humiliant de demander quelque chose à quelqu'un, qu'on a blessé. Un jour déjà vous lui avez répondu, que c'était à F.P.G. qu'il faudrait s'adresser. Il ne le fit pas alors. Aujourd'hui il l'aurait fait. Mais cette fois-ci vous lui avez épargné la peine" ("If he [Oscar Bie] asked you [André Gide] for your collaboration, it is because he hurt me one day and because it is always humiliating to request something from somebody one has hurt. One day in the past, you answered him that it was F.P.G. that he would have to turn to. He did not do it then. This time he would have done so, but you have saved him the trouble") (Ernst and Martens 169). See also Gide's letter to Bie, n.d. (Theis 73).
- 15 "J'ai eu soin d'avance d'écrire à Bie que je me réservais tout droit sur cet ouvrage et qu'il m'appartenait de nouveau sitôt après avoir paru dans sa revue, je pensais à vous en demandant cela, car, raisonnablement ce 'traité' doit rejoindre celui du

Narcisse et Philoctète, ainsi qu'un Ajax que je prépare en ce moment. Vous serez donc libre de vous ressaisir de l'ouvrage, et si c'est votre intention, je vous enverrai d'ici peu le texte français" ("I had already taken care to write to Bie that I had reserved for myself all rights to this work and that it belonged to me even after having appeared in his magazine; demanding this I was thinking of you because, reasonably, this 'tractate' has to be combined with that of *Narcisse* and *Philoctète* as well as the *Ajax* that I am currently preparing. You will thus be free to regain possession of this work again, and if this is your intention, I will soon send you the French text") (Ernst and Martens 165).

- 16 "Da, wie Sie uns mitteilen, der 'verlorene Sohn' bereits in der 'Neuen Rundschau' in einer Uebersetzung von Kurt Singer erschienen ist, so möchten wir nicht diesen Traktat mit in unseren Band hineinnehmen" ("Because, as you inform us, the 'verlorene Sohn' has already appeared in the 'Neue Rundschau' in a translation by Kurt Singer, we would rather not include this tractate in our volume") (Ernst and Martens 172–73).
- 17 "In order to 'raise' the interest in your books, it seems wise, in my eyes, to publish some pages (something artfully fashioned) in a magazine. Unfortunately, for the time being, only the 'Freistatt' is available. —At least this journal is read. It seems to me that an author like you loses nothing in appearing in a second-rate journal which, nevertheless, counts among its collaborators some writers of the first order."
- 18 "The most important magazine in Germany is, I think, *Die Neue Rundschau*. In order to place a part of the *Nourritures* there, it certainly would be necessary to omit the name of the translator because I and Mr. Bruns have taken legal proceedings against Mr. S. Fischer. But if this translation of a part of the *Nourritures*, or rather this part of the translation of the *Nourritures* were passed through the hands of Mr. Franz Blei? ... What do you think?"
- 19 "E.P. Grève [sic] qui traduit aussi mes *Nourritures Terrestres* propose de faire paraître un fragment de celles-ci dans un journal bien choisi ou dans une revue. Dans la crainte que son nom trop suspect ne soit un obstacle à cette publication partielle, il propose de ne pas signer; le fragment paraîtrait sans nom de traducteur; mais il faudrait alors que quelque intermédiaire s'occupât de le faire passer; j'ai pensé que peut-être votre obligeance ne s'y refuserait pas, et j'ai dit à E.P. Grève que je vous écrirais à ce sujet. Peut-être la publication de ce fragment, bien choisi, peu de temps avant la représentation de *Candaule*, pourrait-elle y préparer un peu le public. Mais dans quel journal? dans quelle revue plutôt?—de ceci je vous laisse juge, et attends un mot de vous pour savoir si je dois vous faire parvenir ce fragment de traduction" ("E.P. Grève [sic], who is also translating my *Nourritures Terrestres*, proposes to have a fragment of them appear in a well-chosen journal or magazine. Being afraid that his disreputable name might be an obstacle to this partial publication, he proposes not to sign it; the fragment would appear without the translator's name; but then some intermediary would have to ensure that it were passed on; I thought that perhaps your readiness would not be refused and I have told E.P. Grève that I would

write to you in this matter. The publication of this well-chosen fragment shortly before the presentation of *Candaule* would possibly prepare the public a little. But in which journal? or rather in which magazine?—this I leave to you and I am looking forward to a word from you in order to know whether I should arrange for this fragment of the translation to be sent to you") (Theis 11).

- 20 See Gide's letters to Paul Claudel and Henri de Régnier (Ernst and Martens 53–54).
- 21 This even holds true for contemporary critics. Thus Ifkovits draws the conclusion that all anonymous translations of the Insel's third volume, with the exception of Oscar Wilde's "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," were by Franz Blei because he received the payment for them (178). Greve's and Blei's statements in their correspondences, however, contradict this point of view (Ernst and Martens 147; Martens, *Felix Paul* 324; Theis 39, 41–42). See also Verwey's letter to Wolfskehl, summer 1902 (Spettigue, FPG 73). If Blei did receive the payment for the Wilde excerpt, more negative light is thrown on his dealings with Greve.
- 22 A comparison of Greve's and Blei's translations indicates that Blei not only adopted Greve's title but heavily relied on Greve's versions of the aphorisms.
- 23 "Harden ne nous favorisera pas beaucoup; il n'a pas 'le nez', comme on dit ici" ("Harden does not favor us much; he does not have 'the nose,' as one says here") (Ernst and Martens 177).
- 24 See the programmatic article "Zum Geleit" in the *Schaubühne*'s first number (7 Sept. 1905).
- 25 "Erster Sturm," "Die Stadt am Strande," and "Saul."
- 26 During the first year of its existence, the *Schaubühne* had its own publishing house (Dietzel and Hügel 4: 1068).
- 27 In October 1904, Greve explained to Gide: "Je ne suis plus une personne, j'en sommes trois: je suis 1.) M. Felix Paul Greve; 2.) Mme Else Greve; 3.) Mme Fanny Essler. La dernière, dont je vous enverrai prochainement les poèmes [...] est un poète déjà assez considéré dans certaines parties de l'Allemagne" ("I am no longer one person, I am three; I am 1.) Mr. Felix Paul Greve; 2.) Mrs. Else Greve; 3.) Mrs. Fanny Essler. The latter, whose poems I will send you shortly [...] is a poet already of considerable repute in certain parts of Germany") (Ernst and Martens 74–75). See also Divay lxxi–lxxvi.
- 28 The letter to Gide reads: "J'ai écrit une farce satirique, dont personne ne veut à cause du ridicule versé sur le gouvernement bavarois et l'administration des musées et des prisons" ("I have written a satiric farce, which nobody likes because it exposes the Bavarian government and the administration of museums and prisons to ridicule") (Ernst and Martens 74).
- 29 "In two years I will be a publisher myself."
- 30 "It will require about 10 more years to be rid of my debts. And then? Then life will begin. Success? But I don't count on it anymore. I have freed myself of my illusions. Work, this is all. Because of work I earn; I 'make' twenty thousand marks per year. People are starting to read me; well then, maybe this will shorten the period of work a bit: maybe, but I don't count on it anymore. I make books as the shoemaker

makes boots. Life? This is 'Wirken' [to be of influence], I do not know the French word. You cannot 'wirken' through books. You 'wirkt' through money. This is my theory, at least."

- 31 Greve's attempts at finding a permanent source of income, however, proved difficult: "In fact, I have tried very hard, of late, to secure some sort of a position in Toronto which would pay for our daily bread. [...] I applied, for instance, for the position as 'Book-Adviser' at Simpson's—a position which recently became vacant; they asked me to come in for a personal interview; but, the moment they saw I wasn't a young man, they expressed their regret; and I went home. Then I applied for work as a proof-reader with the Ryerson Press; I tried to arrange for a series of lectures on *The Technique of the Novel*; and everywhere I meet with the same stony hostility. It would be amusing if it were not somewhat disastrous" (Pacey, *Letters* 324). Later Greve tried to work as an independent literary adviser and accepted a job in a canning factory (Pacey, *Letters* 418–19).
- 32 Interestingly enough, Greve's statement echos what in 1904 critic F.D. expressed in the magazine *Freistatt* with reference to Greve: "Bedauerlich aber ist, daß F. P. Greve, der trotz aller Einwände durch Wilde- und Browningübertragungen einen gewissen literarischen Ruf erlangt hat, sein Können an eine ganze Serie überflüssiger Arbeiten verschleudert" ("It is regrettable, however, that F.P. Greve, who despite all objections has gained a certain literary renown through Wilde and Browning translations, is squandering his talents with a whole series of superfluous projects") (1045).